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List Number **184 – Americana**

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[N.p., n.d. circa 1850]
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[London: 1842]

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Signed by Thomas Jefferson: 1792 Congressional Act Concerning the Northwest Territory, Rare Large Paper Copy

22. (United States Laws. Second Congress. Northwest Territory) **Second Congress of the United States: At the First Session, begun and held at the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, on Monday the twenty-fourth of October one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one. An Act respecting the Government of the Territories of the United States North West and South of the River Ohio. [Caption title]**
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24. (West Virginia) [Barry, Joseph] **The Annals of Harper's Ferry with Sketches of its Founder and Many Prominent Characters Connected with its History, Anecdotes, &c, by Josephus Junior.**
Martinsburg, W. Va. Printed at the Office of the "Berkeley Inion", 1872
25. (West Virginia) Koonce, George (1818-1908) **Group of Manuscript and Printed Ephemera Pertaining to George Koonce, citizen of Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and his efforts to gain Compensation for his Defense of the**

Federal Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry from Confederate Attack and Seizure in April 1861, materials dated 1846-1896

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Two Tintypes of "Mammy Alice" taken by a Richmond photographer

1. (African Americans – Photography – Virginia) **Two Photograph Albums of Members of the intermarried Sandys – Nelson Family of Virginia**, including several photographs of two former slaves, Alice and her daughter Grace, and Photographs of their Irish Nursemaid, circa 1867-1890

Two photograph albums:

1. Photograph Album

[Manufactured by Altemus & Co., Philadelphia, patented, 1863] stout 12mo, bound in original embossed leather, with metal clasp, backs trip loose, else good.

The album contains 36 carte-de-visite and tintype photographs of members of the intermarried Sandys and Nelson families of Virginia, this album includes images of two former slaves "Mammie Alice: and her daughter Grace Frances, there are also images of the family's white Irish wet nurse Maggie Shehee, circa 1867-1870. Most images are identified in pencil and include in addition to those named above, Mrs. William Sandys, Edwin Sandys, Elizabeth Sandys Nelson, her mother, Cabell Freeman, Charlie Sandys, Mr. and Mrs. Nelson, among others.

2. Photograph Album

Quarto, bound in red padded cloth, containing 18 cabinet card and 23 carte-de-visite and three tintype portrait photographs of members of the Griffin, Sandys and Nelson family, circa 1860's 1890

An unusual pair of family photograph albums of the Sandys-Nelson family of the Richmond and Henrico County Virginia area. The album contains three images of two of the family's former slaves who evidently remained with the family after the end of the Civil War. The images include two portraits of "Mammy Alice" taken by a Richmond photographer wearing a finer dress than she wore when a slave. The album also has a portrait of Grace Frances, Alice's daughter, also in her finest attire. The album also includes two portraits of Maggie Shehee, an Irish wet nurse in the family's employ.

\$ 3,750.00



Grace Frances "Mammy Alice's daughter"



Two Images of Maggie Shehee, the family's Irish "Wet Nurse"

Hull, 19 Sept^r, 1837.

Dear Sir

But for the trouble most wantonly caused me and my family at the Customhouse here, they had been able to make an excursion to York and I to pay my respects to you agreeable to your kind invitation at Cologne last year. I had both objects in view in coming this way, instead of returning by London. Our passage is taken by the Dutch Steam & tomorrow.

At Rotterdam I received a letter from Mr Vanderbosch of Wilhelminasdorp, near Goes in Zeeland, a young, intelligent and enterprising Gentleman farmer on a very large scale. He and his lady were our fellow passengers for a long way on the Rhine and we enjoyed their society very much. I mentioned to him two objects as deserving his attention – the Scotch yellow turnip, and the Phormium tenax or what is more familiarly known as the New Zealand flax. He writes me he has now a thriving field of the former and three plants of the latter. "Ces plantes, he continues, ne sont parvenus de Leide; mais en m'a bien recommandé de les garantir du vent du Nord et de les couvrir en hiver. On croit cette plante très sensible aux atteintes du mauvais temps et nullement faite pour être cultivée en grand. Toutefois mes plantes se trouvent en très bon état et je tâcherai de les acclimater. Cependant je désire beaucoup d'avoir un détail exact du phormium tenax et j'ose croire que vous, qui m'avez fait connaître cette plante, voudrez bien me mettre en état d'en profiter. Peut-être il y a quelques ouvrages

2. (Botany-Agriculture) Irvine, F[rancis] (1786-1855), **Autograph Letter Signed, Hull, September 19, 1837, to C. Waterton, Esq., of Walton Hall, near Wakefield**
quarto, 4 pages, in very good, clean and legible condition.

Francis Irvine, who had previously served in the British Army in India and Afghanistan, and who had settled in Australia from 1820-24, before falling out with Sydney's governing elite, writes on New Zealand flax and Merino sheep to Charles Waterton (1782-1865) an English naturalist, plantation overseer, and explorer, best known for his pioneering conservation work.

"Dear Sir,

... At Rotterdam I received a letter from Mr. Vanderbosch of Wilhelminasdorp, near Goes in Zeeland, a young, intelligent and enterprising Gentleman farmer on a very large scale. He and his lady were our fellow passengers for a long way on the Rhine and we enjoyed their society very much. I mentioned to him two objects as deserving his attention – the Scotch yellow turnip, or the Phormium tenax or what is more familiarly known as New Zealand flax. He writes me he has now a thriving field of the former and three plants of the latter. "Ces plantes, he continues, ne sont parvenus de Leide; mais

on m'a bien recommandé de les Garanti de vent du Nord et de les couvrir en Lyon. On croit cette plante très sensible aux atteintes du Mauvais temps A nullement faite pour être cultivée en grand. Toutefois mes plantes se trouvent en très bon état et je tâcherai de les acclimater. Cependant je salue beaucoup d'avoir un exact du phormium tenax et j'ose croire que vous, qui m'avez fait connaître cette plante, voudrez bien me mettre en état d'en profiter. Peut-être il y a quelque ouvrage les informations nécessaires. Je me rappelle d'avoir lu, il y a longtemps, dans une Revue française une description du phormium avec des notes sur la quantité de ces câbles qu'on en fabrique annuellement, qui était traduit on extrait d'un ouvrage anglaise – Depuis quelques mois un petit troussseau du Leicestershire se trouve ici pour améliorer notre race, mais j'ai vu en Allemagne des "Leicester sheep" qui étaient meilleurs la vraie race formée par Mr. Bakewell, et qui a reçu le nom de Dishley, est-elle toujours préférée en Angleterre pour la boucherie et le pris des Villiers est-il encore si élevé? – Je possède ainsi une famille de merinos de Sage (Electoral schafe) qui sont de première qualité – Je suis propose de faire des expériences utiles sur ces deux races si différentes et opposées"

"... As to the phormium tenax, I formed its acquaintance in New South Wales, where it has been introduced from N. Zealand and succeeds very well. From data I collected there the produce per acre must be exceedingly great per annum; but it will naturally be less in colder climates. Its principal habitats are the coasts of Madagascar and N. Zealand, in which last it goes as high as 47° nearly. I was told it is found native in islands thereabouts in 49° of 50°. It is true, in such islands in a great ocean frost is seldom, perhaps never, known. It is said to be indigenous to the coast of Kerry and to thrive in Wales.

It is supposable that plants descended from roots obtained from the Bay of Islands, the port of N.Z. most frequented by Europeans, in Lat. 33° or thereabouts, would not be so hardy as those descended from ancestry in 47° I., especially as the mode of propagation is almost always viviparous. Were I a person of fortune, I would attend to this interesting plant, which yields a fibre better than the best hemp in strength as 5:4 and more beautiful than the finest flax. There are varieties, in one of which the green skin peels off easily without mechanical or other means being needed for separating it from the valuable fibre. Upwards of 1000 tons of this fibre are annually imported into Britain direct from N.Z. or via N. S. Wales. But probably nothing of this is new to you.

As to sheep, tho' Mr. Van der Bosch appears to be trying merinos on a small scale he agreed with me in opinion that for his land and climate, the large long woolled animal is preferable. Lincolnshire (I mean the fens) is of all our counties that which most resembles Zealand in physical circumstances.

You have probably in the course of your travels been more than once obliged to dispatch, unaltered, a letter which did not please you, simply because you had not time to write a new one. I am just so situated at present. I am the more led to expect you will excuse this scrawl, as I am aware of your kindness of character and your zeal for natural science, especially in its applications to human life
F. Irvine"

Charles Waterton was born at Walton Hall, Wakefield, Yorkshire. He was educated at Stonyhurst College in Lancashire. In 1804 he travelled to British Guiana to take charge of his uncle's slave plantations near Georgetown. In 1812 he began exploring the interior of the colony, making at least four journeys between 1812 and 1824 when he reached Brazil walking barefoot in the rainy season. He described his travels and discoveries in his book *Waterton's Wanderings in South America*, (1825), which inspired such British schoolboys as Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace. His explorations laid to rest the persistent myth of Raleigh's Lake Parime by suggesting that the seasonal flooding of the Rupunni savannah had been misidentified as a lake.

Waterton was a skilled taxidermist and preserved many of the animals he encountered on his expeditions. While he was in British Guiana Waterton taught his skills to one of his uncle's slaves, John Edmonstone. Edmonstone, by then freed and practicing taxidermy in Edinburgh, in turn taught the teenage Darwin.

In the 1820's Waterton returned to Walton Hall and built a nine-foot high wall around three miles of the estate. Turning it into the world's first wildfowl and nature reserve. He also invented the bird nesting box. Waterton was an early opponent of pollution. He fought a long-running court case against the owners of a soap works that had been established near his estate in 1839 and leached poisonous chemicals which damaged the trees in his park and polluted his lake. He was eventually successful in having the soap works moved.

\$ 200.00



A View of Brazilian Slavery on the Industrial Scale

3. (Brazil – Slavery) [Herring Charles, Jr., and Gordon James Newell] **Pair of Manuscript Superintendent's Diaries Recording Daily Events at the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company's Gold Mines at Morro Velho, in Nova Lima, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1843-1844, and 1859-1860 – Documenting the Company's use of Hundreds of Enslaved Brazilians**

Two volumes, folio, as follows: "Diary 1st January 1843 to December 19, 1844", 184 manuscript pages, "Superintendents Diary from 10th July 1859 to 30th January 1860", 202 manuscript pages, each volume bound in a folio ledger of British manufacture, bindings worn and rubbed, the spine of the 1843 volume crudely repaired with non-archival tape, entries are in very good, clear, and legible condition.

Two Superintendent's Diaries of the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company Limited, recording daily events in the company's Morro Velho gold mine in Nova Lima, Minas Gerais, Brazil. The Superintendent during 1843-44 was the company's first, Charles Herring, Jr., and during 1859-60 the post was held by James Newell Gordan. The entries are highly detailed and record all aspects of daily operations, technical issues, construction, production, labor issues, as well as the constant renting of slaves, or the outright purchase of slaves by the company. At a time when Britain had abolished the slave trade, the company took advantage of its geography to use such a labor force to increase profits. The company later capitalized on its success to lobby for and carve out exceptions and concessions in the Aberdeen Act of 1845 which prevented Britons from owning slaves despite geographical location. The apparent irony and hypocrisy of the company's efforts to rent and purchase slaves given their government's opposition to slavery and the slave trade was a difficulty for the company and is noted here in the first diary:

"Mr. Richards returned. He has not been able to hire one black though he has done every thing that could be done. Several parties to whom he applied observed that they were surprised English men should apply for blacks when they would not allow them to come into the country."

The company was the most successful of the British enterprises during the "Brazilian Gold Rush" of the early and mid-nineteenth century. The St John d'el Rey Company was one of several British companies who brought modern capitalism, technology, and skilled Cornish miners to Minas Gerais to re-open and rework old and exhausted mines, increasing production and exporting gold and paying dividends to their shareholders.

The company's success, and profits, were powered by the labor of thousands of enslaved humans during the years from its founding in 1830 until slavery was finally abolished in Brazil in 1888.

The company, like many of its British counterparts, employed a combination of English miners, "free native laborers" and slaves to work the mine. The company eventually formed a community of nearly 1000 people by the mid-nineteenth century. However, slave labor was used as the backbone of its workforce. Men toiled deep in the mine, as "borers" and women worked washing the gold. The slave labor force came from combination of slaves rented from local landowners and slaves purchased and owned by the company itself, referred to in these diaries as "Company's Blacks". The company's slaves, like slaves everywhere, were disciplined and controlled by various means of coercion. Flogging, and corporal punishment, as well as a system in which slaves who demonstrated "good conduct" for a period of some fifteen years would be rewarded with "the privilege" of freedom. Conditions in the mine were hard, injuries and death were common, as well as death from the full variety of tropical diseases, many slaves never lived to receive their "reward."

Following the declaration of Brazilian independence in 1822, Emperor Pedro I struck down the last of the old colonial obstacles to foreign investment in Brazilian gold mining. The Constitution of 1824 made the entry of foreign capital into Brazilian mining a legal possibility for the first time. There were requirements for these mining concessions. First, foreign companies paid 5 percent higher taxes on production than Brazilians. Second, one-third of mining company stocks had to be offered to Brazilian investors. Lastly, mining companies were required to pay a deposit of 150,000 milreis (about £ 32,000 in 1825 or £ 14,000 in 1830) to the Treasury as a guarantee against payment of taxes and duties. British economic expansion in the first third of the nineteenth century took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the 1824 Constitution.

"British companies moved into Minas Gerais with capital, advanced technology, and Cornish miners, reviving dozens of abandoned and decaying eighteenth century mines. Edward Oxenford, one of the first wave of British merchants in Brazil, established himself in Ouro Preto. In 1824 he obtained the first mining concession granted to a foreigner and purchased the Gongo Soco from the Baron of Catas Altas for the newly formed Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. This British company had been established in London with an initial nominal capital stock of £ 350,000. In 1826 it took control of the Gongo Soco property as well as a number of smaller mines in the area. The association agreed to pay government taxes of 25 percent of production, an amount reduced to 20 percent in 1837, 10 percent in 1850, and 3 percent in 1853.

The Imperial Brazilian set the general pattern which most of the subsequent British mining companies would follow for the next century. After issuing a call for investors, the company sent a group of Cornish miners to Gongo Soco with a commissioner to direct operations. This core of British miners and managers and their families established a small but vigorous settlement complete with Anglican chapel and parson. By the 1840s the company employed some two hundred Europeans who led a work force of more than five hundred slaves and two hundred free Brazilians. The company introduced the deep-shaft mining techniques of Cornwall and the latest milling processes. The cost of fuel and difficulties of transport prevented the use of steam engines, but the abundance of waterpower more than made up for the excessive costs of steam power. Water powered the stamping mills, grinding stones, and all the amalgamation equipment."

A handful of British Investors met In London In 1830 to organize the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company. These investors had signed a contract leasing the St John and San Jose mines in southern Minas Gerais (near the city of Sao Joao del Rei)for a period of up to twenty-five years. They immediately announced an offering of £ 50,000 in stock to finance ming operations in Minas Gerais. Within a month Herring and a group of Cornish miners were on the way to Brazil. Work began on improvements , however within a year Herring became disillusioned with the property, ownership problems and low-grade ore hampered the companys operations during the first two years. By mid 1832 Herring shout down operations and began to search for new mines.

Herring by 1833 began purchasing smaller mining properties in the region, including a small mine near the village of Congonhas de Sabara, and in 1834 the directors of the company authorized Charles Herring to purchase the Morro Velho mining estate for £ 56,434.00.

The mine occupied only a small portion of the Morro Velho estate. The Morro Velho mine actually consisted of a series of three mines paralleling each other as they descended into the same lode, these were the Bahu, Cachoeira, and the Gamba mines. Along with the small English crew Herring had brought some fifty slaves with him from the mines at Sao Joao del Rei. To this he added the 136 slaves belonging to the newly acquired estate.

Although the ore from the Morro Velho lode proved to be as good as or better than anticipated, the initial cost of renovating the mine proved greater than anticipated. More and more capital had to be funneled into the construction of sturdy aqueducts, stamping machinery, hauling equipment, milling works, and housing for Europeans and slaves. As improvements were mad the investment began to pay off. The company paid its first dividend to stockholders in 1842, and dividends would continue on a regular basis for the next quarter century. By the mid-1840s Herring had the mine running smoothly, the labor force expanded, (much of which was slave labor) as production increased, and the company's stock rose in value on the London Exchange.

With the expansion of operations, the company also acquired large numbers of slaves. During the 1830s and 1840's the company purchased slaves directly. Slave labor was cheaper than wage labor, but renting slaves proved cheaper still and after 1850 the majority of the labor force, numbering hundreds of enslaved individuals, was made up of rented slaves. The company rented slaves from two sources: large groups from failed mining companies and small groups from individuals. In the 1860s the company rented nearly one thousand slaves from three defunct mining companies. There was a constant turnover of hundreds of rented slaves from individuals in the surrounding region."

In 1843 the neighboring mine at Gongo Soco operated by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association, specifically, and British mines generally, attracted the ire of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society who protested publicly and, in their journal, the appalling conditions in the mines.

In 1845 the British Parliament passed the Aberdeen Act which, among other things, prohibited British citizens, regardless of residence, from purchasing slaves. Throughout the nineteenth century the British Foreign Office worked diligently to end slavery and the slave trade, and this act represented a major step in the struggle for abolition. The board of directors of the St. John Company lobbied successfully to include a provision allowing British citizens to keep slaves purchased before the passage of the law, and to strike a clause prohibiting the rental of slaves. Company slave holding would continue to expand and created enormous friction between the British firm and British diplomacy.

The St. John d'el Rey profited from the demise of British mining companies at Cata Branca, Cocaís, and Gongo Soco, hiring nearly 1000 slaves from companies failing in the 1840s and 1850s. With its renting policy, the St. John was able to hire slaves at the peak of their productive years and then discard them at no cost when they aged.

Owners of slaves were compensated for the loss of their slaves by death or injury under terms specified in the 1843 volume offered here, the case payments offered mainly to placate slave owners and keep up the constant flow of new slave rentals.

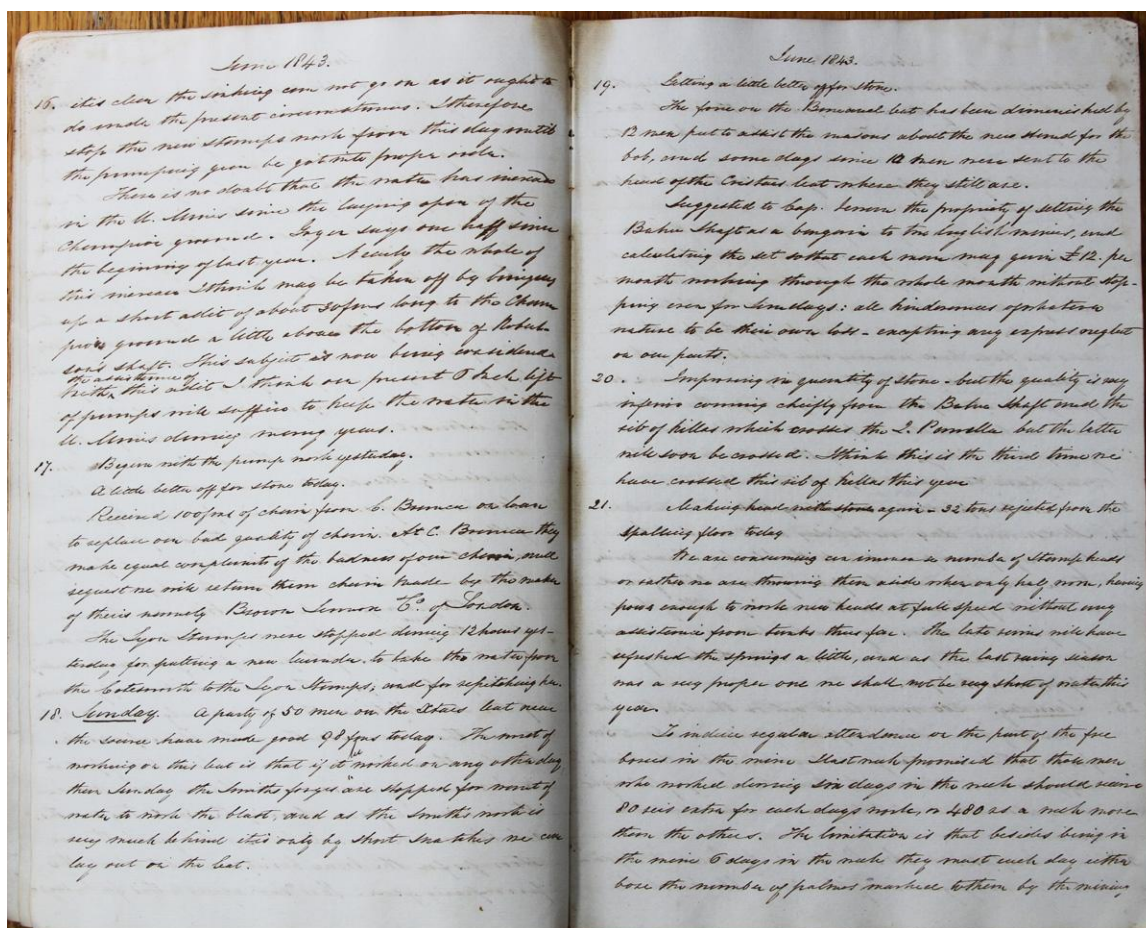
From the company's earliest days in Sao Joao del Rei the company had set up an elaborate system of rewarding "deserving" slaves with the "privilege" of emancipation. The process is detailed in the 1843 volume offered here. "Company blacks" received a special issue of clothing, a type of jacket, which they wore at fortnightly Sunday reviews (revistas) on the front lawn of the Casa Grande. Good behavior was rewarded with special stripes on their jackets and with medals. After a probationary period lasting from five to ten years the slave could be freed by the superintendent. Beginning in the 1850s, the directors set manumission "goals": to free ten slaves at Midsummer (St. John's Day), and another ten at Christmas. The company rarely met these goals in times of labor shortage.

Several factors motivated this emancipation process. One was the goal of incentivizing slaves with the reward of freedom for good, i.e. productive behavior. The desire to relieve the company of elderly, "unproductive" and infirm slaves was certainly another factor guiding manumission decisions. The decade long probationary period kept slaves at work for the company while younger and healthy.

The overwhelming predominance of slave labor began to decline in the 1870s and 1880s. This was due forces at work internationally and within Brazil. Abolitionist forces in Great Britain had been pressuring the Brazilian government for decades to end slavery and the slave trade. British diplomacy, backed by warships, effectively halted the Atlantic slave trade in the early 1850s.

The rising cost of hired slaves coincided with a decline in the number of company owned slaves. Death had reduced the company's slave force, but emancipation was another factor in the decline. The process of emancipation received a forceful push forward in 1879 by judicial action. Abolitionists publicized the case of the Cata Branca slaves, revealing that the company had failed to free these slaves in 1859 as the original 1845 rental contract had stipulated. Joaquim Nabuco denounced the St. John Company in the Brazilian parliament, and the English language press in Rio took up the cause. The British Foreign Office had pressured the St. John to free the slaves for years and now sided with Brazilian critics of the company. In 1882 Brazilian courts forced the company to free the remaining Cata Branca slaves and pay them back wages. Of the original 385 slaves rented from the Cata Branca mine, the company had freed 87, another 223 were freed by the courts, and the remainder had died. The St. John freed its last 28 slaves the same year.

James Newell Gordon, the mine superintendent from 1857-1876, (who kept the 1859-60 diary offered here), later hosted Richard Burton, the British explorer in Minas Gerais. Burton included his impressions of the St. John d'el Rey mine in his *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil*, published in 1869.



1843-1844 Superintendent's Diary

Sample Quotes, 1843-1844

"January 2, 1843

... Captain Verran put his men to work today and has commenced by bringing back the working hours to something like justice to the company as well as to the men. The hours for the English men, and blacks under ground, are from 6 A.M. to 9. From 9 to near 10 breakfast. From 10 to 4 ½ P.M. If the work be finished before this time, they may leave as soon as it is finished. The quantity of work required is that each pair "of two blacks" bore 81 inches in fair average lodestone. If the hole has to be bored in harder stone, proportionate deduction will be made from the 81 inches. From 10 till 4 ½ no meal time allowed, nor any man either Englishman or black to come out of the mine. The Englishmen to be the last men in coming out of the mine. The sumpmen and timber men to come on the mine and leave it with the captains, which will relieve the day corps at surface, and the day corps return the compliment in the morning. One second captain to go by day, the other by night which Verran says is indispensable though since Bennett left, there has been no captain by night. These arrangements which are for the greater mass of the mining corps, very similar to those agreed upon between myself and Prideaux on the 5th Oct^r 1838, will correct the abuses since introduced. These abuses are first, that Prideaux from the very date that he agreed there should be no dinner hour allowed between breakfast time, and the time for knocking off work at 4 o'clock p.m. instead of 5 p.m. as used to be the case, has allowed the Englishmen to come one or two at a time "to take a little luncheon:", which little luncheon occupies nearly an hour. Thus having made me really instrumental to defrauding the company of one hour of the 14reek14d14e14's time each day – this I told Prideaux today. I am very culpable for not having detected this abuse before, but not seeing the men come up in a body "to take this little luncheon" is the reason I have not detected it, and moreover I have only been on the establishment 19 months during the last 4 years. Abuse the second is that within the last two years the miners both whites, and blacks have knocked off work before 4 o'clock p.m. consequently there has been less work done during the regular hours than ought to have been done. This has begot an immense quantity of overtime for the miners. ... for the last b6 months of 1839 the amount of English mine overtime was £51. 3. 5 in 1840 it was £ 90.6.5. in 1841 £ 302. 17.7. and up to the end of November 1842 £ 429.18.3. ... what I contend is, that had the company's hours been regularly kept, there could not have been time for so much overtime. This abuse has also led to overtime boring in the mine by the blacks, the necessity for which would have been spared, at least in part, had they been kept in the mine the full regular time. The correction of these abuses will bring a little ill will on Verran , but as the men know I will support him, they have today submitted very quietly, and now feel glad they get off so easily, as they had taken up the idea I was going to work them 12 hours corps, instead of 9 ½."

"3 ... I, on new years day, got a promise of 3 english miners from C. Branca, and 6 miners from Gongo, in case of any strike amongst my men here – a subject which had been mooted by some of them. But I hold Prideaux's family party pretty tight, since they have about £ 1300 in the company's hands. They have made more overtime than any other men excepting J. Walker."

"5 All the Smiths have been working for several days for the mine only, and there is still a good deal deal of work to be done by them for the mine. Several freemen and blacks prevented from boring their full task for want of bogers. Short supply of charcoal. Cap. Verron pleased with the labour of the blacks in the mine and the superintendence of the Englishman. I have told him to reward those blacks who do good during the week with 150 reis each, and from that downwards in proportion to the diligence they evince. This system introduced several years since, and found it advantageous; but the captains finding it troublesome, and not being very ready with the pen allowed it to become a dead letter. If proper attention be paid in rewarding only the really diligent I am of opinion we shall get the full number of inches bored during the regular hours say 81 inches which is enough for any two blacks to bore during the day. This will avoid the necessity for overtime, which involves also an additional expenditure

of powder and candles. The holes are now actually measured by Verran and his under captains at irregular times which never used to be done before, and if the last hole is not down in time the blacks are sent down again to complete it, at overtime, without pay. Two cases occurred yesterday – one today.”

“13 Consumption of charcoal increasing very much. 25 mule loads used to be sufficient for the establishment – now 29 loads are not enough to keep the forges at work. Verran is getting more work out of his Smiths at the mine. Ordered in 35 mule loads daily.

Agreed to the wood land of Joaquin Hippolito for Rs 400/000. It contains 280 trees of 3 ft circumference – good quality, besides a large quantity of charcoal ground. It is not distant more than 1 league from Moro Velho. It must be a principle followed up, to go on quietly purchasing every bit of woodland in the neighborhood, as it offers.”

“14 Capt. Pengilly at the mine tonight until mid night. The first time ever such a thing happened as a mining Captain keeping Saturday nights corps at Moro Velho. This is the establishment where the practice of working Saturday nights has been kept up constantly. The English miners in charge of the blacks are allowed overtime for this night, because on other establishments all mine, and mechanics work ceases at 3 P.M.”

“25 ... Received a letter from Mr. Richards yesterday with 7 blacks he has hired at 100//00 per an. He expected to obtain 10 or 12 more at Cocaes” and was continuing his search for more.”

“29. Sunday. Mr. Champion started for C. Branca to fetch the money per return gold troop. Received an offer yesterday evening from Mr. Harding of the fine 40 feet wheel which is at Conceicao. Price to be agreed on between us. If it can be brought here in carts it will save us a good deal of labour and time. It will work 40 stamp heads. It is 4 feet in breast – is the noblest wheel in this country, and was built by John Hambly whom I engaged from C. Branca.”

“30. ... José Coelho accused of robbing the mine office of candles and “sestil”. The evidence is certainly very strong against him, but not sufficiently so as to enable me positively to convict him. This black by persevering in good conduct would become free in two years according to a promise made him eight years ago. I have suspended him from his functions as Feitor.

Mr. Richards returned. He has not been able to hire one black though he has done every thing that could be done. Several parties to whom he applied observed that they were surprised English men should apply for blacks when they would not allow them to come into the country. Mr. Richards says he has the promise of five hired carts.

Four cases of small pox in one house in the village. This is traced to Bella Fama. No doubt it will now spread rapidly and scourge the place as it has done every other in the neighborhood.”

February 1843

“5. Sunday Mr Duval started for Matteus Leme and San Joao del Rey to look for hired blacks for our surface works ...”

“12 Sunday ... 50 blacks employed at making a search for the fallerios who promised to come next Thursday. Misfortunes never come single ‘tis said. This evening the Susanna fell fairly to pieces; but

every thing is ready to begin building the new wheel tomorrow morning. The axle of the home stamps has also broken in tow; so here are 12 heads idle, a contingency which was not foreseen."

"15 Purchased two very fine Jacuarie women belonging to the Lazes for Rs1000//000 @ 3 mos and 36//000 ready money. These women were offered and as we know them to be good women, who have worked here before I did not like to allow the opportunity to pass. Mr. Alston and Mr. Robertson arrived from C. Branca."

March 1843

"11 ... A very fine comet in the west at 7 ½ p.m. Its head 15° above the horizon, throwing its tail directly up to within about 10° of the Zenith. Breadth of tail to the eye about 2 feet Color white like the tail of a white horse. This comet has been an object of terror to our blacks, and Brazilians ever since Monday evening, when it appears to have been first seen. The Brazilian carpenters have been busy making wooden crosses to conjure this terrible sign in the heavens. I saw it for the first time on Wednesday but so distorted by refraction that its true nature did not occur to me; but to night it is beautifully distinct. Its head is among a little cluster of stars of the third magnitude."

"18 Mr. Smyth gone on a visit to Gongo. Took charge of his department."

"19. Sunday Mr. José Maria da Cunha Porto's 10 blacks withdrawn today. He asks 120//000 pr. An. which I have not acceded to."

"28 ... Wrote to Dr. Thomas Figueredo of Cocues to know whether he has any blacks to dispose of."

April 1843

"3 T. Burell pitched to work to day. On Saturday a large party of nine blacks and English miners cleared up, and enlarged 350 fathoms of the cristues leat. The fallerios have some very tight ground to get through in making the platform for the new piece of leat. The Bahu sump commenced sinking again for the first time this year. ... I have made application for the hire of 30 blacks belonging to James Clarke who was formerly in the employ of this company."

8. Sixty three blacks from the mine on the new piece of rego today. They have made about 100 fathoms of platform 9 feet wide to cut the rego ..."

"10 All the night blacks on the leat this morning. With only a little additional force we should complete the whole leat. In my letter I said nothing about the wages of the carpenters required by last post. I should say £ 9 pr mth. Was enough."

"13 Arranged some law business respecting Joseph James, with the company's lawyer in Sabara, and got one of our good free laborers exempted from the militia service by applying to the Barao de Sabara who has before done me a similar service."

"15 A large party of blacks and a few Englishmen on overtime cutting platform on the new piece of rego. The good half of the work for the new piece of rego of about 400 fathoms is now done. The platform is nearly completed which is the heaviest part of the job. This being a holiday the people are on over time – for the first time on the rego – and if Verron manages to contribute one day of every week with a good part of his mine force the whole rego, new, and old parts will be done by the time

the new 12 head stamps are ready: At least Verron thinks so. We shall not have force to erect the bridge across the brook until the new stamps be completed. It will be a tremendously high bridge of some 80 feet but certainly the most favorable spot for erecting it has been selected."

"17 The night blacks on the leat during the morning. The Englishmen very seedy this morning after their holiday feasting.

Three Cata Bronca men who came here to engage decline doing. I suppose they have heard such dreadful accounts from our men of how much they are over worked – working 9 ½ hours every day on account of salary. I know this is the feeling among our miners. Yet these same men last year could work between salary hours and overtime 12 to 14 hours a day. Where there is much overtime the company must be wronged in some way. The same quality of work is done during the salary hours, or it is not done during the overtime hours, or both these inconveniences are felt."

"21. Ten C. Branca miners who came over here to look for engagements (being off their own establishment) were detained from doing so by the representations of some of our own miners who advised them not to engage because Cap. Verran was a hard task master. This cancels the arrangements of those men who did make these representations but we are not yet prepared to lose men by cancelling agreements. Edwards, Hitchins, Dunstone, Carey and one or two others will be was soon as we find ourselves a little more free. Edwards I do not think can be retained he put every impediment he can in the way of sinking the Bahu sump."

"25 Purchased of Mr. Peixoto two male blacks for Rs 1200//000 for bills on Rio, and hired of him for one year, two others, for 200//000 paid in advance."

May 1843

"6 ... Two blacks belonging to the Moro das Almas company, females, have been transferred to the del Rey company for Rs 700//000 the two. They are inferior and for this reason were not purchased before. They are now improved in health, but one is already of a "certain age." A case of small pox having appeared in the hospital we have had the patient removed to the house in the village which I had rented for such an event occurring."

"7 Sunday Part of the roof of the carpenter's shop fell in. I hope the remainder will stand until our new stamps get to work, otherwise we shall be in a mess. Had this accident happened on any other day we should have had various legs, arms and heads broken.

The Summary of the Station List is an unsatisfactory document. The Europeans being engaged and by the month and the Natives by the week, and the overtime of the blacks being paid weekly, no good compensation can be made. To reduce the times and payments to equal periods would cause a labour which the summary is not worth. Luis Carriero, company's black died today of fever. A little black child also died this day."

"11 Mr. Capiten Lourencao called to make an offer to hire 16 blacks at the usual price; but with the condition that when sick he should treat them himself I made no objection to this, and agreed to take them. It appears he doctors all his blacks, for any illness with Leroy a French purgative of great repute in this country.

Received notice from Mr. Modes of Cocues that he should withdraw his blacks at the expiration of the agreement. ...”

“14 Sunday Received a letter from Mr. Richards reporting the state of his negotiation with Mr. Alves. Wrote him to do the best he could. From what he says I expect he will bring in with him some 84 blacks.”

“18 Mr. Richards returned from Bremuado having engaged 75 blacks. ...”

“22 ... Had a meeting with the free bores who have, some of them been dissatisfied with my new mode of valuing their work. Now all those men who worked regularly during the last week earned very good wages 550 to 650 a day, whereas if they had been on day work they would have received at the outside 520 reis a day, and that by working 6 days in the week for if they worked less than 6 days, their pay was only 480 rs the increases of 40 rs per day being only a premium for regular attendance. But in consequence of the system introduced some 18 months since of paying 60 or 80 for every 9 inches based in all qualities of ground very great irregularity in the attendance of the borers is observed ...

23. ... I omitted to mention that on the 19th a very fine black, Raymondo, was killed on the spot in the Gamba mine by a stone during the blasting in the sump shaft. The Englishman had fired the hole and had retired as he thought out of the reach of any stone reaching him, but this black who stood just behind him was struck under the right ear by a stone which must have glanced from the wall of the lode and killed him on the instant.”

“27 ... Mr. Richards started for Brumeado with three contos of reis to fetch the 75 blacks he agreed for a few days since.”

“30 Mr. Champion arrived with the money from Rio but the troop was unable to get in though eight mules were sent in to meet it at 9 o'clock this morning. Mr. Richards arrived with 77 blacks from Brumado. They came in in capital order and spirits though they started from Gongo this morning. They are a good healthful looking body of people. Discovered an old working in making the platform for the new Bananal rego, just behind our mine to the west.”

June 1843

“1 Put all the newly arrived blacks on the Bananal leat to make platform, where they have done a good job today. Next week 34 will be put to work in the mine, when clothes will be ready for them. These blacks are very dirty and very badly clad. I have had a general washing of them. ... “

“5 Whitsunday. 240 blacks, and several Englishmen laid along the old Cristaes leat to enlarge it. 548 fms have been done today. The smiths not working today the only inconvenience by stopping the ... water is the 5 head stamps standing idle. Fifteen smiths employed at the mine forges to mend tools and a dozen men employed putting timber in the Gomba shaft. All this work is on overtime, today being a holiday.... In all about 983 fms of the Cristaes leat have been enlarged.”

“6 One of the finest of the blacks of Snr Joao Alves only arrived last week, died this morning of fever. I never felt more hurt at the death of any black for it really would appear that we augment our numbers of hired blacks to get rid of them. There is no fault anywhere that I am aware of, but the fact of inducing

people to hire their blacks with great difficulty to us and vindicating ourselves as well as we can from the charge of insalubrity, and at once to begin by burying one of these blacks is very perplexing. So fearful was I of these blacks taking cold that I would not allow any of them to be put in the mine until suitable clothing was prepared for them – nor had one been in the mine until today, and the weather has been remarkably fine, and steady since these blacks arrived. But be the predisposing cause what it may, I really do feel ashamed at so inauspicious a commencement, and so injurious an effect do I conceive that such a commencement may produce among the owners of hired blacks, that I decide on making the company bear the loss of the value of the black. We are very much dependent on this kind of force, and it must be returned at some sacrifice. I feel quite concerned that did we manage to preserve the health of the hired blacks as well as the average of Brasilians do, we should succeed in having constantly at Moro Velho a large amount of this kind of force. Mr. Monach informs me that another of these blacks is dangerously ill. Certainly the blacks came here very badly clad, and the change of climate to a black is always trying.”

“14 ... Received from Snr. Joao Alves a reply to my letter announcing the death of two of his blacks for one of whom I stated that I would pay him Rs 600//000 in consideration that the black had not been sent early enough to the hospital to be treated – thus throwing the blame of negligence on the establishment. He seems very much pleased at this mode of proceeding.”

“16 I have one objective to make to part of this reasoning namely that 30 more blacks have been put into the mine within the last fortnight. In answer to this it is urged that their total ignorance of boring, and the consequent trouble and time required on the part of their superiors in putting them right at least diminishes their value by one half their number while the mine sick list has been heavier of late than usual. Certain it is that there is a concurrence of untoward circumstances for the moment to prevent an abundant supply of stone. ...”

“22 ... There are many cases of small pox now in the village – this disease has spread very much of late in this neighborhood nor does vaccination appear to afford much resistance to it. Many take it who have been vaccinated but I believe they are milder cases though I see no proofs of this, for the two cases we have had among our blacks were of the confluent kind. It is astonishing we remain so free from its influence, but perhaps the watchmen we have had posted to prevent our blacks from going to the village during the last six months may have tended to keep us tolerably free.”

“24 Midsummer day no holiday as it used to be. By way of compensation to the blacks I have given them an immense bonfire of some 3 tons of wood and lots of fireworks in the evening. They have enjoyed themselves very much dancing, and singing, and making such a noise that the horn of Astolfo was nothing to it.”

“26 Despatched Mr. Richards to Cocaes to renegotiate the reengagement of the Cocaes blacks at the expiration of the present agreement. It has occurred to me that one of the principal difficulties we have to encounter in the obtaining hired blacks being the apprehension their owners entertain of the climate of Moro Velho, or of our management of the blacks, it may be expedient for the company to insure the lives of the blacks, and I have given Mr. Richards directions to this effect in the form of distinct proposals. The one is that the company will agree to make good to the owner Rs 600//000 for every black that dies above 3% per annum – the first 3% of deaths being the owners loss and all above this number the company's loss. The second proposal is that the company the lives of the blacks for 4 % of their average value whatever this may be estimated under Rs 700//000 each – the company to receive from the owners annually 4% of the estimated value of the blacks and to pay for every death

the value of one black. I should think that one, or the other proposal would be acceptable to the owners of blacks, and meet the difficulty we encounter. I do not think we shall either gain or lose by the one or the other proposal being accepted for it does not appear that we lose of blacks already acclimated more than 2 ½ % or 3 % per annum the blacks being such as we would consent to hire and it is only from year to year that the agreement holds good. ...

Capitao Louernco who promised to hire to the company some 20 blacks, in six weeks back called to day. He promises next week to bring the blacks. To facilitate his arrangements in breaking up his fazenda I have promised to take his milho ... at one milreis....

... the rebellion of last year has been of service to the company, for the blacks of Mr. Macques, those of Cocaes, of Snr. Alves, and of Mr. Louernco come here principally in consequence of the disturbances – the owners not feeling themselves so easy in their residences as formerly. A great many enmities have sprung up in the country, and the weaker party are gradually skulking off. ...”

“27 Several of our free labourers have left and gone to join Riddlington’s establishment at Raposas 2 leagues distant where they get 440 reis a day and their food. Three have left this week notwithstanding that they can earn here, better, easily 680 reis a day. ...

July 1843

“4 ... Received a letter from Mr. Richards informing me that he had succeeded in reengaging 31 of the Cocaes blacks at 100//000 each for one year from the time of the expiration of their present agreement. The other 12 are to remain at 100//000 but for no limited period their owner declining to fix any term under my consideration. ...

There is a mine at Ginceo one league from this abandoned for many years which enriched two proprietors, and may be had for one or two contos of reis that I should like to try one of these days. The company ought to keep an eye on this spot.”

“6 Offered a premium to Englishmen and Blacks for next Sundays work. If they bring home 1000 cubic feet water per minute along the enlarged cristaes sego each Englishman to have double overtime, and each black, overtime and a half.”

“8 ...Wrote to Snr. Paulo Santos of Ouro Preto to have the kindness to write to his brother in Rio, to induce some of these people to take charge of our goods. Snr. Paulo Santos’ brother has a good deal of influence among these people. We must now await the result of these measures. The inconvenience caused by this combination, if combination it be, among the tropeiros is very great. To put a troop of our own on the road would lead to immense expense, and it would be always out of order.

Capitao Lourenco arrived with 18 male blacks and 5 female blacks on hire on the usual terms. No agreement to be made until the hire of 4 of these blacks who are smiths can be settled by first proving their work. These 25 blacks are better clad, and in better condition altogether than any blacks on hire I have ever seen.”

“22 ... Mr. Morgan says the report about the country respecting the Moro Velho produce is that our new captain is taking out only the richest part of the lode. I tell him that those persons who may have sold their Moro Velho shares ... will have cause to bite their fingers.”

"29 Snr Macques called to say that he would renew the engagement for his blacks for another year provided I would agree to insert a clause in the agreement that they should not work in the mine. To this I gave a decided negative for no doubt any owner of hired blacks would soon insist on a similar privilege. He said that at the expiration of the present agreement he should withdraw his blacks. I do not think he will do any such thing – for his blacks have been remarkably healthy ever since they have been here nor have they met with any accidents in the mine beyond a bruised toe, or so; and at the same time he states that his blacks say they are very well treated, and satisfied with their position here."

August 1843

"3 ... Padre Domingo de Almeida Bastos arrived with his father, recommended by Mr. W. Morgan. I have been for some time making enquiries for a Padre to fill the situation of chaplain to our black force, which I consider with our large number of blacks will conduce to the well being of the establishment. The terms I offer are 4000//000 per annum, and a house to dwell in free of rent. The leader of our village, who died about two months since, was a great drunkard; and the one who fills his place for the time being is a greater drunkard still. After receiving the last quarters pay of the company, 15"000, he was not sober for three weeks. If I arrange with Padre Domingo it will be for a trial of a few months, as the thing is quite new to both of us. What I want is a good, conscientious man who will enter into the interests of the company by keeping watch over the morals of the blacks, and giving them good advice. It is my opinion, also, that if the Gongo Padre had properly, and conscientiously discharged his duties towards his flock, the rising of those blacks would never have taken place, so unexpectedly as it did to Mr. Crockitt. Padre Domingos is quite a young man of about 25 years of age and perhaps this may be an advantage, if he is tractable."

"13. Sunday. The black "Tito" this morning at 5 o'clock fell 5 fms down the Bahu mine. He was occupied about some timber work which could not be done during the week days in consequence of the constant hauling kibble. He fell on his head, and is of course in a dangerous state."

"14 Tito out of danger – lucky for him he fell on his head which is the strongest part of any black."

September 1843

"2 ... A very bad accident happened to a black working in the Bahu shaft this morning – a borer, from nobody knows where, slid down the inclined shaft, and struck him in the back, and fixed itself 6 inches in his back, breaking two of his ribs. He will probably die."

"4 ... Another accident today - a broken arm – in consequence of a boger falling from surface down the mine. There was another, also, a few days since of a toe cut off by a free man throwing bogers over the stopes. So many accidents have occurred during the last few months and which are not at all to be attributed to the increased depth of the mines, or to want of proper mechanical arrangements, that I come very clearly to the conclusion that they have arisen from want of proper order being preserved among the workmen themselves, and this I have told Verron. The broken arm today, also, is the more provoking that it has occurred to one of Snr. Macques's blacks the slave owner who some little time since gave us notice that he would withdraw his blacks unless we consented to indemnify him for any black lost in the mine.

The black who had a boger run into him on the 2nd Inst, is I am happy to say doing well. This accident, also, happened, it now turns out, in consequence of most unpardonable carelessness – the black whose duty it was to attend to the safety door fell asleep at his post. – It is a great misfortune that Verron cannot speak the language; his orders are only faintly communicated at second hand by the under captains. I shall now have an accident book kept at the mine in which the causes of each accident shall be stated and signed by the under captain of the station where it may occur.”

“7 The Black who was wounded in the back by the boger on the 2nd Inst. died today I regret to say. He was a very fine black.”

“23 I have great hopes of being able to effect the establishment of a colony of free Brasilians in the neighborhood of the charcoal grounds. A good deal of our charcoal is made on ... piece work and an industrious man can earn from three to five milreis a week this way. The free falleiros who have been working here during the last six months having been steady at their work, and well conducted, it occurred to me that they might be induced to remove from Sta Lusie (7 leagues distant) with their families, and establish themselves on the company's property. I have put the matter to them. They have made enquiries of several of the charcoal labourers, and they feel satisfied that working by the piece they can earn sufficient money. This is the main point. Then I offer to erect houses, or cottages for them, and to give to each family a piece of ground for planting feijoa &c &c There are two parties of falleiros each with a headman. One of them told me last night that he ... was sure get together twenty men to settle here from Sta Luzia...”

“24 Sunday ... The Blacks this day recommenced their attendance at Missa performed by the company's chaplain. They looked remarkably well walking in double file, with their clean white dresses, and red Glengary caps. ...”

“27 ... The title to Thome Carvalhos woods was made out today. Paid Mr Joao Alves his slave hire and the 600//000 for the value of his black who died soon after his arrival here.”

October 1843

“7 Holiday on the occasion of the christening of the new 12 head Cotesworth stamps. At ½ past 2 p.m. she was started each head giving 74 blows or minute the wheel flooded with water ...

After the christening all the English portion of the establishment men, women and children sat down to dinner at the spalling floor some 80 persons in all. The table was very nicely laid out, and on the upper tram road which surrounds the floor the blacks were marshalled in their clean uniforms, so that altogether the coup d'oeil was a very happy one. The blacks behaved very well until the dinner was well advanced, when their “vivas” became so very frequent, and noisy that we were at length glad to get rid of them, and they received the remains of the feast. They were happy enough for they had already had the christening “drappie”. They had their bonfire and fireworks in the evening and danced like mad people as all blacks do. The dinner went off uncommonly well, every body appeared to enjoy himself. The toasts were well responded to – the health of the Directors who by patience and perseverance, and in spite of losses had after 14 years of trial, succeeded in 1843 in bringing the concern into a most successful position, was drunk with right good will, and all the honours....”

November 1843

"1 Had more driving to cut the suck which is not effected, and all but drowned a black. Three blacks got so excited about the work, or there was so much emulation between them that one of them Marimiano, remained under water so long that he became completely exhausted, and had not one of the miners seized him by the shirt as he just reached the surface he would have drowned. ..."

"4 ... Received a letter from the Treasurers of the public hospital of Sabara requesting me to dispose of twelve tickets of the lottery got up in aid of the same. As the principal treasurer the Barrao of Sabara has frequently conferred favors on the establishment in getting our free labourers exonerated from the recruiting service, I thought it well to take six tickets of Rs 10//000 each for the company, which goes into the cash as charity."

"14 A sad accident happened today in the mine to W. Bray, one of the miners from C. Branca. He was in the act of charging a hole. When the candle fell from his hat into powder band which exploded and in so doing fired the hole, on which he was standing. He is dreadfully mangled and there is little chance of his life being saved. One of his legs has to be amputated. Two blacks who were standing near him at the time, but fortunately behind the hole are slightly burnt. A similar accident never occurred here before. There is no doubt the poor sufferer was not so careful as he ought to have been in having the powder barrel so near to him. He was a very fine young man, very powerful and well conducted."

"15 Poor William Bray died at 9 A.M. All work was stopped at 2 o'clock, and his mortal remains were consigned to their long resting place at 6 P.M. ... A new burial ground was opened on the summit of the hill of Salvados, which is in the heart of the establishment. This morning all the carpenters were set to work to make a railing to enclose the burial ground, and a large party of men to clear it and make a road. About 100 blacks in their Sunday suits accompanied the funeral procession. I am glad that I have succeeded in establishing a new burial ground, for the old one is at Bella Ferma, two miles off; and a disreputable looking place it is – but the Englishmen would always have their dead buried there because an English clergyman has once performed the burial service there. My family was present at the ceremony, and as a desire is shewn of making the burial ground a neat place the men are quite reconciled and were pleased with the change. But this has been a very melancholy day."

"18 ... Post only arrived this morning. The Jornal do Commercio of the 2nd Inst contains the Lei do Orcamento passed during the last session. In allusion to duties on mining it only say "Importos sobre mineracao," nothing more. So we are as completely out of sight as any other company. The thing is for us not to do or say any thing which may bring the subject forward – to let well alone – Should any thing ever occur to make an reduced duty a subject of open question, it will then be time enough to bring in a private bill..."

December 1843

"3 Sunday M. Lourenco Lenoir arrived to offer his fourteen blacks for hire for a term of years."

"11 ... I have the falleiros party repairing roads on the Gongo side of the village. If the Richard Luke, Smith, is the same man who recently left Gongo, and whom I regretted not having engaged because he bore a good character from that establishment, I shall be sorry, for Mr. Crickitt has since told me that he is a troublesome man, I believe in consequence of his being frequently sick."

"12 Very short of free borers in the mine only 18 out of 30 present, and those working very slack – they say it is holiday time, and some it appears are in dread of the recruiting parties."

"23 ... Received Conte Castleman, Viscomte d'Ossey, and Doctor Weddell – gentlemen travelling in Brazil on account of the French government. It is a botanic expedition principally I believe ..."

"27 ... The French gentlemen left for Sabara.

The President in his address to the Provincial Assembly, says that foreigners are taking all the gold out of the mines, merely giving in return for Brasilians condescendence and ... some ten per cent; while the Brasilians are driven back on the iron mines, to work which numerous forests are destroyed. He goes on to suggest that the Provincial Assembly itself should become shareholders, and go on working mines on its own account...."

January 1844

"1 No holiday. The French party returned from Sabara to say adieu. Mr. Richards started for the Morro de Fraga to bring in 14 hired blacks. Mr. Champion started for C. Branca. Count Castleman for Sabara, and two of his companions for Gongo ..."

"26 ... Received a letter from the agents of the Condonga Mining Company offering to hire their twenty blacks for six months for 10//000 pr month for each male and 7//000 for each female – this company feeding and clothing, and if withdrawn at the end of six months to provide them with an escort to Rio. I have declined this offer, and have offered to take the blacks on the usual terms of hire but declining altogether providing any escort to Rio in case of need. But stating that I should be ready to enter into any fair and equitable arrangements at the end of the six months for continuing the hire for any period of years should the agents feel inclined to do so."

February 1844

"1 Four English Smiths sick and one carpenter. A sad accident has happened to one of the tramming women. One of the pieces of timber supporting the tram road at the Bahu shaft gave way from positive rottenness – the road fell, the cart fell on her leg which it has broken, and smashed the pelvis. The poor creature suffers dreadfully, and must die. It is to be hoped she may not survive long."

"18 Sunday The mortal remains of Mr. Crichett were consigned to their last resting place at 4 ½ P.M. All the Europeans of this establishment, with some twenty Europeans from Gongo, and several Brasilians including our own Padre attend the funeral. Nearly all our black force cleanly dressed attended. In the death of Mr. Crichitt, many, and many a man has lost a kind hearted, and considerate friend – his own company a zealous servant, and every company in this country a correspondent ever willing, and anxious to render assistance. He was universally beloved by the Brasilians.... About 42 of the Gongo blacks arrived after the funeral was over. Their Feitor Snr. Liberato says it was with difficulty that the whole of the blacks were prevented from coming so anxious were they to attend the funeral."

"19 The Gongo miners and male blacks returned, the black women remain until tomorrow. Mr. Herwood, Mr. Alcock, Mr. Alston, Cap. Blarney and the other captains, also, left. ..."

"21 Received a letter from Messr Sally Co. of Rio promising to let me have the 20 Condonge blacks on the usual terms for 6 months when they leave Condonge, and to make arrangements for their

remaining hired here for a longer period. They ask me what terms I offer. I shall say that only on view of the blacks can I make an offer for a longer period of hire.

Some days ago Snr Joao Alvares of Brumado wrote to say that he intended to withdraw his blacks at the expiration of the year – the end of May. But he offered to allow them to remain until December next if I would advance him 3 contos of reis. This offer I wrote to decline, and proposed to advance the 3 contos if the blacks should be allowed to remain for another year. This sharmishing is just a trial of strength, for if I ever give way to Snr. Alves it will become the rule for all other slave owners. I do not expect to lose the 47 blacks if Snr. Alvares, though it may be so.”

“23 Received a reply from Snr. Joao Alvares saying that he does not accede to my proposal. This is all sparring for he tells me he can hire them to the Cocaes company on more favorable terms: but I should like to see him get 3 contos of reis advanced by that company.”

“26 Thomas Hancock started for England: he calls at C. Branca to take John Cornish with him to England, if he be ready to go. Jno. Morley accompanies Hancock to Rio and then returns. ...

Mr. Alston arrived with the Gongo gold troop escorted by five Europeans on their way to England. This is contrary to our regulations and Mr. Herwood is perfectly aware of it. If it were not contrary to them I should have sent Hancock and J. Cornish down by the troop and there would have been a fine cavalry regiment. Mr. Hernwood knows that this style of proceeding is likely to lead to the breaking up of the union of the three companies in carrying each others gold to Rio, for he was told so by Mr. Crichitt and myself 3 days previous to Mr. Crichitt's decease.”

“27 Gold troop started on its way with our gold. Snr. Alves' agent called to receive the 3 months hire of his blacks, and to receive the 3 contos reis, if I acceded to his proposed – which I have not done. I shall get the blacks yet for another year I think. ...”

March 1844

“2 With the Gongo gold troop arrived five Europeans on their way to England. Two of these were Moro das Almas men with good characters from Gongo where they have worked since they left M. das Almas. They applied for work, and I have taken them for 3 years at £ 8 p. mo. no passage except to Rio at the end of their term. Their names are Joseph Grofsteiner, and George Nieschattan one is a miner the other a stampsman, but who will set a miner free from the stamps, so that our mining force will make the acquisition of two men. They pitched to work today.”

“15 ... A serious accident happened today to a black in the Gamba mine in consequence of, it is stated by Cap. Verran the “pin” in one of the couplings breaking, and letting the kibble down on the man in question. This “pin” also is stated to be one belonging to our London chain, that is to Hawkes and Hennleys chains. ... The man is in a very dangerous state, A “pin” of Hawkes and Henleys chain has broken in the Cotesworth shaft and let down the kibble fortunately without accident”

“16 The poor Black expired during the course of the night ... the superintendence of our chains is evidently defective, and must be differently ordered. I have now suggested the following arrangement that every Sunday four Englishmen shall have the chains hauled to the surface and examine every link, and “coupling” of every chain in every shaft in the three mines. ...

Tomorrow the 17th we recommence our church service. The room is very neat – is 30 ft by 18 ft and 12 ½ feet high. Benches covered with blue baize serve for the seats – the reading table and desk are covered with crimson cloth. The service to commence at ½ past 10 precisely. Singing is to be introduced by the Cornishmen – this is the great attraction for them, nor would any service without this accompaniment succeed for any length of time as experience has proved on more than one establishment. They are great psalm singers they sing psalms in church and nothing but psalms... whether merry, sad, or fighting, they sing psalms. At a presbyterian meeting at the house of one of the men the other evening, they sang fourteen verses of a psalm without stopping, which they considered a very great feat, and so it was. ... I now attribute Cap. Cotesworth's failure at C. Branca in introducing divine service to the absence of singing – the same here five years ago, and I am informed that the service at Gongo never flourished until the singing was introduced..."

"19 ... Received letter from Snr. Jose Maria da Cunha Porto notifying that he shall withdraw his blacks at the end of December next. Now this after having advised me in February that the blacks should be continued for another year from the 1st June next. He frames an excuse which is by no means valid, and his present notice, is also, served too late, being within the three last months of the present contract. This gentleman is the brother of Snr. Joao Alvares, and he has 26 blacks here."

"24 Mr. Richards returned today from Brumado. The blacks of Mr. Joao Alvares, less 4 men and 2 women are to remain here for another year in consideration of an advance of Rs 3000//000 on the first day of May Also Snr Jose Maria da Cunha Posto's blacks remain for another year. So this set of blacks is settled for. I am now informed that some of the Cocaes blacks are likely to be withdrawn. We shall see. The retaining and obtaining of force requires constant watchfulness."

April 1844

"2 Four Cornishmen just arrived from England on speculation offered their services this morning. I cannot give them a berth as I have six men on the way out. I have offered to employ them for 2 months. ..."

"17 Mr. Smyth returned having finished all his disagreeable duties at Gongo where there is a spirit of rancorous hatred fastened against Mr. Crickitt that is impossible to conceive, excepting that his private letter book with the Board has been read by the managers to the officers, which is the fact."

"May 1844

"8 ... On the 4th I freed two very old blacks of the company One has done no work for several years – the other does very little."

June 1844

"1 Spalled W. Goulton Five Pounds for using mutinous language at an investigation carried on by Mr. Richards at the mine office respecting one of the English miners who had struck a black in the mine. The English miner himself Johns, was spalled 10/ for the offence."

"17 A sad accident happened to one of the hired blacks in the mine this night. The kibble at Rousa's shaft lodged on descending and subsequently falling down fell on the poor fellow and has wounded him very severely on the head. The Doctor however has hopes of saving his life...."

"22 ... Snr Marques who has 14 blacks here, applied personally today for an advance of Rs 800// after some conversation I agreed to lend him the money to be returned at the end of this year with out interest. I thought it policy to do this – he is a very respectable man – resides close by us, and is certainly connected among the slave owners."

July 1844

"1 Received notice from Cocaes that two of their blacks are to be recalled, and had an offer of six good blacks to take on hire for a term of years."

"13 Lost a very nice black woman belonging to Snr. Capitaou Louenco from some unaccountable pain in the head. On a post mortem examination appears there existed some tumour at the base of the brain."

August 1844

"5 Padre Domingos shewed me a letter from the Bishop of Marcianna ordering his presence at the Bishopric to take charge of a seminary there under his guidance. I am sorry to lose the little Padre for he is attentive and quiet and liked by the blacks. I shall have some difficulty in finding another padre occupy his place – there is no want of padres, but there is a great dearth of commonly decent ones among whom to choose. ... "

"8 ... Another black girl died to night in consequence of giving birth to a dead child some days since..."

"9 ... Snr Antonio Alves da Silva of Pitangui who is desperately fond of mining works passed this day here to visit the establishment. I managed to get him down to the bottom of the East Cachoeira mine very much against his own wish. He is only the second Brazilian who ever mustered up sufficient courage to enter any part of the mine. Capitaou Louenco went through every part with me last year."

"21 Received a letter from Donna Julia Amalia of Cocaes requesting that her 13 blacks may be allowed to withdraw next November. This notice ought to have been given last June inconformity with the terms of the contract of hire – not having been so given the blacks are to remain here another year."

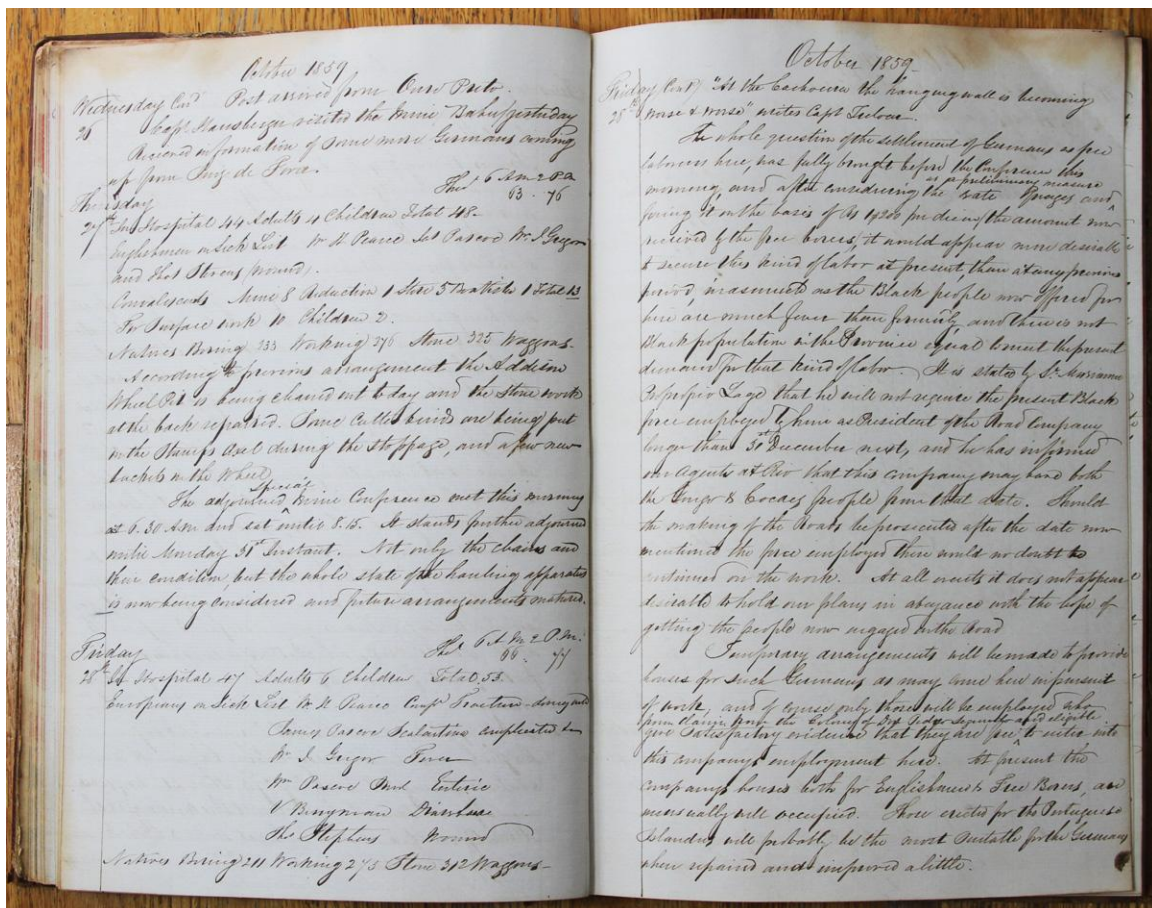
November 1844

"29 With Mr. Duval to pay my respects to the Bishop, to whom I broached the subject of a Padre for Moro Velho. He says that for the present he knows of no person fit for the situation. He appointed a Vicar to Conyonhaes a few weeks back, but the individual declined the situation as several who had been appointed had done before. Party spirit runs so high in this miserable little village that no respectable padre will live among them. I believe the object of this express mission to Conyonhaes is to ascertain the cause of no person being willing to take charge of the care of their souls. The ostensible motive is to perform the ceremony of "confirmation" among them. ..."

December 1844

"2 On Monday morning it has always been usual at the Hospital to dismiss more "cured" than on any other day, as also on Saturdays and Sundays fewer sick are presented for admittance: but yesterday no fewer than six borers were admitted all at once – all complain of dysentery, which is the prevailing complaint amongst all classes ... Very few labourers in the mine today, in consequence perhaps of all the church feasts of late in the village..."

"14 ... John Rouse and Mr. Richards to make arrangements to have all hands, blacks and whites, for whom tools can be provided in readiness tomorrow morning at day break to turn to work on the sego. The poor blacks and several Englishmen must be very much fatigued for this makes three days they have been working on this sego at the labour of Sisiphus in the midst of constant rains. Until the water be brought home not a stitch of work can be done in the United Mines – the water is rising in the river, and nearly all the tools are in the mine without our being able to get them out. This is the most serious mishap that has ever occurred at Moro Velho as far as affects the produce. When the water is to be home I know not ..."



1859-1860 Superintendent's Diary

Second volume begins July 10, 1859

July 1859

"Monday 11 In hospital 33 Adults 13 Children Total 46
Englishmen as on Saturday 4 in number..."

Natives Boring 179 Working 236 Waggon Stone 269

Mr. Meadows from today takes the active duties of the Hospital, of course in conjunction with Dr. Hope for the present. Dr. Hope has introduced Mr. Meadows to his general practice concession round Morro Velho, and he states Mr. Meadows is now as competent to take the medical charge of the establishment as himself.

No "case book" having been kept in the Hospital it is scarcely practicable by viva voce inquiry to get at the history of Hospital cases. A reference to the general List of the force will not enable Dr. Hope to give any definite information as to individual cases and therefore it becomes necessary to institute a medical examination of the force in order that Mr. Meadows may have opportunity of getting at the principal facts of the history of such cases as have been under important medical treatment. ..."

"Tuesday 19th In Hospital 46 Adults & 17 children Total 63
Luis de Mello & Leander de Joao dangerously ill

The examination of the Force at the Hospital is now going on by the medical officers assisted by Mr. Smyth and it is quite expected the matter will be complete by Friday evening. On this being done Dr. Hope will be at liberty to proceed to England ..."

"Thursday 21st ... A dispute took place today in the Mine between the Natives and the Blacks about borers Matilliano do Mello was the principal aggressor he resisted the Natives & disobeyed the Englishmen. M. do Mello to be fined for his conduct..."

"Monday 25th ... Two French Gentlemen travellers the Messrs Alfred & Earnest Grandidier arrived today bearing letters from the Agents in Rio on the introduction of the Viscount of Barbacuna. They wish to see the Establishment and the Mines. They have been travelling for two years throughout North & South America having lately passed down the west coast & western side of the Andes over the southern part of the continent and are now proceeding up the east coast."

"Wednesday 27th ... The Messrs Grandidier visited the mines yesterday. They have also looked over the whole of the surface works, and have expressed their gratification on seeing such an Establishment in this comparatively deserted part of Brazil. The Messrs. Grandidier carry government introductions and from the services of the Brazilian national guard when requested. ... Stealing of plank from the saw mill has been detected by a stamps carpenter (Black) It appears the planks have been left under the control of the men at the saw mill contrary to orders. Enquired into the matter. Saml. Manuel who has charge of the saw mill & plank store, had not only neglected his duty, but attempted to justify this neglect and disobedience of orders. He has before this given the chief mechanic much trouble and refused to carry his orders into effect. Removed him from the charge of the saw mill & appointed Mr. Daniel in his place... Gave him 3 months notice under his agreement."

Saturday 30th ... To-day by arrangement and announcement the chief annual shew of vegetables of the Morro Velho Horticultural Society was held in the large room over the store where a much larger display of vegetable were exhibited than on any previous occasion. There were 20 Exhibitors of different kinds of produce, some presenting 18 kinds of vegetables and many of these of quality and size that would compete with some of the best markets in England... 38 prizes were given according to the rules fixed by the committee of the society and which were duly made known to the competitors by previous notice. ..."

"Sunday 31st Jose Coelho who received letters of freedom on the 30th May 1859 died in the Hospital today. For some time before he was sent to the Hospital, though not complaining of pain or illness, he appeared as if his vital strength was rapidly diminishing..."

August 1859

"Tuesday 9th ... By previous arrangement I started today on a tour via Sabara to Santa Luzia and from thence through the provision district of Matasinhos – forming the North West portion of this part of the province which I was unable to see last year before Dr. Walker left Morro Velho. From this District our chief supplies of provisions are derived. Mr. Smyth and Mr. Laurie accompany me. The latter for a few days change before he takes entirely the duty at the Hospital, which will; of necessity require his constant attendance there. Proceeded to Santa Luzia through Sabara and on arrival at the former place was met by Mr. John Wood with an invitation from the Baroness of Santa Luzia to spend the night at Fazenda "Lazes".

"Wednesday 10 Visited the village & neighborhood of Santa Luzia and examined the roads in this vicinity and along the Banks of the Rio das Vilhas. Much might be done here by agriculture and opening a road from this to Anna de Cruz; but the middle class inhabitants do not appear sufficiently to estimate the importance of these matters to themselves, and the locality generally.

Returned to Lazes spent the evening & night there under the very hospitable treatment of the Baroness and started next morn^g early in a north west direction having secured a guide who was well acquainted with the roads in this quarter"

"Thursday [11] Called at several farms and visited two of our supply contractors who had received advances for provisions from Dr Walker. They promised to deliver shortly the balances due. Made Lagon Santa this evening a place brought into notice not so much from the size or importance of the Lake from which the village derives its name as from the discoveries of fossils made by the researches of Dr. Lund a scientific and agreeable gentleman native of Denmark.

This locality has a good proportion of flat land with small hills distributed though it is capable of cultivation and has good hard level roads. The population is scanty and the quantity of land under cultivation inconsiderable."

"Friday 12 Took a westerly direction and saw three large Fazendas from which we get provisions. The Fazenduros talk of higher prices for Milho & Fegao and wish to make contracts ; but my object is not to make contracts on this visit.

We are now about 17 Leagues Portuguese from Morro Velho, and therefore about the boundary of the space from which supplies are sent. A certain quantity of Maunona oil might be procured in small

quantities between this and Curello. Snr Francisco de Darya Vianna near the Village of Matosinhos will probably procure this article and send it to Morro Velho. He owes a quantity of oil and some provisions and he promises to send all in early this season. He is now grinding his sugar cane and all his place engaged in this work. The sugar made throughout the neighborhood is very inferior from the imperfect mode of manufacture and which there is great want of skill & cleanliness and considerable waste ...”

“Saturday 20 ... The Coloring of the church walls inside was completed yesterday and the base course neatly done anew – the bricks colored and jointed. It has not cost much – Pearce the mason & his party 5 days did the pointing, walls & coloring. A small press has been provided for the Chaplain for the vestry and part of the door frame destroyed by the wood ant has been spliced and painted. The building is now in good condition and repair and the coloring of the walls & painting of the wood work windows & door panes has greatly improved the general appearance of the Church.

Any decoration work which it is considered desirable to have done will be provided and paid for by voluntary contributions. It is of course understood that nothing that is inconsistent with the moderate & ordinary decoration of churches in England will be attempted.

49 Blacks in care of Isidore Feitor arrived today from Cocaes under an engagement for contract for 5 years entered with James Penny Cook Brown Receiver & Manager to the National Brazilian Mining Association.”

“Sunday 21st During last night an entrance was made by some person into the cashier’s office, by cutting a square hole 15 x 11 in the ceiling ... of the projecting part of the roof under which the Free Borers remain during pay days, while receiving their pay. The person who entered passed over the ceiling joice until the cashier’s portion of the office was reached, and then cutting the ceiling esteira which here was covered with a thick coat of plaster underneath descended into the portion of the office occupied by the cashier daily. With an enchada or hoe which was in the outer office, two small drawers of the cashiers writing desk were attempted to be forced with considerable leverage, so that the wood was much injured. This force was most unskillfully applied and the locks weren’t in either case broken or opened.... No trace has been found of the perpetrators of this bold attempt. A small box containing contributions for the R C Church at the Ana de Peadalle was taken contg about 3\$000 but nothing further was attempted, and no other article excepting the hoe and candle disturbed.”

“Monday 22nd In Hospital 29 Adults 10 Children Total 39... Natives Boring 145 Working 212 Stone 308 ... Died in Hospital this morning Ezequiel de Leocadia C. B. previously reported dangerously ill by Dr. Hope.

Snr Antonio Marques da Rocha left for Gongo today ... He proceeds to Cocaes to forward from thence the clothing of the Cocaes blacks who arrived here on Saturday. ... The Gold Troop returned this morning from Rio where Dr. Hopes Troop joined it, and the cargoe mules were laden with the stores...

In going down to Rio one of Dr. Hopes cargoe mules fell in the River near Parahybuna and wet its cargoe. The driver was threatened by Dr. Hope who wrote the storekeeper thereon. Jose de Silva Tropico repeated this threat on the way up and the driver L Martins ran away before returning to Morro Velho. He is a hired man...”

"Tuesday 30th ... The following are placed on the candidates list for freedom – as deserving that position from general good conduct.

Antonio Vaz 45 years married
 Antonio Rouse 35 years unmarried
 Pedro Beldan 48 years married
 Simao Carapinia 53 years married

And the two following women

Rita Trale 43 years wife of Pantalao freed in 1858

Gertrudes 45 years widow of Jocinto Tacquaril who was 9 years on the good conduct list and would have been freed this year.

The following men C.B.
 Antonio E 44 years married
 Antonio C 45 years do
 Valentino 35 years unmarried"

"Wednesday 31 ...
 Arrivals & Removals for August

	Men	women	Owners name	
Aug 9	1	1	Maria Fortunato de Fonseca	240\$ 5 yrs
	3		Maria Porcina Marriera	250\$ An
	"	2	Do	Do 100\$ do
22d	26	22	National Brazilian Mining Assn	
			Under Special contract for 5 years	
Total	30	24		

Removals

Aug 5 th	Men	Women	Owners	
	1	1	Tiburcio Fernz de Mello	150 5 years
	2	2	Annastacio Jose de Feitas	200 " "

September 1859

"Saturday 3rd ... It should have been noted that on the Evening of Thursday the 1st Instant, an entertainment was given in the large room of the Casa Grande to the Europeans & their Brazilian friends connected with the Establishment.

It consisted of an hours reading from the Pickwick papers by Mr. Meadows. – Short addresses from Rev. E Puttock, Cap Treloar and the writer interspersed with vocal music Glees songs, & pieces prepared and sung by the “Morro Velho Harmonic Society” under the management and direction of Mr. Meadows.

87 men women & children were present besides the officers and Ladies of the Establishment, and the amount of enjoyment which the entertainment afforded to all present was very great...”

“Wednesday 7th ... Capt. Treloar writes at 2.30 p.m.

“I am sorry to report that the boy W. H. Pearce has met with a serious accident. He was working about the ladders over Edwards Inclined Plane, and some means fell way. One of the boys working with him says a pole knocked him out of the ladder but whether this was so or not, I have not yet found out.”

This boy is much injured, the precise extent of the bruises cannot at present be ascertained. Left thigh fractured and compound fracture of the right leg – considerable loss of blood and much exhausted. No decided opinions can yet be formed as to the result of this injury.”

“Monday 12th ... Jose Alfonco engaged in the Mine as a borer was detected with a tin flask inside the breast of his shirt in the stopes, and which had been used for carrying oil. He was fined 5\$100 by Capt Treloar. He is “an old offender” hence the amount of the fine. The quantity of oil wasted or stolen in the mine is very considerable. Special plans are now in operation for preventing misappropriation and reducing the consumption.”

“Thursday 15th ... It is painful to record that the shotsman Daniel Assis a hired black, working under Thos Verran at the Champion ground, about 2 oclock today while engaged in firing the safety fuze for blasting slipped off the stopes, and fell into the excavation below – a depth of about 40 feet and fractured the vertebrae at his neck . He was a fine young black well conducted and much respected by all who knew him. During the past 12 months he has been constantly working with Thomas Verran, who had the greatest confidence in his carefulness. No accident has occurred at the Champion ground tho’ so awkward & difficult to work during the past year. Verran was within a few yards of Assis when he fell. He was turning round & his fall was purely accidental from slipping.”

A theft was committed last night at Boa Vista in one of the houses, occupied by Cocaes Blacks. 40\$000 was stolen from a box. He has confessed having taken the money. He will be compelled to refund the amount, and pay a fine in addition to the temporary punishment he will suffer. ...”

“Saturday 24th ... Rufino Gobere a great thief & runaway was ordered to be punished yesterday. He is a hired black, a bad man and has given his owners much trouble.”

“Tuesday 27th ... Theft has long been practiced by certain Blacks at Boa Vista and has latterly been practiced been extended to the pigs of the Blacks. In this the parties have hitherto escaped detection. The fact of the stealing has now been established against 3 hired Blacks two of whom have confessed their participation in the stealing and sale of the Blacks pigs. The receivers and purchasers under these circumstances are as culpable as the thieves, inasmuch as from the way these pigs are procured they are known to be stolen. The whole of the circumstances are not yet fully known, something must be done to try and prevent a continuation of this practice.”

"Friday 30th ... Pedro Ribiero a native youth on going down the Bahu today as the last ladder of the shaft in the sump to which the chain ladder is attached immediately above the stopes, fell and fractured his elbow joint. It appears this ladder, or rather the lower part of it, had been disturbed by the previous nights blasting, and it had not, at the time the boy passed down, been adjusted properly – hence the accident. Several borers had gone down the way before Ribeiro passed over this ladder without inconvenience. The injury the boy has sustained is not very serious.

In putting in a piece of timber in the Bahu Mine today ... the winch chain snapped and injured two blacks, not seriously. The other men engaged escaped injury. The piece of timber fell about 90 feet but did not suffer much from the fall..."

October 1859

"Wednesday 5th ... On Monday the 3rd the Europeans Miners & Mechanics were requested to attend at the Casa Grande at half past 5 p.m. when they would be spoken to regarding the rules of the establishment.

They assembled in the Feriero opposite the Casa Grande and were addressed from the Portico.

Captain Treloar & Mr. Smyth were present. After briefly referring to the circumstances under which they were requested to attend, the position the company's employees now occupied in Brazil – being not only the most important, but almost the only organized company in this part of the Brazilian Empire, attention was then directed to the nature of the agreements signed by them with the Directors – the duties arising out of these obligations, to the consequences which must follow either from their nonperformance, or from the breach of any of the covenants the agreements contained.

The clauses relating to personal conduct were then brought to their recollection, and the duties of honesty, sobriety, care & fidelity, impressed on their minds. The responsibility of the Englishmen not only as to their employers the directors of the company, but also to the Blacks over whom from position they exercised considerable influence, was earnestly brought under their consideration, and the proper discharge of that responsibility urged upon them.

Attention was further specially called to the rules prohibiting the Englishmen from employing the company's people or purchasing supplies from them. The two prevailing vices of the place intemperance which leads to drunkenness, and theft which appears to be encouraged if not induced by the former practice and by the too ready sale found for stolen articles of supply, were pointed out as evils of the most serious and discreditable character, to any company or body of men, but specially to Englishmen. They were urged and entreated to avoid these evils, as alike debasing to individuals & injurious to society. Brief reference was made to the past, and that only with the view of avoiding its errors & learning to use the future better. Due credit was given for what had been done well during the past 12 months, encouragement drawn therefrom, and a warning was laid before those who would disregard their duty or violate the rules of the Establishment in future.

Fidelity to the company, proper discharge of duty were urged; and the cooperation of all sought to promote observe and maintain the rules of the establishment, and thereby put an end to the vices of the place, and promote the general well being and character of the company's employees, who now form the most important settlement in this part of Brazil."

"Friday 7th ... James Pennycook Brown Esq Receiver & Manager of the Natl Brazilian Mining Association arrived today from Cocais Contract entered into for the 50 Blacks already here belonging to the Association, was finally settled, and the first years here paid in advance under the usual discount of 10 per cent."

"Tuesday 11th During the night corps Rodrigues (Joaquim) and Antonio de Mello were thrown from the swing stages in the Bahu and injured. The party on the adjoining stage had finished their work and in the usual course proceeded to take down the stage before blasting. The stage below and adjoining was attached to this one so that the suspending chain when slackened brought the lower stage suddenly off the level and the men above named working on it fell.... Antonio de Mello hired Black received contusion on the lower part of the back the injury the other received is trifling. ..."

"Wednesday 12th ... Another instance of Pig Stealing occurred last night at Boa Vista. The present very high price of pork and toncinho in the village is supposed to be a great inducement to the Blacks to prosecute this theft. Arranged today a secret night watch external to the establishment to guard the three great outlets , as it is quite demonstrated our ordinary watch is quite inefficient. The names forming this watch will not appear in the daily pay list.

Increased the detection fee from RS \$ 500 to Rs1\$000 and fixed a bonus of Rs 5\$000 to be given for the taking of persons with stolen goods or in the act of stealing. The money so paid to be deducted from the offenders receipts as in the case of ordinary detection fees..."

"Saturday 15th ... Leopoldo C. B. who in a tipsy fit ran away some days ago was found to day near the hospital. He endeavored to escape but was secured. He had a letter begging he might be pardoned from Snr. Gomez de Raposes. The letter was given under the stipulation that it should be delivered within two hours of the time it was written It was dated yesterday at 8 a.m. Wrote Snr Gomez who in reply stated that Leopoldo had stolen some of his fowls and was lurking about his place for some days. He gave the letter hoping it would be the means of making Leopoldo return, but inasmuch as he did not do so within the stipulated time he now cancelled his request as to pardon. Leopoldo who has stolen at least two fowls at Boa Vista was ordered to be punished. ..."

"Thursday 20th ... Two Criolos Marcalino Pinto & Candido do Motta had a dispute in the Cachoeira working under Nicholas Rogers. Marcalino struck do Motta on the temple with his mallet. They are both young – the injury is trifling Marcalino ordered a moderate punishment with a horse-whip. ..."

Germans 7 in number 6 men and 1 woman arrived here today from the neighborhood of Luiz de For a They brought their papers and certificates from their last residence and their native places showing they were free to engage and applied for work under the company. It appears they have been influenced by the report of the two Germans at work in the mine in coming to seek employment here By the Agents advices in Rio several Germans had spoken to Cap Hansburger in passing Luiz de For a with the Gold Troop downwards desiring employment at Morro Velho.

Arrangements are made for their temporary location ... in a house belonging to the company. They have chosen one of their number Joseph Larcher to be their head and representative and he becomes responsible for the care and safekeeping of the house."

"Friday 21st ... Antonio G. C. B. was caught this morning about 430 a.m. with upwards of an arroba of borers close to Mingenby the secret watch in that locality. He tried to escape and resisted being taken

but he was secured by the watch. It is considered he is acting in concert with some others not yet known. He states he was taking the borers to Francisco Texiera's vendu – a small house in the neighborhood of Mingen – and that Texeira is in the habit of buying stolen articles from the Blacks. Antonio G ordered to be punished. Francesco Texeira works a borer in the mine." ...

"Sunday 23rd The Revista which could not be held on Sunday last because of the heavy rains ... was convened today at 8.30 a.m. All the Officers were present ... There were present 6 who were freed by the company 5 who were freed by purchase 13 "Jacket Men" in progress towards do ... 10 Candidates now placed publicly on the good conduct list for freedom, to whom the distinguishing clothing was issued at the company's expense.

All these were arranged close to the portico where they could be most conveniently seen by the assembly which was now briefly addressed from the Portico.

1st Reference was made to the plan commenced in 1848 by the company, the principle upon which it was founded, viz that good conduct alone would qualify persons for the advantageous position of being placed as candidates on the List for freedom.

For the past 10 years this principle had been strictly adhered to, and it would be steadily acted on in the carrying out of this plan, designed for the benefit and future well being of the people belonging to the Compy.

The result of the plan had been on the whole highly creditable to the candidates placed on the list and regarded with great satisfaction by the Directors of the Company, and all interested in the people of Morr Velho.

2nd The six persons present were referred to publicly, who from previous good conduct and during their probation of 10 years, were now enjoying the blessings of freedom, and filling their respective spheres of duty as respectable members of society. Their condition at present afforded ground for encouragement to such as were desirous of attaining a like position. The advantages they now enjoy should be a stimulus to others, if influenced by no higher motive, to pursue diligently & earnestly a similar course of good conduct.

3rd In four instances of the five now present, who had secured their freedom by a partial purchase agreed to by the company, we can point also with pleasure, as from steady to industrious habits they were demonstrating that they rightly used and valued their liberty.

4th Attention was next directed to the 13 Jacket Men, as they are called, who from general good conduct had been placed on the freedom List, some of whom had creditably maintained their consistency of conduct, during the years they had served and one of whom this day received a silver medal for good conduct on having satisfactorily completed his fifth year. Others had passed only one year, but all so far giving satisfactory evidence that they were deserving of the distinguished position they were placed in, and earnestly working to attain the privileges which those who had preceded them were now in possession of.

5th Ten candidates, 8 men & 2 women, were now placed together, whose names were enrolled on the good conduct list and publicly recognized this day as entering upon the probationary period of 10 years. This was a larger number than on any previous occasion had been put in this very desirable

position. And we had now for the first time the gratification of seeing 2 women placed in this creditable List. The period of service for these ten candidates would commence and take effect from "St. John's Day" the 24th June last. The great responsibility they now had in being placed on this good conduct list was impressed upon them, not only as affecting their own interests, but by example either for good or evil influence on others.

6th Without making any promise as to the future, the Directors in London desired to encourage and reward good conduct in every way in their power, consistent with the duty they had to discharge to the company, and to the people themselves. Acting for the Directors I felt justified in saying that we should be glad to know towards the end of this year that there were some others eligible to be placed in a similar position as the Ten candidates now before them. It would be a source of gratification to learn that these continued to conduct themselves creditably, and by Christmas day it would afford us all pleasure to place more names on the Candidates List for Freedom.

One point they should constantly keep in view, by good conduct alone could they hope to attain the desired position of Freedom.

On the present occasion no reference would be made to the few instances of discreditable conduct which had occurred during the past year. It was a matter of regret that any such statement could be made. The great majority of the people both hired and company's had conducted themselves very creditably. By a continuation in this course, keeping a willing and cheerful cooperation in promoting and rewarding good conduct, we might hope to see not only a continuation of peace and contentment maintained, but enjoyments and happiness increased amongst the people of Morro Velho."

"Friday 28th ... The whole question of the settlement of Germans as free laborers here, was fully brought before the conference this morning, and after considering the rate of wages and as a preliminary measure giving it on the basis of Rs 1\$200 per diem (the amount now received by the free borers) it would appear more desirable to secure this kind of labor at present, than at any previous period, inasmuch as the Black people now offered for hire are much fewer than formerly, and there is not Black population in the Province equal to meet the present demand for that kind labor. It is stated by Sr Marianna Proprio Lage that he will not require the present Black force employed by him as President of the Road Company longer than 31 December next, and he has informed our agents at Rio that this company may have both the Gongo & Cocais people from that date. Should the making of the Roads be prosecuted after the date now mentioned the force there would no doubt be continued on the work. At all events it does not appear desirable to hold our plans in abeyance with the hope of getting the people now engaged on the Road.

Temporary arrangements will be made to provide houses for such Germans as may come here in pursuit of work, and of course only those will be employed who give satisfactory evidence that they are free from claim from the Colony of Don Pedro Segundo and eligible to enter into the company's employment here. At present the companys houses both for Englishmen & free borers, are unusually well occupied. Those erected for the Portuguese Islanders will probably be the most suitable for the Germans when repaired and improved a little. ..."

"Saturday 29th ... Snr Vittorino the mine office clerk who attends with his book to give explanation if required respecting any of the Free Borers pay, was struck to day on the head with a stick by one of the Borers whose amount of pay one of the Borers he had returned incorrectly. The imprudent course taken by Vittorino in the matter, in contending with the borer, and leaving his duty to combat with him

precluded me from seeking redress and punishing the Borer, who was removed by the constables present and handed over to the Sub delegado. Several disturbances have taken place on "Pay Days" at the Office It is too much a place of assembly for friends of borers Vendu keepers and collectors of accounts – some of whom actually are in the habit of forcibly taking the borers money in liquidation of claims they hold against them. This often leads to noise, contention, and on some occasions to blows – the constables in the crowd being scarcely able to prevent a public breach of the peace. It appears necessary to make some arrangement to prevent a recurrence of these disorderly and noisy outbreaks, and steps will be taken with that view. ..."

"Monday 31st The contract for the man belonging to the Bacao de Curvello having expired, he was withdrawn at our request, as from his habits and character it was not considered advisable to retain him at Boa Vista.

The Carao de Curvellos blacks are now reengaged under our new form of contract giving the company the power of determining the contract under six months notice. ..."

November 1859

"Friday 4th ... 14 Germans (12 of them Tyrolese) arrived today from Luiz de For a. A shoemaker is yet expected to follow 3 of them have been accustomed to mining. Those previously employed are so far going on steadily. Some little inconvenience will arise for want of house accommodation but this will be dealt with as circumstances permit."

"Monday 7th ... The 14 Germans went to work today in the Bahu Sump under John James. They are to try this work for one fortnight at the rate of pay received by the natives for Boring. ... The houses (Free Borers) at the Retiro have also been cleared about. The habits of the natives as regards their residences, are by no means conducive to health – and especially during the sultry weather we now have ..."

"Monday 21st ... Arranged that in future the free women engaged in spalling should be paced on the Addison floor as it is found troublesome to manage them and keep their tasks account when distributed amongst the company's women over the floors generally ... Three of the Germans who had previously been accustomed to mining work go on the Timberwork today under Boggenghausen who speaks their language ..."

"Tuesday 22nd ... Adoo Patrice stole a pair of shoes belonging to Jospeh Chapel out of his press on the changing house Patrice a black pays for the shoes and receives 30 palmatores"

"Thursday 24th ... Candido C.B. (case of insanity) is becoming more violent so that it is necessary to make a small room secure to keep him in at night. This will be done at the Hospital at once. ..."

"Monday 28th ... The Germans took the stoping of the 55 fathoms level ground today on contract for one month. It is let to them at Rs 50\$000 per cubic fathom, and marks have been made to fix the points of measurement. They are allowed two Shotsmen. Two of their number become bound for the due performance of the contract, and they provide all labor (excepting the shotsmen) and pay the others employed in the execution of this work. ..."

"Tuesday 29th ... On Thursday morning last about 2 a.m. a Black belonging to the firm of Rocha & Co. of Congonhas named "Demetrio" was seen on the high plank footway crossing from the Herring spalling floor to the Hospital Hill. He appeared to be in that position "on the look out." The secret police tried to secure him, but failed to do so. He escaped in the direction of the Praia through the brushwood under the Hospital Hill. This Black was formerly hired to the company and until lately continued to visit the premises being engaged by Rocha & Co (the Messrs Daniel) in bringing charcoal from the Caboeira to the Depot here.

"Demetrio" is a well known thief, and being suspected as concerned in the pig stealing lately going on at Boa Vista, he has been prohibited from coming on the premises of the company. The Mess. Daniel had ordered him to remain at the charcoal ground at the Cabacieras. Wednesday the 23rd he had disappeared, and betwixt 40 & 50 fowls were on that evening taken from his owners premises. "Demetrio" did not return until on Friday the 25th, when he brought a letter from Mr. Caetano requesting he might be pardoned. This request, as is always the case with the Brazilians, was complied with. During the night or evening Demetrio was seen at the works here, a pig was stolen from Boa Vista, and it is considered he must have planned if he did not execute the theft. With the consent of Messrs Daniel, Demetrio was brought in from the Cabaceiras, and they attended at Boa Vista while he was interrogated, but he gave no specific information, and denied having taken any part in the stealing referred to. The probability is that some of the Blacks residing at Boa Vista or knowing it well are riding in carrying on this stealing. Rocha & Co have resolved on selling Demetrio to some person not near this neighborhood in order to get rid of him.

The price at which the Blacks sell their pork at Boa Vista and which is always done through the manager of the Blacks or the Feitores under him appears to be very low compared with present prices in the district. Pork 3 coppers and Lard 5 coppers per lb ... The secret watch will be continued for the present, not only on account of pig stealing, but to prevent other thefts."

December 1859

"Sunday 11th ... While in church today Ralph Clymo, stampsman on duty at the Praia, came with information that men belonging to the Messrs Vaz were taking and carrying away timber from the tram way in the bed of the River, below the Praia Works. Martin Hosken who is attached to the Praia force was sent with instructions to attend to this matter.... He had found two men in possession of two pieces of timber apparently freshly removed from the tram way ... going in the direction of the Messrs Vaz's works. These two men named Francisco & Joaquinio are slaves belonging to the Messrs Vaz, and they stated they were bringing to the works by their masters orders. Martin Hosken and Raymondo Mozambique (a companys Black) arrested one the other drew his knife on Martin Hosken, who to escape injury allowed the man to get away for the time. He followed him ... as he ran towards the Messrs Vaz's works, and with the assistance of a free borer who happened to be in that direction shooting the man was secured. They were handed over to the Inspector (Chief Constable) of the Division. ..."

"Tuesday 13th ... Col Joze Ricardo Vaz attended at the Office yesterday and today respecting the taking of this companys timber by his blacks on Sunday last. He pressed much for the liberation of his blacks – offered them for punishment if necessary, and expressed his willingness to make any reasonable compromise of the matter, as he was desirous his friends at Sabara should be informed the affair was arranged amicably &c. However much disposed I did not feel at liberty to compromise

the offence now referred to, as there could be no doubt the property of the company had been raised and removed by the people in his employment permissively, if not by his direct order.

After many interviews and much discussion Col Vaz addressed a letter to me admitting the principal facts of the theft, and pledging himself to produce the Blacks, at any future time when called upon, if they were now liberated. He also wrote a formal petition to the Subdelegado asking for the release of the Blacks on the ground of their services being much required, and binding him to produce them in Court whenever requested to do so by the Subdelegado.

I concurred in this petition being complied with reserving without prejudice the rights of the company herein. The Blacks were then given up to Col. Vaz on the conditions stated above."

"Friday 16 ... An attempt was made last night to steal a small pig from one of the Blacks yards at Boa Vista The thief secured the pig had suffocated it by tying & was walking off with it when he was seen & pursued by the secret police. He dropped the pig and to escape went over a deep precipice. From the cap he lost in running and the print of his right foot wanting a toe – there is no doubt but the thief is Jocinto B (C.B.) a Black who ran away about 8 months ago. He is an old offender and was many years a runaway from the Cata Branca company. A reward of RS 50\$000 is now offered for his apprehension..."

"Sunday 25 Christmas Day The Vigario of Congonhas performs mass at Boa Vista to day for the Blacks. Many were by permission last night at the Service in the village at the "Mother Church".

"Monday 26th ... The attendance of natives is small but this is a great Holiday here "St. Stephens Day". Last week the numbers were very good and they did good duty. This week we cannot rely on having even an average attendance, unless the High Prices of provisions compels them to work."

January 1860

"Saturday 14th ... Died this morning in Hospital Antonio Laranyeiros of Dysentery – a 40reek40d's Black for many years employed in the Amalgamation House. His age was estimated by Mr. Smyth at 76. In a weakly state for some years past, he took charge of collecting and keeping fuel for the sublimating furnaces. He was regular and attentive with performance of his duty, and was regarded as careful & honest. ..."

"Thursday 19th ... Last night a Black was detected carrying off 3 large Borers, on the Bananal Rego going towards the Curall road, by the secret watch. The Black struck the watch with the Borers and escaped leaving his hat behind. Stealing cannot now be carried on to the same extent since the establishment of this watch, as it was practiced previously, still there is too much going on."

Friday 20 ... Antonio Pardo a free Borer working in the mine about 18 years ago son of Joao Paulo a Brazilian carpenter 27 years in the employment of the company, was seized in his house this morning at 5 a.m. and has been sent to Sabara to be drafted thence to Ouro Prieto for enrolment in the permanent service of the National Guard. According to the Law and practice of the Empire, it is persons of bad reputation and known criminals only who are thus forced into the service – and therefore it is regarded as a degradation. Joao Paulo who has a family of five children, feels this much. It is hoped when the authorities at Sabara know the whole circumstances of the case the youth may be set at liberty."

"Friday 27th ... The hat of the Black who was detected stealing Borers on the night of the 18th Inst., though without number has been clearly identified by 5 witnesses as belonging to Jose da Cruz. He was absent during the time the theft was committed and has been unable to establish where was at that time.

His reward money will be stopped to the extent of Rs 2\$000 and he will be punished as a warning to others. ... "

\$ 27,500.00

See: Eakin, Marshall C., *British Enterprise in Brazil The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830-1960*
Durham: Duke University Press, 1989

Toronto July 11th 1853

My dear Cousin Almira

"Better late, than none" - is as true, as it is old. I have indeed for a long time intended to answer your kind letter which I received with so much pleasure - but I have had many cares and much to occupy my time during the spring - as my good husband left for Europe the 1st of Feb - y - and having all the profusion of snow (which is not a little) to go through with - I found the days & weeks sliding away without all being accomplished I could desire - and now I find myself in a Hotel, and the prospect of a leisure morning, as Mr. Mayer has business to engage his time - I am resolved to spend it in writing to you and to assure you that by no means are you forgotten by me - nor can I ever forget your pleasant visit with us on your "Bridal Tour" - I presume you have that laid up in "Munro's store" as among some of the "white days" of your life - I cannot express the disappointment we all felt last summer, in visiting our dear friends at Salisbury, in not having the happiness of meeting you - It was really too bad - your dear husband met us at the Depot - and showed us every possible attention - for which I shall ever remain him with pleasure - and the kindness & cordiality we met from all our friends - was exceedingly gratifying and made us feel - we would like to go the same round again this summer. - We were pained to hear the sad news of Doct. Hiden

4. (Canada) Mayer, H. N., **Autograph Letter Signed, Toronto, July 11, 1853, to her cousin, Almira, discussing the Anti-Catholic Gavazzi Riots**

Quarto, 4 pages, formerly folded, some light spotting to text, else in very good, clean, and legible condition.

Mayer, a former Connecticut resident, then living in Montreal, but about to settle in Toronto, writes her cousin back home in Salisbury, about the Gavazzi Riots which occurred in Quebec City and Montreal in the spring of 1853. Alessandro Gavazzi, an Italian patriot, visited North America. His lectures at Quebec and Montreal were strongly anti-Catholic; and at both places soldiers had to be called out to restore order. The riots also caused political repercussions. Mayer and her family were apparently eyewitnesses to the Montreal riot which occurred on June 9, and was more serious than the one three days earlier in Quebec. Gavazzi's lecture in Montreal occurred at Zion Church, Haymarket Square. While the lecture was in progress a group of Irish Roman Catholics attempted to force their way into the church. But they were driven back. Charles Wilson, the mayor, ordered the troops to fire upon the crowd. Five men were killed, the number of wounded is unclear.

Mayer then relates that she and her husband were moving to Toronto in order to get away from "popish Montreal."

"My dear Cousin Almira,

...My father & mother and James I left last Wednesday morning all well. They have had very comfortable health all winter – and are a great comfort to me, father intends to visit Connecticut this summer and will be absent some weeks – he feels no "particular attachment" to Canada – Since we have witnessed such awful scenes as the late riots – It seems to have severed every tie, and almost overwhelm us in view of the Horrid affair – I presume you have read all the accounts in the newspapers. In the N. Y. Observer the description was very correct as we were all eye witnesses to the whole of it.

It is a most painful thought that we dwell in a City where we cannot go and hear a Lecture in safety – and where there is no confidence in the Mayor, he being a (Roman Catholic) an inefficient Corporation and Police – and then resort to the Military and they wind up the scene by shooting down some of our most valuable citizens as they are quietly & peaceably leaving the Church to return to their homes. Oh is not this too much to endure – The impression made on my mind will never be forgotten – and whenever I recur to it – it is with a shudder. We have made up our minds to remove to Toronto as soon as we could obtain a residence here – and that is what brought me here at this time – as my good husband did not like me to take a house without my seeing & judging what was for the best as to comfort & convenience ... I shall leave for Montreal – while my "gude man" goes by New York &c &c I shall commence to prepare to move as soon as practicable for we are all homesick since we mov'd from our pleasant home in Sherbrooke St – and since the riots – poor Mother has been so unhappy and longs to get away from Popery ...

Toronto is a beautiful growing city – really seems like another world from Montreal that "popish place" I have just finished reading "Beatrice" and I am just "ready to explode" – for the book just exposes the whole popish system – of abominations – just what Gavazzi wishes to have known to the world – I do hope you will read it if you have not ... H. N. Mayer"

\$ 150.00



5. (China) Carter. Benjamin Bowen (1771-1831) **Group of Three Autograph Letters Signed written by Dr. Benjamin Bowen Carter, China Trader, and the First American to Learn Chinese written on a China Trade Voyage, Canton, New Holland, Australia, and "At Sea", 1799-1800**

Folio, 18 pages in ink, on 10 loose leaves, these letters were evidently retained copies, apparently excised from a letter-copy book, some marginal defects minor tears and punctures to several leaves, some chipping, but no loss of text. The letters are written on 18th century paper of American manufacture, made by C & E Burbank, of Massachusetts. See Gravell, *A Catalogue of American Watermarks 1690-1835*, 30, figs 124-125.

Three retained copies of letters by Benjamin Bowen Carter a Rhode Islander who studied Chinese in Canton and Europe and promoted the study of Chinese in America. Carter is said to be the first

American to learn to read, speak and write Chinese. Carter is also, according to some scholars, America's first Sinologist. Carter also employed his linguistic skills in aid of American diplomacy in China at the time. Carter wrote these letters while engaged as a doctor and supercargo aboard the *Ann & Hope*, a China Trade vessel owned by his brother-in-law Nicholas Brown's firm Brown and Ives. Carter undertook a series of five voyages to China for Brown and Ives, the letters offered here were written on Carter's and the *Ann & Hope*'s second voyage to China which lasted from August 1799 to August 1800. Carter kept a series of four logbooks aboard the *Ann & Hope* between 1798 and 1800, all of which are currently held at the Rhode Island Historical Society along with most of Carter's surviving manuscripts. <https://www.rihs.org/mssinv/Mss336.htm>

The letters are frank and revealing about Carter's character and views written both aboard the ship *Ann & Hope* and also while in China, covering the voyage, the international scene in Canton, the citizens of Providence, and more. Carter criticizes and disparages his hometown of Providence and especially its inhabitants. Carter praises the international and cosmopolitan nature of life in Canton where he seems to have been very happy.

Benjamin Bowen Carter was the son of John Carter, a printer and journalist, born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1745. After an apprenticeship with Benjamin Franklin, Carter moved in 1767 to Providence, Rhode Island and began work with the *Providence Gazette*, the weekly newspaper operated by William Goddard with his sister Mary Katherine Goddard, and their mother, Sarah Goddard. When William Goddard moved to Philadelphia in 1768, Carter purchased the *Gazette*, producing the paper until near his death in 1814. From 1773 to 1779, Carter partnered with William Wilkinson, and the press operated under the name Carter and Wilkinson. From 1772 until 1792 Carter served as the first Postmaster of Providence Commissioned by his former employer, Benjamin Franklin, who was Postmaster-General). During the Revolutionary War, he served on the Committee of Correspondence. In 1769, John Carter married Amey Crawford (1744-1806), daughter of Captain John Crawford of Providence. They had twelve children, nine of whom survived into adulthood. Ann Carter, their eldest daughter, married Nicholas Brown of Providence (they were the parents of John Carter Brown). Their eldest son, Benjamin Bowen Carter, studied medicine under Dr. Benjamin Rush and practiced medicine for a short time in Connecticut. He spent most of his career as a doctor and supercargo for the Brown family on many China trade voyages, on the ship *Ann & Hope*. Carter was the first American to learn to read, write and speak Chinese which he learned while in Canton.

Carter was born in Providence on December 16 1771 and proved himself to be an excellent student as a boy. He entered Rhode Island College in 1782 at the age of just eleven, was instructed in languages and in the arts and sciences, and received a bachelor's degree in 1786. He remained at Rhode Island College where he obtained his master's degree in 1789.

Carter then studied medicine at Rhode Island College for two years (1789-1791) and then enrolled at the Medical College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania Medical School) and Pennsylvania Hospital, where he completed his medical education under the supervision of Dr. Benjamin Rush (1746-1813). He practiced medicine in Woodstock, Connecticut, Charles, South Carolina, and Savanna, Georgia between 1792 and early 1796, before returning to Providence sometime prior to February 1796. The frequency of Carter's moves suggests that he was dissatisfied with his career. Between 1796 and 1798 he was appointed by Providence's school committee to open a school, the Providence Academy, for the local youth.

The year 1798 constituted a turning point in Carter's life. In mid-January he decided to serve as ship's surgeon aboard the *Ann and Hope*, which had recently been built by Brown & Ives for the China trade. Carter obtained a privilege of one ton, enabling him to become a trader in his own right. This privileges

was increased to two tons on his second voyage. He was aware that participation in the Canton trade had the potential to be highly remunerative. The great economic benefits brought to America by the Canton trade were prominently recounted in newspapers. For example, his father's paper, the Providence Gazette carried timely reports on the voyages of the Empress of China in 1784-85, and the General Washington in 1788-89. Aside from the considerations of career and wealth Carter likely viewed it as something of an adventure. His brothers Crawford (1782-1868) and William (1785-1821) also engaged in the Canton trade. After voyages taking him to China, Australia, and the Netherlands, he retired from the sea in 1807, then lived in London and Paris where he continued his studies of Chinese linguistics. He eventually returned to New York City, where he died in 1831.

Immediately after its maiden voyage, the Ann and Hope sailed again from Providence on August 9th, 1799, as Carter notes in one of these letters. Carter again served as surgeon under Master Christopher Bentley. The three letters offered here, only one of which is dated, were composed over the course of this second voyage. Two are addressed to a brother and sister back home in Providence and to one Richard Folwell, a Philadelphia doctor and author (and former Providence resident). They mainly discuss the voyage, the scene in Canton, his brother's welfare and future, and Carter's take on the state of Providence. The Ann and Hope reached China on January 23rd, 1800—167 days after leaving Providence—by way of Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Tasman Sea. In his letter to his brother, written "At sea" in the fall of 1799, Carter counsels him to not become a sailor, describing the treachery and psychology of sailors ("a lowlife group with bad habits"). Instead, he urges him to "endeavor to get into some good business on shore." He spends much time chiding his brother for his tendency to oversleep ("[it is] injurious to your mental and bodily faculties") and recommends that he "dedicate more of [his] time to reading good books." The considerable extent to which Carter advises his brother reflects his worry about both his brother's development and also the degree to which he thinks Providence a bad influence.

Carter also offers in this letter a glimpse of life in Canton, where many nationalities, races, and religions live in harmony and his tendencies to Cosmopolitanism seem to have been encouraged:

"Here we dwell with and converse on the most intimate footing with people of all nations and languages with chieftains, Mahometans, Pageants & Jews, with Americans, English, Dutch, & Swedes with the swarthy inhabitants of Bengal the Malabar and Coromandel coast, with Tartars, Moors, Saracens, Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Turks & Grecians, and all the oriental tribes of religious manners and customs differing widely from each other, yet all in the greatest harmony, each one making allowances for national peculiarities and living together with the greatest good humor and pleasantry, whereas the surly people of Providence can hardly be restrained from cutting each others throats."

In the letter to his sister, which is undated, Carter notes passing "the western shore of New Holland [Australia]," which the Ann and Hope is known to have passed during the 1799–1800 voyage. Touching on his recent visit to China, Carter describes "the belles of Canton with their small feet...the absurd practice of crippling the feet destroys the ease and gracefulness of walking, and accordingly their gate is awkward in the extreme, though they have black eyes and pretty faces." Alluding to the ever-present dangers of life at sea, he comments that he is glad his sister "did not ship in the Ann & Hope as you talked," as the crew has "been twice called to quarters expecting an engagement with the enemy, and if our force had been equal to theirs we would have hazarded a battle rather than have been taken." In his letter to Folwell (also undated), Carter notes leaving Providence on August 9th, 1799, and mentions a tense moment the very next day when the Ann and Hope was boarded by two British frigates, Boston and Cleopatra, and eventually allowed to proceed. In his letters to both his brother and Folwell, Carter goes to great lengths to speak his mind regarding his native city ("Were it not for a very few friends I

have in Providence, I would never desire to see that place again”) and its inhabitants (“Providence brutes...”), including the city’s religious men (“Our clergy are perhaps the most unprincipled men in existence”). He spills much ink charting what he takes to be the city’s decline and sometimes quotes poetry as well as lines of Latin by Horace and others.

Sample Quotes:

“At Sea, Lat. 41, 57’, S. Long, 108, 35’ East”; 31 October 1799

“Dear Brother,

I have no doubt but that this is the first letter you ever received from the Antipodes...To maintain the existence of the Antipodes in the dark ages of ecclesiastical bigotry would have been deemed treasonable. When Gasendi and Gallileo made this assertion his holiness the Pope fulminated his bull of excommunication against them...If you can get your living on shore never...think of becoming a sailor. It is one of the most arduous occupations a person can undertake. You must go before the mast a number of years and suffer every thing before you get promoted, and even after you have mastered the business and become capable, promotion is very uncertain...the most worthless fellows always supplant their betters.”

“[It is] sometimes scorching under the Equitorial line, and sometimes freezing on the coast of New Holland...if you cannot obtain your living on shore it is preferable to submit to these [?] evils, rather than to live in poverty and dependence which is the true reason why so many go to sea. Many sailors are generally though not always men of desperate fortunes or addicted to some vices which prevent their living on shore or banished from their native country for crimes, or men whose education has been neglected for crimes, or men whose education has been neglected in their youth and being by this reason disqualified from making a figure on the land they embrace this life as their ultima ratio. But you have nothing to compel you to the seas, and therefore ought not to go in my opinion if you regard your life or future prospects in the world.”

“One argument against your being a sailor which weighs stronger in my mind than many others is that there is served out on board most ships a daily allowance of rum. Thus a foundation is laid for one of the worst habits a person can be addicted to. This habit sailors carry on shore with them and thinking because they have suffered much, they have a right to enjoy themselves, they run into the greatest excesses...avoid the sea and the company of sailors...The sea is covered with enemies (for they deserve to be so named) and your life and property if you become a sailor are at their disposal.”

“When a young man is about entering life, his conduct is narrowly watched especially by his enemies. All his faults are noted down and he is charged with many imaginary ones which he is not guilty of. These malicious people who are entirely destitute of merit and wish to make others similar to themselves will hurt him like an evil genius and 46reek46d46e reports to his injury...They will appear sociable and complacent the better to throw you off your guard and then basely sacrifice your reputation to build up their own or that of their friends.”

“At least I hope you will be more upon your guard against the artifice and villainy of mankind and that you will profit by those lessons you receive daily in Providence where you may see mankind in the most deformed light. In that town roguery seems arrived at its acme and a long practice in the arts of deception has given our people a second nature, whence such numbers of them seek their livelihood

by begging, robing, stealing, cheating...flattering...forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring...scribbling, stargazing...whoring, canting, libelling, freethinking, and the like occupations."

"Some philosophers I know deny that water can be heated beyond the ordinary boiling point. I do not question however but that some happy genius may yet discover a method of increasing the heat which would be a valuable discovery as the throats of our Providence people like their consciences are [?] hardened and so callous that boiling water will prove a sufficient stimulus. One would be apt to think that the throats of our Providence folks as well as their faces were sheathed with brass or sole leather...I intend shortly to publish a treatise wherein I shall endeavor to prove the beneficial effects of tea on the human constitution."

"Yesterday I dined in company with some of the first people of Canton by whom I am much noticed. Though I am considered as an obscene fellow by your low ill bred Providence wretches and am hardly noticed as I pass the streets there yet I always find myself caressed by people of the first distinction abroad. We live very agreeably at the factories in Canton in a circle of [?] company in the place whose ideas are as much exalted above the instinct of your Providence brutes."

"The house of God which in Christian countries is usually consecrated to religious purposes alone in Providence seems to have forgotten its original institution, there our clergy...let loose the dogs of war, there the pulpit which ought to be an oracle of peace according to the doctrine of our Savior breathes forth war & slaughter, rouses the irritable passions of mankind to a thirst for blood or [?] over their detestible crimes. How often in Providence have I see the sacred temples of the most high wantonly prophaned by the lowest buffoonery...So deeply are we immersed in wickedness that it will require the labours of another Hercules to cleanse this Augean Stable of its impurities."

[Canton, China; ca. January 1800] "To Mr. Rd. Folwell

You will no doubt be surprised at receiving a letter from this remote region but however unexpected my intrusion may be yet I cannot forebear by the present opportunity of returning My thanks for sending me your history of the yellow fever, which raged in Philadelphia last year. Mr. Dukey brought the books as far as Newport, but being mislaid in the sloop I did not receive them until within a few days of our sailing for Canton...it is the most rational and candid account of the fever which I have read free from that Bigoted prejudice to theoretical systems which deforms the writings of modern Physicians and thins the ranks of their patients. The repeated attacks which not only Philadelphia but all our populous cities have sustained from pestilential fevers will I apprehend prove an obstacle to commerce, it will ween the Americans from crowding together into cities and attach them more strongly to a country life. ...

I will however inform you that the Ann & Hope C. Bentley master sailed from Providence August 9, 1799 in which ship I embarked in my former capacity. The next day after putting to sea we were boarded by the Cleopatra and the Boston, two British frigates of thirty two guns each who after overhauling permitted us to proceed...Going round New Holland [Australia] and thence round all the Eastern Islands...ran down to Macao...Notwithstanding the length and weariness of the voyage, the rough weather and tempests we encountered and the fatigues and dangers of a seafaring life; yet we passed our time agreeably enough. ... How earnestly I desire to see the day when I shall be independent, when I can call my time my own and shall no longer be subject to the whim and caprice of mortals or the futile Goddess of fortune who has hitherto delighted to keep me at the bottom of the wheel making herself merry at my mean condition and whose unaccountable freaks and humours have hitherto pursued me

with mishaps through life. I should be glad to put it out of the power of the old Jade to play me any more pranks...

Since you resided in Providence our people have been growing worse & worse, the good inhabitants mostly removing to other countries and leaving the dregs and refuse of the town behind. These have been largely reinforced by hordes of emigrants the scum & sweepings of the neighboring states, the most hardened ruffians who being out lawed at home and compelled to fly to save their necks from the halter and being attracted by a chemical affinity have settled in Providence where they openly practice the most abominable frauds and grow rich. We have increased in numbers it is true since you left our town but such a motley unprincipled crew were perhaps never huddled together before. Indeed the bulk of our Providence people seem to be so entirely destitute of any principle of honor or honesty that I scruple not to pronounce them the worst people on earth, so little regard is paid by them to truth or religion. In that place the words merit, honour and honesty are banished from the language and consummate baseness, villainy and fraud substituted in their room, and Foreign gentlemen who have resided among us denominate us a heterogenous crew of ignorant ruffians, who are destitute of any other knowledge except a despicable knack of defrauding each other and a species of low chicanery. In these arts I must confess we are adepts our faith and Ignorance being proverbial abroad like the Carthaginian. In Providence a set of pimping priests of the most abandoned character reign uncontrolled with lawless sway, they dictate the political as well as religious principles of the times and lead our poor hen pecked animals by the nose at pleasure. The people of Providence have not the courage to adopt any other Ideas or Sentiments but what receive the sanction of the clergy from whose decision they dare not swerve. Our clergy are perhaps the most unprincipled men in existence...Our priest are the grossest idolaters...worshipping gold and silver...

Yesterday I dined in company with some of the first people of Canton by whom I am much noticed. Though I am considered as an obscure fellow by your low ill bred Providence wretches and am hardly noticed as I pass the streets there yet I always find myself caressed by people of the first distinction abroad. We live very agreeably at the factories in Canton in a circle of the first company in the place whose Ideas are as much exalted above the instinct of your Providence brutes as you can imagine. Here we dwell with and converse on the most intimate footing with people of all nations and languages with Christians, Mahometans, Pagans & Jews, with Americans, English Dutch & Swedes, with the Swarthy inhabitants of Bengal the Malabar and Coromandel coast, with Tartars Moors, Saracens, Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Turks & Grecians and all the oriental tribes of religious manners and customs differing widely from each other yet all in the greatest harmony, each one making allowances for national peculiarities and living together with the greatest good humor and pleasantry, whereas the surly people of Providence can hardly be restrained from cutting each others throats or what is worse tearing each others characters to pieces or trampling upon order and government...

Overpersuaded to return home on a visit, I unfortunately consented. Hinc prima mali labes, hence the origin of my misfortunes. The inhabitants of Providence thinking I had returned to dwell permanently among them entered into a conspiring with the priests against me and but too well effectuated their diabolical purpose. I had supposed myself too mean a mark for them to level their poisoned arrows against...but in this I was deceived, their malice being unbounded and their aim sure."

"New Holland"; ca. February 1800

"Dear Sister

...My friends have frequently complained that I do not write them letters when I am abroad...You would be extremely diverted to see the belles of Canton hobbling along on their small feet...their gate is awkward in the extreme, though they have black eyes and pretty faces...Is the old Sail lane thronged with the gossips of Providence yet?...Methinks I see you doing penance for your sins confined to a tea table and swallowing large draughts of liquid fire...I was glad that you did not ship in the Ann & Hope as you talked since we have been twice called to quarters expecting an engagement with the enemy, and if our force had been equal to theirs we would have hazarded a battle rather than have been taken...PS We are nearly up with the Western shore of New Holland [Australia]."

\$ 4500.00

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(Circular)
Treasury Department
March the 10th 1791.

Sir

In making up some documents which are requisite for the information of the President and the Legislature, a return of the new Vessels launched since the Commencement of the General Government is found necessary. It is therefore the wish of the Secretary of the Treasury that as soon as may be convenient after the receipt hereof you would transmit to this Office the most exact return in your power of the Decked Vessels built in your District between the fourth of March 1790 and the same day in 1791 including the smallest sizes. The name, tonnage, form of the rigging, whether Ship, Brig &c. the form of the hull, whether double or single decked, or deep waisted the owners name whether a Citizen or foreigner and of what Nation, if pierced for guns, and how

6. Coxe, Tench, (1755-1824) as Assistant Treasury Secretary, **Manuscript Circular Letter from the Treasury Department March 10, 1791, addressed to Jeremiah Olney, Collector for Providence, Rhode Island, signed by Coxe**

quarto, three pages of a bi-folium, old folds, split along central vertical fold, now comprising two sheets, small hole in last leaf occasioned by careless opening, else in very good clean, legible condition. Signed by Coxe and free franked in Coxe's hand on address leaf, docketed on verso; "From Tench Coxe, A. Secretary of the Trea. 10th March 1791 Returns transmitted 10 May 1791

"An avowed economic nationalist, Coxe actively supported the financial program of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, particularly Hamilton's efforts to establish a national bank. In May 1790 Hamilton named Coxe to be his assistant secretary of the treasury. Hamilton used Coxe's research in preparing his report on manufactures (1791) ..." - *American National Biography*, volume 5, pp., 636-638

It is certain that much of the information obtained by Coxe from this circular, and all the others that must have been sent out across the country were used by Hamilton in his famed *Report on Manufactures* which was presented to the House of Representatives on December 5, 1791.

“(Circular) Treasury Department March 10, 1791

Sir,

In making up some documents which are requisite for the information of the President and the Legislature, a return of the new Vessels launched since the Commencement of the General Government is found necessary. It is therefore the wish of the Secretary of the Treasury that as soon as may be convenient after the receipt hereof you would transmit to this office the most exact return in your power of the Decked Vessels built in your District between the fourth of March 1790 and the same day in 1791 including the smallest sizes, The name, tonnage, form of rigging, whether ship, brig, &c, the form of the hull, whether double or single decked or deep waisted the owners name whether a citizen or foreigner and of what Nation, if pierced for guns and how many, whether the frame was of Pine or White Oak or live Oak and Cedar &c will be very useful points of information. The enclosed form will enable you to execute this business with greater facility and may be adhered to as far as may be possible. After the above year is stated in your return you will proceed to make a similar one as to the preceeding year that is from the fourth of March 1789 to the same day in 1790 but unless you can procure the requisite information of both years at the same time it will be well not to delay that first mentioned.

The Secretary also wishes that you may forward from time to time as they may come into your hands any documents that have relation to the commerce, navigation, fisheries, manufactures or productions of your state either in the time of the Province or in that of the Commonwealth. These things frequently offer to Gentlemen in public stations and will be of the greatest importance to this Country, which till the last two years has had few national offices. The Legislature having been pleased to extend the privilege of franking to the Comptroller, the Treasurer, and the Auditor, sealed packets or letters similar to those which have heretofore been enclosed to the Secretary of the Treasury may be hereafter put into the Mails addressed to them.

I am Sir,

Very respectfully

Your most obt.

Servant

Tench Coxe

Assist. Secy”

\$ 1,750.00

By Mr. & Mrs. Grandfather Willits

2. 2

1863

15

1

Diary of a trip to Cuba - 1863.

Having suffered much from Chronic Rheumatism and which eventually resulted in Bronchial Affection - I was induced by the hope of benefit to my health after the doctor's frequent and earnest advice - to make a voyage to the Island of Cuba.

Upon consulting the papers I received an announcement, that the British steamer, Melita would start for that island on the 21st of February at 3 P.M.

Through the kindness of Mr. Field, of Melit's, I secured a passage and a cabin ticket at price \$10. - my passport I had previously secured at a cost of \$8.25 -

Ticket 2.00
76 S. Stamp 3.00
Wage of Spaniards 8.25
Total = 8.25

1863
Feb 20 - Started from Kensington depot at 11 A.M. with my baggage comprising 2 Carpetbags and a small medicine chest. Reached the Merchants Hotel - Courtland st. in due season and was much gratified in meeting Mr. Henry Longcope who was sojourning at that house. In the afternoon he accompanied me to Warren st. wharf to visit the Melita and examine the accommodations. and after discussing a good supper we spent the evening in pleasant intercourse on the subject of my departure.

Saturday
21st This morning I spent in company of S.M. Cawley - he having called called after I had left the hotel - but whom I subsequently met in Broadway - Having been much troubled and pained during the night with the soreness and bleeding of my throat - I purchased among other things, I thought necessary for my voyage a cup for a Spittum - This

Our Man in Havana - 1863

7. (Cuba - Slavery) Willits, Joseph B., **Manuscript Diary Kept While on a Trip to Cuba, from New York and Return, February - April 1863, with his Vivid Impressions of the Island - Slavery, Confederate Sympathizers, Blockade Runners, Pirates, Slave Traders, etc.**

Folio, 121 pages, text block loose, lacking front board and back strip, retains the original rear marbled paper covered board, entries written in ink, in a legible hand, some minor ruffling and chipping to edges and extremities of text, otherwise very good.

Willits was suffering from chronic rheumatism and was advised by doctors to make a trip to Cuba for his health. He set out from Philadelphia in February 1863, for New York where he boarded the British steamer *Melita* for Cuba. Willits was apparently a former Philadelphia fireman. Willits is not found in Philadelphia City directories 1860-1863, but there is a James Willits found at 900 Wood Street, listed as a shirtmaker, James Willits may be his father.

Willits relates his impressions of Cuba in vivid detail, he travels throughout the island and describes his interactions with the people, slaves, social and religious customs.

Willits was a staunch supporter of the Union and an opponent of slavery and the slave trade which was still active in Cuba. Most of the Cubans Willits interacted with were Southern sympathizers. Willits also encountered American and foreign merchants. Most of these merchants were also southern sympathizers and were making immense profits sending goods to the Rebel states via Confederate blockade runners. Willits describes his encounters with these men and the heated arguments he engages in with them on secession, slavery and the slave trade.

Willits describes the great fear among sea captains and merchantmen of Confederate "Pirates", particularly the Confederate raider "Alabama". Willits relates that both Union and Confederate ships came into the harbor of Havana for supplies, refitting, etc.

Willits also describes his enlistment by a disguised Union naval officer, as a spy or informant to help obtain information on the movements and activities of Confederate raiders and blockade runners.

On his homeward journey Willits' vessel carried two stowaways, one of whom was a Cuban slave trader who lost his vessel and was traveling to New York to outfit a new vessel with which to carry on the trade. Willits relates the course of a debate he had with him on the evils of slavery. Willits argues that Cuba would never advance as a country until it ended slavery comparing it to the American south, which Willits argues would not advance until slavery was abolished there.

An excellent diary.

Sample Quotes:

"Wednesday February 25, 1863

... This day while sitting around the fire in the cabin in our great coats – my attention was drawn by the dissimilar appearance of those around me – We had representatives of most of the leading nations of the earth and of course striking contrasts were afforded – Allow me to attempt a description of the "dramatis Persona" –

1st the chief officer – a large bodied Representative of John Bull with a full face and an expression much like my brother Samuel's and of whom I was often reminded , next to him was a German who had become denationalized for a time we took him to be a Spaniard – he spoke both of those languages also the English fluently. In company was a true Castilian – his brother in law, and his wife a fine looking lady who was present. ... a yellow headed and whiskered Frenchman who could speak Spanish like a native and but little English sat next, he had been much in South America – and possessed the mercurial disposition of his countrymen.

Then came Bishop a yankee, light complexioned and thin face – but quick of intelligence and a ready conversationalist. I represented the border, with dark hair and beard and readiness for argument. While Capt. Sheeler, stout and sun burned was a Texian of very decided secession proclivities ... next in

order was Otto Wein a good looking young German who had been wounded at Bethel and receiving a discharge, was now going out to seek employment as a corresponding clerk.

Don Valasco – a Cuban gentleman with 2 companions one a Catholic priest and the other named Bovinas, a Rail Road Engineer seeking employment – Besides there Capt. Watson & Lieutenant Lyman – officers who had served out their time in the army and were visiting Cuba to initiate a produce business. And a young man named Leibman, a strong sympathizer with Rebellion – who had come from Mobile and after supplying himself with cotton cards and things much wanted in the south was on his way to Havana to get them into the blockaded states. These were among the most remarkable of the passengers ...”

“Friday 27 ... at noon

A vessel in the Southern board this morning attracted great attention many supposing her to be the notorious Confederate ship Alabama Capt. Semmes, or some other Southern pirate Then some miles off she directed her course to run across our bow this served to confirm the above impression – at length we found her to be a Barque beating South.

3 p.m. We have had a strong argument on the quarter deck in which the German Spaniard, above spoken of sustained the “North” against the English officers of the ship – the Texan captain and a number of the passengers. The purser in taunting us about the Financial condition of the U. States made such assertions in reference to the “consuls” of Great Britain as enabled one to show by English Treasury reports many egregious blunders made by him and at the same time afforded an excellent opportunity to explain the position and policy of the North – I seized the occasion and he withdrew from the contest amid the smiles of the audience – many of whom learned that the “consuls” had once been as to the par to 100 and the Bank of England paid the interest in six penny bits This humiliating fact was not relished by the English especially as it was uttered in the hearing of so many representatives of different nationalities.” ...”

“Saturday Feb. 28th

... During conversation the English purser advanced and propounded a question to me – relating to ancient and modern slavery – The passengers gathered around – Capt. Corbett and the purser maintained that slavery in ancient times among the jews and that now existing in the south – were identical and if one was tolerated by the almighty among his people – the other was also right.

I denied the similarity as the old Testaments regulations were only concerning Bondsman – not slaves – and therefore there was no “chattle slavery” existing among the chosen people of ancient days and even the debtors and Bondsmen were set at liberty every seventh year – the sabbatical year of the Jews see “Leviticus” “Proclaim liberty to the land and all inhabitants thereof”

I added that I was surprised to find the sons of those Englishmen, who inveighed so loudly against slavery and who appointed 20 million sterling to abolish it in these colonies – now, recreant to the principles of their Fathers were the most urgent apologists of such an abominable institution and striving to do all they could to weaken the arm striking for its suppression. The argument was dropped by the captain acknowledging the truth of what had been said and strongly disclaiming against being considered an apologist of Slavery. Mr. Candler, the Boston Gentleman, although not participating – expressed his gratification at the arguments used and thought the slavery party had fallen considerable to leeward in the estimation of the listeners.

In all our discussions – the English invariably took the side of the south and exhibited continually their jealousy and hatred of the free states and to such a degree was this carried – that upon one occasion I charged them with it adding one occasion I charged them with it adding “The reason is well known to us – we having made such rapid strides in manufactures, commerce and all material prosperity that you have become alarmed apprehending competition perhaps exclusion of your manufactures in the parts of the world – and therefore ungenerously take this opportunity to assist in breaking us down – Oh! Magnanimous England! This was a home thrust not at all palatable.

Mr. Candler participated today in the wordy war and to the delight of the union men and the corresponding dismay of John Bull, Capt. Wheeler and their sympathizers – acquitted himself a stalwart knight in defence of the principles and actions of the north.”

“Sunday March 1st

We are off the Bahama Islands and expect soon to see land... An earnest argument on deck about the present Home troubles between Mr. Candler and myself on the one side and captains Corbett, Wheeler, Purser Musgrove – Passengers eagerly pressing around attentive listeners – Mr. Candler again extorts the admiration even of the Secessionists & their sympathizers by his extensive knowledge and unusual logical powers. He is by odds the master mind aboard and so acknowledged. Capt. Corbett advised his officers to avoid entering into any more arguments of the kind – as the Yankees carried off the glory “being better posted up” as he expressed it. ...”

“Monday March 2nd

... I met also an English Engineer – a Forecastle passenger who was captured in a steamer near the “hole in the wall” whilst striving to run the blockade – their captor was the Keystone State who took them to Key West – and he was hired to take a prize to New York – is now going to Havana in hopes of getting a berth – he did not say what but I summarized “Blockade Running”

Tuesday March 3^d ... 12o'clock Land ho! Cuba is seen at last The English officers say this ship is very similar to the “Alabama” in her rigging – having also a like black hull & red bottom and has often been mistaken for her creating great alarm among American merchantmen. The truth of this is perceptible A Barque approaching to meet us has suddenly put about hoisted more sail and is making great efforts to get back again within 3 miles of the coast – where she would be safe from capture. ...”

“Wednesday March 4th

... Mr. Bishop and myself having letters of credit and introduction to the large sugar merchants of Havana, M. Morales & Co.; we called and presented them – met a kindly business reception and were told we could draw at anytime we wished. In the evening with Watson & Lyman I attended the circus “Chicini” outside the walls – the performance very similar to ours (1 peso)

A man is sitting behind me introduced himself as Eli – the brother of Charles Adams 8th & Arch Sts said he was a commission merchant at Metamoras where the English, Spanish and New Yorkers are making immense profits by sending goods most wanted in Rebeldom, from thence they pass the Rio Grande and go through the south. He is a bitter secessionist and abused his family badly especially Charles – asking me to take a most insulting message to him – I declined, thinking his ill will had been purchased by his family in striving to keep him disgrace.”

"Thursday March 5

This morning I have been perambulating the city and will now attempt something of a description of Havana the most populous and stirring city of the Spanish seas. The "old city" as it is termed lies upon the bay and here all the cargoes are landed and the main business done particularly foreign. It is surrounded by a thick wall and broad moat. The old Spanish cathedrals very numerous are located here and the richest stores are also within these walls; but a new city has been built outside and many fine buildings erected among which are the Hotel de Engleterra and Theatre Tacon, also the Circus Chicini – In speaking of the new part it is generally termed "outside the walls" ... The houses here as elsewhere in the Spanish dominions are seldom above 2 story in height but make up for the slight altitude by covering a large space of ground are uniformly built of the Limestone of the island... The main streets are paved with the square stone blocks – which are brought as are many other things in use from America – the other macadamized with the white limestone pulverized by pounding with heavy mallets – the work of the chain gang, or condemned felons...

The houses are invariably plastered outside and then painted, Red, White, blue, or occasionally yellow. The last is the color of the Hotel de Engleterra and Teatro Tacon on the "Prado" and other fine buildings What struck me as singular was the extreme narrowness of the pavements rarely over 2 feet allowing but one person to walk thereon – others must take to the street – this matters but little as the streets except after a rain are about as clean as the first named.

The "Hotel Cubana" where we are staying was built by an American in fact is called the American hotel or Hotel Americana – and almost the only house I saw in Cuba 4 stories in height. It is located on the calle de "Tiniente Ray" below Cuba street or calle as street is called in Spanish. ...

Before leaving Phila I was urged by the doctor to sojourn for a time, when I reached Cuba upon a sugar plantation and inhale the vapors of boiling syrup as he believed it efficacious for complaints like mine. To this end I had brought out a letter of introduction to a prominent engineer of the Havana & Matanzas Railroad named Sticher. And I now started to hunt him up ... The depot was close at hand and when there I feared I could not accomplish my purpose as all my inquiries for Mr. Sticher were answered by the invariable "non comprehend Englaise" Senor" I at length came across one of the employees whose features bespoke the American, and upon my addressing him – his reply was "Besure I know Mr. Sticker" I was of course much pleased with the answer especially as he exhibited his good will by leading the way to the Hotel Thurston on the Calle de Industry where Sticker boarded. After meeting him... he stated that he felt obligated to exert himself to get me on a plantation – that there were 2 ways to accomplish it – 1st by getting letters of introduction to stay awhile at the plantation mansions or be introduced to an Administrador of an estate and arrange to board at his house, Such a thing as a boarding house as we have is seldom to be found in the island – at least I never found any.

Letters he could give me to different proprietors but the objection would be that I would find it hard to resist late hours, liquors & being an invalid such life would be injurious to me. There fore he would make me acquainted with an American Administrador an intelligent person and whose company I could spend the time agreeably...

I was repeatedly informed that one main cause why so many Americans & English die with the (vomito) yellow fever is because of their inflaming the blood with whiskey, brandy &c drinks which may do for a cold country but not for the West Indian Islands. And the Spaniards practice what they preach as they are invariably seen in the café's indulging only in harmless drinks and I must say to their credit that I observed upon 1 occasion only an inebriated Spaniard ..."

"Sunday 8th

Up early and attended mass in the grand cathedral – the interior most richly decorated.

After Breakfast while sitting on the terrace heard a grand flourish of music – looked over the parapet and beheld what I had ardently desired to see – the "Fire department of Havanna" And to an old Philadelphia fireman a most comical spectacle it appeared. First – came a band of music in full plan then a regiment of armed soldiers followed by a troop of negroes and whites pulling 2 of the smallest and most insignificant engines I ever saw – an awkward vehicle of the cart kind – carrying some hose followed; and the rear of this grotesque cavalcade was brought up by a large body of police in their check frock coats and belts.

Such an inefficient looking "Fire Apparatus" surely an American seldom sees, and I deemed it fortunate for these people that their roofs are of tile and their floors of stone – and fires seldom known. I enquired of Don Ludewig if this constituted the entire department. His reply was in the affirmative.

I find Sunday is the great day here – Government business is stopped and the employees take the time to visit theatres , Bull fights and other places of amusement. The soldiers drill and parade. The lotteries & Gambling places are in full play. The fruit peddler on his little Spanish (caballo) horse cries aloud his oranges ... the shoemaker works, the noise of the tinman's hammer is as loud as usual and the lottery tickets are thrust in your face & you urged to buy in tones as stentorian as ever The stores are all open and the clerks play cards in the door way as usual. ...

After dinner called at the "Cubana" to see Capt. Wheeler in his room smoked a good segar and listened to something of his history. It appears he was captain of a company of Texian Rangers under Taylor in Mexico belonging to Jack Hays's Regiment and in this civil war has been fighting against us in Virginia – having raised a Texian Regiment – but owing to official influence some other had superseded him in command of his Regiment he then left the army and returned to his plantation in Texas – but recently sailed from Metamoras to Havana – thence took the steamer Melita went to N. York and was my fellow passenger back on that ship – bringing his 3 children who had been 4 years in northern schools. He was taking out with him 2 carriages a great supply of clothing besides large quantities of Quinine, Opium, and other things greatly wanted in the south I was surprised to learn there is so little vigilance exercised in N. York, as to who leaves, or what goods for the aid of Rebellion are carried out. ... "

"Mch 9th 10.am.

... Returned to early dinner and upon going to Mr. Stickers private room at the depot woke him from sleep and informed him I was going away to Matanzas for 2 days but before going I wished to know if he had yet provided me the place on a plantation. His reply was he had arranged for me to reside near "Celia Mocha" on a fine estate & where the Adminstrador an American and an intelligent man would be an excellent companion. And as soon as I returned he would take me up in his train and introduce me ...

The Rail Road upon which we traveled starts from the depot "outside the walls" and passing toward the interior of the island stopping at various places in the mountains and valleys takes a circuit to the coast, terminating at Matanzas. ... We saw many handsome plantation houses on the sugar estates and of course the numerous palm thatched huts of the slaves. In the fields stood rows of negroes of both sexes – partly nude working in the hot sun, while the overseer covered with his broad sombrero and sometimes by an umbrella – sat on his horse, whip in hand, and applied it to the bare backs of either the exhausted or tardy. ...

The Hewitt House where we are now staying being kept by an American is called the "American Hotel" and is the only house in Cuba where I saw the Stars & stripes flying, It is now crowded mainly with Americans & English..."

"Tuesday March 10

... Upon reaching the Hotel – the Landlord Mr. Hubbard had sad news for me – my friend Mr. Stricker had been killed in the afternoon by a collision on the Rail Road while on his way to join us... It appears 4 had been killed and 14 wounded and Strickers death was almost instantaneous The collision took place in the "big cut" at "Celia Mocha" the very place where he had arranged for me to stay a short time. ... it appears as though the only friend I had in this foreign land was ript from me and I was alone when I most need his kindness and assistance... A number of Americans & others of his friends assembled – discussing the affair. And it was understood his body was laid upon the bank with no one to take charge of it. These people consider all who do not profess the catholic faith as heretics entitled to but little consideration..."

"March 12th

This day the anniversary of my birth – finds me far away from the comforts of home A denizen of a foreign land and what exaggerates regret into sorrow I am about to pay the last sad respect to my unfortunate friend. His remains have been brought to the city and at 10 this morning the funeral is to take place..."

"Friday 13th

... There are many soldiers on this island they appear to be ubiquitous and a regular system of espionage is kept up – even in changing your boarding house – your certificate is asked for by the landlord – that he may notify the authorities; if he fails, he is liable to a fine of \$ 50 – It is said there are now from 35 to 50,000 military on the island. They serve 8 years in Spain but if sent here ¼ of the time is abbreviated. They are all from Spain and despise the Cubans – who in turn detest them – as parasites eating out of the substance of the land – The truth is all the positions in the army and navy as also in the custom house, post office &c are held by Spaniards – who not only enjoy fat salaries, but increase their emoluments by fees, bribes & other means of extortion. Many of these amass large fortunes which they return home to enjoy. The late Capitan general "Concha" it is said made millions by allowing the wealthy men, the privileges of running slaves into the island.

The present Governor – it is a satisfaction to say, is very strict upon this point, holding all parties to a rigid responsibility who attempt anything of the kind.

In fact Don Heyliger informs me – a negro here, is only considered in the light of how much sugar he can make – ere he sinks under the cruelty of the overseers – he dies, is buried in the field or the sand of the sea shore, others are brought in to take his place – and the work goes on – The world must have sugar – and the owners the gold made from it ! such is their own story.

In the streets of Havana – one thing arrests the attention of a foreigner. I allude to the chain gang at work paving the Prado with the square stone blocks from America. These men are condemned for crime for 3, 5 or ten years as the case may be are the low Cubans, blacks and coolies – Possessing neither money or influence, if arrested, they are almost certain to be sent to work on the roads &c Those committed for heinous offenses are chained from the waist to the ankle and the rattling made by it in working or walking is by no means pleasant. They are designated by a dress of dirty white linen marked over with black rings and short jackets with the name and number on the back. A guard is

always by them. Late each day they are marched off to the guard house near castle Villanueva the next morning taken out to their daily work under the hot sun to pave streets work in the culverts or macadamize the roads with the white stone.

It is a most miserable and degraded life – exposed to the sneers of each passer by. In fact but little better than that of a galley slave. I have seen them eating sugar cane and raw plantain to stay the demands of hunger. Should they die. Their only prospect is to be buried in a hole scooped in the sand on the sea shore – without any sorrow or ceremony. ...”

“Saturday 14th

... This morning I wandered to the Rock bound coast above Fort Villanueva and the vacant lot beside it is pointed out as the place where General Narciso Lopez was garotted, after invading the island – endeavoring to overthrow Spanish domination, Betrayal by one of his followers he perished here, a victim to Spanish laws. His memory is yet cherished by Cubans as that of a martyr of liberty. I plucked some flowers on the spot which I carefully preserved in my note book.

On the opposite side of the Bay near Castle “Moro” I was told Col. Crittenden and his 40 Americans were shot. It was to be regretted that such an officer should be sacrificed in such an expedition. ...

Today I had the pleasure of meeting 3 Philadelphians on the esplanade at (La Pontee) the point opposite the “Moro” of one of them a Mr. Miller I had some knowledge – they are building an imposing mansion at the termination of the Cerro 3 miles from the city The cerro I should explain is one of the great thoroughfares from the city to the country westward along the coast To show the estimation Philadelphians are held in – I would say that many of the chief moulders, engineers, adminstradors &c are from that City And these mechanics are engaged in Phila by this wealthy Cuban, to come out and construct a fine residence for him. Since they commenced they have secured another contract a few miles further at Pontus Grandos. They are striving to get through by the first of June having no desire to be here when rainy and sickly season comes on which is about the middle of that month and it continues until near the 1st of October , during which time that scourge the vomito (yellow fever) makes its ravages. ...

In the afternoon I took a walk on the Prado one of the great thoroughfares and into which pours the crowd from the Passay’o An immense concourse of volantes were passing and repassing. And in contrast within an hours time a half score of companies of the chain gang were marched along guarded with drawn swords, their chains rattling as they passed. What a striking contrast they presented in their nakedness filth and chains to the costly equipages and magnificent dresses of the wealthy and joyous votaries of fashion around them.

I went to my own room in a fit of reflection, marveling at the inequalities of our social condition ...”

“Monday March 16th

... After breakfast went to the Plaza des Armes took an omnibus to the cerro ... then took a second one for Marianhow some 6 miles from Havana ... This is a great watering place for the people of that city in the sickly season. ... I stopped at the Hotel Union – found one of the waiters could speak English ... The waiter was very communicative, informed me he was French and had come out of New Orleans with a pass from Genl Butler. That he was the only person in the village who could speak English and boasted much that the vomito never had reached here And the place in summer was always crowded with the elite of Havana. In proof whereof he pointed out some houses unopened and which only received their inhabitants on the approach of the sickly season.

... After dinner ... I observed an artificial fountain beside the stream from which issued 2 jets of water, this was surrounded by a noisy crowd of Cubans, creoles and negroes, who were collecting it in kegs, pipkins &c – Much of this is sold by vendors through the country, from the backs of their horses, and so great is its reputation for salubrity &c that I was informed it is sold even in Havana I drank from the fountain and found it palatable. ...

Cottages or pillared mansions – groves of trees, leading up to plantation houses, slaves at work in the fields or trimming Palms, gathering Bananas, or watering the flowers, were around me- while to the north down the mountain – lay the ocean whitened with sail Much gratified – I returned to the “Hotel Union”... Upon the suggestion of the French waiter I went up stairs to the 2nd story and seated myself on the porch (verandah) the view was very pleasing ... My waiter friend assured me this verandah was a favorite spot of the company. This I could well believe. He also informed me the village of La Applia in front on the coast was where many slavers landed their cargoes of human beings and from thence run them into the interior – the chains to which they were fastened are still there. ...”

“March Tuesday 17

Rose early and took a long walk across the plantations toward the coast and heard cannon sharp and continued for half an hour, off on the ocean – conjectured it might be the Alabama after some merchantman. ...

For proper information I would here say – The best and sweetest oranges are those cultivated on the estates and are those sought by all who are good judges of the fruit. Besides these, incredible quantities grow wild on the plantations – forming a great article of consumption of the slaves and low Cubans – These are sometimes called “sour sops”. ... On the hill side I was attracted by a well of (70 varas deep) 210 feet ... To render this water available was a slow and toilsome process.

In this country however – Time or proper facilities are but little regarded. The slave does the labour and others are unconcerned. ...”

“Wednesday 18th

... In the evening out with Don Heyliger for chocolata - with this Danish gentleman. I have become very intimate he was born in the Island of Santa Cruz but has travelled considerably⁶ having lived in the United States 7 years is quite intelligent and speaks several languages fluently. Is at present an Administrador of an Estate. We always seat ourselves together at Table and from him I have received much information of the Island and its custom – he expressed an ardent admiration of the U. States and intended at a future day to bring his family and settle there...”

“March 19th

... 3 p.m. I must go to the entrada and look out What a sight@ The floods of water pouring down ... The volanti^{ers} go plunging along ... the coverings of the volantes buttoned up screening the inmates – with pants rolled up to the thigh and naked legs and feet they sit on the little horses and with heads bowed down face the tempest ... It is comical to watch these negro postilions urging the horses along – their broad brimmed sombreros flapping in their faces and their ebon countenances’ expressive of discomfort and disgust, and what increases the comedy is to witness the mischievous boys and darkies safely sheltered in the entradas making gestures of being washed & crying etc mucha agua ... or something tantalizing to each volanti^{er} facing the pitiless storm and making efforts to reach a place of shelter – while he can only respond by making ugly grimaces and flourishing his whip

accompanied with expressions of negro fury between guiding his horse and holding up the flap of his hat. ...”

“Fri Morn 20th

... Our Pennsylvania Anthracite cannot be procured at any price – as the U. S. Government has forbid its shipment to foreign parts fearing it might be used by Blockade Runners. The long train of black smoke occasioned by English coal often ensures the Capture – while striving to run Contraband goods into Dixie – I have been informed here that \$ 50 – a tone could be got for it now – so highly is it estimated ...”

“... I met Don Heyliger who took me to the office of Mr. Malingier in “San Ignacio” and introduced me – this gentleman is from Soy=Southwark – Philada and agent for the extensive Steam Boiler and machinery makers – Merrick & Son – Philadelphia on Washington street and fifth –

I found him a strong union man and became from the 1st meeting much attached to him ... he also gave me much information of the Blocade runners and other secessionists in the island and their modes of doing business & his office was much frequented by Union & Confederate. A number were present and we had a strong discussion on the Rebellion – at last the argument became highly excited – when Mr. Malingier restored all to good humour by an invitation to the dominico for wine & segars &c

I find American affairs are speculated upon with great interest the papers from America eagerly bought at 20 cts each and any success to the Rebels is highly lauded and dwelt on. A community of interest in Slavery effects this – Most of the English and French I have met at the Hotels are strongly secesh in their sympathies and numbers engaged in running good through the Blocade – or shipping to Matamoras for the South

The Hotels are full of Southern people also so engaged, many from N. Orleans who fled from Genl Butler and as their property was assessed by his orders to aid in supporting the poor of that city they are of course clamorous and bitter enemies to him and the Union.

At the Hotel Tables they are full of loud braggadocio and hesitate not to insult any northern man sufficiently sensitive for his flag and cause – In fact they ruled it with a high hand and I left the American Hotel Cubana partly on that account It was the same however at other houses and at times almost unendurable – Ridicule of the courage of the Yankees mixed with surprise at the perseverance shown by them under what they called imbecile officers – cheers and toasts for the Southern Confederacy and Groans for the Yankees – all successes of the South exaggerated of the North diminished, and scoffed at, thus the whole attention of the table was monopolized by them. This was carried to such an extent that upon one occasion at Table I resented it – a great uproar ensued – friends were called in for consultation and I expected to receive a note politely worded, to meet my Belgian friend in some lonely place to settle the matter... however after 2 days it was amicably settled by his disclaiming any intention to insult and promising to be more wary in future. The affair had this good effect – other parties at once ceased their insults at the table no more toasts were drunk to the southern Confederacy and while I remained at the Hotel, conversation was more carefully guarded – from this incident and the fact of my coming from Pennsylvania – a Border State – also because I was ever on the alert for argument and to explain how the north was right in this war – I received the title of Colonel from Don Ludewig the Landlord, others adopted the title and I became effectually dubbed an officer of the Regiment. ...

Many of the customs here seem to us northern people very strange – almost ridiculous – for instance that of driving the cows through the streets crying lache – lache (milk) and upon the slaves

or low Cubans running to the entrada – pipkin in hand the question is asked Quant vale (how much) sencillo 10 cts or medio 5 cts – the Cuban takes his vessel stoops down and milks the required quantity gets his money and moves to adjoining entrada ... It has certainly one advantage of the purchaser that of satisfying him in the knowledge of his getting the pure article ...”

“Saturday 21st

... Having followed the coast to Castle Villeneuve near the Cabanas where Lopez suffered, I struck off into the San Ignacio and stopping at Mr. Malinger’s office found my friend don Heyliger there with others – We had a warm discussion upon Secession adjourned to the dominico and thence to Hotel and until dinner at 4 p.m. luxuriating on Tamarind water oranges &c &c

A vessel called the Stonewall Jackson – a blockade runner and one which had become quite celebrated, was on the dry dock repairing at the time we entered the bay in the Melita, Mr. Malinger informed us to day of her capture by an American gun boat a few miles out of the harbour. This proved unfounded but after my return home to Philadelphia she was captured in endeavoring to run the Blockade again.

Even in this land of the Palm and the Orange – everything is not “color de Rose” among other things far from pleasant to hear – or reflection – is an account given me by the Phila mechanics now building on the Cerro. That in screening the sand, brot from the shore they turn out large quantities of human bones, fragments of clothes &c these come from the poor slaves and colliers who are to save expense buried in the sand on the shore...

At breakfast seated next to me was a new boarder who had arrived during the preceding night... the landlord had informed him of the difficulty at the table when I resented the insult to the “Flag” ... found he was a staunch Unionist he expressed himself gratified that the affair ended as it did in an apology being tendered by the slanderer... At his request we adjourned to his room – where he showed me the uniform of an American officer of a gun boat and confidentially informed me of his belonging to the “Vanderbilt” which U.S. Steamer was engaged in the search for the Pirate “Alabama” – adding that on account of so much false information given by secession sympathizers in the Islands relative to the whereabouts of the Alabama often putting them on a false scent – the captain had adopted the plan of running in at night – dropping an officer then leaving by daylight in the morning to avoid gossiping – the officer to frequent public places – try to inform himself of secession movements in relation to pirates & blocade runners and after a week or so the vessel would top in and pick him up ...

As he knew nothing of the city – I offered to escort him about the streets – I pointed out the secession club house gave him all the knowledge I was in possession of, about the doings of secessionists and introduced him to Mr. Malinger & let that gentlemen into the secret of his being an American officer – though in citizens clothes – and bespeaking for him all the aid in this matter he could give whenever the Lieutenant would stop in at the office ...

In the evening attended an exhibition of paintings which turned out most execrable daubs of some of McClellans battles in Virginia – an attack of French Zouaves in Mexico &c Among others one with an inscription under it purporting to represent “The destruction of Federal fleet by the batteries of Vicksburg on the Rio del Mississippi” And such a woful scene of destruction I surely never saw pictured before. Our boats were high in the air going rapidly toward heaven... and whole regiments of blue coats were flying for life pursued by a platoon of 6 or 7 Butternuts – and this monstrous fiction was perpetrated when it was well known land troops were not engaged in the 1st Bombardment and but

slight injury done to the vessels – but here an eager crowd highly enjoyed the thing believing it veracity itself

This will indicate in some measure the sympathies of the people of these islands and their prejudices too strong or their ignorance too great to be overcome.

This exhibition of despicable daubs was called the Caracalla – Whites and negroes were mingled indiscriminately in the crowded room and the temperature being very hot we soon left in disgust ...”

“Wednesday 25th

... I had ere leaving home bought of a juvenile street runner some imitation Confederate money the engraving upon it, execrable, although nearly equal to that on the original notes. I searched my pockets and found one of 2 dollars (which cost me 1 cent) I tendered it for his examination saying “Confederate dinario” He looked – bent his brows and said “malo papel – mucho malo” (bad paper – very bad) ... for these people are taught to believe every thing south is good and every thing north inferior and all this through the influence of sympathy in the institution of slavery...”

“Mch 28

... Today became quite sociable with our 2 Spanish passengers and found one had been captain of a merchant vessel recently lost – the other, Senor Fernandez ... had been Captain of a slave ship which he had recently run into Cuba and burnt his vessel and now in company with Valasco the younger Spaniard was going to N. York to fit out another ship for this execrable traffic – This much we gathered from various incidents and remarks –

They were polite in demeanour and except about their recent transactions – communicative.

In sentiment they held as with nearly all of their countrymen – That the negro was given for the use of the white man and it was perfectly allowable to extract all the labor possible from him without regard for his comfort, except so far as it was pecuniarily the interest of his owner.

They expressed some doubt of his being a human being – but inclined to the opinion that he was an intermediate link between the monkey & the man – therefore incapable of intellectual development or much progress in civilization and to transfer him from the wilds of Africa – to an enlightened community – though to fill a degraded and painful position was an improvement and therefore commendable as it was a blessing even to the “nigger” [sic]

These views might be overcome by argument but they would only smile and when at a loss for a reply – would turn the conversation upon other things. ...”

“Monday 30

... 9 a.m. A large schooner has been watched with considerable anxiety for an hour. She appeared aiming to run across our bows. The captain wears a troubled look and we assembled on the quarter deck intently watching her appearance. We have our fears of her proving the “Retribution” a well known Confederate Pirate. Visions of capture by the Rebels the burning of the ship – Robbing and maltreating the passengers and setting them ashore on some distant island to shift for themselves – all came across our minds as these afflictions had happened to many before us. We were much relieved when she passed not far astern – steering for the Bahamas.

We often had discussions upon varied topics on the Quarter Deck, as an instance I will give one The younger Spaniard was highly eulogizing Cuba, referring to its wealth and rapid advancement in every thing great – and predicting a great destiny for her &c &c . And desired my opinion.

I admitted the island possessed some fine scenery – also good land and a climate admirably adapted for the production of some of the main staples of trade. Nevertheless with all these advantages - I had seen what would, I thought, if it continued – prevent it becoming either a free or powerful country. In great surprise, he asked what I referred to as anything militating against its onward march had entirely escaped his observation – I refer to the “Institution of Slavery”

Valasco – And how will that injuriously affect it – Senor

I – By its results! In travelling in the island one can but remark – the indolent character of the poorer classes – and their contentedness in living in the same miserable hut – their fathers occupied before them – ... Strong men were lounging about idle – many engaged in games of chance for pitiful sums – no school houses visible and as far as could be seen – education neglected, and the children therefore growing up ignorant prejudiced and without ambition – who found that capital owning its labour offered no inducements for exertion to those who possessed only a willingness to work and strong sinews for the task.

Under such circumstances there never could be competition with Americans or English in building up a country to material prosperity

Valasco – But senor, did you not see fine Plantations and handsome and costly buildings bespeaking the wealth and progress of the land?

I – Certainly ! We would occasionally pass magnificent plantation houses – where money had been lavished without stint showing the great wealth of a few – but then we would travel for miles and meet with nothing but tumble down shanties and a miserable looking populace.

The evidence therefore I considered convincing that wealth was very unequally distributed a few having every thing they could crave – the many forming an ignorant and miserable class to whom no outlet was afforded for bettering their condition – And this deplorable state of affairs I believed could be mainly traced to the existence of slavery – And like causes producing like effects – to a certain degree we found it to be the same in our southern states now in Rebellion against the constituted authority.

Valasco – And how is it different in the northern states?

I – The North – free from the blight – encouraged free labour & education – Industry, rather than being looked upon as disgraceful, was meritorious, and if you travel through those states while you will observe many fine houses the abode of wealth – will see far more dwellings of medium size and pleasant appearance where the middle class rear up their children in an intelligent and comfortable way – having the advantage of a good school system to impart education to the rising generation and disseminate knowledge among all classes through the medium of lectures addresses &c Thus we have a better informed and more industrious middle class – such as in all ages were the glory of a Country being equally removed from the corrupting influences of great wealth – or the evil and disheartening tendencies of extreme poverty.

Our two passengers expressed surprise at what I had said promising to examine for themselves upon reaching America and see if such differences existed ...”

“April 1st

... 12 noon Boards & Barrels floating past indicate that some vessel did not pass scot free during the night. The Captain says we are opposite that den of Treason – Charleston ...

To day Don Fernandez brought out his instruments and made observations ... He also produced a number of charts of the coast of Africa with the principal slave stations marked and he explained to the captain the best route to Cuba in order to make good time and avoid the “cruisers” These things served to lower him much in our estimation convincing us of his being a “slaver”. ...”

“Friday 10th

... The Universe a large packet has just passed us full of emigrants – who are throwing overboard their beds – these float by us in a line –

1 p.m. Inside Neversink wind fair and we are approaching Sandy Hooks upon the point of which lies a large English Ship split in two. A second Emigrant ship the Thornton under “tow” passing – crowds of healthy looking Irish – from her bulwarks , gazing at us...

2 p.m. A transport crowded with soldiers – is steaming out accompanied by their friends in a tug anxious to see them off – salutes from cannon are being interchanged then the cheers of those in the tug answered by the soldiers ...”

\$ 8,500.00



8. (Diary) Bridges, Vernon C., **Manuscript Diaries of Vernon C. Bridges, Malvern Iowa, native and Itinerant Musician Traveling through the South, Mid-West and Western States, 1888, 1892, 1893, and 1895 Diary of his wife and fellow musician, Myrtle Miller Bridges**
four pocket diaries, with over 1,180 manuscript pages, in very good clean, legible condition.

Vernon Bridges and his brother Frank were two young brothers (Vernon turned 24 in January 1888), from Malvern, Iowa, guitarists and vocal musicians who toured the small towns and cities of the deep south, mid-west and western states performing before audiences in the hundreds and sometimes thousands in support of the Temperance cause. They toured in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and Nebraska. The first diary of 1888, begins while the brothers are in Florida, from it we learn that the brothers had already been performing for years under such names as the Pilgrim Brothers, Bridges Brothers, and with "temperance Evangelists, Hughes and Ward. Bridges was about to go on tour again with the entourage of Mason Long. Mason Long, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was a "converted" gambler and drunk, the author of *The Life of Mason Long The Converted Gambler*, which went through a number of editions in the 1880s. Long toured the Midwest

and western states with an entourage of singers and musicians and performed before audiences in town after town promoting Temperance. Long also peddled copies of his book at the shows.

Vernon and his brother Frank also toured on their own account and traveled throughout Iowa and Nebraska, they gave guitar lessons to private students and arranged large vocal and choral classes in the small towns of the rural west.

Bridges describes the towns, many of which were brand new settlements. He mentions the numerous acts also traveling the same route, Chinese students, circuses, Indian Medicine shows, etc. Bridges describes encounters with all manner of western people, cowboys, Native Americans, African Americans, street hawkers, hustlers and peddlers. An interesting and unusual group of diaries.

There are four diaries in the collection as follows:

1. 1888, 12mo pocket diary, 365 manuscript pages of diary entries, 21 pages of accounts, addresses, memoranda and notes, bound in original maroon leather wallet style binding, in very good, clean and legible condition.
2. 1892, 12mo pocket diary, 7 pages of addresses, 368 manuscript pages of daily entries, 18 pages of accounts, memoranda and notes. Bound in original maroon leather wallet style binding, very good.
3. 1893, 12mo pocket diary, 6 pages of addresses, 367 manuscript pages of daily entries, 22 pages of accounts, memoranda and notes, bound in original maroon wallet style binding, very good condition.
4. 1895, 12mo pocket diary, 80 pages of daily entries, 17 pages of accounts, memoranda and notes, bound in maroon leather wallet style binding, in very good condition.

1888

"Sun. January 1, 1888, Jacksonville, Fla.

In the forenoon went to church to Presbyterian church with Laura Le C. Ate dinner with Le C's. at Capt Rose's then took a walk down on the lake with Miss Laura. Went down on the beach in a cypress hummock where on the shore there was a wrecked steamer sat on a fallen tree and watched the sail boats on the lake (Lake Tohopekaliga is second largest lake in Florida) In the evening went to church with Miss Laura Le Count to M.E. church – had a fine time after we returned home before the fire place."

"Tues. Jan. 3, 1888

Spent most of the day playing chess. Oranges one cent apiece – apples 3 for a dime. ... The Seminole Indians live close about, plenty of deer, bear & wild game in the swamps, caught an opossum here in town."

"Mon. Jan. 9, 1888

Arose early and went to the train with Laura Le Count who went to her school 18 miles away – Train left at 615 – spent the rest of the day practicing and studying. At Paoli Kansas while traveling with Mason Long in the fall of '87 we stopped at the Commercial hotel run by H. H. Grimshaw. He had his three story brick hotel all lighted and heated by natural gas – at evening he illuminated his beautiful yard with dozens of these gas jets and had a fountain of fire and water. While traveling with Mr. Long we visited Osowatomie Kan. And saw John Brown's monument. While at Kearney, Neb. We visited the State Reform school – Mr. Long talked and we sang for them."

"Thurs. Jan. 12, 1888

Wrote letters, studied and practiced and received quite an interesting letter from Dr. V. R. Bridges of Mattoon, Ills who is my uncle. Also received 6 or 8 business letters.

An alligator here on the bank of lake Tohopekaliga which was 14 feet long had a fight with three bulls and injured the other two so they had to shoot the bulls but the bulls also hurt the alligator so he gave up the ghost and died. In the first place the alligator grabbed the bull by the nose while drinking from the lake."

"Fri. Jan 13, 1888

Wrote letters and in the afternoon advertised our entertainment by singing with our guitars – In the evening went to the train to meet Miss Laura Le Count who has been away teaching all week. We sing one week from this evening in the M.E. church."

"Sat. Jan. 14, 1888

... We received a flattering notice from Rev. W. L. Moore of Jacksonville, Fla. – a paper written by him recommending us to church societies and urged us to visit Jacksonville again and give them three nights in the St. Mathew M.E. Church. We expect to go."

"Fri. Jan 20, 1888

Forenoon billed the town for our concert and practiced – in afternoon arranged things in the church and in the evening at 5 o'clock p.m. went to the train for Laura – Train was late so could not wait – Had a big house – All the best people in town were present and were "cheered" on every piece – A number came down from Pine Castle Fla. Laura arrived wither brother from Orlando. Great hit on Mr. Hughey by harp initiation – Receipts of house \$ 62.85"

"Sat. Jan. 21, 1888

... Remembered – when with Hughes and Ward we held a meeting on the street in Brunswick Mo and while singing a piece ion one side of us was an old man drunk and on the other side a little boy drunk – a large number of saloons were running."

"Sun. Jan. 22, 1888

In the forenoon went to church with Laura to Presbyterian church. In afternoon we read until church time in :Nation's Serial Story" by E. P. Roe then attended the M. E. (colored) church – Did not go in- Mr Hughey went back with us then came back and read for an hour in our book..."

"Mon. Jan. 23, 1888

... Remembered – In Salisbury Mo while going home or to the hotel from one of our entertainments we heard an awful racket. When we got to the house we saw a drunken man beating his wife & children. A number of saloons in the place."

"Sun. Jan. 29, 1888

Forenoon – went to Pres. Ch. with Laura and after noon took a walk with her down to the Cypress grove on the lake... In the evening we went to the M.E. Ch. where Frank spoke on temperance. We sang a song "The Two Lives" – at the close Rev. C. E. Jones said The "Pilgrim Brothers" have been a blessing to this community – "etc"

"Fri. Feb. 3, 1888

Went to Apopka to sing.

Not to be forgotten – Frank and I started out "concerting" in the fall of '85 – went through a part of Iowa then to Missouri where we stayed until spring and with an agt. crossed over from Hannibal Mo. to Quincy Ills and were in Ills a few weeks going into Indiana for two or three weeks and came back into Ills at Palestine – as the weather was exceedingly warm we concluded to work with Prof. G. A. Johnson holding conventions in music for such work would not be as hard in warm weather as straight concerting. We opened up our work in Marshall Ills then went to "big creek" and after a few weeks work concluded to quit and visit relatives in Mattoon where we had not been for 15 years and about June 22d we arrived in Mattoon- We were in the place about 5 weeks then went to Newton Ills and visited relatives one week. While there we met Lafayette Hughes of "Hughes and Ward" Temperance Evangelists who wanted to secure us to sing for them in their meetings. We promised to meet him in Sullivan in a few days so returned to Mattoon and after a few days went to meet the gentlemen. We liked them very much and held our first meetings in Sullivan. Traveled about 6 weeks in Ills then crossed over at Quincy to Hannibal and were in Mo about 2 weeks and crossed the Mo. R at "St Joe" to Kan. But only stayed a few days then came back into Mo and stayed 2 weeks more and disbanded at Hannibal Miles P Ward going to Plymouth Ills - his home L. Hughes staying in Hannibal while Frank and I took the early train for Burlington Ia going to Fairfield Ia where we stayed one day then went to Chariton Ia We stayed here one week giving a concert in the M.E. church meeting with a grand success then went to Malvern Iowa arrived (after an absence of 11 months) Nov 9th in our former home. We stayed in Malvern (running out occasionally to towns in Iowa – such as Tabor, Glenward, Fremont Cy, Pacific Jct, Valisca, Greenfield etc) We stayed until Apr 13th '87. We not only concerted but taught music in Silver City Ia We left Apr. 13th to sing for a man of national reputation. Mason Long one of ablest temperance workers and moral workers in "the field" – Met him in Minneapolis Minn where we met also the other two singers – Mr George Woolley of Sidney O and Mr. Wallace Pauley of Bloomington Ind. Making a quartette of singers. We traveled with these gentlemen 6 months and one half going through Minn. Dak. Ia. Nebr. Kan. And Mo. where we disbanded Nov. 1st '87 in Carthage Mo. Mr. Long going to his home in Ft. [Wayne] Ind. After a successful season's work – We "the Quartette" went to Kan Cy and spent one day in the "Exposition Building" then went to Blanchard Ia and concerted in Blanchard, Silver Cy, Malvern, College Springs, Henderson and Hastings meeting with Grand success. George & Wallace left M Nov 9th for their homes staying a few weeks then following them – stayed a few days in Mattoon and then went to Indianapolis where we met George Woolley and met Wallace in Martinsville Ind. Where we gave our first concert together in Ind. We sang in Martinsville, Spencer, Gosport, Ellettsville, Bedford, Salem, and Bloomington then took the train for Indianapolis and stayed there all night and left next morning for Oran O and arrived at noon

and sung there that night In Ohio we sang in Oran, Kirkwood, Fletcher, at Paris, Millerstown, Pemberton, Palestine and Port Jefferson Receipts for Ohio 80.36, Iowa 141.75, Ind. 163.50..."

"Mon. Feb. 6, 1888

Forenoon spent most of the time in the M.E. Church in Orlando preparing for the evening exercises – I went out to Mr. Hulls and brought Laura in to the Tremont house where her brother boards. Took her to the church. Frank lectured and we sang "The Two Lives" "Our Mothers Way" etc We pleased them very much our collection amounted to 8.00 After the meeting I took Laura home and stayed all night at Mr. H's ..."

"Wed. Feb. 13, 1888

... Met a small crippled negro in Fla.. who is not over 3 feet high and he said – Is 13 years old – is deformed" We gave him 5 cts – he said thanks a heap of people give me money" He was helping his mother wash and was using laths for crutches – has deformed limbs"

"Fri. Feb. 24, 1888

Forenoon practiced In after noon received a letter from Mason Long wanting us to return north and meet him at Carthage Mo. where the "company" organize for the season – also received a letter from uncle V.R.B. In the evening Frank and I attended an entertainment in the Opera House"

"Sat. Feb. 25, 1888

A number of things which happened during our travels with Mason Long in '86

1. Alma Nebr. – young man killed one hour after being in our meeting – by lightning.
2. At Fullerton Nebr. There is a very high bluff close to the river called "Crazy Man's Leap" – a crazy man killed himself by jumping off – We drove out and looked at it.
3. At Decater Nebr there is a very high bluff over looking the river (Mo) we stood on its top at sunrise – a beautiful sight at this place within a mile or two to the town there are two big Indian Reservations 1300 Omahas & 1100 Winnebagoes"
4. New Ulm Minn
5. Hanover Kan
6. 6 Stampede in Lincoln etc ..."

"Mon. Feb. 27, 1888

Worked all day on a banner for advertising – In the evening we went to hear "Prof. Lowanda" – The Magician – He performed many wonderful tricks Had an image that counted wonderfully that cost him 3000 .00 he gave away lots of valuable presents – Frank drew 50 ¢ & a butter dish – silver- never laughed so much before as at John Hughey when he was mesmerized – We go again this eve."

"Sat. March 3, 1888

Sanford, Fla. In the forenoon we said goodbye to many ... and "The Crowd" went to the depot with us and said good bye We spent many pleasant evenings with these young folks and made many friends among them. We stopped off in Orlando three hours – I called on Laura Le Count and ate dinner with

her at Mr. Dixon's We took the 3 p.m. train for Sanford. Found all lovely – about 100 tickets sold in advance – Sanford is a beautiful place located on Lake Monroe & St. Johns River.”

“Sun. March 4, 1888

In forenoon we went to the M.E. church and in the afternoon we held a temperance service then took a walk down to the cy wharf and watched the sailboats and steamers out on the Monroe lake. I also saw seven negroes baptized in the lake. They got very happy – shouted and jumped up in the water. In the evening we sang a piece in the M.E. church and listened to Dr. Young preach on temperance.”

“Mon. March 5, 1888

In the forenoon we helped the ladies in the Opera House arranging for our entertainment and walked down to the lake and saw two steamers – “The Queen of Jacksonville” & “Cy of Jacksonville” In the afternoon we worked in the Opera House and in the evening we sang to a \$ 74.00 house and pleased the people very much. We feel flattered to sing only a few evenings from Emma Abbott and receive such applause as we received this eve...”

“Wed. March 7, 1888 Jacksonville, Fla.

These characters at the right were written by a china – man. He keeps a big restaurant or eating house. We ate dinner with him and I asked him to write his name in my diary. He did so and wrote his name also in our language – “Ham Lee” ... We received a number of letters today and signed a contract with Mr. Long during the day... this evening took a street car for the “Exposition grounds” Saw nay pretty sights especially in the Art gallery – One painting is valued at 20,000.00 and one of Christ is 300 years old – the oldest is 500 years old. I liked this tropical exposition better than the Kan. Cy Exposition which I visited last fall. ...”

“Mon. March 12, 1888

We left McClerry for Madison Fla. – arrived here at noon secured the Opera House and billed the town in one afternoon for meeting in the evening and had a good crowd. On our way here we crosses the Sewannee R. Madison is the prettiest place I have seen in Fla ...”

“Sat. March 17, 1888

At this writing we are on the “Pactalus” a steamer on the Chattahoochee R. between Ala. & Geo. We passing through very pretty southern scenery. This forenoon the passengers on this steamer requested us to sing for them. We played the guitars and sang for them they gave us over \$ 2.00 for our music. We arrived all o.k. in Eufaula, Ala. And succeeded in getting the Opera House for a meeting tomorrow afternoon. Eufaula is a nice large town – has between 5 and 10 thousand inhabitants”

“Sun. March 18, 1888

Eufaula Ala. ... this forenoon walked 2 miles to Georgetown Ga across the river and made arrangements for a meeting there tomorrow eve. In the afternoon we had about 400 people out to hear us – In the evening took a walk then spent the evening in the parlor of the hotel with some folks – sang for them.”

"Mon. March 19, 1888

In the forenoon we walked over the river 2 miles to Georgetown GA – Advertised & this evening sang to a good house then came back to Eufaula Ala. Sang in the church and we noticed as is common in the south that the men sat on one side of the church & the women on the other – could tell by the tobacco on the floor and by the 15 spit boxes – We ate dinner with a one arm northern soldier – a fine gentleman"

"Tues. March 20, 1888

... In my travels through the south I have met many interesting characters among the southern people yesterday in Georgetown, Ga we met a very interesting northern man an old soldier who enlisted from N.Y. and lost his right arm in the battle of Gettysburg. ... he gave us a history of his life. He said when a boy he had to work hard as his father when he was young and he worked on a canal then went to war very early in life and after two years he lost his arm. He then went to Africa as a missionary and was there two years and while there married a missionary. They came back to this country and taught in Atlanta Ga as missionaries among the colored people. After a time they went to Kan. And the grasshoppers run them out. They owned a flat boat and floated down the river to Cairo where he lost a little baby and after receiving his pension... they went back to N.Y. she teaching and he preparing to work in a stone quarry. They then started for Kan. Again and took a claim and one Sun. he and his wife went 11 miles to ch. and while they were gone a big fire came and burned everything so they sold one ox that was left and started on horse back from Kan to Indianapolis Ind. And arrived there after some little time and after receiving his pension ... and selling the ponies they again returned to N. Y. and after wintering there started for Kan. Again and while in Indianapolis they read in the papers of the grasshoppers return so concluded to stop in this cy. He secured a position in a "Bakery" and did well and while there he received a letter from his mother saying to tell his wife to write to a certain firm in Cal. And these lawyers could give them some desirable information ... there was a fortune for her they went on and found her father had diedleaving real estate of \$100,000.00 she received this and strange to say after sharing all the misfortunes of Africa and Kan. The money made a fool of her-others flattered her and she made it unpleasant for her poor one armed husband and after two years they separated – she marrying soon and returning to Kan. He and his brother came to the south he stopping in Georgetown and his brother going to Ocala Fla.my subject of this sketch married a southern lady and owns a farm and seems to be very happy ..."

"Wed. March 21, 1888

Took train at Union Springs and went to Montgomery, Birmingham and got off at Cullman but took night train for Decatur and bought ticket to Courtland but the conductor failed to wake us so we came on to Tusculumbia and took early morning train for Florence and returned to T today – stopped tonight at Rev. Shoemakers."

"Sat. March 24, 1888

We billed the town and practiced and in the evening sang to a 35.50 house in the Opera House – seemed to please the people very much. Took midnight train for Corinth Miss. Passed through Juka which (with Corinth) is notorious for battles during late war."

"Mon. March 26, 1888

Stayed all night in Mem. Tenn. And went by train to big ferry steam boat which run out on the boat and crossed the Miss R. over into Arkansas. We passed through some very dreary poor country

through Ark and southern Mo until we struck Springfield Mo. At present we're in Nicholas Mo. waiting for train."

"Sun. April 1, 1888

In the forenoon we sang with choir in the M.E. church and sang a duet "The Two Lives" – In the evening we sang in our male quartette in the M.E. church then left by request of the Bapt's and sang two pieces – "Hope Beyond" and "Her Voice" with guitar accomp.

"Tues. April 3, 1888

Election day and seems nice to see it go off with out any drunkenness ..."

"Thurs. April 5, 1888

We practiced and made arrangements for evening meeting. Mr. Long came in the evening ad we held a short meeting on account of the benefit concert at the M.E. Church and we having promised to help Mr. Long & we the quartette attended the concert which went off all nice. Miss Phillis the star singer looked well or very pretty and sang beautifully – Miss Anna Williams the pianist also looked charming We had a big talk with Mr Long after the concert before retiring."

"Sun. April 8, 1888

We left Le Mars this morning early and traveled through the rain and arrived here in Sheldon at noon stayed all day. Mr. Long went on through to Nevada Mo. We rang for a number of young folks in the hotel and a Phrenologist examined our heads – The Landlord I think talked the worst and is the wickedest man I ever saw."

"Thurs. April 12, 1888

We left Deerfield, Mo. and arrived in Ft. Scott, Kan. At noon Ft. Scott has about 14000 inhabitants and is a lively place. In the evening we held a meeting on main street & had an audience of about 1000 people."

"Sat. April 14, 1888

Left Ft. Scott (George and I) early in the morning for Girard Kan. Before leaving a photographer took picture on our "outfit" Frank & Mr. Ketzmler went on the train with Mr. Long so as to make the load easier on the horses as we had a 30 mile drive. We stopped in a little town for dinner where nearly every one had the black measles. Arrived in Girard at 6 o'clock in the evening and held a meeting that eve to a large crowd."

"Mon. April 16, 1888

Pittsburg Kan. Is a fine lively mining town. All drink mineral water here from a well 1300 feet deep. This morning we have been quite busy fixing wagon & organ. The Chinese students give an entertainment here this eve. Below is his name in his language and in ours written by him Lao PacJung Chinese Student ..."

"Wed. April 18, 1888

We held a meeting before coming away from Weir Cy and after dinner drove over to Cherokee. Had a good crowd in the evening. We are heading towards Wichita Ka. This part of Kansas is beautiful.

Left Cherokee in the morning & drove to Monmouth – a little town and held a noon meeting then drove to McCune where we held a meeting in the evening. Mr. Long seemed to hold the attention of the people here better than most places. At the close we were requested (Frank & I) to sing the Chinese Lament” We sang it ... In our travels we meet a great many street men, selling books, notions and medicine. Have met Brownfield Turner, “Texas Tom” etc., but the most interesting of all we he met we met in Arkansas Cy Kans. Dr. Saul. He is a fine looking man and a scholar. Was an Infidel for years and lectured a great deal but was converted not long ago and last winter entered the Theological school at Louisville Kentucky and will enter the ministry soon...”

“Sun. April 29, 1888

We left Longton at noon for Elk Falls... We held an afternoon and evening meeting. While traveling with Mr. Long at the close of our meeting in Blackburn close to Marshall Mo. a young man stepped up to the wagon and said he enjoyed the music very much and said you must come over to our town Marshall. We are going to have a “hanging” & we will have a big crowd. It sounded comical to me. We were in Marshall on Fr. July 13th when the man was hung – G. M. Rider. I did not see it.”

“Tues. May 1, 1888

Left Howard and arrived Moline Ks. At noon. We held an afternoon meeting and drove to Grenata. Mr. Long had an awful time telegraphing for his freight and had no books for the meeting.”

“Wed. May 2, 1888

We drove to Burden from Grenada – a 22 mile drive – Carver – the great “gun-shot” lives 4 miles north of this place. We are close to the Indian Ty. And a great number go from here hunting as there is a great deal of game.”

“Thurs. May 3, 1888

We drove to Winfield from Burden and found a nice town. We held a meeting to a large crowd The “Salvationists sand & beat their drums and tried to run us out by their noise but we sang them down. We stay here two days.”

“Sat. May 5, 1888

We arrived in Arkansas City which is only a mile or two from the Indian Ty and is a nice cy and held a meeting. Dr Saul is here and we held our meeting some later on account of his meeting. Dr. Saul gave us some of his music he wrote...”

“Mon. May 7, 1888

We drove to Genda Springs – a town on the Indian Ty line noted for its seven mineral springs. It is quite a watering place. The springs are fixed very nicely. Mr. Long stayed one day longer than we did to take a hot bath in the Bath House. Lots of cow boys in our meeting & we had a lively crowd.”

“Tues. May 8, 1888

We left Genda Springs after our noon meeting and drove to South Haven – another town on the line. ... After our meeting I conversed with one of the cow boys who were in our crowd. He rode on horseback that after noon from the Indian Ty. 40 miles in three hours.”

"Wed. May 9, 1888

We did not hold a morning meeting in South Haven. Mr. Long & George went on the train to Caldwell and we drove the team through. This is a town of 2000 inhabitants within two miles of the Ty., and a lively "cowboy" town. In the evening we went to a sociable and then went with some young folks and spent the evening at a Miss Fisher's – she told fortunes and we had a good time."

"Thus. May 10, 1888

We held a morning meeting then Mr. Long and Frank and I drove the team to Wellington – George came through on the train. Just as we came into town met two girls horseback one rode up and said "Oh there just my size" – And we think morals at zero here but it is a pretty place. Held a meeting in the eve. Then Frank & I attended a Chinese entertainment. Mrs. Long and children came"

"Thurs. May 17, 1888

We left Wichita and arrived in time for supper at Augusta. We stopped for dinner at Andover and held a meeting – a young man took a fit in our meeting & made awful noises..."

"Tues. May 22, 1888

We came out on the street this evening and sang to a big crowd but on account of a rain coming we cut our meeting short after it stopped raining we went up to the Opera House and attended a lecture by Prof Moran on short hand which was quite interesting. Eureka is a lively place. Mr. Long met with great success."

"Mon. May 28, 1888

Left Aliceville and arrived in time for dinner at Burlington – Held an after noon meeting amid wind and dust. We saw lots of flirts and concluded the place a very wicked one. We held a an evening meeting also ..."

"Thurs. May 31, 1888

... While in Duluth Mo with Mr. Long we attended a colored Bapt. Institute and we noticed an old negro walk up and lay down his sickle and we enquired about him and found he is simple on account of being hit in the head with an ax but he has enough sense left to make his living sawing wood. He goes bare footed & awful ragged and lives in a cave by himself, and since he was hurt had no knowledge of the whereabouts of his family – has forgotten where they are etc."

"Mon. June 11, 188

We drove from Wamega to St Marys ... St. Marys a Catholic place They have a large catholic college here & there is a strong Catholic sentiment but nevertheless Mr. Long sold a good number of his books at his evening meeting – Met a musical friend of mine Prf J. G. Martin whm we became acquainted with through music in Mo."

"Sat. June 16, 1888 [Lawrence]

... In the afternoon we attended a meeting on the street by Drs. Stryke and Fleming – gentlemen we have met before. They came out in the evening also but got through in time for us. We had a large

crowd to hear us. After the meeting we sang and played the guitars until 12 o'clock at the hotel with the Drs. Singers – one, Mr. Collins played beautifully on the mandolin.”

“Sat. June 23, 1888

We left Kan Cy. Kans and drove over in our new wagon to Kans Cy Mo in the afternoon. Mr Long took us out to the baseball park to see the St Louis Browns play the Kansas City boys. The Browns got beat for the first by the K.C.s – score 6 to 3 . We held an evening meeting in the Market Square.”

“Wed. June 27, 1888

Frank & George drove the team from Kansas Cy to Independence Mo. – rest of us went on the train. We were in Kan Cy one week. Stay here two days. We came into this town on a busy day. They were voting on the whiskey question & the dry “got there” and beat the whiskey-ites – 208 majority. The streets were full and three bands playing & red & blue flags flying. We held a meeting in the evening to a big noisy crowd. Women marched the streets for victory”

“Thurs June 28, 1888

In the afternoon held a meeting. Mr. Long did exceedingly well also at our evening meeting. He took in 102.00 in both meetings. We spent a good part of the day having the new wagon repaired. This place has 4000 people in it. – is a nice town but use to be a very hard place Younger & James boys use to frequent this place”

“Sat. June 30, 1888

After a morning meeting in Lee’s Summit we drove to Greenwood for dinner. The home of the “Younger boys” Held an afternoon meeting – drank some water at a famous spring then drove to Pleasant Hill where we held an evening meeting- After our meeting we were invited to a sociable on the shore of a lake – we went & sang on the water in a boat for them. Band played also”

“Sun. July 8, 1888

We arose at 4 o'clock in the morning and started off for Sweet Springs We stopped at a small place for dinner & arrived at Sweet Springs at 2 p.m. We ate dinner at the Springs house and held a meeting there. The Gov. a senator & a number of the wealthy of St. Louis & Kas. Cy. Spend the summer here. We also held a meeting down in town in the evening.”

“Fri. July 13, 1888

In the forenoon we held a meeting In the afternoon Myrtle Long and I saw a man hung. Geo Rider of Miana Mo. who killed a man there. He was a fine looking man and walked out on the scaffold very bravely. He came out with a bouquet some ladies gave him. He seemed to have a good number of friends who felt sorry for him & experienced religion six mos ago. We held a meeting in the evening.”

“Sat. July 21, 1888

George & Frank drove the team to Huntsville & Press & I attended the freight in the forenoon & took the train after dinner for Huntsville. The town was crowded – Democratic meeting & baseball The Hytsville & Moberly boys played. We had a good crowd out to our evening meeting...”

"Tues July 24, 1888

We held a morning meeting in K. then drove to Brunswick where we held an evening meeting to a crowd of "niggers" [sic] & drunken white men. Brunswick is one of the worst old dead towns in Mo. Would rather live any where than here. Not less than six were "awful" drunk in our audience. We were here with Hughes & Ward also."

"Wed. July 25, 1888

We held a morning service in Brunswick and after dinner we drove to De Witt which is on the banks of the Mo. R. across from Mianna. We held an evening meeting then went over to "de colored Bapt. Institute" which convenes here. We heard some good preaching & good singing and saw (as is always their custom) them walk up in front of the pulpit and lay down their money instead of one collecting it. Us four Pilgrims walked up and layed down .65 while they shouted "When the last trumpet shall sound I'll be dar"

"Sat. Aug. 4, 1888

We held a meeting in Brookfield in the forenoon & after dinner we drove to Marceline – a busy R.R. town only one year old. We met a Mr. Zellers today whom we met in Liberty Mo. He helped us in our concert in L. with Eva Bland and Harry DeYoung & others. We held an evening meeting then attended Peck's Bad Boy in the Town Hall rendered by the Parker Co. whom we met at Le Mars Mo."

"Thurs. Aug. 16, 1888 [Palmyra]

We held a morning meeting but held no evening meeting on account of a rain coming up. A great deal of excitement prevails here today over the escape of fifteen prisoners out of the Co. jail – numbers are out hunting men with guns – five were caught. They sawed an iron bar off of one of the inside cell doors and knocked a rock out and crawled out & took to the corn fields"

"Fri. Aug. 17, 1888

We drove away early from Palmyra to Hannibal – some of us went out to the fair – a horse killed a man here today & a negro cut with a razor the mayors son so he nearly died. The negro is in jail & will probably go to the Pen. We held an evening meeting near the Cy Patk to a good crowd."

"Fri. Aug. 24, 1888

We got an early breakfast & drove on the steam ferry and cross over into Ills..."

"Wed. Aug. 29, 1888

We held a morning meeting and after getting some repairs done on the wagon we left Griggsville for Perry a small place off of the R.R. We did a big business then drove on to Versailles where we held an evening meeting ..."

"Thurs. Aug. 30. 1888

We left Versailles and arrived in Mt Sterling at noon. After dinner we drove out to the fair and sung before at least four or five thousand people to advertize. Baron & Myrtle Long & I saw the "Battle of Gettysburg" a balloon go up & man drop ½ mile – horse races etc. – and in the evening we sang in town to an immense crowd."

"Tues. Sept. 4, 1888

We "rested" all day. I got a man to fix our organ which needed some repairing – attended to some freight and in the evening we sang to a big crowd. We were disturbed again by some drunken men but the police helped us out – some one put a R. R. torpedo under our wheel to scare us & our team but we found it before we run over it. Quincy has 262 saloons consequently has some hard cases in it."

"Mon. Sept. 10, 1888

We left Warsaw Ills early ... and drove over the most beautiful scenery to Hamilton when we drove across the River on the R. R. & wagon bridge to Keokuk Iowa. We held an evening meeting to a good big crowd I saw a dead man who was killed on the R.R. track & helped lay him out. I also saw a horse run away and run straight into a large store front glass & jump clear through it into the store cutting him awfully."

"Sept. 25, 1888

We held a morning meeting then drove to Chillicothe stopping in the country for dinner. We held an evening meeting to a big crowd – saw a number of drunk men. This place is near Peoria – the greatest whiskey town in the world."

"Sept. 29, 1888

We held a morning meeting then drove to Grandview a small place off the R.R. then drove to Peru arriving late. We had an awful time finding a hotel The best one was closed so we had to stop in a hotel & saloon combined where the "Landlady" or her girls "kept bar" We held a meeting up town . The democrats had a big rally & speaking. This town is filled with foreigners & saloons. It is a big mining town on the Ills. R."

"Mon. Oct. 1, 1888

We held a morning meeting and after dinner we drove to Utica where we held a meeting then attended a Dem. Meeting – sang one piece for them ... We saw a big fight or riot this afternoon – a policeman tried to arrest them but they would not be arrested – only one was hurt much in the fight."

"Wed. Oct. 31, 1888

We held a morning meeting in Urbana then drove to St. Joe where we ran into another rally (Rep.) Hear the Urbana male quartette sing. We held an evening meeting. There was also a dance in town. About 2 o'clock in the morning we were awakened by loud talking. The Landlady & police "fired" some bad characters out of the house."

"Sat. Nov. 3, 1888

... we have concluded to close at Tolono instead of Bennet as we expected. We have been out just seven months – started at Carthage Mo and traveled through Kas. Mo. & Ills. & have had a very pleasant season. We held a morning meeting in Philo then drove to Tolono where we held an afternoon meeting. We attend Uncle Tom's Cabin after our meeting. Mrs. Long took the 11:25 train for Ft. Wayne and we took the 2 a.m. train for Gilman Ills arriving early in morn."

"Tues. Nov. 6, 1888

This is the great election day – the town of Gilman has a big number of people in it & a large vote is being polled. We practiced a good deal and practiced some in the ch. where we sing..."

"Sat. Nov. 17, 1888

We left Rantoul in the forenoon going to Champaign where we sing in the evening in the interest in the State University. We sang in the Armory but our crowd was not very big. A number came over from Urbana a large place only 1 mile from Champaign. After the concert we took a street car over to Urbana as the hotel accommodations are better there. We got 25.00 for the entertainment as a guarantee."

"Sat. Dec. 1, 1888

"Bloomington In the forenoon we were in town most of the time. In the afternoon we sang in the High School building as an advertisement- At noon there were 125 reserved seats sold & at 6 o'clock p.m 200 were taken. We sang to a big audience an 86.00 house & pleased all..."

"Sun. Dec. 2, 1888

... Today we separate after being constantly together for 8 months. Kitzmiller goes to Girard Ills his home & Geo. Frank & I go to Ohio... We met at Scott Pauley's home or store & we – the quartette & Wallace Pauley took the train for Gosport Ind. Where we stayed all night."

"Wed. Dec. 12, 1888 [Fort Wayne, Indiana]

We took in the town & saw Mr. Long's fine new five story business building Myrtle & I took walks as we use to in the summer ... We sang "The Two Lives" & "The Voice" at prayer meeting with guitars..."

"Fri. Dec. 21, 1888

Got up early – Frank Marie Bothmen & I took morning train for Omaha Nebr. Met Nellie & a Miss Hendricks. We went all over the Cy and stopped in Barr's big store and there I found Pearl Renninger whom I met three years ago... then called on the eminent oculist Dr. H. Gifford he examined my eyes & said I did not need glasses..."

1892

"Mon. 4. January, 1892 [Malvern, Iowa]

I got up early & went on the train to Omaha Nebr. On business made arrangements about having a piece of guitar music of my own production published "Ripples of Marengo" – came back to Malvern & Frank & I attended a play by the Crow sisters in the Opera House."

"Fri. Jan. 8, 1892

Took the morning train for Carson where I met Frank & we went to Oakland a Mr. Chaney met us & we drove to his house through the cold – ate supper then drove to a church where we were billed to sing & organize a class in vocal music. The ch. was full of country people & we organized a class of 64 pupils. We rode to Mr. Turners in a lumber wagon – ground was very rough & we drove very fast. The night was a lovely winter evening & stars shone brightly & we enjoyed the trip very much."

"Mon. Jan. 25, 1892

We made arrangements to build an addition on our property. I took the 11 a.m. train for Omaha – ate dinner at Charley Withwells then went down to Max Myer & Co- music dealers & made arrangements concerning publishing my guitar music – came back on the evening train to attend the M.E. ch. revival meetings ..."

"Sun. Feb. 14, 1892 [Coin, Iowa]

Pearle Renninger and I attended church in M.E. church in the forenoon and in the evening went to the Free Methodists & of all yelling, hallowing, shouting, hooping & dancing I never saw – not even among the negroes of the south – One woman waved her arms & stood up for half an hour when suddenly she came running past us down the aisle & said "O, I'm giving to God" I spent the rest of the evening very pleasantly at Mr. Vanarsdale's"

"Mon April 18, 1892 [Mound City, Mo.]

I arose quite early & said goodbye to Pearle & took the morning train for Mo met Frank at Biglow and we rode to Mound City where we met George Cleaver. In the evening a large audience met us in the M.E. church and we organized a class of 60 members"

"Tues. May 10, 1892

I went to Omaha with George Cleaver to attend the grand concert by Theo. Thomas & his 58 musicians in the Grand – Boyd's Opera – called on Max Meyer concerning my music I am publishing also bought a 60.00 diamond ring The concert in the evening was grand indeed...."

Tues. May 17, 1892 [Elliott Iowa]

I wrote several letters in forenoon saw a sad sight this morning – Three men taking by force a crazy man to the train for Clarinda. He was very small but a hard one to handle as it was very difficult to get him to the train. I went up on the train to Griswold and visited a couple of hours with Frank – meeting my class on my return as usual all were out in the evening & they decided they wanted a second term."

"Mon. May 23, 1892 [Malvern, Iowa]

Mr. C. E. Leslie – the great composer & writer of our convention books with his niece came from Chicago to visit us & get acquainted with us we are one of his convention cos. In the evening we had a large audience out and Mr. L organized for us getting 90 names. We all went to the restaurant afterwards. My friend Minnie Erwin of Emerson came over also."

"Sat. May 28, 1892 [Malvern, Iowa]

Today was a busy day in M on account of Decoration Day and because the Ia St. Band were here They gave an open air concert in a stand erected for them. Frank & I furnished the vocal music for the memorial exercises. Rose Plum & Mrs Cook helping us."

"Fri. June 3, 1892 [Elliott, Iowa]

I watched four gangs of men pitch horseshoes most of the day – Elliott's loafers as well as its businessmen spend a good deal of time practicing the art of horseshoe pitching. I met my class in the afternoon and evening and had a good attendance & a good time."

"Tues. June 7, 1892 [Tuscola, Illinois]

We rode in a sleeper all night towards Burlington awakening at Mt. Pleasant in the morning ate breakfast in the dining car – crossed the R going to Peoria – as our ticket did not read right we had a little trouble in getting to Tuscola went by way of Champaign Ills – we arrived in T at 4 p.m. – got a rig & drove out to Mrs. Wardells where we met Ned & Sallie Moody – we sat up until late & had a fine visit."

"Wed. 15, June 1892 [Ridge Farm, Illinois]

Blanche Earhart and mother went with our co to R.F. We were here (as well as at Chrisman) with Mr. Mason Long. In the evening I helped organize class ..."

"Thurs. June 23, 1892 [Georgetown, Illinois]

Ned & Sallie returned from Indianola in the forenoon Ned & I spent most of the afternoon collecting bad tuitions & books Went to see a Mrs Kilgore who had signed for 3 pupils she saw us coming & got her family in the house & locked all the doors. We saw them before they went in so we knew they were at home so we knocked and we knocked at the front & back door but they paid no attention to us but we were stayers and were bound to have our books. We started away & looking back saw the old lady at the window & we immediately returned and compelled her to come out & talk with us – she talked rather saucily to us & Ned talked rather plainly to her& succeeded in getting two of our books..."

"Sat. July 2, 1892 Terre Haute, Indiana

I took the noon train for Terre Haute Ind. To attend Barnum's greatest show on earth. I walked all over the cy. Terre Haute has about 40000 inhabitants & quite a nice little city though very wicked – I saw a couple of police men taking two girls who were drunk to the jail."

"Mon. July 4, 1892

I watched Barnum & Bailey's great st parade of the show – "greatest show on earth" and in the afternoon attended it – the show is immense about 300 horses – about 300 girls and in all between 500 & 1000 people which he carries his expense is about \$ 3000.00 per day. There was about 20000 people present & the show must have taken out of Terre Haute about \$ 20000.00. Inure Kiralfy's Columbus' discovery of America with the show was grand"

"Wed. July 20, 1892 Decatur Ills.

Frank came during the night as he missed the train at Tuscola – got into Decatur early in the morning. We went out to the Prohibition Camp meeting and a big rain & wind storm came up which blew very hard blew some of the smaller tents down."

"Thurs. July 28, 1892 Laxa Ills.

We saw at the depot where we went to take the train a number of trains coming in with a large number of negroes dressed for a big time in Decatur – picnic &c we went to Mattoon & Frank & I got a rig at the livery & went with our little cousin Jessie Woods out to Loxa to see our friends ..."

"Tues. Aug. 2, 1892 Chicago, Illinois

We arrived in Chicago in the forenoon & took the train for Hyde Park to reach the Worlds Fair grounds and saw sights too numerous & grand to mention such as buildings covering acres – one covering 34 acres of ground We went on top of the tower of the auditorium which is 260 high. We also visited the Board of Trade building. In the evening we took the train for Iowa...."

"Wed. Sept. 14, 1892 Omaha, Nebr.

Frank and I took the morning train for Omaha. Barnum's show was unloading off the cars and we watched them for some time. Met an old friend Jno Clarke whom we had not seen for ten years. ... Went over to the show grounds and watched the showmen raise the tent – got tickets and went in the evening – there was an immense crowd probably 20 to 25 thousand show was about the same as when I saw it in Terre Haute Ind."

"Sat. Sept. 17, 1892

I telegraphed our agent who was at Blair Nebr. Billing us to not bill us at Tecana as we had instructed him as I am wanted for a second term in Springfield. I met the class as usual in the afternoon & evening and we had quite a little discussion about the second term but all was arranged satisfactorily."

"Fri Sept. 30, 1892 Blair, Nebraska

I left Springfield at 5 a.m. going to Blair to meet Frank and George Cleaver. In the evening we played croquet some -then went to the meeting of the W.C.T.U. & we sang for them – Attended a Dem. Rally also in the afternoon & heard J. Sterling Morton speak."

"Fri. October 14, 1892 Bancroft, Nebraska

We came up from Lyons to Bancroft which borders on the Indian reservation & saw many Indians – squaws [sic] & papooses strapped on their backs running all over town. In the evening we had the Bapt. Church well filled and organized aa class easier here than in any place we tried."

"Sat. Oct. 15, 1892

We left Bancroft to organize at Pender a nice lively place of about 1000 inhabitants on the border of the Indian Reservation of "Omahas & Winnebagoes" We sang in the new Pres. ch. & organized one of the largest classes we ever did over 70 members. We board with a senator."

"Tues. Oct. 18, 1892 Pender Nebraska

Indians are a common thing here as Pender borders on the Omaha & Winnebago reservation. I have one in my class. My class is a nice large one numbering about 80 members. We meet as usual only in the main part of the church. ..."

"Fri. Oct. 21, 1892 Pender Nebr. Columbus Day

Today was a busy day for me & for Pender as they celebrated the new national holiday – Columbus Day. Shortly after 2 p.m. all met at the Opera H. & had exercises by the school children & singing by the singers. I led the choir & also sang my latest composition – "Golden Travelers"..."

"Sun. 23, Oct. 1892, Waune, Nebr.

I attended ch in Bapt. Church in the forenoon & in the evening Frank and I went to the M.E. church. We are boarding with a Dr. Crawford – he runs excursion trains from Sioux Cy to the south where he has lots of land for sale. We spent most of the afternoon with J.W. Bartlett & family."

"Tues. Nov. 1, 1892, Pierce, Nebr.

We left Wayne going to Norfolk to change cars for Pierce – at the depot hotel we ate dinner with candidate for Rep governor of Nebr Judge Crouse of Omaha. We had a very miserable evening at Pierce to organize and on account of the rain did not expect many out – about 80 were present and we were surprised by getting a vocal class of 40."

"Sun. Dec. 18, 1892, Grafton, Nebr.

I attended the Cong'l church & sang in the choir in the forenoon. The landlord got out his violin in the afternoon & I "accompanented" on the piano. A young man came after me towards evening & I went up to Mr. Fishers to meet the male quartette & heard them sing. When I came back found a great state of excitement in town over a man who has committed a crime Hotel was full & strong talk of hanging him for abusing a little girl 11 years old."

"Tues. Dec. 27, 1892 Omaha Nebr.

I went up to O by way of Council Bluffs. Went past the wood land hills that Hattie Birdsall & I traveled over several times last fall & through Henton station. I was very busy all day in Omaha – making arrangements about printing & bought a fine guitar (100.00) and spent the evening & stayed all night at Charles Withwells"

1893

"Wed. Jan. 4, 1893 Malvern Iowa

I received my ms of "The Brook" from Max Meyer & Bro. Co. & spent most of the day in correcting it. In the evening I took Rose Mabee to the Pres. Ch. to church we went to restaurant for oysters"

"Mon. Jan 9, 1893, Dorchester Nebr.

Frank & I took the morning train for Nebr at Omaha at the depot I met Minnie (Annie) Coombs – an old friend. We met George – our adv. Agt. in Lincoln who boarded our train & we all arrived in D at noon. In the evening a large crowd were out to hear us and we received a good class."

"Sat. Jan 14, 1893 DeWitt Nebr.

I received a composition of mine "Golden Travelers" – from the publishers & was busy most of the day sending out copies of it which have been ordered. Met my class in the afternoon & evening as usual – also gave Mr. Coleman a guitar lesson."

"Sat. Feb. 11, 1893 Alexandria Nebr.

I gave several guitar lessons during the day and arranged things in the ch for my evening lessons and at night had a large audience out to hear our closing. I took in 16.70 at 15 cts admission My class sang nicely and the audience was very much pleased – After the concert I organized a class of vocal music or a musical union to meet once a week. A vote of thanks was extended me for my services though I

did not feel I deserved it as all of my 55 paid me for my services – After the audience was dismissed a number came to me asking me to sing more – which I did.”

“Thurs. March 2, 1893 Hubbell, Nebr.

I left Frank & Geo. At Guide Rock & came back to Hubbell for a second term & met many of my old friends who were glad to see me again A number of my old class are attending my second term. The Kickapoo Indian Medicine Co are here.”

“Sat. March 4, 1893 Hubbell Nebr.

I attended an Indian Medicine Companies show on the street a while in the afternoon and in the afternoon met my class as usual also in the evening Myrtle Fisher & I went up to the hall after my evening sessions to see the Kickapoo Indians perform.”

“Wed. March 22, 1892 Benkleman Nebr.

I left Bloomington going 145 miles west to see about buying some land I rode over 9 miles over Nebs hills with a Mr. Gillen – In the evening I went to a revival service in the church.”

“Wed. March 29, 1893 Trenton Nebr.

I was busy all day giving guitar lessons & composed a guitar piece in $\frac{5}{8}$ time – a very odd kind of measure. I met my class as usual and had a very good attendance We had an excellent moonlight night. I played the guitar awhile at Dr. Thomas’s drug store.”

“Fri. April 7, 1893 Imperial Nebr.

It blew very hard again today. I was thinking of buying some land but when I saw acres flying over the cy of Imperial I concluded to invest in no land. My class managed to get out all ok both in the evening and at night.”

“Mon. April 17, 1893 Arapahoe Nebr

I gave several guitar lessons and sold one one hundred dollar guitar to Fred Boehner for his wife – I met my class as usual in afternoon and in the evening gave a public rehearsal with my chorus of 76 voices. I had a 20.05 house , 8 cts admission & audience appreciated our exercises very much.”

“Sun. Apr. 23, 1893 McCook, Nebr.

Geo. & I attended the Cong’l church & heard Rev. Stevison – the little Irish preacher. He was quite nervous while he preached as he was in the Cong’l ch. when it blew down with about 50 children in it but none were hurt excepting himself who recovered soon...”

“Tues. May 23, 1893 Kenesaw, Nebr.

I was sick most all day but we went on to Juniata Nebr. Where we organized in the M.E. ch. We are only a few miles from the cy of Hastings Nebr. Now & Kenesaw and Juniata are our last towns in Nebr. This season when we go to Ia & Ills. & to the “Worlds Fair”

“Thur. June 22, 1893

I took the noon train for Chicago rode all night through Iowa ...”

"Tues. July 11, 1893 Indianola, Ills.

I spent most of the day writing a new song words by Whittier – "When on my day of life the night is falling" Myrtle M and I took a drive in the evening – Popped the question – was accepted"

"Mon. July 17, 1893 Tuscola Ills.

Frank & Edith took a sudden notion to get married as they have been engaged for over a year & were married at 4 p.m. They surprised every one – We'll remember the day always – There were many explanations & congratulations & we left for Chicago on the evening train- a large number were present at the depot to tell us good bye."

"Wed. July 19, 1893

Edith, Frank & I went out to the fair in the forenoon... saw the great sights – I enjoyed the Fishery, Machinery & Art Buildings the most..."

"Sun. July 30, 1893

I went down in cy met Frank at the Wellington then went to the First Bapt. Church to hear Dr. Henson who preached a very fine & interesting sermon I took the st car then for Lincoln Park The finest I ever visited for its large & lakes all over it & in it all kinds of wild animals. I ate my diner out there."

"Mon. Sept. 23, 1893 Malvern, Iowa

An old friend Prof. Bristow – a pianist, poet & lecturer – blind – called on us – He was here 11 years ago when we became acquainted – I took him over town some. In the evening a number of us met at Jennie B's & spent a very pleasant evening all present contributed to the musical program"

"Fri. Dec. 29, 1893 Indianola Ills

Phill Cole & Warren came to rehearse some instrumental music again as they were to furnish the music for the orchestra or for the Kans. Ills dramatic co. I took Mrs. Miller & We enjoyed the play very much entitled Redeemed."

"Sun. Dec. 31, 1893 Indianola Ills.

... I remained in Indianola until Jan. 9th when Miss Myrtle Miller & Vernon C. Bridges were married in Miss Millers house at 11 a.m. Jan. 9th M.E. Minister Rev. H. C. Gibbs officiating... "

1895

Diary Kept by Myrtle Miller Bridges, Vernon's wife

Thursday Jan. 3, 1895 St. Augustine, Florida

"Sewed some and Vernon and Frank left Edith and I to see the sights. While they went to Kissimee to organize a class. A nice class was organized of 63 members and they renewed many old acquaintances."

"Sun. Jan. 6, 1895

Been at home most of the day but walked around to the blind-deaf and dumb asylum this p.m. quite a number of inmates mostly children, very sad."

"Friday Feb. 8, 1895 Fort Meade, Fl

The natives here never see ice and Phil a feeble minded man brought in a branch covered with ice and insisted I should keep it in the parlor to look at."

"Tues. May 14, 1895 Daytona, Fla.

Vernon and I came over on the noon train and made arrangements in Cong'l ch. This is the prettiest town in the state, the cottages are really in the woods as the natural forest has not been replaced by ornamentals."

"Monday May 20, 1895

... have been sewing and teaching private pupils met class as usual has increased to 51. The Bank failed here today and lots of people have lost everything, three of our pupils lost all."

"Sunday May 26, 1895

Attended church at the congregational church this morning and M.E. to night musical work is needed here but piano or organ needs it worse I have never heard more ridiculous playing, the organist are paid too."

"Wednesday June 5, 1895

Rode all night arrived at Chattanooga 1 p.m. as the train for Cincinnati, O. did not start till 7.20 p.m. Edith and I took a walk over the town and bought several souvenirs for home and pin tray for Laura"

"Tues. Aug. 6, 1895 Salem, Illinois

Left Salem 10 a.m. for Sandoval an enterprising coal mining town also the center of fruit district, nearly every fruit tree is over laden, especially apples, the lower limbs lay on the ground, organized a nice class of 35 ..."

"Thurs. Sept. 26, 1895, Malvern, Iowa

Went to the fair this afternoon renewed acquaintances, went into the side show, watched races and went to the Fire boys play "Bound with an Oath" this evening \$ 100.00 house ..."

"Fri. Oct. 25, 1895 Herman, Nebr.

We're teaching in the Baptist ch. here. People are not very sociable. Town is dead and very poor buildings, Hotel is best in this part of the state."

"Saturday Oct. 26, 1895

Gave a lesson and took a long walk to the Feed Yards, where thousands of cattle, hogs, & sheep are shipped from Chicago to be fattened."

"Friday Nov. 1, 1895 Dakota Cy, Nebraska

Visited "Ortiala Charlie's" Indian curio collection It is the finest known & worth \$ 20000 Charlie is white but married to a squaw has two children. Ride back was very dusty, met class all attending good singers."

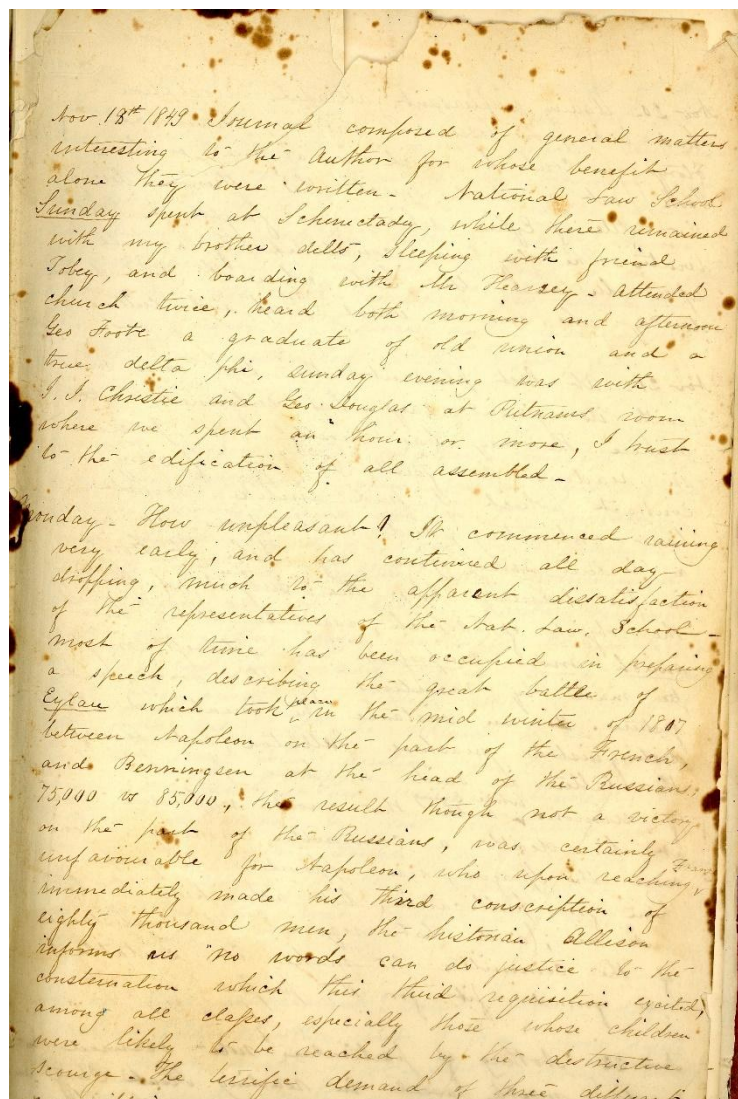
"Thurs. Nov. 21, 1895 Coleridge, Nebr.

Gave a lesson to Banker's wife and played on a beautiful "Steinway baby grand" just what I want in my home someday. Traveling is so pleasant it will be several yrs before we settle down."

"Thurs. Dec. 5, 1895 Wausa Nebr.

This is a Swedish town but we have a class of 54 and half swede Some can hardly understand English. We teach in school house as the M.E.'s have no church."

\$ 3,000.00



9. (Diary) Knickerbacker, John, **Diary of John Knickerbacker, Jr., law student of Waterford, Saratoga County, New York, kept while attending the New York State and National Law School at Ballston Spa, New York, 1849-1850.**

Folio, 44 manuscript pages, bound in later nineteenth century cloth, entries dated 18 November 1849 to 2 June 1850 (although not dated, the entries appear to continue till 15 June 1850); boards worn, damp-stained, some chipping to edges of text, minor spotting to a couple of leaves, one leaf loose, written in ink, in legible hand, written on large full pages.

While the diary is not signed, there is enough internal evidence to attribute authorship. A small piece of paper laid in identifies the keeper of the journal as named "John" and that he has a sister with the initials "J.C.C." Other evidence shows he was a law student at the New York State and National Law School during the course of the journal (1849-1850). The diarist mentions the names of some of his class-mates (Christie, Douglas, Putnam, and others). He also states that his Aunt and Uncle were Abram and Mary Ann Knickerbacker, their daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and his sister Mrs. R. A. Grout. Research online finds a "Catalogue and Circular of the State and National Law School, at Ballston Spa, N.Y.," published at Troy, New York, in 1851. This pamphlet shows the names and places of residence of the juniors and seniors of the law school. The names of some of the seniors match the names of the students mentioned in this journal offered here, and there is a "J. Knickerbacker, Jr." who is mentioned as a senior at the law school from "Waterford," New York. Genealogical research on ancestry.com, shows that his sister "R.A. Grout," is actually Rebecca A. Knickerbacker, of Waterford, New York, who had married Solon Grout, and further genealogical research shows Knickerbocker had a sister Jane Chester Knickerbacker, who married a William Orr Cunningham, giving her the initials of "J.C.C.,"

John Knickerbacker, Jr. (1826-1856)

John Knickerbacker, Jr. was born about 1826 in Waterford, Saratoga County, New York. He was the son of John Knickerbacker (1784-1862) and Caroline Chester, of Schaghticoke. Knickerbacker, Sr., later moved to Waterford where he was a president of a bank. Both his grandfather Pvt. John Knickerbacker (1751-1827) and great grandfather Col. John Knickerbacker (1723-1802) were veterans of the American Revolutionary War.

John Knickerbacker, Jr. attended Union College at Schenectady, New York, and then studied law at the New York State and National Law School located in Ballston Spa, New York, where he graduated in 1851 (he was a senior that year). He was a member of Delta Phi.

The State and National Law School was an early practical training law school founded in 1849 by John W. Fowler in Ballston Spa, New York (Saratoga County), thus Knickerbacker is one of its first graduates. It was also known as New York State and National Law School, Ballston Law School, and Fowler's State and National Law School.

The school was one of the first in the country to provide practical training for law students, rather than just academic lectures on legal theories. The school began in the former Sans Souci Hotel in Ballston Spa, but only stayed in the facility for three years. The school was under supervision of a Board of Trustees appointed by the New York State Legislature, which included several members of the New York State Supreme Court.

The National Law School used very advanced teaching methods for its time. Students were assembled into mock trials, playing all the courtroom roles; witnesses, bailiffs, jurors, and attorneys. The professors were the judges, and the teams of attorneys were given a set of facts to work with to build

their case. The journal offered here gives insight into this method, as our author recounts the various mock trials he had to prepare for and participated in with his fellow students. The institution struggled financially and also encountered problems with its facilities in Ballston Spa. President Fowler made the decision to relocate the law school to Poughkeepsie in late 1852. The law school closed in the early 1860s as the result of declining enrollment caused by the volume of potential students joining the military during the American Civil War.

John Knickerbacker is found in the 1850 Census enumerated at Milton, New York, adjacent to North Ballston Spa, where he was listed with 13 other law students at a boarding house of George and Amelia Hall. Knickerbacker was enumerated in Saratoga Springs as a boarder with his sister Margaret Walbridge's family in the New York State Census of 1855, although no occupation for him was listed. John Knickerbacker, Jr. died on 24 April 1856 in Waterford and was buried in the Waterford Rural Cemetery.

Sample Quotes:

When the diary begins, Knickerbacker is attending the New York State and National Law School, Ballston Spa, New York. He recounts the daily events of a law student, preparing for classes, attending lectures of professors and guests, participating in mock court trials, giving speeches for recitation class, plus various projects he is working on for school, and social events and activities with friends, visiting family, and going to parties and events, as well as a vacation to Washington, D.C., where he attends sessions of the Supreme Court and hears Daniel Webster argue a case. He also attends Congress and hears various politicians giving speeches; his favorite being Henry Clay. His hometown of Waterford is close enough that he can take a train home to visit his family regularly, although he boards in a boarding house near the school.

"Nov 18th 1849 Journal composed of general matters interesting to the author for whose benefit alone they were written. National Law School.

Sunday spent at Schenectady, while there remained with my brother delts, sleeping with friend Tobey, and boarding with Mr. Hearsey. Attended church twice, heard both morning and afternoon Geo. Foote a graduate of old Union and a true delta phi. Sunday evening was with J.J. Christie and Geo Douglas at Putnam's room, where we spent an hour or more, I trust to the edification of all assembled.

Monday. How unpleasant! It commenced raining very early, and has continued all day dropping, much to the apparent dissatisfaction of the representatives of the Nat. Law School. Most of the time has been occupied in preparing a speech describing the great battle of Eylau, which took place in the mid-winter of 1807 between Napoleon on the part of the French, and Benningsen at the head of the Russians..."

"Nov 20. Again unpleasant, attended recitation had but poor lesson. Tomorrow commence Story on Contract, which is a fine work. Took part in a drill speech this afternoon describing the Battle of Eylau...The day was concluded where I met Amasa McCoy who was as usual sharp and cutting."

"Nov. 21. At last pleasant, the sun once more with its genial rays has enlivened all nature. The day has mostly been passed in reading the first 60 pages of Story on Contract which I find unlike most law interesting, and instructive. As usual a lecture was given by John W. Fowler, in the evening upon the subject of Oratory the object of which was to show how much more impressive an address might be made by variations of the voice, and gestures..."

"Dec 8th. Not feeling very well did not attend the usual recitation. Took the cars at eleven and found a welcomed reception at home where were Uncle Abram and Aunt Mary Ann Knickerbacker together

with cousin Mary, Elisabeth (their daughters) who like myself had come to spend the day. Was at Lansingburgh called at Margaret Walbridge and saw her fine boy (John H.). Found at Waterford my sister Mrs. R.A. Grout who is to make us a visit of about three weeks. In the evening at half past seven took the cars for Ballston where we arrived at quarter after nine, leaving my valise at the Law School I immediately went to classes where our class were to give a supper as a mark of their respect to their late Professor W.J. Odell. I found they were just seated at the table, took my place, and partook of the nice things with which the table was loaded. In season Mr. Whittaker spoke in behalf of the students and was well answered by the Prof. himself. We remained till after eleven when all together retired."

"22nd [Jan 1850] Our morning exercise was attended by Judge Hayden who has already accepted a professorship in our institution, and certainly a great addition, being well versed in a knowledge of law. He has already written a work highly spoken of upon the practice. P.M. prepared and made a drill speech before Mr. Fowles, upon the Druids, rather a dry subject with so little preparation ergo made rather a dry speech. Look over our morning recitation and in the evening attended a party at Mr. Booths, where were assembled the elite of the place, Miss Montague was the chief attraction of the evening, at about twelve we broke up and were carried home by a sleigh prepared for the occasion."

"Feb'y 2d [1850]

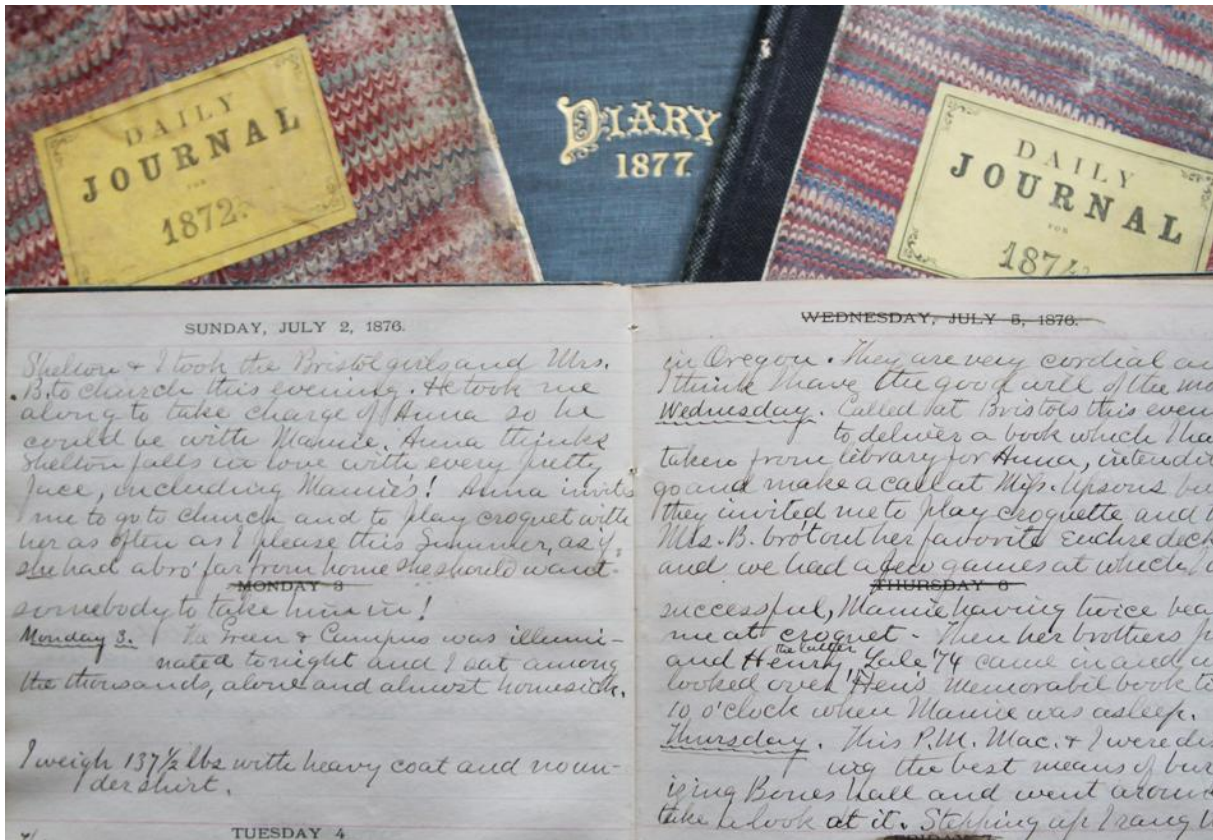
Saturday – At an early hour received a call from Thomas who had come up to spend the day. As our lesson was of no great importance, I contented myself with a mere perusal – investigated some what farther my law case (one of damages for breach of contract) and at two with a jury, and Justice Christie in chair proceeded to trial, the attending preliminaries before summing up were gone through with to wit direct & cross examination, objections &c., the jury fortunately for my poor client disagreed, and the case was referred for further trial. In the evening at 6 ½ brother left with cars, spent a few moments in congress but did not take part as the description was of old standing."

"Feb'y 11th As Judge Hayden had gone to Albany with the intention of removing his library to our school, I did not attend recitation, though as usual I read over the lesson assigned. I spent most of the afternoon at court, heard Porter and Beach sum up upon a slander case, Beach made an excellent effort. Commenced today boarding at Mr. Chases, this evening attended singing school, conducted Miss Brown and Miss Harris home together with Dean Lodge. 11 ½"

"May 13 [1850]. Returned this morning once more to resume the pleasant though arduous duties of a student at law, having passed the greater part of my vacation at Washington in an agreeable, and I trust profitable manner. While there I heard most of the Senators speak, but with none was so much pleased as with Clay, who I saw at one time mild, at another so enraged with Benton who accused him of acting in an unparliamentary manner, that he stamped the floor with anger, his piercing eye speaking the thoughts of his heart. Attending the Supreme Court, I listened with much attention to Daniel Webster during his argument upon the settlement of claims against the United States, which though not interesting to a stranger to the cause, was heard with more than usual attention by the eight judges. Through the politeness of friends, I was introduced to Messrs. Cass Douglas of Ill., Fillmore of N.Y., Marcy of N.Y, Foote of Miss, Schoolcraft of N.Y., & many others. Called upon the President introduced to Mr. & Mrs. Bliss; Visited all the Public Buildings and in fact saw all that Washington City had to exhibit. Was at Georgetown, college, nunnery, & stopped at Alexandria in route for Mount Vernon, at the later place we saw where the 'Father of his country,' died & was buried and a most lovely 'tho sadly neglected spot' it is, the scenery as you look above & below on the Potomac is passed description. Saw also the Washington Monument raised only fifty feet, was at the Smithsonian Institute & heard Professor Beck of N.J. lecture upon the science of nature. While absent

stopped at Baltimore one day, also at Philadelphia for a short time. Arriving at New York remained there from Tuesday Evening until Friday evening when I left for home where I remained, reading, writing, riding, visiting &c, until I left for Ballston."

\$ 300.00



10. (Diary – Oregon) Upton, William Henry, **Manuscript Diaries of William Henry Upton, for the years 1872, 1874, 1876, 1877**

Four volumes, small quarto, 756 pages plus blanks, and several pages of accounts, bound in either original ¼ leather and marbled boards, or ¼ leather and cloth, entries written in a neat legible hand in either pencil or ink.

Four diaries kept by Upton as a young man, the first dates from when he was an 18-year-old in Portland, Oregon, to 1877 when he graduated from Yale. Upton's diaries contain a frank account of his activities, attending school, preparing for college, and descriptions of daily life in Portland, and later, college life at Yale, and his interior life, his religious faith, which was often in conflict with other aspects of his personality, his literary efforts – poetry writing, and constant self-examination – Upton concludes that he suffers from Depression or "hypochondria" as it was then sometimes called. He is by turns self-confident, jealous, and insecure, he was also equipped with a powerful and obsessive attraction for members of the opposite sex, Upton is extremely frank and revealing about his sexual desires and actions for a person writing at this time. Some of which would be rightly classified today as harassment or assault.

Upton also reveals himself as one of the perpetrators of an infamous episode in 19th century Yale history – the break in, on the night of September 29, 1876, of Skull and Bones. Upton along with two of his associates were the self-styled “Order of the File and Claw,” which accomplished this feat. Upton also reveals himself to be the author of a pamphlet describing the event which appeared anonymously later that year, entitled: The Fall of Skull and Bones. Compiled from the Minutes of the 38th Regular Meeting of the Order of the File and Claw...”

William Henry Upton was the son of William W. Upton (1817-1896) jurist and public servant. William Henry Upton was born in California July 19, 1854, he graduated from Yale in 1877, worked for a time after his graduation as a clerk in the Navy Department in Washington, practiced law with his brother Charles Backus Upton, and served as a member of the territorial legislature of Washington and for two terms as superior judge of the state of Washington.

William W. Upton, was born in Victor, Ontario County, New York, July 11, 1817. His father, James Upton, a substantial farmer, and a man of considerable prominence in the county, was fifth in descent from one John Upton, who settled in Massachusetts in 1637. Judge Upton’s mother Olive Broughton was of Connecticut descent.

Upton received the scanty educational advantages which Western New York then afforded, including a course at Lima Academy, he managed to acquire a knowledge of Latin, Mathematics as well as French.

After a preliminary settlement in Michigan in 1838 he taught school, worked as a surveyor, studied law in his native state and was admitted to the bar. In 1840 he married, and began the practice of his profession at Victor, Michigan. He was supervisor of Victor during 1840-1845, surveyor of Clinton County during 1841-1845, county treasurer 1845-1847 and a member of the legislature which made Lansing the state capitol. He was appointed district attorney for Ingham County in 1848 and was elected to the same office in 1849 and 1851. He had removed to DeWitt in 1845 and later to Lansing, in which city he built the first house that was not made of logs in 1847. In March 1852, he resigned his office, and with his wife and three children crossed the plains to California. There he practiced his profession first at Weaverville, and from 1855 at Sacramento. He was a member of the legislature in 1856 and prosecuting attorney of Sacramento County during 1861-1864. His wife and several of his children died he married in 1860 his second wife, Marietta Bryan. He removed to Portland, Oregon in the spring of 1865 and assumed a place in the front rank of the Oregon bar. He was elected to the legislature in 1866, and was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court for the fifth circuit in 1867 and was elected to the same position for a term of six years in 1868, becoming the Tenth Chief Justice in 1872. He returned to the practice of law in 1874, but in 1877 was appointed second comptroller of the treasury of the United States by President Hayes, and moved to Washington D.C. with his family. He held this position through three successive administrations. He resigned the office June 1, 1885, and continued the practice of law there until his death on January 23, 1896. His “Digest of Decisions of the Second Comptroller, 1869-84,” was published by the government in 1885.

Judge Upton was originally a democrat, voting for Douglas in 1860; but from the latter date was a republican. He was a Freemason having been initiated in Michigan in 1849; received all the degrees of the so-called York and Scottish Rites and succeeded General Albert Pike as president of the Masonic Veteran Association of the District of Columbia.

Sample Quotations:

1872

Tuesday, January 9, 1872

"In evening proposed to go to prayer meeting and told the folks I was going down town, whereupon Geo. Said he would go with me; on my objecting Geo. Hinted pretty strongly that I wanted to go to some place to which the folks would object. At which I told him he was an "infernal liar," whereupon Etta gave me a lecture and there being three of us angry at once we did not get along very smoothly. Finally seeing that I had made an ass of myself I went to bed very much ashamed of myself."

Thursday, January 11, 1872

"This evening attended prayer meeting at M. E. Church and escorted Maggie home. Had determined to give her a fairwell kiss this evening and then to stop going with her. At least for this month. Came to this determination partly to prevent my falling in love with her and partly that she might see that I am not wholly dependent on her whims for my happiness. But on account of the presence of others I did not kiss her at the gate but postponed my farewell till next Sunday night. However I told her a story of an imaginary person who wonders if he had better quit the side of her with whom he is afraid of falling in love. Was unusually awkward but think she understood me."

Friday, January 26, 1872

"Attended Prof. G. G. Rogers lecture before debating society. Subject Chemistry Proceeds \$ 10 ¼.

This evening father gave a party to some of the military who had been kind to Etta on her trip over to Victoria last Summer. There were only a couple of dozen of the aristocracy present which caused considerable hard feelings among those not invited. After seeing Belle home, went to bed with Charlie at 2 o'clock tomorrow morning!"

Friday, February 9, 1872

"Went to school in fine spirits but the boys conspired to bring up the "Judge Upton's son" joke & bothered me considerable. How foolish it appears for a man of McEwan's age to stick himself into other people's business! Mem. "Gentleman One who minds his own business."

This afternoon Etta asked me if I take the Stitzels home from church. I said "occasionally." At which she objected strongly and told me if I would attended to her wishes she would have me forbidden. I maintained that if I chose to take girls home it is no one else's business. No conclusion.

Spent the evening at Stitzel's. Mary is going to have a party one week from to-night and wishes us to take part in some charades. I respectfully declined. Only the Theilson's, Jesse Mitchell and Edith Carter were there. Martha and I spent the first part of the evening looking over some poets. Afterwards we danced. At 12 o'clock took Jesse home."

Friday, February 23, 1872

"Went to school. Latin did not recite owing to the absence of Prof. Jones. Wrote, or rather finished, a piece of verse which I began some six weeks ago, which I call "A Pacific Coast Pastoral" – being an imitation of Virgil's Eclogues, about 150 lines long..."

Tuesday, February 27, 1872

"This evening father and I went to hear the fifth lecture of the Society's course by Ex-Gov. Geo. G. Curry. Subject "Pioneers." Father says it was a very good lecture. Proceeds, = \$ 7.50

Escorted Katie Wilson and Miss Cook home from the lecture and then went over to dancing school. Before I arrived some of the boys came near being arrested for breaking the windows of a china wash-house, across the street."

Saturday, March 16, 1872

"Today I bound in two small volumes all the rhymes & verse I have written, with the exception of the "Pacific Pastoral" and the "Tolling of the Bell." The first vol. contains about 1100 lines including some "fragments" and the greater part of it is very inferior rhyme without verse. The second vol. contains about 1000 lines including 37 six line stanzas of a poem destined, probably, never to be finished; and both volumes are full of unchaste lines and obscene sentiments besides miserable verse. There are a few lines I like very much. These lines are the result of the idle moments of eleven months beginning – fitting day – April 1st, 1871.

In evening danced with the girls, see last Saturday night."

Sunday, March 24, 1872

"One year ago today some one stole a letter I had written Emma from her pocket which troubled her so much that she told me she would correspond no longer. Attended usual services.

At 3 P.M. went down to the M. E. church to the china school. The Supt. Mr. Jones offered to make me Assistant Supt. If I would join, but I declined on account of inability to attend regularly. He gave me two china men to teach. At 3.30 o'clock went to the first S. S. concert given by the "North Portland charge", at the "north school house." Mattie, Maggie and Emily S. were there. Emily for some reason did not "recognize" me – though she had no good opportunity to do so. ..."

Sunday, March 31, 1872

"One year ago to day for the first time I met Cora in the P. A. & F. S. music room and spent the afternoon, from 2 ½ to 6 o'clock holding her in my arms and giving and receiving kisses ..."

Monday, April 22, 1872

"Studied well at school to-day. Studied from 3.30 p.m. to 5 and about an hour after dinner... At 9 o'clock went to the school meeting at central school house .005% tax on \$ 6,000,000 property was levied, and

the legislature was petitioned for permission to issue \$ 100000. Bonds at 8 or 9 %. On motion of Mr. J. D. Holman the colored school was abolished and all children placed on the same level by a unanimous vote. The meeting was in favor of High Schools, Graded Schools and the teaching of music in every department. ..."

Monday, June 3, 1872

"Election day. At noon Emmet Williams and I made the round of the polls. Lapeus, Hollock & Co police commissioners have flooded the city with Democratic policemen, and Sheriff James has appointed a hundred or so republican Deputy Sheriffs. It is the quietest election ever held here. At 2.30 got excused from school and spent the day at the polls. In evening went up on top Odd Fellows Temple. The county has gone Rep. by probably 800 odd majority and Joe Wilson is elected..."

Saturday, June 8, 1872

"Spent the day copying for father, on the "Oregon Reports" which he and others are preparing to publish. He introduced me to Judge Kelsay of Corvallis & Rufus Mallory of Salem.

It is two weeks ago today since I wrote to Daisy and I have heard nothing from her. It is a curious fact that though I made out a long written statement of the arguments pro & con writing to her, it never once came into my mind that she might not answer my letter. Today father gave me a letter from Yale advising me to apply for admission. Father had opened it accidentally. Query: Did he ever open any from Emma and feel it his duty to destroy them?

In evening attended a grand ratification meeting in the square 1500 probably present. Speeches by Williams, Mitchell, Mallory, Kelsay, Hare and Caples. Miss Jeannie Dyar went east on the steamer this evening."

Tuesday, June 18, 1872

"... Well, with tonight ends my 18th year. Ah! If I could but live these years over again! I am about 5 ft 3 ½ inches in my stockings and weigh a little over 125 pounds. Am rather awkward, healthy but at the same time short winded and with little physical strength. My disposition is not good. I am the victim of impulse; Usually loving to be alone but occasionally feeling a resistless desire for girl's company. My temper is very quick and violent and I am disposed to contradict and argue. I have not yet got out of the bad habits, which I fell into during the past three years, of lying and swearing. All these bad habits I wish to correct. With today I propose as far as I am able to put off the boy and put on the man. Etta gave me today for a birthday present, the first photograph album I ever owned."

Sunday, June 23, 1872

"Attended the usual church services. Rev. Huntington preached fine sermon at Presb. Ch. in morning. He is from Olympia.

This afternoon while reading the N.Y. Tribune of June 5th I read that on Saturday June 1 the General Conference of the M. E. Church amended our Discipline, by a vote of 179 to 75, so as to make using of liquor, playing games of chance, attending theater &c, Dancing &c &c &c "contrary to the order and discipline of the church." Words cannot describe my astonishment sorrow and chagrin. If this is so I must either give up these things or withdraw from the M.E. Church. I hold and have always held that

no church is superior in authority to the conscience. I can not conscientiously [sic] give up practices which I know are not wrong. Time will tell..."

Tuesday, July 16, 1872

"Emma's sweet face which I saw in my dream last night haunts me to-day. I am agreed with the determination I formed last night concerning Mattie & Martha. This melancholy which has obtained such fearful control over me I am determined to kill by starvation. Instead of indulging it I will apply my mind to other subjects. Wrote in office. Attended noon meeting.

Have recently been reading in Wharton & Stille's Medical Jurisprudence and have come to the opinion that I am afflicted with a mild form of insanity called "Depression", or else with "Hypochondria." My condition agrees exactly with a description in Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas" and one in the "Medecine Legale de M. Orfila." I can say with Burns who had this disease. "I have been for some time pining under secret wretchedness. The pangs of disappointment, the stings of pride and some wandering stabs of remorse, settle on my life like vultures, when my attention is not called away by the claims of society or the vagaries of the muse. My constitution was blasted ab origine, with a deep incurable taint of melancholy that poisoned my existence."

Monday, July 22, 1872

"Made a list of the Cases Reported in the 3d Oregon Reports, today at the office. ... There is little more to be done at the office until some "proof" arrives from Bancroft & Co of San Francisco. Have determined to go to studying soon."

Thursday, July 25, 1872

"Spent the day copying the syllabus of McArthur's cases and listening to the trial of Gilfoy for the murder of W. R. Wales. The evidence is strong against him. The killing is not denied. Mr. Effenger, a new lawyer here, made a splendid speech in his defence. The best I ever heard I think...."

Thursday, August 8, 1872

"Did not do much work to day although I was at the office most of the time. Came across a book of father's marked "Records" in which he has written occasionally for many years. It also contains many extracts concerning him &c from news papers; and also a record of the family from his grandfather down. I was wrong in reading it but am glad I did for I there read the only account I have ever received of the death of my mother. It is written by father "for the sake of her dear children." And, more, the book shows on almost every page that father is a true God-fearing and God-trusting Christian. The account of "beloved Maria's" death breaths in every line the spirit of "Thy will, not mine, be done, oh God." How unworthy and mean I feel with all my professions and church membership, when I compare myself with him. The text at her funeral, as near as I can remember the words of the book, was Now may they rest from their toil; and their good works shall follow them. ..."

Friday, August 9, 1872

"Two years ago today, - August 9th, 1870, James first boy Charles Samuel Upton was born in the little house behind the court house, I was then at Astoria.

Today James, his wife, her mother, his children and myself started on a pleasure trip. We got on the "west side" cars at 8 A.M., arrived at Cornelius at 9.40 ... spent the afternoon in an unsuccessful attempt to kill some squirrels with Chas. Breach loading Ballard rifle. Was introduced to Mrs. Nellie Loftus Shaw, Sam's wife and to Rob. Emeric."

Thursday, August 15, 1872

"Spent most of the day at father's office where I read his journal of political and family affairs kept from the time they left Mich. About '52, I think, to the present day. How much the thought should strengthen me in dark hours, that father was at times subject to similar spells of despondency, and how I should persevere if at first unsuccessful when I remember that he, after years of toil and struggling with misfortunes and death, at the age of 35 found himself a stranger in a strange land with a large family on his hands his whole earthly possessions consisting of the clothing they wore, a cow and \$ 12.50 in cash; and yet worked on trusting in God until now he is what he is..."

Friday, August 23, 1872

"After being unwell for a month or so Pansy succumbed to her disease a year ago today and when I called in the evening I found that they even despaired of saving her life. She did not get entirely well before she went east.

Spent most of the day at Deady's Court listening to the testimony in the Mail robbery case. In evening went down and bade Fred. R. Strong good-by. He is going "East" to attend law school and expects to be gone about a year and a half. Spent the evening at the library and walked up from his store with Charlie Holder.

Have been thinking some this evening of the pleasure I should take in some dear one's company. The desire has rather taken the form of a longing for a reconciliation with Daisy. These musings come to me but with them comes not that dreadful darkness that so blighted my life five or six weeks ago. The knowledge of my disease is, I trust, its antidote. God grant it may be eternal."

Sunday, September 1, 1872

"Got up early and helped father with his trunk down to the Cars. He goes to Salem for the Supreme Court of which, according to the rotating system, he will be Chief Justice, to-morrow..."

Saturday, September 21, 1872

"... Going down street in evening met James near the Court House. Today about noon while he & R. E. Bybee were chasing a bear near Cornelius, one of their hounds sprang upon James playfully, and discharged his rifle. A Henry rifle-ball passed through his left hand, cutting off a piece of the bone and tearing away most of the flesh between the thumb and first finger; He came home on the 6 P.M. train and proposes to stay at our house.

Took J. A. Simmons and Chas. Holder to society and made members of them. Had a big wordy fight with W. S. Chapman: I decided that a motion to "suspend the rules and take up new business" does more than simply suspend the order of business; Win appealed. We fought from 9.30 to 11.30, he making constant motions which were regularly voted down, and speaking his allotted 10 minutes on every motion, to tire the society out and compel us to adjourn. But when the final vote was taken the

chair was sustained by an all-most unanimous vote. Win. Used some strong language and said "that Upton is a most unscrupulous fellow – he will be terrible if he ever goes into politics!" ..."

Saturday, October 5, 1872

"... Father and mother came down from Salem in time for dinner bringing Judge Prim of the Supreme Court. Was introduced to him. In evening tried in vain to get together a quorum at the society but could not owing to Senator Mitchell's reception. The court room was packed, Mattie, Maggie and Mary Combs were there – the two latter bowed to me clear across the room. Harvey Scott made the congratulatory speech. Mitchell was followed by Gov. Bennett of Idaho, J. F. Caples, Mrs. A. J. Dunniway and others. Mrs. D. was very sharp on Caples and Mitchell for "going back" on the ladies in their efforts to get a women's rights bill through the legislature, but never the less congratulated Mitchell."

Monday, October 21, 1872

"Got up at 7 A.M. went to school as usual. Did not know my Greek... In evening went down to Court House and heard Geo. P. Reiley the negro-barber-orator make a Grant-Wilson speech..."

Saturday, November 2, 1872

"... Today the Chinese feast of the Lesser Dragon begins. They celebrate it with preasts [sic] brought from 'Frisco. Sunday they are to throw the devil which they are now engaged in catching, into the river."

Monday, November 4, 1872

"Today father took Geo and me to the office to work on the Index where I left off Oct. 26th '72. We worked all day till 9.30 P.M.

This evening at the court house some fine speaking was done. There was a torch procession of most of the negroes of the city wearing white rubber capes marked "Grant Invincibles". After the meeting was over they went up and, with the E. Port. Band, serenaded Gen. Canby, Caples, and Gibbs. On the street I stood near the Connell's Girls but did not speak. Perhaps I carried my "don't caredness" too far this evening; Gibbs on the other hand joined them and walked up the street with them."

Sunday, December 8, 1872

"Thirty-two years ago today, i.e. Dec. 8th, 1840, my father William W. Upton, was married to Maria Amanda Hollister, my mother, at Victor, N.Y.

Attended class. Stated I am resolved to devote my whole life, body and soul, to God. Attended other services as usual. In morning Geo. Was well enough to go with me. A German S. S. begins to meet in the Presbt. Basement Sunday morning to day. After dinner went down to M.E. S. S. and stayed to China school. Martha cut me, though her sisters are very pleasant, Maggie did not speak.

In evening went to M. E. Ch. & Prayer meeting. In ch. I took a seat on the side where I could not avoid looking Maggie, Mattie &c in the face. The latter smiled very pleasantly.

There is a very pretty looking young English woman about 20 years old, who is said to be engaged to Stephen Prideau, who on various accounts seems inclined to catch my attention. Coming home from church, where she had been smiling during services &c, we met and she coughed coquettishly &c &c."

Tuesday, December 17, 1872

"At school to-day Goodenough talking of Spiritualism spoke of Llewellyns of Milwaukie who for 7 years from commands of the spirits have not tasted animal food, nor salt &c. Emmet Williams' mother has been stopping there a long time to be cured. They claim he is a spiritualist and that the sprits helped him study &c. Does this explain Emmet's queer theology and the fact of his avoiding all food but graham crackers? Surely this is worth examining ..."

Sunday, December 22, 1872

"This morning Jacob Stitzel and Gen. "Gish" Applegate started East as Oregon's first Immigration Committee. James is Stitzel's agent while he is gone. At half past 9 A.M. while I was in class meeting alarm bells rang and Bro. Cullens little boy rushed in with news of a fire at his shop. Fire, the largest ever in State, burned E. side Front St. down to Washington from Morrison. Also E. half of block in front of Odd Fellows Temple. Loss 3 to 5 hundred thousand. James' things were about all saved. For further particulars see newspapers. Izer worked like (and was as wet as) a rat. I carried two express loads of books &c to our house and a wagon load of letters and papers of Mitchell's to Dolphs &c &c &c. From library walked up to her uncle's with Edith Carter. ..."

1874

Friday, January 9, 1874

"Flunked dead a geometry lesson which I knew well as Johny knew his daddy."

Wednesday, January 14, 1874

"Father writes that Sen. Mitchell writes that every thing is going much better with him than he expected. Both he and Atty. Genl. Williams will to their utmost to get George an appointment to West Point from the President."

Wednesday, January 28, 1874

"To-day Prof. Wright 99reek99d me on the Campus and told me he wanted to congratulate me on the way I am reciting in Latin. Said perhaps I was surprised he called me up so often but it was because a Prof. like to hear one recite whom he was sure would recite well. He said "You are going for a 2d division stand at least, are you not? I advise you to go for the 1st Went through the Art School with some of the boys."

Saturday, February 12, 1874

"Was elected Vice President at Gamma Nu. The Banger rush took place to night. I did not go. Our boys kept their banger."

Tuesday, April 7, 1874

"Rye. Read Oliver Twist. Rode through Port Chester &c. We took supper at Thealls. Later Frank lay with his head in Maria's lap until George & I ousted him and then I lay on Georgiana's breast, while she stroked my hair & kissed my forehead, and held Mira on mine. Departed at 10 o'clock. Purdy a little before. Georgie & I stood at the gate and there I clasped her to my breast and imprinted such kisses as none but Pansy ever received from me. But I care nothing for George nor she for me unless she is so foolish as to think she can marry me, an opinion which Frank firmly believes. She reminds me in her cheek, dimples, laugh, but most of all in her beautiful eyes of Martha S. One might imagine a resemblance between Mira & Amanda. But the X's are more refined and modest girls."

Thursday, April 23, 1874

"In answer to my question, Father writes that Blackstone is the best book to begin with reading law but Kent is preferable to one who has other studies. Read my first 20 pages of Kent. Hooker has given us 2 ¼ pages advance 100reek and I, like the rest of the class, have been compelled to have recourse to a pony."

Sunday, May 3, 1874

"I have got into a terrible habit of swearing, punning and telling objectionable stories and have been trying in vain lately to get rid of it ..."

Saturday, May 23, 1874

"This P. M. went sailing for the first time in N. H. with Purdy, Tyler, Wakeman & Kelsey. The latter is a good sailor. Visited the Yale Boat House for the first time, saw the crews row and for the first time saw "shells" & "Barges."

My "Bachelors Story" was in to-days Courant, My first piece of verse in print."

Wednesday, June 3, 1874

"Last recitation of Freshman year this noon. I fizzled the next to last and flunked the last recitation. Have only been up twice this term in Algebra and flunked both times. Have almost a certainty of holding the 2d Division.

A letter from Carrie Caples says that Mary Combs says Pansy borrowed her photo of me and is painting a copy. After a row with Prof. Coe I drew room 97 North College."

Thursday, June 18, 1874

"This morning at nine '77 went into her last freshman annual – Geometry of first two terms. I got 7 out of the 8 propositions and at 12 M came out of the door an unconditioned Sophomore. It was rather better than I expected to escape a condition. At 2 ½ we gathered on the fence and at 3.40 left N.H. for the Pequot House New London. The literary part of the class supper was fine. Mathews spoke of me as a poet, in his history, and quoted the last 4 lines of "To Pansy". The supper was a failure, poorly served and not enough to go round. A number of fellows got Elliot & T. Barnes drunk – As the 19th,

my birthday was ushered in we were just starting for N.H. On the cars a Towny came near getting in trouble for resenting an insult drunken Elliott paid him. Got to bed at 3 ½ o'clock."

Tuesday, August 25, 1874

"Today walked to her dress maker's with Eda. She became displeased and almost ready to cry at the too great familiarity of some of my caresses. I kissed her and begged her pardon promising never more to offend her. Then she played piano and it was curious to see how hard each tried to restore cheerfulness. I am sure we love and respect each other more. ..."

Thursday, September 10, 1874

"College Year begins. We have Sophocles Electra, Prof. Packard; Analitical Geometry (or Conic Sections), Prof. Newton; Horace, Tutor Wilson; Triginometry, Tutor Morrow and Compositions, Prof. Northrup. Was called up in Analitics and made a rush. Moved to 97 North, board at Commons, remained in 2d Division, wrote a note to Rush Giltner yesterday who I think has been rejected at examinations."

Tuesday, November 3, 1874

"Today for the first time in 15 years the Democracy, has won a great victory. Nearly 20 states have gone democratic to half a dozen for the administration. The lower house of congress changes from 100 Rep. to 50 Dem. Majority."

Saturday, December 12, 1874

"Handed in to Prof. Northrup our first prize-compositions. My subject is meditative poetry. I think I have very little chance for a prize."

Tuesday, December 15, 1874

"Was examined in Horace's Odes. I guess I have none done remarkably well in anything this examination. My money order due on the 12th has not come and I am afraid I am not going to get off Thursday. Went to another mesmerism show, - only a partial success."

Friday, December 25, 1874

"Spent the P.M. at a Turkey shoot. Held Eda in my arms & lap a great deal and read Moore to her. In eve as she lay in rocking chair with her eyes closed I opened the front of her dress and toyed with her breasts which are well developed for a girls under 15. She covered her face with her handkerchief and a beautiful rose color covered her face. At first I th'ot she was displeased but it was only a maidenly modesty which confiding love over came. Is there any wrong in this? No! even if she were not fully armed with virtue as she is, I would not harm her."

1876

Friday, January 7, 1876

"McDonald is back and is compelled to go into '78. This eve. Gager & I went to here Gough on "Circumstances." We had a fine flirtation with two girls, perhaps "pick-ups" aged about 17 & 15 & good looking. Each gave the eldest a note going out & she looked as though she wished us to follow but we did not – restrained by fear of each other! He wrote about leap year &c. I wrote "Corner Chapel & Church Sts. Tomorrow eve. 7 o'clock" and hope to keep the appointment; which looks as though I had fallen from the stand I took two years ago. But I will be virtuous & happy, which is what Gager thinks I wrote to the girl."

Saturday, January 29, 1876

"Just before the winter vacation Marvin '76 asked me to write a poem for the Jan. Lit. I did not want to but he insisted and a week ago I offered him his choice of two not extra but fair pieces. The Modern Magdalen & At Ft. Stanwix. To-days Lit comes out without either of them. I do not think I will write any more, except a piece of prose on E. D. Baker which I have in hand, until '77 is editing the papers."

Thursday, February 24, 1876

"Today I received a letter from Mr. F. A. Gibbons, Atty at Law Princeton, Ill. He says Anna is stopping at his house and has been confined to her room for some weeks by "a severe attack of nervous prostration" which I fear was caused by the letter I wrote her just after Thanksgiving. In answer to my request to exchange some of our letters she is willing he writes but it is my duty to send mine first. My letters he says have caused her "considerable uneasiness" and appear to have had a depressing effect upon her constitution." Of course my conscience smites me to think that I may have broken the girl's heart and I have just written her a long affectionate letter promising to be all I have been in the past, (no more) complaining of her want of confidence about the letters and offering to show my trust in her by sending her's anytime. I also wrote to Mr. Gibbons I am very anxious to have a few letters which I have written her destroyed."

Monday, March 20, 1876

"Was "made" a voter. Swore to age and birth-place. That my residence had been in New Haven more than two years. That I lived here and incidentally attended college. That my bonds-man was a N H man ... That I supported myself. That I drew my money from NH That I had borrowed \$ 25. Of my father since I was of age... That I made money by tutoring... That I had no definite plane of going to Oregon to live when I graduated."

Wednesday, March 22, 1876

"Attended 1st Rep. political meeting of the campaign. Northrup presided Ex- M.C. Kellogg & Gen. Stewart Woodford spoke, the latter well. The meeting was not very enthusiastic."

Thursday, March 23, 1876

"Attended 1st Dem. Political meeting of the year. Senator Kernan and Col. Fellowes of N.Y. made good speeches. The meeting was very enthusiastic. Once when he mentioned Bristow's name a few of us applauded with our canes, the micks took it up and a prolonged applause ensued."

Thursday, June 1, 1876

"This eve. Shelton took me to call on two sisters on High St. but they were not in, so we called on a Miss Chamberlain, alias Chamber pot, who has the reputation of allowing a good deal of hugging. She asked me to call again. We then called on Miss Mattie Hills."

Wednesday, June 7, 1876

"Went in to Calculus Annual. Did pretty well. In eve took C. Shelton out to Bethany Thence at 8 we went to call on Anna & Marie (Mary) Bristol and stayed two hours. Marie & I talked together the whole time and I made an engagement to take her rowing Saturday at 3 P.M. Although Shelton claims I am engaged for a picnic with Miss Reynolds et al that day."

Thursday, July 6, 1876

"This P.M. Mac & I were discussing Bones Hall and went around to take a look at it. Stepping up I rang the bell when to our surprise the door opened and Elmer P. Howe '76 (our Socrates) stuck his nose out. We beat a retreat around the hall where to our surprise we found one of the iron shutters of a back window open. Getting on each others back we looked into a room which extended 2/3 the way toward the back of the hall and was about 2 or 3 feet higher than the top of the window I was plainly frescoed, some good looking furniture was pushed back near the walls, the floor was bare and dirty and littered; between the two windows and a little from the wall stood a common table covered with papers apparently legal cap &c folded up and in cases like those used by bill collectors. On the opposite side of the room was a green baze door or a door covered by a green curtain. Howe came and shut the inner blinds which were of imitation walnut. The wood of the window was painted white. The wind presently partially opened the blind again..."

Saturday, August 12, 1876

"McD. Has purchased iron saws & files, blow pipe, crow-bar, key hole saw, dark lantern, alarm bell cold chisel, monkey-wrench and c and we have made a rope ladder and propose to try to cut through the roof into Bones Hall within a week or so. To night we are to go up and see how much of a job it is I suspect it is prison if we get caught. We found it impossible to get up on our ladder which was a single 3/8 inch rope with sticks tied in every 4 ft. Got back at midnight."

Monday, August 14, 1876

"McD & I made a rope ladder 38 feet long putting in 25 iron rods and with this we easily got on top of Bones hall this evening and took all our tools up but it is so heavily plated with iron that there was no chance of getting in without alarming the numerous "peelers". Returned at 1 o'clock."

Friday, August 18, 1876

"This evening McDonald and I were examining the cellar windows of Bones Hall when we perceived a light in the cellar. Throwing in a light from our Bullseye we got a good view of the cellar. The light appeared to come from a Joe. It is rather discouraging to find the windows guarded by double rows of inch iron bars."

Wednesday, August 23, 1876

"... Then McD sawed half through one of the iron bars of Bones cellar but found somebody had captured our crow-bar so we had to postpone till tomorrow night."

Wednesday, August 30, 1876

"Went to the Centennial. In the evening went to a Can Can variety show. It was the first real can can I have attended. The preludes were darn dull.

Saw the race between Yale and the great London Rowing club in which Yale astonished every body by coming in only five feet behind though her course was 100 ft longer than her adversaries."

Thursday, August 31, 1876

"At the Centennial Tyler '77 run across me and took dinner with his mother and sister Carrie. In the eve Tyler, Ed & I went to see Jules Verne "Around the World in 80 Days" as a spectacular at the Alhambra. On the way home who should enter the street car but Stanley Royal. We had a cordial talk and agreed to meet at the Oregon show tomorrow at eleven."

Monday, September 11, 1876

"McDonald & I filed a little more on the bar of Bones Window but we have not yet got in"

Tuesday, September 12, 1876

"This evening Mc & I set out to finish the job and get into Bones cellar but while at work a lot of Bones men entered the hall and we had to desist."

Friday, September 22, 1876

"This evening McD & I again worked at the cellar window of Bones and finished cutting through one of the out side iron bars which is about an inch thick. Owing to the numerous lights we were unable to work longer so we fastened the bar in its place with putty."

Friday, September 29, 1876

"... This evening we finished the job at Bones... "X" & I agreed that another man was necessary so we settled on "Y." who expressed himself delighted with the idea. There was a bright moon but we were partially shaded. We got to work about 8 p.m. Y & I watched while X finished removing the grating. Then with great difficulty he got out the wooden frame to which it had been fastened and I

carried the pieces to the back yard. Then "X" crawled in to file away the 1 ½ inch iron bar but found that it was fastened in a wooden beam above and in an interior brick "damp wall" below. He removed a few brick and then I took his place. Thi" "damp wall" was about two inches from the main stone wall and was one brick (8 inches) thick so by means of blows of a hatchet and prying away mortar with a nail claw I rapidly dug away the wall about two feet to where the bars ran through iron plate imbedded in the brick wall. To facilitate matters I had thrown down a wooden shutter and frame which covered the window from the inside....About an hours work dug away all the brick wall around the bar which I then pulled out and the bars all fell out of their own weight. I then enlarged the opening by throwing down the large stone which capped the brick wall and sloped up from the outer toward the inner row of bars ... and then the way was clear to enter. Some of the bricks I had thrown in, the others we neatly piled up beside the building. What we saw inside is essentially as given in the pamphlet to be published early in 1877, except that we did not get into the two rooms marked "storeroom" owing to our haste to get away. We then went out to West River and sunk our tools, rope ladder &c and hid our spoils temporarily in a stone fense." [sic]

Friday, October 20, 1876

"Tonight about 300 students joined in a great Hayes & Wheeler procession and marched from 7 to 10:30. It was some miles long and them dems. Had one nearly as large."

Saturday, October 21, 1876

"Tonight Tyler I attended Matt Morgan's combination show where various classical pictures were represented en tableaux by draped female figures. Howard & Whitney were there with pick ups and we tracked them via Lockwood's to where they left the girls. We then knocked but could not get up much conversation with the snab."

Sunday, October 22, 1876

"This P.M. about dusk Tyler and I went down to the house which we discovered yesterday evening and soon started a conversation with two girls on the second floor who soon came down to the front door. One of them, I think the one Whitney had last night was introduced as Lula or Lotta Bradley. Soon started a conversation and agreed to meet them at Calvery Baptist Ch. & take them home. Then dug out as Tyler has vowed not to pick up after dark in N.H. I suppose the house is a professional, perhaps amateur whorehouse. We then went and called on Miss Hills and her Mich. Cousin Miss Butler..."

Wednesday, October 25, 1876

"This evening about 400 students in caps, capes and torches escorted ex-Pres. Woolsey to the Music Hall and he made the first political speech he has ever made. About 80 students turned out for Tilden; the most important Tildenites are Chapin, Percy, Atwater, Kimball, Dillingham, Keeler. Most of them call themselves Ind. Reps."

Tuesday, October 31, 1876

"Tonight we – about 500 Hayes & Wheeler students took part in an immense parade at Hartford. Got there about 8 o'clock. Procession, 1 ½ hours passing one point, marched till about 1.30 o'clock when they

got collation. About 12, Ed. Wilson '79 & I dropped out and went up to Chas. Groves room where we found a spread and boundless lager. Left there about 3 and got to N.H. at 5 a.m. A red letter day."

Thursday, November 2, 1876

"Oct. Lit. contains two of my pieces :Leila Adair" and A Reminiscence of Col. Baker, one about as much a work of the imagination as the other. Last night Billy Sumner delivered about the finest political speech I ever heard, in Linonia Hall at the request of the Tildonites. Tonight Prof. Northrup set all over him. ... Earlier Tyler and I went and got our Bones plunder which had been buried in a stone fence. He takes it to Rome to-morrow I am writing a pamphlet about it which we intend to have printed in Cal. We begin the study of Chemistry to-day under Wright."

1877

Monday, January 1, 1877

"Washington.

The new year found me visiting at Sen. Mitchell's in Washington. Mr. M. invited me to go calling with him & Mr. Dolph but I declined because dress suits are necessary. Mrs. M. assisted by Etta & several others received 180 callers. While in Washington I did the city pretty thoroughly. I crammed to books on Moral Philosophy to forestall Pres's study. I took notes on four volumes of Port Royal books for my essay. I met a large number of Oregonian's, Dolph, Steele, Watts & Odell the electors, Ben Simpson, Capt. Crandall, Dr. Thompson et al. ..."

Thursday, January 18, 1877

"Two or three days ago I asked Prof. Northrup if I could study law in his office. He said he was not practicing but sent me to Judge H. E. Pardee, who after consideration said he should be too busy and turned me over to one Chas. T. Morse who promises me an affidavit-certificate six months from now for which I am to pay him \$ 2. Per hour as often as I recite. He lends me a Blackstone. Bot my first law book, Robinson's Elementary Law. ..."

Friday, January 26, 1877

"Today a pamphlet was sent to students through the mail giving an account of the breaking into Bones Hall Sept. 29, 1876. There appear to be no clues by which its author can be discovered but it is generally regarded as genuine. ..."

Saturday, February 24, 1877

"This morning I read a composition on Keats to Northrup after which he asked me to stay a few moments. He asked how my stand had changed since Junior year. I told him not materially one way or the other. He then said "I invite you to write for Commencement, as a token of my respect for your ability as a writer and a speaker." I of course very gratefully accepted a privilege that I do not know to have been before accorded to a low stand man. The other fellows have their pieces written for the most part but I must hand in when they do, March 19..."

Thursday, April 5, 1877

"Term begins to day. Studies, "History of Philosophy," Prex; Hallam's Eng., Wheeler; Lieber Civil Liberty, Sumner; and (optional) Eng. Literature, Beers.

To day my money (two weeks behind had) came. I neglected to state that a day or two ago I called on Prof. Thacher to see if he could get me \$ 100 at the end of the year and he says he can not owing to hard times. I had counted on it. Wrote a composition for Goodier a day or two ago but he has not paid. Am to write two more for Howard & Whitney. Ed brought me the jobs. They are worth about \$ 4.00 each. Spent eve with Mamie."

Tuesday, May 15, 1877

"Today received a letter from Etta announcing that Father has through Mitchell's influence been appointed by Pres. Hayes 2nd Comptroller of the Treasury at a salary of 5000 to begin in Oct. and has accepted. My pleasure cannot be expressed. It will probably materially alter my plans."

Sunday, May 20, 1877

"Called on Mamie but she was so ill with some kind of a skin disease that I could not see her more than half an hour. Finished the piece on "La Fayette's Career in France" which I hand in for the Townsend prize tomorrow. Shall not be much surprised if it takes a prize or does not."

Saturday, May 26, 1877

"Am amused at a dream I had last night: that a lot of Bones men attacked me in bed and had a great advantage on account of my nakedness until I put on my pants when I easily put them to flight. Now the joke is that when I awoke this morning I had my pants on! This P.M. occurred the first B. B. game of the series with Harvard. 2000 persons saw us beat them 5 to 0. They did not make a base hit. Betting in N.Y. has been 100 to 30 against us. College is wild and justly so."

Friday, June 29, 1877

"Ed & I hired a double team & took Ed's sister & Miss Hatty Andross to Springfield to see the races which being postponed on acct of rough water we put up at the Pyncheon House. In eve the girls were addressed by Harvard men as pic ups, & after Ed & I had gone to bed in room 3 a lot of whores in the adjoining parlor when not carrying on with Harvard men tried to break into our room."

Sunday, July 15, 1877

"Are anchored in Holmes Hole at Vineyard Haven, Tisburytown, Martha's Vineyard. A beautiful village. Walked to Oak Bluff, the great Camp Meeting three miles east of here. There are many large hotels and I should think over 2000 cottages. Sailed around in the yawl and wrote letters. My & Hull's five days cooking begins today."

Saturday, September 27, 1877

"This eve called on Miss Wood. After Miss Felt went out began caressing her below the waist. The first few times she was quite angry but at last nearly yielded to it though claiming to be virtuous. She

talks smut the worst I ever heard. Report says Chas. L. Brown has screwed her. Probably she objected to my caress because of the horrible stench which arose from her pudenda, possibly because she had been walking all day at the fair. Stayed till midnight."

Tuesday, October 2, 1877

"Spent much of the day and the eve at Torrances Hawkins & I were beaten at whist because of too much talk, I defending Hayes' peace policy. Geo. Defends hazing & W.P. treatment of Nigger Flipper which so disgusted me that I used pretty strong language going home. It begins to dawn on me that his tastes and mind are so different that we must drift apart. W. P. is hell to a man morally and nearly as bad mentally & esthetically."

Monday, November 26, 1877

"A certain clerk in father's office gave me a certain book containing the questions used in cvil service examinations at the Treasury. So much for Civil Service. Was introduced today to Asst. Sect. of Treasury McCormick but nothing came of it..."


Monday, December 17, 1877

"Went to work in Navy Dept. under Chf. Clerk John Hogg at \$ 1200. Am copying today. As Ralph has one sold the Crusoe I bot in N.H. for \$ 2. And bot for 4.50 Bryant's Lib. Of P & S for Mamie Xmas."

\$ 2,750.00

COTOOSA SPRINGS

Located in Walker Co. Geo. six miles West of the Tunnel, and Two miles from the W. & A. Rail Road, and Five miles from the East Tenn. & Geo. Rail Road.



436 Miles from CHARLESTON, S. C.—300 Miles from AUGUSTA Geo.—405 from SAVANNAH, Geo.—214 from MACON, Geo.
113 from ATLANTA, Geo.—25 miles from CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.

**THIS BEAUTIFUL
WATERING PLACE,**

Is now opened for the Reception of Visitors, and the Accommodations are ample for
FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS.

THE PROPRIETORS HAVE SPARED NO EXPENSE TO MAKE THIS DELIGHTFUL PLACE THE
SARATOGA OF THE SOUTH.

THEY HAVE SECURED THE SERVICES OF A
**CELEBRATED GERMAN BRASS BAND,
FROM CHARLESTON, S. C.**

We say to all who wish to patronize Enterprising Men, and who wish to have a WATERING PLACE in GEORGIA, second to none in the United States, **Go to COTOOSA.**

If you love to hear good Music, and breathe the Pure Mountain Air, and drink the cool and healing waters of Life, **Go to COTOOSA.**

☞ These Springs possess Medicinal qualities in a remarkable degree, and are of unequalled variety, consisting of
FIFTY-TWO SPRINGS.

☞ The Proprietors will give their Personal attention.

BATTEY, HICKMAN & M'DONALD.

Unrecorded Advertising Broadside for Georgia Resort

11. (Georgia) Cotoosa Springs Located in Walker Co. Geo. Six miles West of the Tunnel, and Two miles form the W. & A. Rail Road, and Five miles from the East Tenn. & Geo. Rail Road. 436 Miles from Charleston, S.C. – 300 Miles from Augusta Geo. – 405 from Savannah, Geo. – 214 from Macon, Geo. 113 from Atlanta, Geo. – 25 miles from Chattanooga, Tenn. This Beautiful Watering Place, Is now Opened for the Reception of Visitors, and the Accommodations are ample for Five Hundred Persons. The Proprietors Have Spared No Expense to Make this Delightful Place the Saratoga of the South. They Have Secured the Services of a Celebrated German Brass Band, from Charleston, S. C. We say to all who wish to patronize Enterprising Men, and who wish to have a Watering Place in Georgia, second to none in the United States, Go to Cotoosa. If you love to hear good Music, and breathe the Pure Mountain Air, and drink

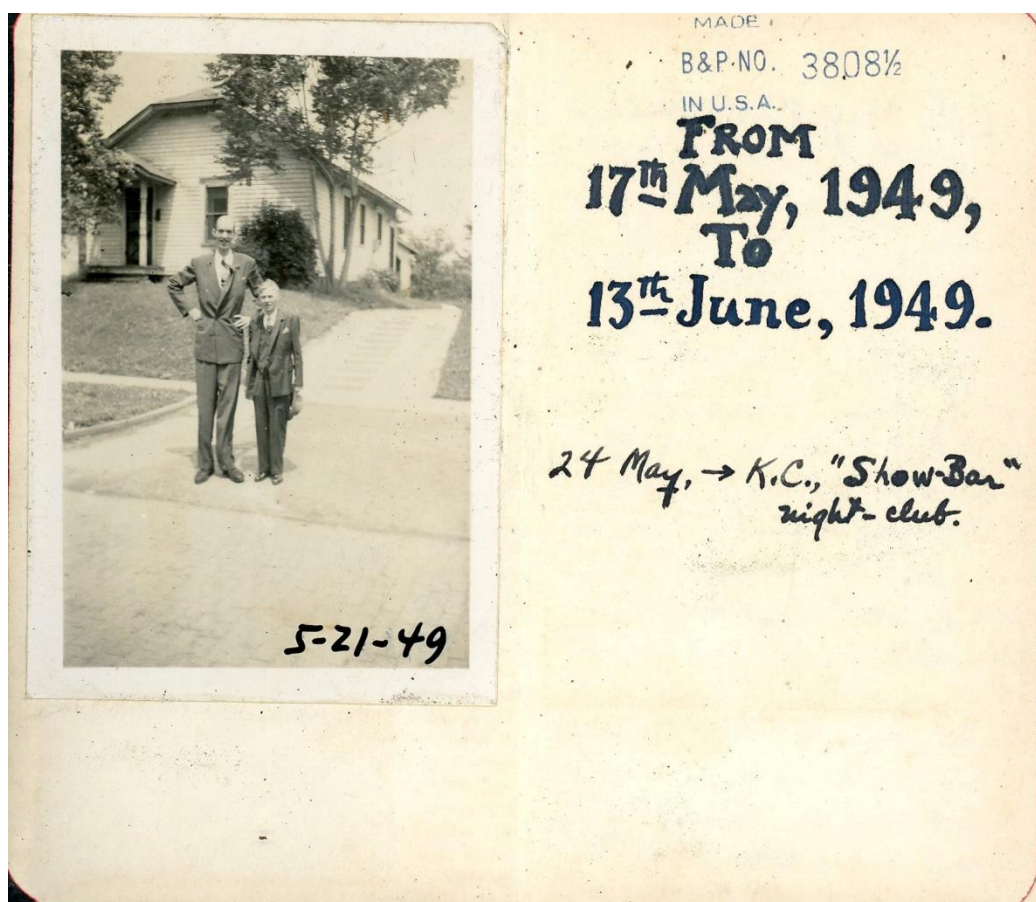
the cool and healing waters of Life. Go to Cotoosa. These Springs possess Medicinal qualities in a remarkable degree, and are of unequalled variety, consisting of Fifty-Two Springs. The Proprietors will give their Personal attention. Matthey, Hickman & M'Donald.

[N.p., n.d. circa 1850] broadside, measuring 14 x 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, text printed in blue ink on light blue paper stock, in a variety of type fonts and sizes, illustrated with a cut of the Cotoosa Springs establishment, all within a typographic border. Formerly folded, the broadside was mailed to a Maj. Bunch in Tuscumbia, Alabama, with postal markings on verso, in very good clean condition.

There is very little known about this mineral spring resort. The broadside can be dated prior to December 1853 when Cotoosa County was organized and split off from adjacent Walker County. A post office was established in Cotoosa Springs in 1853. During the Civil War a Confederate Hospital was established in Cotoosa Springs and was in operation until circa 1864 when it was occupied by Federal forces.

The broadside is unrecorded and unlocated in OCLC. We can find no printed information on Cotoosa Springs in OCLC at all.

\$ 1,750.00



Dr. Charles Humbert and Henry M. "Hite" Mullins

12. (Gigantism) Humberd, Dr. Charles Dean (born April 16, 1897 – died August 27, 1960) **Collection of 39 Manuscript Diaries of Dr. Charles D. Humberd of Barnard, Nodaway County, Missouri, Researcher and Medical Expert on Gigantism, 1949- 1951**

Thirty-nine 16mo pocket diaries, approximately 4,773 manuscript pages, entries written in ink, each volume bound in identical black cloth, in very good, clean, legible condition.

This collection is an unusual one, consisting of the diaries of Dr. Charles Humberd, a medical doctor and coroner in Nodaway County, Missouri who was a researcher and expert on gigantism. He was also a major collector of oddities and items related to giants, or “giantiana”, as Humberd called it. Humberd was also a numismatist and book collector. His book collecting interests were varied Incunabula, Shakespeare quartos and folios, astronomy, Benjamin Banneker, and Americana of local historical interest. He purchased materials from the leading American and British dealers of the day. Each diary covers approximately two weeks and is over 100 pages long in which he records his daily activities in meticulous, if not obsessive, detail.

The diaries begin while Humberd is in St. Francis Hospital, Maryville Missouri recovering from a serious surgery he underwent at the Mayo Clinic, and what he describes as “inanition.” Humberd’s recovery took nearly four months. While convalescing he still continued to see some patients in the hospital and assist in surgical procedures.

Humberd records his interactions with his patients, daily activities, local events and his collecting interests and obsessions, books, coins, and “Giantiana”.

Sample Quotations:

“20th February 1949 Sunday Wrote Ralph, (at Dahlgren, VA.) and Rayford Lee Johnson, giant negro, at 408 Third Ave. South, Fort Dodge, Iowa...”

“28th March, 1949, Monday ... wrote Felix Adanos (13a) Regensburg, Rote Lowenstr. 2, Bavaria, U.S. Zone, Germany, & sent him 2 newspaper half-tone clippings of recent photographs of Max Palmer, Lyon, Miss., giant. Mailed postal to Ross re Spanish case history of Jesus Rubio, giant ...”

“21st April 1949 Thursday ... letter from Rayford Lee Johnson, negro giant, at 1337 East 58th Chases Los Angeles ...

“25th May 1949, Wed. ... Myrtle also brought her St. Joseph Gazette of last Thursday, the 19th inst. & clipping photo of Johann Petersen Icelandic giant ...”

“21st June, 1949, Tuesday ... Thence back to Barnaby and to office & into my vault & searched out desiderata from the Southern Literary Messenger, on Poe, + 1:488; 2: 13& 306; 14:34; 15:694; 16: 172; 20: 249, & 25: 331, and Automatic Chess Player, 2:318. [these from Poole’s Index; failed to find my data on Poe’s write-up of Maelzel’s automaton chess -players] and book review of the Bland Papers, Nov. 1843, 9:657-662, and article on Banneker, July 1856, 23:65-67, ... Myrtle Ryan had brought the mail, including books & prints from Swann Auction Galleries, N.Y.C. ...”

“24th June 1949, Friday ... continued on to Conception College, to consult Rev. Fr. Mark Foley, librarian, re entry “Giants” in forthcoming “Who Knows - & What” of the A. N. Marquis Publications, who’s who in America. But he is in St. Joe, as Pastor of negro church, not expected back “home” until next week...”

"18th July, 1949, Monday ... [St. Joseph, Missouri] to circus grounds at S. 6th & Atchison Sts., & there attended the matinee performance of Cole Bros 3-ring circus. First to Annex (sideshow) & was pretty paltry; - no giant, bought a picture postcard of Joseph Newrath, midget xylophonist. A distressingly hot p.m. ..."

"24th July 1949, Sunday ... Wrote up diary, &c. Then went downtown & sent out the letters, & got mail. To office & made an unsuccessful search for my 1881 handbill of Chang "The Chinese Giant." (But later in the day I found it at home in a discarded envelope, having come that near to a bonfire's perils) ..."

"27 July, 1949, Wed. ... walked downtown in the late evening To vault in office, & read for a while of DeRicci-Wilson census of Medieval & Renaissance MSS in the US & Canada, especially of my own holdings listed therein..."

"29 July 1949 Friday ... walked downtown. To office, & got into my vault; searched my index card for my MS vol. containing Theorica planetarium, Sacrobosco's Sphere, &c., & middle initial of Prof. Dr. Robert Hoarce Baker of U. of Ill., & "Observoscope" ad., & ads of Edmund Salvage Co. (war surplus optics materials)..."

"1st August, 1949 Monday ... wrote Dr. Lynn Thorndike at length on my Sacrobosco MS ..."

"6th Aug. 1949, Saturday ... letter re Supplement to DeRicci-Wilson Census of MSS from C. V. Faye, Champaign, Ill., & inquiry from A.N. Marquis & Co., Chicago, a complement to "Who's Who" – "Who Knows 0 & What", & my listing therein for Giants & Giantism. Eventually & despite much & severe asthma, I got replies to all of them off during the course of the day ..."

"9th August 1949. Tuesday ... Then to office, measured ceiling height (92") of my mounted skeletons... Then got Clarence ("Cotton") Baker to help me & in 2 trips we hauled my 2 giant skeletons up from the office to my garage on the side of my balky chevy coupe, "Cotton" also helpt me clear a space for them, later, in Roe's room upstairs ... unusually glad, even elated, to have my skeletons here, & out of that repugnant office; which has become an onerous burden & a worrisome anathema to me ..."

"4th September 1949, Sunday ... wrote airmail per typewriter at considerable length, to Henry M. "Hite" Mullins, c/o Star Fair, Indianapolis, - where the trio of Low Hite & Stanley opens today for a week, re his "game" left foot (destruction of a meta-tarsal, phalanx, 2nd (?) &/or their joint) ..."

"27th September 1949, Tuesday ... wandered back up to the St. Joe Auditorium, & bought a matinee program 50 ¢ of Harry Blackstone's magical show & enjoyed it very much... I failed to see "the gimmick". Out of the show about 5.30 p.m. ... Then Rev. Fr. Mark Foley O.S.B. came in quest of data on The Cologne Chronicle, 1499, - a St. Joe soldier had offered him a copy for sale. Got out some of my old booksellers' catalogues of incunabula from upstairs, & found 2 exemplars therein. Then to office, & into vault, & looked up this book in Stillwell's 2nd Census, & Sanders, & the GesamtKatalog der Wisgendrucke. Failed to find my Pellechet catalogue of incunabula, for collation, but the GW (which he had already consulted but had overlooked this entry) gave this any way..."

"5th October 1949, Wednesday ... Glanced over the day's mail, including photostats of a Langley Griswold A.I.s. from Boston Pub. Libr. Of Maya interest, & a letter from Henry M ("Hite") Mullins, currently playing the Capitol Theatre, Washington, D.C. ... into K. C. about 3.30 p.m. ... Then to Auditorium Music Hall, & got seats in the 28th row for the show of "Spike Jones & His City Slickers – Musical Depreciation Revue," was as good a show as these old eyes had e'er seen ... Had my first look at Lockhart Martin; guessed him @ 85" & about 250# - he was quite thin when viewed "on edge"

from the ride, &c some stiffness of his thoracic spine, & truly enormous jaw & hands & feet. He was peddling programs in the lobby, & I bought one 50 ¢ from him, he autographed; learned that he was born at West Bridgewater, Pa., 12 Oct. 1916, hence he'll be 33 years old a week from today..."

"6th October 1949, Thursday ... Saw lunar eclipse under perfect seeing & weather conditions, = a marvel of delicate & entrancing & singularly beautiful colors, & unmistakably globular shape – after totality the high full moon was dazzlingly brilliant ..."

"28th October, 1949, Friday ... Chatted a bit w Rev. Fr. Mark Foley, O.S.B. still pastor for St. Joe negroes; he returned my 2 dealers' catalogues of Incunabula, loaned him some little while ago, & told me further about the St. Joe owned copy of the Cologne Chronicle, for wh a soldier allegedly had swapped cigarettes in Germany ... Then sent more book auction bids to Swann Galleries..."

"7th November 1949, Monday Up at 3.30 a.m. per alarm clock, and dressed &c. Thence forth in the Chevy coupe ... to Conception Jct., & there met southbound Chi. Great Western train # 15, due in at 410 a.m., but running 40-45 minutes late, - it brought my negro giant, Rayford Lee Johnson, in from Fort Dodge, Iowa. Hadn't seen him for more than a year. We sat & chatted a while in the depot's waiting room. The negress to whom a son, named Ray Johnson, was born ca 4.00 p.m. Friday, 4th Nov., 1949, at Mercy Hospital, Fort Dodge, Iowa, delivered by Dr. Leighton, & who has named, or accused Rayford of fathering it, is Mrs. Sarah Durr, nee Emerson, 24, still the wife of Lester Durr, of Landendale, Miss., who left her 2 or 3 years ago for another woman, May Warner. Sarah Emerson was born & reared at Emell, Alabama. – After 4 March, 1949, on which date Rayford left Fort Dodge & went to Los Angeles, arriving the 6th. Lester Durr went to Fort Dodge to see Sarah Emerson Durr & stayed there about a week. – After a while of such chatter we tossed Rayford's suitcase into the Chevy's rear & him into its seat & took off for Barnard... took Rayford to my unused except for storage office & put him up there, got out the old daybed & its rubberized lap robe, & an old quilted horse blanket... Built him a trash fire in the stove, then took myself home..."

"8th November, 1949, Tuesday ... got a parcel of books, from Swann Auction Galleries sale by mail, Then w Rayford to Bagley's café where he ate a roast beef dinner & I ate a hot roast beef sandwich ... Then we clambered aboard the Chevy coupe in the late p.m. & drove to St. Francis Hospital, Maryville, ... Took Rayford to laboratory for blood counts, (all within normal limits), & type, = o & Rh factor (=positive) determinations & urinalysis (wholly negative, but sp. Gr. = 1020) Then stood him up against w. wall of basement hallway, where I had marked off Henry M. (Mullins) "Hite's" dimensions a year, & marked Rayford's at same spot – it is interesting to compare Rayford's 2" shorter stature, but 3" longer reach &c. next Sr. Teresa Marie made Ant. Post. & Post. Ant. Chest films of Rayford, both on wall cassette holder; & then ran an EKG of him. Gave her check for \$ 4.50 for these various exams – she asked for only \$ 3.00 for the EKG... next drove to "Smitty's" drugstore, 211 N. Main, & got vanilla ice cream & chocolate syrup for Rayford in the back room, & coffee for me & chatted a bit..."

"9th November 1949, Wednesday ... Showed Rayford some of my photos of other giants... Rayford had been sweating it out, mostly reading, sitting in the kitchen, gave him a duplicate back number of Family Circle Magazine, then loaded him into the chevy coupe ... drove via Guilford & the bottom road to the depot at Conception Jct., Missouri... There Rayford bought his ticket to Des Moines, from where he'll go on home tomorrow I gave him \$ 2.00 to tide out his finances, then we took some kodak pix together, per the 620 camera's automatic shutter, and then Rayford caught the Chicago Great Western RR train # 12 N. bound shortly after 5 p.m. ..."

"12th November, 1949, Saturday ... packaged giantiana ("Lapland Giantess" handbill) to return to J. Warshaw, N.Y.C., & wrote him w 9 ¢ postage refund ... to Snyder's café, for coffee and paid \$ 5.00 for total of Rayford's board bill for the 7th – 9th inst. ..."

"22d November 1949, Tuesday ... Then Rev. Fr. Mark Foley O.S.B. came by for a little while & we chatted of Banneker & Junior Martin & Rayford & Henry Hite, &c., ... loaned Fr. Mark my copy of Boston Pub. Lib. Quarterly, current issue article on The Book of Common Prayer, to take "home" (he is parish priest to St. Augustine's (negro) church, St. Joe ..."

"25th November 1949, Friday ... finished reading Graham's biography of B. Banneker, - unhappily there is much more fiction than verified fact in it and too much fanciful dialogue by far – the write-up of Jefferson's talking to himself would darn near have the reader doing the same if it had been stretched out much longer! ..."

"5th December 1949, Monday ... Re-wrote Principal, Canon City, Colo., High School, for dated transcript of credits of giant Joseph Lockhart Martin ..."

"12th December 1949, Monday ... "Smitty" had told me that yesterday's K.C. Star had held a photo of a new German giant just arrived in N.Y.C., - I phoned Mabel Strader for it, but she was unable to find it. [3 days later "Smitty" mailed it to me, - from the Sunday Chicago Tribune = a one-column half tone cut of Jakob Nachen = "Uranus" of Dusseldorf] ... "

"27th December 1949, Tuesday I completed a long (& too long delayed) Christmas letter to Rayford L. Johnson, negro giant, at 408 Third Ave. South, Fort Dodge, Iowa, & readied it & a questionnaire for his birth certificate data & \$ 1.00 =currency, & 5 kodak prints & enlargements, to mail to him – quite an ambitious project I should have completed much sooner..."

"30th December 1949, Friday ... Myrtle Ryan brought the days mails including ... as most important my copy of the A. N. Marquis Co's Chicago "Who Knows – and What", among authorities, experts & the specially informed directory in w my biography p. 749, 3rd column, no. 29, appears as the sole "interested" in Giants (Index, p. xxvii) – and that give to mine ego one quite tremendous boost! ..."

"19th January 1950, Thurs... Wrote J. Warshaw, N.Y.C. & sent him check for \$ 10.00 for color lithographed card of Choung Chi Lang, Chinese giant at G. B. Bunnell's Museum. Broadway & 9th St. N.Y.C. ca. 1876. Wrote Rayford, Fort Dodge, Iowa questionnaire for his birth certificate, & sent him \$ 3.00..."

"2nd March 1950 Thursday ... Wrote Miss Betty Willoughby, Madison, Wisc., at length & returned her letters &c on Giant & Giantess Frederick Chadwick Randall... sent her \$ 1.00 for photocopy of picture of the couple..."

"21st March, 1950, Tuesday ... Myrtle Ryan brought the day's mails, including photostatic copies, from Strannuscholck's of pictorial portrayal of Mr. & Mrs. M. B. Randall, Scotch giant & giantess of mid-19th century, made from my magazine excerpt by Smythies. Remaild these to Miss (Mrs.?) Betty Cass Willoughby, authoress, 223 Clifford Court, Madison, Wisc., who is preparing a feature article on the pair. ..."

"7th September 1840, Thursday ... Dr. Bauman & I had considered driving to Lincoln, Nebr. To visit for the p.m w Henry M. Mullins, of Town, Hite & Stanley" at the Lincoln Hotel there; their act is playing the Nebraska State Fair, & Henry had 'phoned me Monday from Lincoln – But Bauman decided against going ..."

"9th September 1950, Saturday ... Then I fell to working over the newest AMA Directory & over my giantiana stashed away under the dresser in my bedroom. Put them a bit more to rights & in better order & arrangement &c. & readied the materials on Jacob Nacken for next Tuesday. Failed to find photos of Elizabeth Farmer, + Carmi, Illinois, giantess.... Then upstairs & hunted out a sheet of paper suitable for making an anticipated hand tracing of Jacob Nacken ("Uranus") next Tuesday..."

"11th September 1950, Monday ... caught a trolley bus to South St. Joe & then a motor bus, on a transfer to Ringling Bros. Barnum & Bailey circus grounds at Lake & Alabama Avenues, just on the line of the city limits... my seatmate on the ride down ... said that the circus had paid \$ 300.00 to the city anyway, not for a license, but because of expected damage to the brick paved streets by the heavy rolling stock from the R.R. unloading yards to the show's lot. I wandered all around the circus set up; kodaked the sideshow's of annex's banner of Jacob Nacken ("Uranus") = new this season German giant & the ("non-Moscow") bell-wagon ...this bell wagon was pulled by 2 elephants harnessed & hitched like a team of horses; it was played, with considerable energy by a clown, who was able to keep recognizably in time & tune with Merle Evans' band.) Then after I'd made all of the back yard, to the side show, ca 2.30 p.m. & saw it thru completely & collected \$ 1/15 worth of souvenir folders & photo postcards. Then, as the crowd thinned out for the Big Top performance at 3.30 p.m., I sought the acquaintance of Jacob Nacken, Dusseldorff Giant, & succeeded well in cultivating it, per my collection of old photos & clippings of him, brought along for that purpose Spent the remainder of the p.m. with him, got specimens of his photo postcards & rings, jotted down memo of his biographical data, particularly his World War II record, & his memory of other giants. Walked out w him to the Big Top's entryway, = back door & kodaked him, & had an usher ditto him & me together, & stuck a 1.00 currency down into his boot for this favor,) & saw him get into the ordinary size sedan, with others from w he emerged, in the center ring as one of a multitude. (At the night show later I saw him march in the grand parade, = "Spec" with an attachment behind him as an imitation centaur... then I returned to the sideshow & worked on this diary & my notes. Nacken returned presently, & we chatted until 6 p.m. ... then to the Circus general admission including tax \$ 1.50 Inspected the menagerie..."

"26 Febr. 1951, Monday ... Narrowed the search for pictures of giants for Dr. [Morris] Fishbein down to Jake Erlich, Henry Hite, & a disorganized mess of materials concerned primarily w midgets & dwarfs, - so I tackled the last named first, & sorted its papers & relics, &c atop my bed ... Finished sorting the midgets file, then selected 8 negatives from giantiana & 6 others ..."

"8th April 1951 Sunday ... Wrote Dr. Morris Fishbein at length & sent him 3 negatives, and six 8 x 10 enlargements of photos of giants, w pertinent legends or captions about them ... Finished packaging the pix & data for Dr. Fishbein, then re- assorted some of my giantiana, & found 2 "lost clippings" on midgets in doing so..."

"16th August 1951 Thurs. ... Kelly told me of Jim Aldridge, eccentric, 2 years ago he used the shot gun in repelling invaders of his home, upon a series of nightly raids – they got away, but he was certain that the were Homer Stallings, who is probably a Ku Kluxer, and Doc Humberd, who has been getting pretty thick with the Catholics! He failed to see any slight discrepancy or significant inconsistency in the pair making joint raids ..."

"23 September 1951, Monday ... Returned a poster of ca 1870 to J. Warshaw, N.Y.C. & sent him ck for another 29 x 10 inches 6 June 1843, Theatre Royal, Birmingham, of Charles Freeman, the American Giant ..."

\$ 2,750.00

“ THE INDIAN NEWS.”

A Meeting of the PROPRIETORS of “THE INDIAN NEWS,” was held on the 22nd December, at the
Offices of MR. SHERIFF ROGERS,

SIR GEORGE G. DE H. LARPENT, BART., M.P., in the Chair.

The Chairman said that they had met to confer upon the state and prospects of a journal which every one connected with India acknowledged to be of high public importance, and which, if adequately fostered by those who had the power to do so, would no doubt go on increasing in utility and influence. He then called upon Mr. Sheriff Rogers.

Mr. Sheriff ROGERS laid the accounts before the meeting, by which it appeared that the journal had been established on its present footing in a singularly short time, but at a considerable expense. To meet this expense, in spite of a thousand promises and professions, not a shilling had been received from India; and, indeed, the only Indian name, native or English, on the list of money-contributors, was that of Dwarkanauth Tagore. He had therefore to call upon the proprietors, which he did reluctantly, for the whole of their subscriptions. The apathy of the parties interested abroad seemed more remarkable, in comparison with the zeal of those at home: for his own part, they would see by the accounts that he had paid a much larger sum than the amount subscribed; but, so far from grudging this, he would not permit any of his fellow-proprietors to share with him in such a loss. Mr. Rogers stated that the circulation of the paper during the last twelve months had never been less than 2000, nor more than 2250.

Mr. JAMES McKILLOP proposed the first resolution—

That the object of the Proprietors having been accomplished by the establishment of “THE INDIAN NEWS” on a permanent basis, it is now expedient to the completion of their views, that the copyright of the paper be transferred to its present able Editor, Mr. LEITCH RITCHIE.

Seconded by Mr. HENRY GOUGER, in an animated speech, and carried unanimously.

Mr. ARCHIBALD HASTIE, M.P., in introducing the second resolution, remarked that it merely echoed the sentiments expressed by the preceding speakers, and felt by all the Proprietors, but by none more warmly than himself.

That while thus relinquishing the copyright of “THE INDIAN NEWS,” the Proprietors retain the same anxious interest in its success as before, and pledge themselves to use their best exertions in still further promoting its prosperity.

Seconded in an appropriate speech by Mr. THORPE, and carried unanimously.

Mr. ALEXANDER COLVIN, in most handsome and complimentary terms, proposed the next resolution:—

That the warmest thanks of this Meeting are due to Mr. LEITCH RITCHIE, for the able, zealous, and enlightened manner in which, as Editor of “THE INDIAN NEWS,” he has all along advocated the interests of British India.

Seconded by COLONEL BURNEX, who said he spoke from personal knowledge and observation of Mr. Ritchie, and expressed the delight he should feel in describing this meeting to their countrymen in India, whither he was shortly to return, and telling them that a journal from which so much public good had already resulted, was now placed upon so secure and favourable a footing. Carried unanimously.

13. (India – Journalism) **“The Indian News.” A Meeting of the Proprietors of “The Indian News,” was held on the 22nd December, at the Offices of Mr. Sheriff Rogers, Sir George G. De H. Laurent, Bart., M.P. in the Chair. The Chairman said that they had met to confer upon the state and prospects of a journal which every one connected with India acknowledged to be of high public importance ...**

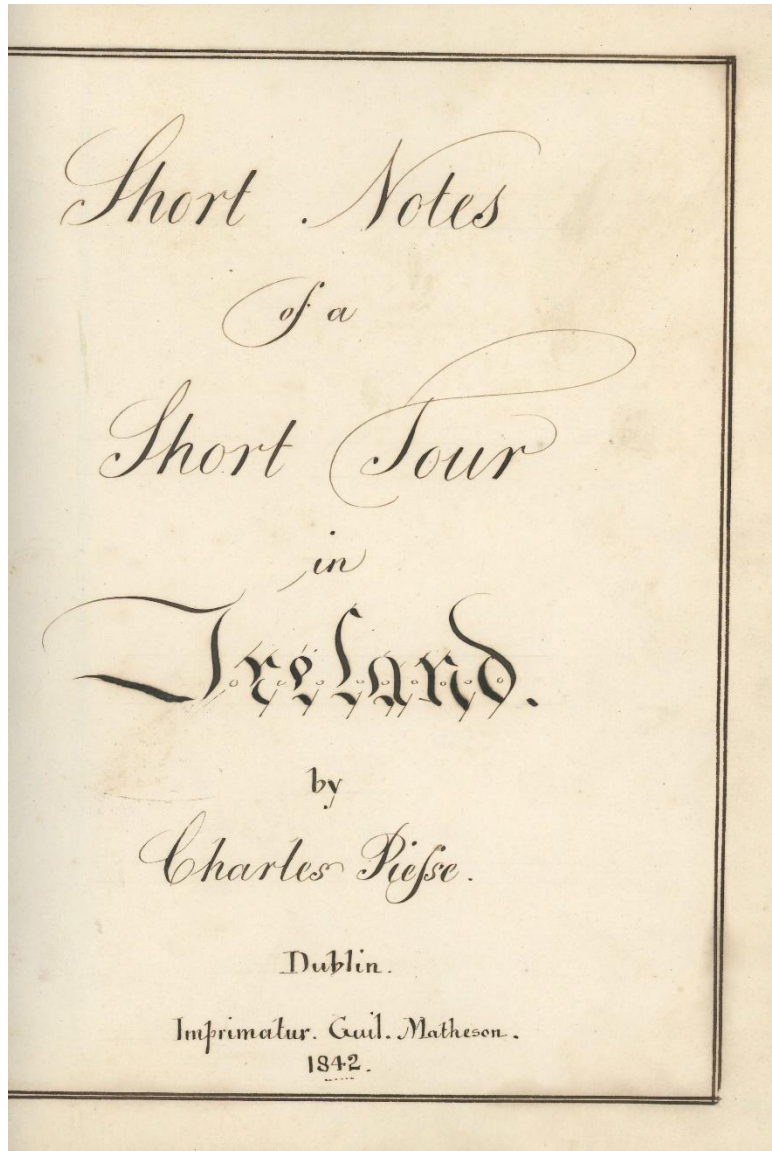
[London: 1842] Quarto, two page printed circular letter, printed on a four-page bifolium, with a short autograph letter signed from Leitch Ritchie (1800-1865) the editor of The Indian News, the entire circular sent to a Dr. McKenzie, Journal Office, Shrewsbury.

The circular prints a number of resolutions from the meeting one of which was the establishment of The Indian News on a permanent basis. The second page of the circular states the following: “The Indian News, Monthly Stamped Journal of Indian and Chinese Intelligence, Public and Domestic”. It contained a monthly summary of political events, official news, from government notices, original articles, commercial and business news, cultural events, home intelligence, East India Company news, Royal Asiatic Society, and advertisements, etc. The paper was published monthly “on the arrival of the

overland mail, by Stewart and Murray, Green Arbour Court, London. Advertising rates and subscription rates are also noted.

Leitch Ritchie was a Scottish novelist and journalist. Born in Greenock and worked as a clerk in Glasgow, but in 1820 he adopted literature as his profession. He was editor of the Picturesque Annual, he was the author of *Romance of French History*, and of four novels, including *Wearyfoot*, *Schinderhannes*, *the Robber of the Rhine*, and the *Magician*. In his later years he edited Chambers' Journal, he also wrote short stories, tourist guides and travel books.

\$ 175.00



Unpublished Prescient Observations on Ireland on the Eve of the Great Famine

14. (Ireland) Piesse, Charles (1812-1851) **Unpublished Manuscript Account of Travel in Ireland, just before the Great Famine entitled: Short Notes of a Short Tour in Ireland. By Charles Piesse. Dublin. Imprimatur. Guil. Matheson, 1842**"

Quarto, [2], x, 162 manuscript leaves, written on rectos only, bound in modern full black Morocco, retains original manuscript paper spine label, new marbled endpapers, with armorial bookplate of the author, Charles Alexr. John Piesse on front pastedown, (retained from the original binding), occasional light foxing and soiling. The first leaf of the table of contents is mis bound after the second leaf, several leaves with tissue repairs to the bottom left margin, some light damp-staining, leaves 121 and 122 mis bound, else in good, clean and legible condition.

We can find no evidence that this work was ever published.

Charles Piesse set out in February 1840 intending to travel through the counties of Kildare, King's Roscommon, Westmeath, Longford, and Meath. He traveled "incognito"; *"attired as a common laborer in an old torn velveteen jacket, napless hat and my only companion a formidable walking stick and a faithful dog."* Piesse states his reason for doing so:

"On many accounts the interior of Ireland deserves to be visited. I had read various statements of the condition of the Peasantry, & they being varied as various I determined to judge for myself."

Piesse travels largely on foot and the occasional canal boat from Dublin to Longford and relates his impressions of rural Ireland on the eve of the Great Famine.

Piesse comments on all aspects of Ireland's socio-economic conditions in 1840. Social life and customs, religion, sectarian prejudice, temperance, travel, education, the economy, agriculture, the peculiarities of the Irish landlord-tenant law, the Poor Law of 1838 and the establishment of workhouses, women, emigration and more. Piesse's observations filtered through the prejudices of an English Protestant gentleman were often surprising in their frankness and fairness to the Irish peasants he traveled among.

Piesse devotes considerable attention to the state of agriculture in Ireland. His prescient observations outlined the vulnerabilities of Ireland to the catastrophe of the Great Famine of 1845-1850. Piesse notes the rapid population growth, the dependence on subsistence harvesting of the potato, the subdivision of plots of farmland into increasingly smaller tracts which made subsistence farming the only option for many families. He describes the economic and agricultural stagnation, the shipment of large quantities of grain, potatoes and livestock to Britain while much of the populace was hungry. Piesse contrasts Irish landlord-tenant customs with those of Scotland and England which did much to exacerbate the dire effects of the famine. The Poor Law also receives Piesse's attention, the Gregory Clause of which enabled widespread clearances by landowners.

Piesse witnesses the departure of a group of emigrants from Longford for America and ends his account with his predictions that Ireland would very soon be unable to feed its population and a plea for the encouragement of Irish emigration to Australia.

Charles Alexander John Piesse (1812-1851) was an English civil servant who served briefly as the Colonial Secretary of Western Australia among other posts. He was the older brother of George William Septimus Piesse, the legendary English chemist and perfumer. In 1840 Charles Piesse was appointed Secretary to the Central Loan Fund Board of Ireland, and the following year published a book about the loan fund system. He held this position until appointed Colonial Secretary of Western Australia in 1850. He arrived at Fremantle in October 1850 and died in office several months later, on 6 March 1851.

Piesse began his journey travelling west from Dublin on a “flyboat” on the Grand Canal towards Ballinasloe, stopping in Philipstown, the capital of King’s County.

“Immediately on leaving Dublin, the country assumes a poverty stricken appearance:- miserable hovels, women without shoes, stockings, or bonnets; and the men in rags. Apropos of bonnets, these appear to form no part of the female toilet with 99 out of 100 of the Peasantry: the shawl or cloak drawn up over the head, or, with those a little better off, a muslin cap, is the substitute. Like the female peasantry of Staffordshire and Shropshire, the Irish women appear capable of carrying heavy loads on their heads. I saw some carrying a tolerable-sized pail of water in this manner.

The great scarcity of trees immediately strikes the traveler in Ireland; indeed from Dublin to Tullamore in the King’s County, I scarcely saw as many as would make a good broom. Wretched mud cabins alone break the sickening uniformity of the treeless enclosures...”

“... Passing Lucan and Maynooth to the right, we arrived at Lyons the seat of Lord Cloncurry. This nobleman is a liberal in politics, and bears a good character for urbanity & humanity in the neighborhood. The mansion is not a very fine one, but pleasantly situated, commanding a view of the traffic on the canal which must have added considerably to the value of the domain.

Several boats have passed us freighted with oxen, sheep, and pigs, to be embarked at Dublin for the Liverpool market. An immense quantity of livestock is sent to England from Ireland, since the introduction of Steam Navigation. By its means the animals arrive in Liverpool or the port for which they are destined on the English coast less wasted than they would be by a drove of 20 miles. The Birmingham folks are the most pigeating people in the world, and it may be safely asserted that two thirds of the pigs slaughtered there come from Ireland. Leaving Dublin on Wednesday morning, by steamboat and railway, they arrive in time for the Thursday’s market at Birmingham.

As we lost sight of the cattle boats, I could not but regret that poor Paddy had not the eating of his own beasts. Of a verity he often lives far worse than the animals destined themselves to provide food for John Bull. ...”

“At this point a Sub-Constable of the Constabulary Force joined the company; he was proceeding to Philipstown in search of a sheep-stealer, and I could not but contrast his sharp, cleanly, and military appearance with the class of functionaries known as constables in the rural districts of England.

The constabulary force in Ireland is about 8000 strong, and to it may be attributed in a great measure the improved state of the country of late years. As it is a sine qua non that every man shall be able to read and write on his admission to the force they are a more intelligent body of men than would at first be expected. They are in this respect as a body superior to any regiment of troops, and this may be accounted for by the fact of their being accustomed to think for themselves as to what they are to do... This fine force is officered by an Inspector General, 2 Deputy Inspectors General, 35 County Inspectors, and about 220 Sub Inspectors, who are of the class of gentlemen. ... The present Inspector General, Col. McGregor – is a most estimable man. The interesting narrative of the Loss of the Kent Indiaman was written by this gentleman, who, with his lady, was on his passage in her. It does equal credit to both his head and heart. He was called from the command of a Highland Regiment in Canada by whom he was much beloved, to his present post, and by a judicious mixture of levity and urbanity, with his strict discipline, he has brought the Force to a high state of perfection. ... I have no hesitation in saying that this force is more conducive towards preventing breaches of the peace than treble their number of troops would be. Faction fights and party processions are by their exertions almost entirely put down, and in a few years promise to be only remembered as “things that were.”

“About the same time that the Sub Constable... entered the boat, a blind Fiddler also joined, and played several Irish airs, enlivening them with an occasional snatch of wild melody. I am told that the Irish language is peculiarly eloquent when appealing to the passions; and if I might judge from the countenances of a few of my fellow passengers who understood the words ... it is not belied. The same performer afterwards favored us with a song in praise of Teetotalism. I suspected by his neat though humble attire that he, also, had

“joined the tem pre rance to never get drunk no more.”,

And on enquiring, found my surmise correct. He had made a pilgrimage to Limerick – had touched “the Apostle” as Father Matthew is designated and firmly believed that if he ventured to break the pledge some great calamity would happen to him. He told me that since he left taking the cratur he was a deal better off and that “if Dan would pass an Act against distilling, and abolish it right intirely the country would soon prosper.” A small collection was made for him, and he left us at the next stage... He assured me he got his living by going up one stage and down another in the boats, and I was sorry to see that on his leaving us the Canal Company’s servant exacted 3d, for his short passage, from the alms he had received.”

Piesse then gives a lengthy account of “Father Matthew¹”, who had launched a Temperance crusade throughout Ireland, after giving an account of his beginnings and progress, Piesse quickly launches into criticism based entirely on religious prejudice.

1. Theobald Matthew (1790-1856) priest and temperance crusader. Born in Thomastown, Co. Tipperary; he was expelled from St. Patrick’s College, Maynooth, and joined the Capuchin order. He was posted to Cork in 1814, but his career was obscure until 1838, when he agreed to lead an anti-drink society. His preaching of teetotalism as a panacea for Ireland’s socio-economic problems won massive support in the difficult years around 1840, with millions taking the pledge. The crusade was losing momentum before the Great Famine as Matthew became distracted by financial and church problems. In 1849-1851 he campaigned in the United States. – *Encyclopedia of Ireland*, pp. 700-701.

I spoke above of Father Matthew, “The great Apostle of Temperance”, as the Roman Catholics call him... at the present time, his name is in every man’s mouth in Ireland. This man is a Friar, and Priest of a Parish in the city of Cork, where he has in course of erection a new chapel, which I am credibly informed promises to be one of the finest buildings in Ireland... Stimulated by the success of the various temperance Societies set on foot by the Protestant Dissenters in England, and fearful of their progress among the “faithful”. Father Matthew set on foot a Temperance Society of his own, which rapidly prospered... Stories of his miracles were banded about among the peasantry from mouth to mouth ... It is supposed that some 2,000,000 people have thus taken “the pledge”, and supposing that 1 in 10 of them keep it much good will be done....”

“We had now entered Kildare, but the face of the country was unchanged; the same beggarly mud cabins met the view, the same wretched poverty was visible in every thing. Passing Prosperous Hill... and a small though increasing town called Robertstown, we entered upon the Bog of Allen through which the canal is cut... Notwithstanding the moisture of the County it is very populous from the number of poor people attracted to the vicinity ... by the cheapness of fuel. Their food is a scanty supply of potatoes raised from the earth from which the turf has been pared... in very wet seasons, such as the present (1839-40) has proved the greatest scarcity of fuel prevails, and the poor are reduced to extremities. Five or six families club together and light a fire in each other’s hovels by turn, and the fuel even for this is the result of a pilfering excursion among the neighboring hedges. As I advanced into the country I found these entirely cut down close to the banks, and was assured but for

the great storm of Jan'y 1839, which blew down so many trees, the people must have absolutely perished..."

"... Philipstown is a miserable place consisting of a long straggling street, running from north to south, the Grand canal bisecting it nearly at the northern extremity: that part of it north of the canal merely containing the Gaol, which is a paltry building and a few mud cabins in various stages of decay. It was formerly the county town, and sent 2 members to Parliament, but is now rapidly falling to ruins; and unless some unforeseen event arrests its decay it will soon be nothing more than an insignificant village. ... This town was formerly garrisoned, and the ruins of a strong castle are to be seen on the banks of the river. There has been a small church of the gothic order, with a handsome light steeple lately erected; and this, with the courthouse, and Roman Catholic chapel are the only ornaments of the town... The majority of the tenements are nothing better than miserable cabins, the filth from which is thrown into the unpaved street,

I visited the National School. The schoolroom is capable of accommodating about 90 scholars, but is too low to be healthy. I found the Master employed in hearing a class of 8 boys read, and a wretched hand they made of it, though aged apparently from 15 to 20... He was however very courteous and communicative, and informed me that the average number of scholars attending was about 75; but I found on casting my eye over them, only 35 present. They were of all ages and both sexes- for the most part without shoes and stockings, and in rags. The Master attributed the small attendance at the time ... to the fact that the majority of the children were employed by their parents in gathering a few sticks to boil their potatoes, no turf being obtainable, as little had been dried during the previous wet season.

The books in use were those of the commissioners of National Education and the room was hung round with different lessons printed like bills for a wall. At the foot of each lesson was printed instructions for the teacher as to how he should proceed... The miserable stipend, and the nature of the occupation preclude any man of cultivated mind from holding these situations; nevertheless they are beyond a doubt far superior to the generality of the village schools that were their predecessors, though in many places I found a prejudice against them in the minds of the lower orders, doubtless instilled into them by some of the Priests who coincide with McHale. ...

I am well aware that my opinion either for or against the National Board of Education in Ireland is not worth a farthing's fee: nevertheless, in the bitter controversy that is now waging on the subject I cannot help briefly alluding to it, and expressing my regret that some compromise cannot be made between the parties, so as to give every child in Ireland the advantage of a good moral education. ..."

Piesse then give a brief account of the controversy surrounding Irish education policy in 1839-1840. Before resuming his narrative in chapter four.

"I left Philipstown without regret, and proceeded on foot to Tullamore, stretching to the left by Greashall to the borders of the Queen's County.

I entered several cabins on my route, a light for the pipe affording a constant and ready excuse, if, indeed, any such was required. There was little difference between them – the earth stamped hard-formed the floor, mud the walls, a few sticks and thatch or peat the roof, a bundle wattled or a few rough boards nailed together the door. The smoke from the bit of turf found its way through the door and window hole, for which latter a wisp of straw is the shutter at night. The furniture of the better sort comprised a low bedstead, a broken table, and a few cracked articles of earthenware, but too many wanted even these luxuries, and iron pot, or the earthen "crock" being their sole moveables. In these

a “shakedown” of dirty straw formed the bed, and a rough chest answered for a table, a block or two of wood the only chairs. The pig, among those happy enough to possess one, shared the habitation, a child with a short stick sitting in a corner to keep the animal from the week’s stock of potatoes.

Many of their hovels are constructed by placing long sticks in a slanting position against a high bank, these are thatched with heath, and as they do not project above the level of the heathy bank, they could not easily be discovered, or distinguished by a stranger, until he came close upon them. Persons desirous of extra comfort plaster their wattled doors with a substance composed of tenacious clay and cow dung which renders the hut a little warmer.

I passed near a place where five men and a young female were regaling over some whiskey for the purpose, as they said of “Christening Jim Reilly’s castle.” This “Jim Reilly” had been married the day before, but having no house to live in, four good natured neighbours volunteered to assist him and his bride to construct one on the bog....

The common decencies of life among people in so abject a state of poverty, are, of course, totally disregarded: there is not the slightest provision made for delicacy in any one point; males and females dress, undress, and perform every operation promiscuously; but for all this, I do not think morality is anything like at so low an ebb as in the manufacturing towns in England.

The roofs of a great many of the cabins are irregularly covered by nature with a greensward, which at a little distance, strongly resembles a long neglected dunghill. On a nearer approach, however, the neck of a broken bottle, or an old tea cup, and sometimes a brogue (an old thick shoe) fixed on the end of a stick, and placed over the door, apprizes the traveller ... is a house of entertainment! – a place where “the raal potheen” is publicly vended, in defiance of Father Matthew and the officers of Her Majesty’s Excise.

On many of these humble taverns, is written up “Good dry lodging” meaning every accommodation for the weary pedestrian except the dry bed he wants. Sometimes a wisp of straw, tied to the end of a stick, projecting like a barber’s pole in an English village promises only a bed – i.e. a bed of straw for which the charge is 1^d. Sometimes a piece of turf, with a tobacco pipe, suspended as the former, indicates a higher kind of entertainment, including tobacco; but if a besom be set up, the traveller may rest assured of potatoes, bacon, oat bread, and in short, the best of fare, in which is included, “whiskey of the right sort that never saw the ‘ugly mug’ of a guager”. All these are served with a hearty welcome, and a civility the waiters of more polished “hotels” would do well to copy.”

The land in this district is rich, and is let from £ 3 to £ 6 pr acre. This rent however is with great difficulty collected, being far too high. Spade husbandry appeared generally in vogue, plough rarely seen. The price of labour is exceedingly low – 6^d pr day in winter, and 8^d in summer for an able bodied man from daylight to dark. Education appeared at a very low ebb. Potatoes, wheat, and oats, are the usual order of crops... All their agricultural implements are of the most wretched description... For draught the car and horse is employed, as everywhere else in Ireland, Dublin not excepted. ...”

“Tullamore is a thriving town, with a population of about 8000, situate on the small river Clodagh, the bridge over which divides the town nearly into two equal parts. It owes its present prosperity to the Charleville family; being in 1785 a very paltry village. The town, and about 2000 acres adjoining form the estate of the Earl of Charleville, and his family have for the last 50 years taken great interest in its improvement. It is now the assize town of the County, as independent of its greater importance, it is more central than Philipstown.

In all the towns of Ireland I have yet visited there is a great lack of good Inns, & Tullamore is not an exception. There is but one establishment in the town with any pretensions to that name ... this one Inn was the only place in which I could procure a beefsteak;[sic] yet every third or fourth house appears to be a public house, and has a sign up indicative of their willingness to offer "accommodation to travellers." The real fact is that 19 out of 20 of the travellers that visit consider meat as a luxury which they have no claim to...

Tullamore has no direct mail to Dublin, but the bags are conveyed by one horse car to Kilbeaggan on the high road to Athlone and Galway. The post office closes at 6 p.m., though at Athlone, some 15 miles further from Dublin, it is open till 9- Surely here is some mismanagement!

The fine demesne of Lord Charleville extends to the suburbs of Tullamore & for natural beauty or display of taste & comfort in the cottages & buildings generally, was not equalled by any other I saw in my tour. The mansion is noble, the parklike grounds everything man could desire. The Clodagh river runs with rapidity through the demesne... Here also are a Grotto, Hermit's Cell, well &c &c, in short all that the most romantic taste could wish. ...

But alas! All its beauties, all its luxuries and all its comforts cannot insure the safety of the owner, though avowedly a most worthy and amiable man, from the wild revenge or prejudice of an ignorant and lawless peasantry. Since the murder of Lord Norbury in open day, and close to his own mansion, within a few miles of him, Lord Charleville has been a self banished man. He naturally feels that his life is not worth a week's purchase in such a neighbourhood.

Melancholy with such reflections, and breathing a fervent though silent prayer that the people of this fine Island might be speedily disenthralled from the dark and gloomy superstition, which I cannot help considering the chief bar to their happiness and improvement, I retraced my steps to Tullamore, and after a slight refreshment bent my way to Durrow, the seat of the ill fated Nobleman above alluded to.

The walk from Tullamore is delightful, the road taking its course over a line of bold hills ... The ruins of Ballicowen Castle, from whence the barony takes its name may be seen in the distance beyond Tullamore. ... Durrow Abbey is about 3 miles from Tullamore, pleasantly situated on the brow of a hill, and surrounded by well wooded though young plantations. The drive to the mansion from Tullamore Lodge is pretty winding through a wood and open park ... till the castle breaks upon view. This was in course of rebuilding in most splendid style, of hewn stone, and the front on the Tullamore side is already finished, the opposite, or Kilbeggan side, is commenced, and the walls raised some 20 feet from the ground, sufficient to give an idea of the grandeur of the design. But, alas! The sound of the workman has ceased to be heard within its walls. Everything remains exactly in the same state as at the period of Lord Norbury's murder. He had up to this period laid out £ 25,000 – upon the building, and, taking that as the data for my estimate, and comparing what is already done with what remains to do, I should say that it would take £ 15,000 more to complete it.

I found an old woman in possession of the premises which were guarded from depredation by a small party of the constabulary. ... I found the furniture, excepting that of the dining room and library packed up ready for removal. It was with indescribable feelings I entered the latter room, in which my guide informed me his Lordship had been sitting some 20 minutes previous to his murder... At the time of the Noble Lord's murder he was employing upwards of 200 artificers and laborers and their wages, paid weekly, with the necessary expenses of a large household, were doing much for the improvement of the neighbourhood. There are not now a dozen laborers employed on the estate. ...

The murderer of this amiable nobleman appears to be well known in the neighbourhood, and I was informed that he was safe in America. His motive as far as I could learn, was revenge, or rather anticipated vengeance, because Lord Norbury wished to remove him from a small farm he held within the demesne for another, in every respect as good- outside of it... such is the dread of giving information against an offender, that although the Government used most unparalleled exertions, and though a reward of £ 3000 down, and £ 100 a year for life to be paid in any part of the world was offered for the arrest of the murderer, no one has come forward to denounce him and he is still at large."

Let it not be imagined that I mean to convey the impression that in every case of murder arising from agrarian disputes the tenants have been no more hardly dealt by than in this case. Far from it. I believe in many instances they have been very hardly used, and that too many landlords had need of being reminded in the words of Mr. Secretary Drummond's celebrated apophthegm "That property has its duties as well as its rights."

The Landlord and tenant system in Ireland has always been bad no doubt there are many happy exceptions, but they are exceptions of persons, not of the system. I am not here going to descant upon the abominable practice of having middlemen, it is too well known, and has been too ably denied, to require comment from my feeble pen; but, hearing as I do every day peaceful Scotland contrasted with turbulent Ireland I may perhaps be allowed to contrast the different tenures by which land is held in the two countries, as if this is once properly understood the character and doings of the peasantry in Ireland will no longer seem mysterious.

In Scotland, the landlord builds and upholds the farm house and offices, divides and encloses the farm at his own expense; and the tenant is a mere merchant of the surface for the currency of the lease. In Ireland, on the contrary, the improvement of the farm is supposed to be with the tenant. The landlord lets the farm on the condition of the tenant building, ditching, &c, the consequence is the tenant's capital is sunk at once; he has no means left to lime, manure, or drain, or increase his stock; - his crops are impoverished - his cattle distrained, and at last he is ejected for non payment of rent, itself too often far beyond what the land can pay. Still he thinks it hard the house he built should pass to another. Hence bad blood. Hence the chain of tenant right is something more than the mere expression itself, would convey to the ear in England or Scotland. It is in other words, a prescriptive right of some sort in the minds of the occupants of the soil to what they hold, though liable to a certain rent, this right they look upon as bought by the outlay which they or their families have made on the premises, on an understanding with the landlord, though without a formal agreement on the subject, that in some way or other the tenant should be remunerated for his improvements; and the choice lies with himself, whether he will receive the valuation in money assigned to him, or will continue to hold the farm. These bargains are (comparatively speaking) never fulfilled; a large rent is asked, and, to encourage the tenant a long time is promised - the landlord is sanguine, the tenant no less so - one half year's arrear follows upon another - the tenant is wasted - the farm is wasted - the landlord is ultimately a great sufferer; but the tenant is ruined.

He is to be driven forth - the landlord only claims his own - the tenant resists ejectment; or, ejected, attempts to return to take possession, claiming the house, &c, as the produce of his own means. Hence an endless strife - the landlord ejects in the name of the law, the tenant resists in the name of equity, and a whole district becomes disturbed, every small holder thinking the case may soon be his own, and knowing that there is nothing between him and absolute starvation but the bit of land he tills.

On the other hand, it must be confessed, the Landlord in many instances appears very hardly dealt by. His Father perhaps has let on lease some 20 years ago, 30 or 40 acres of land to a responsible

individual, who has sublet it to 5 or 6 cottier tenants. These, again, as their children arrived at maturity, have divided their small portions till each holds a part barely sufficient to produce potatoes enough for his support. The lease falls in, and the landlord finds a large colony hardly above the condition of beggars, and utterly unable to pay rent upon a farm barely large enough to support 2 families in comfort, provided they gave the proprietor of the soil his just due. The argument of the ejected tenant in the other instance comes home to the landlord in this – “My family gave bona fide value to this land; it is my just inheritance, I look to the proceeds of it to support my children in their proper station in society., and is it justice to them to suffer it to be thus snatched from me? Undoubtedly not! The law claims my support and obedience, and the Law must support me and give me my own.” ...”

“ ... I walked on to Kilbeggan. This is a small town that appears to be rapidly improving from the number of new built homes, though the only symptoms of a productive power I could see were a large distillery and a brewery. ... it is situate on the high road from Dublin to Athlone, 44 miles Irish from the former. I here scraped acquaintance with a gentleman who held the office of coroner for an adjoining county and who presided at the Inquest of the unfortunate Lord Norbury. He gave that gentleman a most excellent character ... Though the common wages of a labourer in this part of Ireland are only 6^d per diem in winter, and 8^d in summer – very few persons giving 8^d and 10^d this gentleman informed me Lord Norbury never gave less than 1^s and that if he employed a father and two sons (being able bodied men) living under the same roof he made not the slightest difference.

... I found the poorer people in the neighbourhood of Kilbeggan (which is in Westmeath) in much the same condition as their brethren in Kildare and King's Counties, living in miserable hovels hardly affording protection from the piercing wind, and quite inadequate to shelter them from rain: their food a scanty supply of potatoes, but these of a better quality than I had before seen: it being a custom now in many parts of Ireland to grow a description called “Lumpers” which yield a greater bulk and weight but are very watery and by no means wholesome: such straits are the poor peasantry reduced to for food. They complained here much of the high price of turf, and never seemed to dream of burning a fire longer than sufficient to boil “the crock” of potatoes. The water these are boiled in is not wasted but given to the pig, or, if they are not happy enough to possess such an animal it is used for washing any article that may require that operation. This performed in nine cases out of ten without soap, so wretched is their poverty; and in the tenth, where the luxury is possessed, I found it of the description known to the trade as “Brown Thirds”: i.e. two parts of clay to one of very ordinary soap. The children are all in nakedness or rags, and the wretched parents little better clad...”

Leaving the high road to Athlone I struck off to the left passing through Clara an insignificant place requiring no notice whence returning to the high road I reached Horseleap... Horse leaf is a pretty little village more in the English style than any other I saw in the course of my walk. It has a very pretty church with a square gothic tower surmounted by a copper spire, and standing on a hill rather out of the village... The church yard is interesting from the numerous old grave stones some of which bear very quaint inscriptions... it was the common receptacle both of Protestants and Papists.

Piesse then describes an Irish funeral which he happened to witness here which he contrasts with those in his native England.

“... Should two funerals from opposite directions be coming at the same period of time to one church yard, immediately that they arrive in sight of each other a most indecent race takes place to see which can arrive in the burying ground first; as they have an idea that the soul of the last Roman Catholic buried must remain on watch to keep the devil away till another comes to relieve it of its duty. In this race it sometimes happens that the parties jostle, the coffins are thrown down and a regular fight takes place in which broken heads are regularly given & received....

In the vicinity of the church at Horeseleap are the remains of a Danish camp & mounds with a dike, similar to the Devil's Dike at Newmarket Heath ...

I here entered a cottage and partook of the dinner of dry potatoes. I asked for a little salt, and the reply of the poor woman caused me a pang "Do ye think it's the likes of us 'red be having salt?". Notwithstanding all this poverty it was with the greatest difficulty I could make her accept a trifling remuneration for my humble meal. "Ah man! And sure it isn't mesel would be taking anything from yees for yer bit victuals, and so I wouldn't!" This is only one instance out of many that I experienced of the kindly charity of the very poorest of the peasantry. They will part their last bit with the lonely wayfarer, and it is this feeling that induces them to suppose when driven to beg themselves, that they have an absolute claim upon the bounty of those in better circumstances.

How far the new Poor Law, when brought into active operation in Ireland, will tend to obliterate this feeling I pretend not to determine, but, from the slight observation I was enabled to make I strongly opine that it will operate very beneficially for the small class of occupants who constitute the bulk of the population in Ireland. These have frequent calls upon them for charity from their still poorer brethren which they are ill able to meet but which they rarely refuse to answer.

In two or three places in which I found the new Poorhouses erecting, I questioned the small occupiers of the district, & gathered from their remarks that they were friendly to the system though they seemed to entertain little expectation that the country would be much benefitted by it."

"Leaving Horseleap, a four mile walk brought me to Moate, a town about the size of Newmarket in Suffolk, and, like it consisting of one long and rather wide street. It was market day... Mixing among the crowd, quite unnoticed from my homely dress, I had a good opportunity of observing the character of the people... but the Farmer was a very different sort of being to his namesake in England. The great bulk of them being mere cottier tenants the quantity of produce they had to bring to market was proportionally small. ... Barleys (notwithstanding some nice clean samples were shewn) were "looking down" – thanks to Father Matthew's exertions. Should the present temperance mania continue, which I must confess I have my doubts of, the cultivation of barley may be given up in Ireland...

Potatoes were the staple of the market, each seller bringing from one to two sacks on a crazy kind of cart with rope and straw harness. The bulk of these were bought up by two or three Dealers for the Dublin Market where large quantities are resold wholesale for Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool.

Whilst among the Farmers, I will take occasion to remark that their agriculture is of a very rude description. They are a century at least behind the English in these matters... Spade husbandry is chiefly in vogue, and from the nature of the tool they use, must be performed in a very slovenly manner" It is much smaller than an English spade... This implement is called a Loy, and is, I am informed common through the greatest part of Ireland... The stiveen is another implement employed and answers the purpose of the English dibble. Its almost only use is in setting potatoes...

As for barns, such things are unknown. The floor of some outhouse, or perhaps even that of the family room may be used for threshing but the vast proportion of the grain is threshed and winnowed in the open air, on a dry spot of the road side....

As a natural consequence of this bad system it follows that poor people are anxious to have their corn threshed out as quickly as possible after it is cut; and, if the weather should favor their operations, a considerable quantity is brought into market at once, & the buyers well know how to take advantage of the glut. ..."

“As I was anxious to reach Athlone before nightfall, I was constrained to leave the busy scene at Moate... a smart walk of 9 miles brought me within sight of the amber Shannon... As the traveller nears the Shannon he finds the country better wooded and the enclosures more fertile, but the misery and poverty of the people and their habitations remain unchanged.

The population of Athlone is certainly not less than 15,000, but a more dirty, irregular and insignificant looking place cannot well be imagined, and although it is a great military station there is not a decent Inn in the town. ...

The bridge over the Shannon ... was built in the reign of Elizabeth ,,, It is at the present time in such a state as not merely to be a discredit to the town, but a positive stigma to the Nation. It is the chief pass from Leinster into Connaught; the high road on which run all the mails to the counties of Galway, Roscommon, and Mayo, and yet the breadth of road on the bridge does not exceed 12 feet, whilst its length is 100 yards. ...

... Throughout the town a total absence of symmetry is observable whether in reference to the houses, or the lines of streets: these latter are badly paved & the ways ill maintained. There is no attempt at lighting the town and it is at the peril of his limbs that a stranger ventures out after dark among the winding lanes and passages – streets they can hardly be called. The houses inhabited even by the more respectable of the people, such as medical men &c are wretched tenements similar to what in a back street in London would let for £ 10 or £ 15 pr annum, yet here they are rented at £ 40 & £ 60.

The lanes on the Connaught side are the veriest sinks of abomination that can be imagined. The cabins are thatched, of the meanest description & huddled together, inhabited by people whose appearance gives indication of the lowest state of civilization if civilized they can be called.

The looks of the men and women are sallow and unhealthy, their only covering rags; the crying, wailing, scolding & beating at once betrayed suffering and illtemper; whilst the violent expressions of passion were interrupted at intervals by wild songs and merriment of the coarsest description. The dirt and filth of these places is disgusting in the highest degree, and cannot fail of being injurious to the general salubrity of the town. The greatest profligacy appears to prevail in the public houses of the lower description, and these abound all over town.

Among their customs they have dances called “Cakes”, on account of a large cake of 18 or 20 inches diameter which is laid on a circular board and elevated on a pole 6 or 8 feet high, this is ornamented with flowers or apples. At the end of this dance this cake was formerly given to the best danseuse to be divided as she thought proper; and the judgment was given not in favor of the most elegant dancer, but of her who held out longest. But this mode ... has been abandoned for one less conducive to emulation for the young fellow who has procured money enough for the occasion takes down the cake at any time he thinks fit, throws it into the lap of his favorite and carries her & the cake to a neighboring public house, where, with such others as he invites, the night is spent in carousing. At these dances the young of both sexes assemble in great numbers and from these illicit indulgences are led step by step into crime and degradation. ...”

After a short excursion into the county Roscommon where the distress for want of fuel appeared at its height, it was without regret I left Athlone, taking my course along the banks of Lough Rea through Ballykerin and Glasson to Ballymahon.... The lake abounds in eels: large quantities are taken after the floods, and sent to the Dublin market. It is a great pity that the breeding of fish, as practiced in

China, is not understood & acted upon in this and the numerous fine lakes with which Ireland abounds. It would go far to supply the deficiency of food under which the people labor. ...”

Ballykerin, the first village I arrived at, and indeed Glasson, Layson, & Tang, the other villages between Athlone and Ballymahon are all paltry places with nothing worthy of note in them, unless it be the admirable “potheen” they brew in the private stills along the wild shores of Lough Rea. The description of one may suffice for all. Rows of cabins irregularly placed, with walls decayed, roofs bent and sunken thatch tattered; no windows; no chimneys’ the turf smoke seeking its exit through the chinks and crevices innumerable with which these hovels abound. The appearance of the inmates corresponds with that of the tenements; ill clad, squalid, haggard, listless, and unemployed – I won’t say idle, because, poor wretches! There appears to be little work for them to do.

Girls, amongst whom were some really pretty and delicate, and of an age and frame of body seemingly ill suited to the task, sought a precarious and hard earned livelihood in hawking turf in large baskets carried on their backs. Some of these poor creatures walk 8 or 9 miles a day with this load, their utmost profit, supposing all sold, being 2^d or 2½.

At Tang is a Roman Catholic Chapel, and its broken windows and decayed roof add another evidence of the extreme poverty of the neighbourhood. Poor indeed is the district where the Priest cannot wring sufficient from the wretched inhabitants to keep the chapel in order ... Ballymahon is a pretty little town ... A new corn mill in course of erection at the entrance of the town of a better class of building than usually to be met with in Ireland, evinces that the place is not falling off. ... The main street is very wide and less encumbered with filth than the generality of Irish towns. I was sorry to find that the Millwrights employed on the machinery of the new mill were all from Manchester, as it is a proof that the Irish have made little progress in this art so much in use in all prosperous nations. ...”

“From Ballymahon I visited Lanesborough, a village at the northern extremity of Lough Rea containing about 80 thatched cabins and 18 or 20 slated houses, I suppose I must call them, though there are only two of three stories high among them. ...

This place is the property of Mr. Luke White and might well pass for one of “Sultan Mahmoud’s ruined villages”. A more wretched place I never saw. The proprietor, though a great declaimer for the improvement of Ireland appears to content himself with planting a few trees, without seeking to better the condition of his miserable tenantry. As I heard little in this gentleman’s favor among the poor, the less I say of him the better.

The trade in eggs is carried on with considerable vivacity in this vicinity. The eggs are collected from the cottages for several miles round, by runners, commonly boys from nine years old and upwards, each of whom has a regular beat, which he goes over daily... These youngsters travel upon an average 15 English miles a day. Their profit is one shilling upon every six score of eggs...

The village on the Connaught side separated merely by the bridge from Lanesborough is properly called Ballyleague though in common parlance the former name stands for both. This place contains about sixty cabins & five or six stone cottages. The corn market at Lanesborough is a rival to that of Roscommon distant seven Irish miles, and growers who are dissatisfied with the prices of one walk forward and try the other.”

Lanesborough was the “ultima thule” of my short tour. Retracing my steps to Ballymahon I visited Pallamore, the reputed birthplace of Oliver Goldsmith...

In the manners of the Irish peasantry nothing is more conspicuous than their universal wish to oblige; this is not confined to their intercourse with each other, but as I experienced, is felt by the traveller, and in many instances is so perfectly disinterested, that except amongst the very wretched, any attempt at remuneration would be considered almost an affront. Their good humor also is very remarkable... Neighbours club together and dig their different patches of potatoe ground in company, but their stories, though very pleasant and beguiling to themselves, are a great obstacle to the quick performance of their work... The women generally speaking take an active part in the severe labours of the field but are no less affectionate wives and mothers than the more polished of their sex. Slips among the unmarried females are not uncommon, nor is it to be wondered at, considering their totally neglected education, but they are usually terminated in matrimony, and it seldom occurs that any impropriety can be attached to their character after the amenda honourable.

The disgraceful custom of crying at funerals is common here as elsewhere in Ireland ... yet calls loudly from its brutalizing character in these days of refinement for suppression.

The custom of "Wakes" over the dead body previous to interment should be equally abolished: they are places where the young of both sexes meet, and the night is generally consumed in drinking whiskey, smoking tobacco, singing, and romping; and it not unfrequently happens that some of the young couples contrive that the place of the deceased shall be supplied in a few months by a young substitute. These meetings are called in Longford and the interior Honos from the words "Ogh! Hone! – oh!" so frequently used by the mourners. It cannot be doubted but that if the priests set seriously to work they might abolish these degrading and barbarous customs as readily as one of their order appears to be abolishing the still more disgraceful habit of intemperance... "

"Embarking on one of the fly boats of the Royal Canal, I took my passage for Mullingar. The boats and their management are similar in every respect too those of the Grand canal, not excepting even the incivility of the "Captains"!

I had taken my berth in the cabin with the commons, and found there a mixed assemblage from whom I expected some diversion, but an event occurred at Abbeyshrewin ... presenting the Irish character to my view in a different form to any I had before had an opportunity of observing ... a mob of no ordinary magnitude was in the vicinity, and upon inquiry, I learned that it proceeded from some "Longford Boys" come to take a last farewell of their friends about to proceed to America. ...I found a crowd of at least a thousand persons at the place of embarkation, uttering the most dreadful yells, and jumping and dancing about as if mad; seizing each one or another of the emigrants and endeavoring to prevent their departure. In the midst of this confusion some twenty of the latter rushed on board, and the cabin, calculated only to hold thirty at the utmost, having about twenty previously in it, was immediately crowded to suffocation, the people being jammed one against the other. ... the boat went off and their companions, to the number of some hundreds ran along the banks of the canal abreast of it, uttering such discordant yells as I can compare to nothing I ever heard... the emigrants howled in concert with their friends on shore... A struggle ensued between those in the cabin to get out, fearful of being suffocated or crushed, & those outside to get in ... I fully expected ... that the boat would capsize...exposed to the three perils of being crushed, suffocated, or drowned, I determined to make a vigorous effort at release ...

Our arrival on the deck of the boat was opportune, for, she having neared the shore several of the savages who still pursued here, rushed on board, & it was with the greatest difficulty the constables, two boatmen, & myself repelled them. ... the boat proceeding at the rate of 8 or 9 miles an hour gradually left her pursuers behind. & me to reflect ... & the extraordinary character of the people. Their

object, I afterward learned, was merely to get one more shake of the hand & drink one more parting glass, before finally parting with their countrymen...

No one who has not been spectator of such a scene can form an idea of the ardent affection evinced by these poor creatures – the ardour of their last embrace – or the wild despair which appears to take entire possession of their souls when their object of their affection is torn from them. ...

I learned from an interesting girl about 19 or 20 years of age, who, with her brother, some 2 years younger, was bound to the “far west” in the back woods of America, that an elder brother had paid their passage from Liverpool. He had emigrated near five years since, was now doing well, and had appropriated the first sum of money he had saved to the object of bringing those he loved nearer to him. They knew no one either in Dublin or Liverpool & had never been ten miles before from their native village, yet they did not hesitate an instant about taking ... a long, dangerous, and dreadful voyage, and placing themselves entirely at the mercy of strangers, that they might finally once more see their beloved brother. ...”

“After comforting this young couple. Cheering them with an ideal picture of their future prosperity in their new country, and offering them such advice relative to their embarkation at Liverpool, and their conduct on board ship... I paid the difference of fare, and entered, what is denominated par excellence, “the state cabin”. I found here two ladies, and three or four gentlemen, who seemed to eye me with somewhat of disdain, as much as to say – “what the deuce does such a shabby fellow as you do here?” Upon my apologizing to the ladies... for my rough appearance, and explaining that I had so disguised my “outward man” for the purpose of more readily acquiring a knowledge of the people, then restraint wore off, and lively conversation, in which the Irish ladies so much excel, commenced, which was kept up with great spirit until the arrival of the boat at Mullingar...”

“Having been involuntarily thrown into the company of emigrants, I may, perhaps be allowed here to say a few words on the subject of emigration, with which I shall close this chapter.

Ireland, according to Newenham, contains about 13,400,000 acres available for tillage, or pasture; but from this must be deducted about six millions of acres distributed among the proprietors of large estates in ornamental grounds, parks, &c.

In 1791 the population of Ireland may be stated at 4,200,000, in round numbers: at the present time it is certainly little short of eight millions. Thus in 48 years the population has nearly doubled itself; notwithstanding that the country in that period has labored under a civil war, the most exhausting continental war on record, typhus, cholera, the almost annual famines on the northwestern coasts, and a pretty free tide of emigration to the Canadas and the United States. It is not too much to say, then, that in thirty years hence the population of Ireland will be nearly sixteen millions. In other words about half an acre of land will be available for each individual; and I must be forgiven if I doubt (notwithstanding Mr. Sharman Crawford’s plausible theories) the capability of the country to support such a population. At any rate it would not under the existing state of things. ...

I do not coincide with Mr. Malthus in an opinion so degrading to the attributes of the Deity, as that Providence, in its impotence to provide for the species, avails itself of the crimes of man to correct its fecundity: such an opinion may find favor with Miss Martineau, or any sour old maid whose organs of philprogenitiveness are not sufficiently developed, but should be scouted by every rational and benevolent man. Nevertheless, I do conceive, that the resources of populous countries at home may be inadequate from want of space, or other causes too numerous to enumerate here, for the

sustenance of its inhabitants. I submit that every one acquainted with Ireland, and the state of its inhabitants, must allow that this state of things, if not actually arrived, is fast approaching here.”

Mr. Nicholls, a most excellent authority on such subjects, in his report to Lord John Russell says – “In the country, evidence of the extreme subdivision of land everywhere appears, and, as a consequence, the soil, fertile as it is, naturally becomes exhausted by continual cropping; for the cottier tenant too often reduced to a level little above that of a mendicant, is unable to provide manure for his land, and has no other means of restoring its vigour, but by subjecting it to a long and profitless fallow; farmers of 300; 200; or even 100 acres have almost become extinct in Ireland... The subdivision of land into small holdings having destroyed the regular demand for labor, the only protection against actual want was by getting and retaining possession (right or wrong) of a portion of land; for this they struggle, for this the peasantry have combined, and burst through all the restraints of law and humanity; so long as this was kept together it was sufficient possibly, to supply his family with a tolerable degree of comfort, but after a time, he would have sons to provide for, and daughters to portion off, and all this must be effected out of the land, until the holding of 10 or 15 acres becomes divided into holdings of 2, 3, or 5 acres; and after a time, the same process of subdivision is again resorted to, until the minimum of subsistence is reached.”

“... The cure which Lord Bacon proposed was an emigration of this supposed surplus to Ireland; and without entering into the question whether such excess did exist in England, this opinion goes to sustain the position that mankind do increase to the prejudice of the soil in which they have lived.

In the teeth of all this, Mr. Sharman Crawford comes down upon us with his lengthy propositions in favor of the small farm principle; and would fain persuade us that it is preferable to be making experiments with our crowded population, (trying in point of fact, upon how little a man can live) instead of encouraging a portion of it to emigrate to Australia, where the population is not more than 1 to a square mile, and where thousands upon thousands of acres of rich alluvial soil, in the most delightful climate in the globe, invite man to “be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it.”

\$ 8,500.00

"Oberlin O. Feb. 3, 1866
 Friend Cowles,
 I will try to reply
 to your letter at this late day.
 I was glad to hear from you.
 So I suppose you are married
 and happy, and soon will I
 hope get an M.D. attached.
 Then you will want a good place
 to begin practice, and I think
 you would have a good one.
 The first class places are all taken
 and a man to obtain one must
 look out for changes, a while ago
 there was no Hom. Phys. in Alliance
 his state, a good place, but there
 may be one now. I would, unless
 you have a place selected, write
 Physicians in different parts,
 one may know of good openings.

"Oberlin O. Dec. 23, 1865
 Friend Cowles
 I guess you will
 think I am never going to write
 to you any more. My excuse is
 poor for not writing before, I have
 been busy all the fall till within a
 few weeks. I am glad you are
 finally at a Homoeopathic College.
 I would be glad to have you
 write to me all about how yourself
 and College prosper. How large a
 class have you? How do you like
 Prof. Beebe? he is an old class-
 mate of mine, both took our degree
 at Musical Fund Hall, Philadelphia
 same time. I hope the College is
 prospering. I think the Cleveland
 College is better than it used to be,
 they have a class of eighty students.
 I have had occasion to call on

"Homeopathy seems to flourish better West than East."

15. (Medicine – Homeopathy) Hayward, M. P., **Two Autograph Letters Signed, Oberlin, Ohio, Dec. 23, 1865, and Feb. 3, 1866, both addressed to his friend E. Cowles, Hahnemann Medical College, Chicago, Illinois**

two letters, octavo, 6 pages, each accompanied by its original stamped mailing envelope, in very good, clean and legible condition.

Hayward writes about his successful and profitable practice of Homeopathic Medicine in the community adjoining Oberlin College and offers advice to his friend - an aspiring Homoeopath.

"Friend Cowles,

... I am glad you are finally at a Homoeopathic College. I would be glad to have you write me all about how yourself and college prosper. How large a class have you? How do you like Prof. Beebe? He is an old classmate of mine, both too our degree at Musical Fund Hall Philadelphia same time. I hope the College is prospering. I think the Cleveland College is better than it used to be, they have a class of eighty students. I have had occasion to call one of the Professors in consultation. I like him very much, in fact I have known him for years and always liked him. Do you expect to practice this coming Spring & Summer? I suppose you intend to graduate ... There is a pretty good place eight

miles from me, where a Hom Physician has practiced for several years but has lost his health and given up the business, it is a small village. I don't know but there are better places...

I am doing a good business here at least I call it good. I have done twelve hundred dollars since the first of July, collected over six hundred. I believe there are plenty of places where you can go 1500 first year. Please write me soon and tell me what you are going to do ...

My family are well and I was never better in my life. Homoeopathy seems to flourish better West than East ..."

"Friend Cowles,

... So I suppose you are married and happy, and soon will I hope get an M.D. attached. Then you will want a good place to begin practice, and I think I would have a good one. The first class places are all taken and a man to obtain one must look out for changes, a while ago there was no Hom. Physician in Alliance this state, a good place, but there may be one now. I would, unless you have a place selected, write to Physicians in different parts, some may know of good openings. Bellefontaine in this state is a good place, the Phys there I am told is of no account.

I am getting along very well in my practice. I have averaged two hundred dollars per month since I came here. Have taken in cash over one hundred per month average. Least 58 dollars, most 161 dollars. The great objection here is the mud and bad roads but my business is mostly in the village. ... The Dr. Marston I spoke of in my letter was the man who used to preach at the Universalist church in Claremont, he attended lectures at Burlington then went to New York and graduated went to S. Dedham Mass. his wife became insane and shot him through the heart while he was asleep. Shot their little girl through the head and finished by killing herself.... I wish you could settle in this state, then I might perhaps see you once in a while. I think there are as good places in Ohio as in any state. Zanesville was a capital place last summer. Dr. Fuller of Newark Ohio could tell you about it. I came very near going there. It contains about 15 thousand people with two Hom. Phys. One of them is a regular dolhead. Fuller thought it the best place in the state..."

Dr. Milton P. Hayward was a graduate of Philadelphia Homeopathic College. After practicing for a while in Connecticut and New Hampshire, he moved to Oberlin, and was pleased with the change, as "Homeopathy seems to flourish better West than East."

\$ 150.00

Albany, New York,

My dear Roosevelt,

I see in the papers the name of my friend John Proctor Clarke, suggested as a possible candidate for the vacant position of Surrogate. I have known Mr. Clarke for a good many years, and although a democrat, wish to say that in my opinion he would be in every way fitted to fill so important a position. He is a good lawyer and hardworking, and his earnest work for his party deserves recognition.

I write this letter between ourselves, as a friend of Clarke's. I do not wish to appear as a member of the Democratic party urging upon the Governor of the State the appointment of a Republican office-holder, but simply write to say a good word for a friend... Robert Sturgis"

"Jamestown, North Dakota, Sept. 13th, 1900

John Proctor Clarke Esq.

My Dear Sir,

I enclose you a good campaign document which speaks for itself. It was unnecessary to publish notices of this kind during Cleveland's administration. I want you and Teddy "to keep off the grass and not interfere with my business arrangements". I am going west today and will try and keep ahead of you. I cant get a customers attention within one hundred miles of his town. I want you to work your "own side if the street." I have dates on this road to Portland & Seattle. I am whooping it up for Leeser in the day time & Mack & Teddy at night. I will look after Wash., Or., & Cal. – and my boy will take care of Kans. Neb. Col. Wy. North & South Dacotah so I guess the west is pretty safe.

Hope to see you in NY about xmas & hope to be able to rejoice with those that ought to rejoice.

I shall be in Butte Sunday next. I will give you my proxy to vote in Nov. ... W. M. Leeser"

"New York, Supreme Court Judges Chambers, Court House Chambers Street, Dec. 18th 1900

My dear John,

Your friend Roosevelt has a chance now to show whether he appreciates your friendship. I hope you will at least give him the opportunity to appoint you in Beekman's place.

I know that you are not attracted by the prospect of a judicial position but really you ought not to let such a chance pass. There is at least an equal chance that whoever is appointed now, may be elected next fall for a full term, and even if you should not be a year on the bench of this court, would not hurt but rather help you professionally.

You must realize that while your political work of last year have certainly given you a reputation as a public speaker, yet your vert preeminence in that regard has led many people to believe that your abilities lie more markedly in that direction than in the direction of a lawyer.

With a year on the bench you would have the opportunity to show to the legal world the capacity, knowledge and good judgment as a lawyer that I know so well that you possess.

At the end of the year, even if you should not be re-elected, you would be able to return to practice with a high reputation as a lawyer, as well as a speaker. With this combination of qualities generally acknowledged (as they inevitably would be) your successful professional career would be assured.

Believe me, this is an opportunity which you should not permit to pass.

Yours Sincerely,

Frances M. Scott”

“Supreme Court Appellate Division First Department, New York, Oct. 27th, 1908

My dear Theodore:-

Ten years ago this day we celebrated your birthday on a train in central New York while you were conducting that brilliant campaign in which you won for yourself the Governorship ~~of the state~~ – What crowded years these have been for you. What splendid service you have given to your country – and to the world. Through it all I have followed with the keenest interest every act and every word – but on the side lines – where you put me – Can you realize what it has meant for me to be a passive observer in this campaign where my class mate and friend of thirty four years has been nominated as your choice for your successor? Recalling our tours and our speeches can't you imagine how I would like to swing my shillelah in the middle of the fight? But I have had to do the work you put me to – Have become one of those meticulous persons who do not seem to stand so high in your regard as the red blooded fighters among whom I fondly recall, I was numbered once upon a time.

~~You reach today with vigor unabated, with youth still in your blood, with hope and ideal and high resolve undimmed a half century of achievement. I send you a the best I have in congratulation for what has been done and best wishes for the coming years.~~

You have reached today a half century of achievement Fifty years young indeed. Vigor untouched ideals unspoiled hope and high resolve undimmed you stand as the best exemplar for the youth of this land – A President indeed a leader of thought and conscience and practical works. – I send the best I have in congratulations for what has been done and best wishes for the coming years ...”

Letter of recommendation for Julius Marshuetz Mayer (1865-1925) for an appointment to the United States District Court, Southern District of New York

“Supreme Court Appellate Division First Department, New York, December 22nd 1911

Dear Mr. President:-

In response to your request for my opinion as to the professional qualifications of Mr. Julius M. Mayer for judicial office, I beg to state that I have known Mr. Mayer for many years. He served for a time, upon appointment by the Mayor, as Justice of the Court of Special Sessions, resigning some years before the expiration of his term, and later, upon election, as Attorney General of the State. He tried cases and argued motions before me when sitting in the Trial and Special Terms of the Supreme Court and has argued cases before the Appellate Division, both while he was Attorney General, and also when out of office for private litigants. His court work has been especially notable for his clear and candid statements of the facts and his clear presentation of the legal points involved.

His attitude to the Court has been one of absolute fairness. He is a well equipped lawyer, is ambitious and industrious. He is logical, even tempered and fair minded. His character and standing at the bar

are excellent. We are glad to have him appear before us as his arguments and briefs elucidate instead of befogging the issues presented ..."

\$ 450.00

Berlin June 24th 1849

Dear Mother

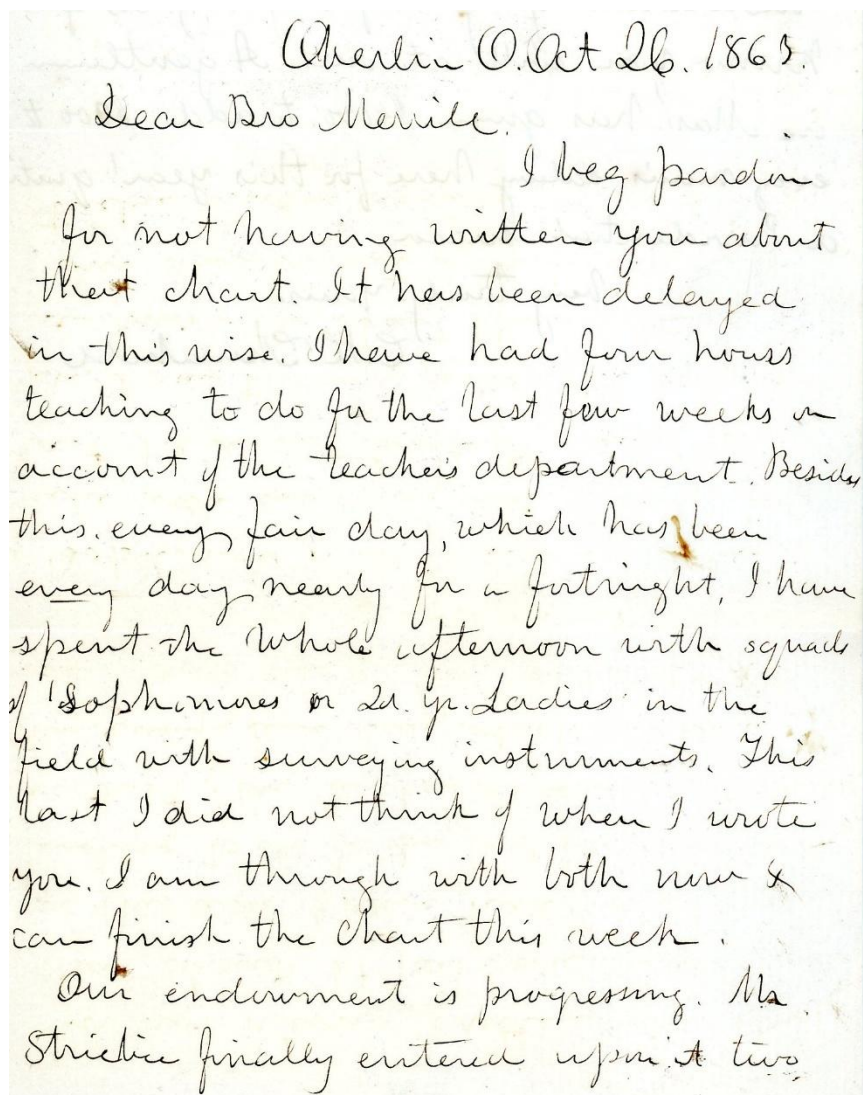
I received your letter a few days since and was glad to hear you had arrived safe at Oberlin after a pleasant journey - I arrived here about the 1st of June, have enjoyed myself very much and been in better health than I have before in two years. Before this reaches you I suppose you will have heard of the death of Norman Beebe, he died last Monday, shortly after his return to Springfield. at the advice of his friends he procured a household physician and Uncle Norman and others who saw him thought he was improving, with the exception of a diarrhoea he was as well as usual and on Sunday rode out twice & thanked him self, the next morning Monday he did not go to breakfast which was the first meal he had missed since he had been home, he was a little flighty during the morning which alarmed his friends, and they telegraphed for Uncle Norman to come up, he went in the first train of cars and arrived there at 8 o'clock but it was too late to see him alive he breathed his last at 1/2 past 3 o'clock Monday afternoon, about one o'clock his wife carried him this dinner and he tasted a little, she asked if it was good, he said yes, and never spoke again but calmly yielded up his spirit to him who gave it, and we have every reason to believe

17. (Ohio – Oberlin College) Barnes, Blake, **Autograph Letter Signed. Berlin, Conn., June 24, 1849, To his mother, Mrs. Almira Barnes, care of Prof. Mahan, Oberlin, Ohio**
quarto, 3 pages, plus stamp less address leaf, in very good, clean and legible condition.

Barnes writes that he was Happy to hear that she had arrived "safe" at Oberlin, "after a pleasant journey", he goes on to relate family and personal news.

Almira Barnes was an unsung pioneer feminist of her day, using her personal fortune to support reform causes. Into middle age, she traveled alone throughout the northern United States, attending anti-slavery conventions, visiting a Canadian colony of fugitive slaves who had escaped via the

underground railroad, and spending each summer at Oberlin College, of which she was a generous benefactor. Hosted by College President Asa Mahan and his wife, she informally attended classes in Theology, where she met student Antoinette Brown (Blackwell), whom she later assisted in becoming the first woman to be ordained a minister in the United States. Manuscript material by or about Barnes is very scarce. \$ 100.00



Oberlin O. Oct 26, 1863.
Dear Bro Merrill,
I beg pardon
for not having written you about
that chart. It has been delayed
in this wise. I have had four hours
teaching to do for the last few weeks on
account of the teachers department. Besides
this, every fair day, which has been
every day nearly for a fortnight, I have
spent the whole afternoon with squads
of Sophomores or 2d yr. Ladies in the
field with surveying instruments. This
last I did not think of when I wrote
you. I am through with both now &
can finish the chart this week.
Our endowment is progressing. Mr.
Stricker finally entered upon it two

1863 Physicist Robert Millikan's Oberlin College teacher

18. (Ohio – Oberlin College) Churchill, C[harles].H., **Autograph Letter Signed. Oberlin, Ohio. Oct. 26-29, 1863, to Rev. E.H. Merrill, Ripon, Wisconsin**
octavo, 3 pages, plus retained mailing envelope, in very good, clean and legible condition.

"Dear Bro Merrill,

...I have had four hours teaching to do for the last few weeks on account of the teachers department. Besides this, every fair day, which has been every day nearly for a fortnight, I have spent the whole afternoon with squads of Sophomores or 2d yr Ladies in the field with surveying

instruments...Our endowment is progressing. Mr. [Stricklin?] finally entered upon it two weeks since and in a few days raised \$25000. I have not heard what he has done since...A gentleman in Mass. has given \$4000 to add \$200 to every man's salary for the year! Quite a Providential succor..."

Founded in the 1830s, Oberlin College was nationally famous for its support of progressive causes, including anti-slavery and higher education for women. Charles H. Churchill began teaching there in 1858 as Professor of Mathematics, Physics and Astronomy until his retirement in 1897. One of his notable students was African-American Nathan B. Young, who remembered his mentor as a "versatile profound scholar" whose "laboratory was a workshop in which many a students found guidance and inspiration to become a scientist." More renowned, but less laudatory was student Robert Millikan, the later Nobel Physicist, who graduated from Oberlin in 1891. He found Churchill's classes "worthless", but regarded the Professor as "an excellent personal model for young men." E.H. Merrill was President of Ripon College in Wisconsin, where he taught "Mental and Moral Science"

\$ 125.00



19. (Pennsylvania) Snowden-Rhoads Family Correspondence, **Correspondence of the Snowden-Rhoads Family, Philadelphia Quakers, mainly Joseph Snowden (1791-1873), his wife Hannah Ecroyd Snowden (1807-1869), and their immediate family and friends, the Snowdens oversaw the Westtown Boarding School, West Chester, Pennsylvania from 1848-1858, the materials in the collection date from 1833-1871**

Collection of 176 letters, 533 pages, 16 deeds and documents, letters are generally in good, clean, and legible condition.

The letters in this collection document the lives of the Snowden family, Philadelphia Quakers, and provide details of their lives during this period. Social and Quaker doctrinal issues are discussed as well as Quaker education and affairs at Westtown in the 1840s through the 1860s. Slavery, the role of women in their faith and in society at large are touched on. The letters also detail their domestic lives. The collection includes letters from family members, his daughter Elizabeth Snowden Rhoads, her children, Snowden's sister Elizabeth Pierson, the Ecroyd family, Yarnall's, Lippincott's, etc, as well as many from their Quaker friends and associates who were from prominent Quaker families of Philadelphia and its surrounding counties.

Joseph Snowden was the son of Leonard Snowden, Jr. (1751-1832) of Camden, New Jersey, Joseph Snowden, and his sister Elizabeth, where the children of Snowden's second wife, Jane Yarnall (1754-1837). Leonard Snowden removed from Camden to Philadelphia about 1786. Joseph and his sister Elizabeth Snowden Pierson were both born in Philadelphia.

Joseph married Hannah Ecroyd, the couple had a daughter Elizabeth "Libbie" Snowden, (1836-1872), she married Joseph Rhoads (1822-1896), the couple had a son, Joseph Snowden Rhoads (1867-1936) and several daughters.

From 1848-1858 Joseph and Elizabeth were in charge of the Westtown Boarding School in West Chester, Pennsylvania. Founded in 1799 as a co-educational Quaker boarding school which continues to this day.

Sample Quotes:

"Stroudsburg 5 mo 11th 1839

My Dear Hannah,

... I think I gave thee an acct of our journey as far as our return from the Elklands to Muncy on 3rd day after dinner in company with Mother Mercy Ellis & Squire Warner to drive there we set out for Fishing Creek and arrived at Andrew Eves a little before dark attended an appointed meeting at Greenwood which was large and a satisfactory opportunity after meeting we went to Jonah Heacocks to dine and after dinner we set out in company with him as guide to Nerwick which after a pleasant ride of 18 miles we reached about dusk and put up at a tavern this is a pleasant village on the Banks of the Susquehanna opposite the falls of Nescopeck creek. In the morning after parting with our kind friend JH and partaking of an early breakfast we set out alone for Mauch Chunk expecting to get a few miles beyond there in the evening. The road is pretty good I think preferable to the road by way of Pottsville ... we passed through Hazleton (Mr. Jenkins place) and dined at the Beaver Meadows at a very good house both these places 7 years ago were pretty much of a wilderness they are now flourishing villages so much for the coal trade on our way down the Broad mountain we were stopped by a young man who was driving two carriages which he had made to Wilkesbarre who told us he was friend and belonged to Arch Street Meeting that his name was Lippincott that his father Samuel Lippincott lived at Mauch Chunk and would be glad to see us he apologized for stopping us but said that perceiving we were friends and they saw so few in those parts that did him good to see us we learned from him that there were several members in the place we therefore concluded as it seems to have been our lot to hunt up the "Outcasts of Israel and the dispersed of Judah" to stay at Mauch Chunk all night instead of going further – We stopped at the Inn ... sought out Saml Lippincott and in the evening had meeting at his house with the few friends there – they seemed very glad of the opportunity and Saml wd have been glad to have entertained us at his home but we had taken up our quarters at the tavern and concluded it would be best to return as we looked to have an early start in

the morning – On 6 day at 6 o'clock we set out to seek our way to this place – had a beautiful ride along the banks of the Lehigh to Leighton where we left the main road and struck off thro' the wilderness or this place breakfasted at a Germans by the name of Bowman 8 miles who gave us such a particular description of the road as enabled us to find our way without difficulty which lay thro' a pine woods and many roads taking off and 7 miles of it without a house we had been discouraged by several from taking this from an apprehension that we would experience great difficulty in finding our way ... we concluded to try it and were favored to reach this place about 4 o'clock in the afternoon in safety and were very hospitably recd by our kind friends Danl Stroud ad his family consisting of his wife one son & three daughters who are very agreeable intelligent girls we expect to remain here until after meeting on 1st day and on the afternoon of that day set out for Easton 27 miles intending to remain there that night with James Linton and then proceed the next day to New Brunswick 42 miles and hope to reach Shrewsbury in time for the select meeting on 3d day at 11 o'clock but this is somewhat doubtful it being we suppose about 20 miles from Brunswick to Shrewsbury. I cannot say with certainty when you may look for me home as it is possible I may have to remain with them until they reach New York but I think I shall be at home by 2nd day week aat furtherst if nothing happens more than I know of ... It was very trying to part with our dear Mother at Fishing Creek Elizabeth felt it much... I begin to feel as I wanted to see thee and our dear little girl very much every little one I see reminds me of her ... We expect to go to Easton by way of the Water Gap as the scenery is said to be very beautiful on that road... [Joseph Snowden]

“Newport [RI] 6 mo 17th 1841

My dear very dear Wife,

I recd thy truly acceptable letter of the 12th and was very glad to hear from you all tho' sorry to find Rosanna had left thee... I am glad thou has had dear little James vaccinated again and a do desire that thou will not over exert thyself in cleaning house. We are all pretty well tho' it is a time of deep suffering to us all we keep pretty much at home having been out but a few times we yesterday too dinner with David Buffum where we found a very large company from 40 to 50 we thought it wd hardly do for us not to go there as Thos & Ely Robson make there home there – I wish thou could only be here it would I believe entirely remove any little prejudice ... in thy mind no persons could be kinder and we feel perfectly at home our women Friends are much pleased and say they could not have been better accommodated. The House progresses fast and it is really very pleasantly situated. I think it will be finished by the 9th month or nearly so I intend getting the size of the windows before we leave all the Friends that are here that I have heard speak of it agree in this. ... I wrote sister an account of the proceedings of the yearly meeting on 2nd day on 3rd day morning. The certificates for our Women Friends were recd Then the queries and the State of Society entered into There was much deficiency mentioned in some of the Reports a number of meetings not kept up owing to the inclemency of the weather. The 2nd query elicited a good deal of remark and there was much said about detraction most of the answers noted a deficiency in this respect and a handle was accordingly made of it to advise those who were in this practice how they injured the religious standing of a Brother &c &c all of which was very well understood by many of us. – The rest of the Queries were pretty rapidly passed over without much remark when the meeting adjourned to the afternoon.

In the afternoon The Committee to whom the minute from Salem on the subject of slavery Circular Epistle and Document from our yearly meeting was referred made a report proposed all these subjects should be referred to the Meeting for Suffering – The Report of the Committee on the Treasurers acct was then read which proposed \$ 1300 to be raised for the use of the meeting which was agreed to The minutes of the meeting for sufferings were then read which noticed that several communications have been received requesting that certain publications on Doctrines should be investigated and that

after deliberate consideration way did not open in the Truth to go into such examinations. The subject of printing memorials of deceased friends had also claimed their attention and 3000 copies were printed of such as had passed the Yearly meeting a most wonderfully sound preface is prefixed to the book prepared by that meeting – and it also appeared that 400 copies of the Book discipline had also been printed. A Friend remarked that he believed there never was a day when the Spirituality of our religious profession was more firmly supported nor shown forth with greater lustre than at the present time and this a Friend of high standing and not a member of this yearly meeting On 4th day mornng. The Committee appointed to visit subordinate meetings and individuals made a report stating that they had paid such attention to the subject as the importance of it seemed to demand and circumstances required and proposed the continuance of the Com for another year which was agreed to with out opposition although I believe a large number in the meeting were opposed to it but borne down after the minute was made. Nathan Page rose and said he had been thinking of the Beast that John saw rise out of the sea having seven heads and ten horns and upon his head the name of blasphemy quoting the whole passage and then remarked that if even the wild boar of the of the Forest entered again into this society it would not be in that form but he had remembered that John saw another beast coming up out of the earth and he had two horns like a Lamb and he exercised all the power of the first beast quoting the passage that he believed the enemy would enter under the appearance of the lamb like nature &c &c and that the Devil was never better placed than when he could point out a way as near the strait and narrow way as he could to deceive the people and much more what I can't remember it really seemed to be delivered under a good degree of authority and seemed to have much effect upon the meeting one friend observed after he sat down hoped that we would treasure up what we had heard and take it home with us. The clerk was immediately urged to go on with the business and which he was very prompt in obeying it being the evident intention to prevent any thing further being said.

Great efforts are made and much maneuvering to make it appear that great unity prevails all subjects are referred to committees to act upon and frequent allusion is made to the Great solemnity that prevails although it is very evident that the True Seed is borne down and under oppression our dear Women Friends have suffered much but I understand yesterday they were favored to relieve their minds and their communication produced quite an effect on the meeting We endeavor to be careful not to converse with any but Friends that we know and I hope we shall be preserved and I cannot but hope we are in our right plans...I shall have to defer many particulars until we return as I feel afraid to trust myself to write freely Our Dear Women Friends desire that their friends may be informed they are well but cannot find time to write. I think it probable that the meeting will close tomorrow morning. I think it is likely we will cross the two ferries in the afternoon and go to Timothy C Collins ... so as to be ready to set out for Jno Wilkins on 7th day morning which is about 24 miles from Collins be at meeting at Hopkinton on first day and leave there on 2nd day evening and reach New York on 3rd day morning be at Plainfield on 4th day Rahway 5th day and home on 6th day A meeting for worship is to be held here today and I fear we shall have a suffering time Joseph Snowden"

"Newport 10th mo 13th 1843

My dear Sister,

... Thomas Nichols has been here since dinner to inform us that his father has this morning taken his poor daughter Rachel home again on account of the great unkindness of her husband who has never treated her decently since the first fortnight after their marriage, the intelligence was the most pleasant of any thing we have ever heard from her since she left her father's house. Oh that marriage – that marriage – I don't wish to say much, but dear sister, is there not a fearful responsibility resting upon a parent. I can see nothing but filthy lucre – that could tempt them to sacrifice their daughter & such a

daughter, was she not lovely? She is expecting to be confined in a few weeks which does but add gaul to bitterness. ...

Did brother Joseph receive a letter from me while he was in Ohio or since – as I directed one to him Joshua Chance's. I should much gratified of he could write me some little account of his journey and how he found B Hoyle &c – poor man I suppose he felt sore about being sent home without a minute and I don't wonder he does for he certainly deserved one, tho' I don't think the others did merit any from the Gurneyites, he is a lovely man too amiable to resist the many snares laid for him & it was well for him that he came in good company. M. S. Gould"

"Plymouth 3 mo 27th 1848

Dear Friends Joseph & Hannah Snowden,

I have had it on my mind all winter to open a matter to you wh seems to me might be improved at Westtown ... The location of the "boys parlour", I think it ought to open into the entry on boy's side of the house where they are passing too & fro, & this room occupied by a motherly kind woman used to children & willing to be call'd on by the little boys with their little & greater complaints; this access being free to them, (when they do not abuse it) This location wd afford her an opportunity to see how they are fixed in many respects, more generally.

Being parents as well as myself you will at once see the need of this & be able to feel for little boys brot from the fostering side their mothers & kind sisters; to find there a female frd, that wd supply the place

When this plan was adopted & room opened at W – after many years, great want of it, I thought it among the best improvements. The present location renders it almost good for nothing to the little helpless boys & there are a good many of this description go to Westtown. I do not forget that these rooms have appeared to be needed for schools, & this may apologize for my opening the matter to you, thinking that after you had been a while there a change could be made.

In the 6th mo last yr Pennock & Sarah brot the matter before the visiting com^{ee} respecting a suitable frd. To occupy that room & said the widow of Robert Letchworth had made some remarks rather desiring a situation at W – tho' he sd it was not a direct application, I merely mention this as you may need "helpers" & that P. thought her suitable for the boys parlour – I said in the forepart of my my letter "this winter" but this matter has exercised me for nearly a yr. & I now leave it, as I do other W-towners yet while of ability to feel shall always rejoice in its prosperity in good things.... Hannah Williams"

"Philada 5 mo. 5th 1848

My dear Friends,

... I thought of sending you an account of our Q. Meeting but supposed you would hear from a more ablepen I considered it a favored meeting – dear E. Pitfield appeared in an encouraging communication to some tried ones – spoke to some of the younger class: of the causes which had to be borne – In meeting for business E. Evans alluded to the concern in the Y.M. relative to the support of our testimonies. I was particularly struck with a remark either in that or her supplication where she said there would some who had or would have their will circumscribed & nailed to the cross. A language that might be understood in degree at least. ...

Dr. Evans remarked yesterday that t'would be a fine thing if we had the boys school house I was glad of the opening to talk to him a little about it – he appeared to think there would be strong opposition from some fds but I told him that L. Nicholson had become favorable to the change – dost thou think it desirable that it should come before them next 3d day or not till the following month. D. Yarnall gets along quite as satisfactorily as I expected – think she will prove a valuable aid to us: she is energetic & labors not only to instruct the children but to maintain order for which I think she has considerable tact...

Susanna Lightfoot"

"Phila 5 mo 19, 1848 to Joseph Snowden, Westtown School

Respected friend,

... Thine dated 13th I received on the 16th and was sorry to hear of indisposition amongst the scholars as it must greatly add to Hannah's care: and I did much regret that any misinformation or want of knowledge on the subject should lead to any difficulty respecting the providing of a nurse. I cannot recollect what has been the practice heretofore but it seems to me that whilst the com hardly ought to take it upon them to judge for you they should do all in their power to assist in procuring suitable persons for the station – I have promptly spread the information not only among the members of the com but have applied to many others that I thought would be likely to know of persons that might be suitable – as yet I have none to recommend – the nurse charity I have not applied to – knowing something of the institution I feared it would not be best unless in case of great extremity and our friend Rebecca Allen has the same view of the subject.

Eliza^t will probably be at home today after a talk with her I shall be better able to see you in your new stations which I am often trying to do and sometimes fancy I can see the dodging hastily round the grounds from parlour to library &c – and the gay smile of Hannah's bright face giving place now and then to that of thought, care, and sometimes even to that of perplexity ... Sydney Coates"

"Phila 6th mo 29th 1848, to Joseph Snowden, Westtown Boarding School

My dear Brother,

... I also send the British Friend which is a very interesting number giving a particular statement of the proceedings of the London and Dublin yearly mtgs. Please let the women teachers have it and return when done with –

We have had it very warm for the last few days and feel the effects of the heat but the air is rather clear today. Hannah Paul has been extremely ill with dysentery but am glad to say she is now considered out of danger. There is in the city a great tendency to this complaint as well as cholera morbus. – E. Winn went down to take some caps to Susan Haworth yesterday which S. Gillingham had been making for her when she found M. Townsends youngest child laying a corpse – it did on 3rd day and they took it to Trenton yesterday afternoon at 2 oc – but most likely you have been informed of the circumstance ... Elizabeth Pierson"

"Sixth day 13th of 10 mo 1848, to Hannah Snowden, Westtown Boarding School

Dear Sister,

... Joseph would tell thee how very few doubt the small pox is in the city if you think it would be best to have Libby vaccinated please send word at an early period, and by who it is to be done. My girls have both had the small pox How is dear little Annie? Restored I hope to her usual state of health. E.P." [Eliz abeth Pierson]

"Philadelphia, 3rd mo 26th 1849, to Joseph Snowden, Westtown Boarding School

My dear Brother,

... Sarah Gillingham, who came here 3 weeks ago as a witness in the Morgan trial, was taken a few days after she came with cholera. Dr Kite was sent for in the dead of night and found her in a sad state very much cramped, her stomach & bowels very much disordered he said it almost amounted to Asiatic Cholera – She is now better & expects to leave in a few days... E Levicks house was entered through the basement window next the corner, what seemed singular was that the shutter was not bored nor the bolt filed there was a broken pane through which a hook must have turned the brass spring over the sash ... They could not get out of the kitchen and dining rooms as they were fastened outside. They only took a Razor and bead bag leaving a set of plated castors in the closet turned out every drawer and left the lamp burning on the table

The evening paper has just come to hand ... The Quaker women are much applauded by some for the dignified manner in which they give testimony Dinah Taylor was too knowing for Brown, he got clear of her as soon as he could. One day last week the Judge told the court he would send all to Moyamensing who laughed when a voice responded , "that's right" When some one said aloud that's Mr. Elkinton. This does not seem to me like turning the cheek to the smiter but very much in character with the man but as I have to write a few lines to sister H conclude in love thy affectionate sister E. P.

It is thought the trial will last all this week, indeed it is supposed the jury will never agree and there is no knowing when it will ever be settled – Thou hadst not been gone 10 minutes before J. M. Whitall was here wanting thee as a witness another one came soon after they thought it very important to prove that Morgan felt compunction for taking that money as he made it out in some other way. J. Rakestraw I expect will have to go – and maybe thou wilt yet be summoned to attend poor things they ought to have the aid as well as sympathy of their fds."

"6 mo 18th [1849?]

Dear Brother,

... I rec'd a letter ... giving some acct of the yly mtg held in London – A solid weighty feeling appears to have pervaded the mtg & the business was conducted in a very harmonious manner" in all the Epistle except Phila allusion was made B. Leibold & R. L. having been acceptably present. A friend individually alluded to this omission on the part of Fds in Phila but Wm. Foster stated that for many years fds of that yly mtg had omitted to notice such matters. I think they are right & that Fds here should not expect such allusions" – "Yesterday morning the minute from N. York respecting the proposed Congress at Baltimore was read & the mtg settled down into a very solemn silence & I may say it was maturely considered, & the mtg was favored to arrive at a clear & unanimous judgment that it would be safer for our yly mtg not to take any steps in the matter. I felt thankful fds were enabled to

come so harmoniously to a decision, which was in perfect unison with my own feelings – a minute is to be sent to New Ork, also a copy to the Congress” –

The subject of slavery occupied the whole sitting and an address drawn up by the mtg for Sufferings was adopted it is addressed to all nations professing Christianity & is an able document but rather lengthy. Wm Foster offered to resign himself to omit the continent of Europe in order to present it to the different authorities & it is no small sacrifice on his part considering the present state of affairs ...”

“Philad. 6 mo 25th 1849, to Joseph and Hannah Snowden, Westtown B.S.”

Dear Friends,

... The weather has been so exceedingly warm during the past few days that teachers & school girls find their business rather toilsome but we hope ‘twill not continue so many days at a time.... Tis indeed a privilege to do anything for the promotion of good in our fellow mortals but when the suffering comes which is to prepare is for that how do we shrink from it.

You know there has been considerable uncertainty as to where J. Wood will fix upon for a residence: there have been several propositions but we feel very anxious that the right place may be found: Ohio has been spoken of but the neighborhood of Salem being thought unhealthy for persons with delicate lungs or any tendency to that disease & the opposition of friends have I believe quite discouraged John from thinking of going there. Within a few days a friend mentioned Solomon Lukens’ place as they are expecting to go amongst the Indians if released by their Mo. meeting. This looks rather more pleasant than some other things: without saying much about it at present. I think there are about 80 acres & tis thought S. would sell it. ... S.L. [Susan Lightfoot]

“Sunnyfield, 8th mo 21st 1850, to Joseph Snowden Westtown Boarding School

My Dear Friends,

Last fifthday was our Quarterly meeting held at Rahway. No friends came from Shrewsbury one old man and two of Hannah Leaver’s children. Margaret Parker’s husband was sick so that she could not come and another Friend Ann White was prevented by sickness in the family, so that Lucy Leaver was the only representative. There was no business but reading the answers of the three queries from the two monthly meetings and reminding a committee of their appointment on clerks which it appears they had forgotten It was the smallest Quarterly meeting that I ever attended. Taking men and women together it could not have been larger than half the meeting at Westtown. The meetings at Rahway and Plainfield are getting so small that some Friends are afraid they will have to be given up entirely, particularly Plainfield....

I suppose you have heard from Hannah Rhoads and Elizabeth Pierson. I should have liked very much to have seen you when you passed through Rahway but suppose it was less fatiguing to go all the way through. ...

This school will close the same that yours does. I have a clever little school of eight scholars, most of them seem inclined to do as I wish, though two or three who have been used to going to a very common day school ...

Had you heard that Hannah Collins is really crazy, We heard pretty directly that she was confined to one room and not allowed to see any one but their own family. Poor girl, I think it is almost a pity that she came on as coming so far and seeing so many would naturally excite her very much. ... Sally"

"Phila. 3rd mo 23rd 1853, to Hannah Snowden, to her mother

My dear Mother,

... Dr. Evans has not been here since second day, expect he will call today. Last evening I went down to French but Surault did not make his appearance, having gone over the river I suppose at six o'clock fearing it would be a stormy evening... Carrie Wood came up this morning after meeting and brought a Gramar with her which we are learning the adverbs from. The time is drawing quite near when I shall stop French, it does not seem as if I had been learning three months. Horatio Wood has gone on to New England to buy goods, expects to visit many of the manufacturing towns. I have today been reading a piece in the "Non Slaveholder" said to be by Eliza Gurney, on the death of William Forster, it is beautiful and very touching, I intend copying it. ... Libbie"

"Montoursville, 10th mo 31st 1854,

My Dear Father,

... Susan, Esther Roberts and perhaps Uncle Henry expect to start for Quarterly Meeting sixth day, so they will send for us tomorrow... I suppose you got the invitation I sent in my last letter Percival Collins took the rest tow town to deliver as he is to be the first groomsman. Susan wants Lizzie Rhoads to come up with her.

Jesse and Mary are so nicely fixed right by the paper mill which I have been over in several times, last night we were there after supper and saw them close operations, there are a great many buildings connected with the mill, and then there is little Dutch town close by, where those live who are employed in the mill forming in all quite a settlement, it is some three quarters of a mile out of Montoursville. ...

We are right amongst the hills and have only a small glimpse of the Bald Eagle Mountain through the trees This is the third time I have been to Montoursville and I suppose it will be the last... Jesse took us to see Williamsport and it is a beautiful place some most elegant residences, and many more buildings. I should not wonder if it would be quite a city before long. ...There are so many Germans about here some of whom cannot speak a word of English one that came over last week is going to school, the teacher needs a large stock of patience I should think. There are about fifteen hands in the mill, men and women but more of the latter ... [Elizabeth Snowden]

"6th mo 1st 1855

My much Esteemed Friend,

... We were sorry to notice in the papers the death at Westtown of Henry Gibbons. It must be very unpleasant to have an event of that kind occur among you. My mother used to have a little acquaintance with his and sympathises with her although she thinks he may have been taken from much evil to come. ...

I think the new Library must be a great addition to the interests of W but I was wondering as it is in the boys parlor whether the girls would have the use of it. I am sorry to say it has come too late for me although I hope Susan may yet enjoy it. ... Mary Warrington"

"Woodfield 11 mo 23rd 1864

My Dear Wife,

I received thy letter yesterday morning and was very glad our Dear E had so far got through I hope it may not be followed by chills as before. I think the mother has the best right to name the child. But if I am to suggest a name it will of course be Jane Snowden Rhoads but I think thee or the mother had better name it... Miriam seems very feeble had a very bad cold and said she had to be sent home from the two last places she was at being taken sick with chills I called and told her folks of her safe arrival and the birth of the child. Cousin Susan was here yesterday afternoon and said she had called at Chas Rhoads and let them know of the birth of the child. She brought her coloured Woman Anna with her who has some kind of fungus growing in her mouth which Doct Woodruff says must be taken out. I believe they are going to take her to day to Jefferson College to have her operated upon where such things are done without expense in the presence of the class. ...JS" [Joseph Snowden]

"Chesnut Bank 2nd mo 4th '66

My dear Father,

... Our Monthly Mtg was long & the Memorial very satisfactory & interesting to friends generally. I was surprised to see Auntie with her frds Edward Richie & wife, they were going directly after dining at Wm Smedley's. I paid my introductory visit at Issac Evans' when we went to dine with Charles & Jonathan.

I feel so sorry Jos Scattergood should have pursued the course he did when Jos. Crosfield was at Orange St. Mtg. To keep his seat with his hat on while the latter was engaged in supplication. Until our Y. mtg has given its decision that London Y mtg does not belong to the Society of Friends such an act must be an open violation of the discipline & will occasion great dissatisfaction & stir up unpleasant feeling throughout the y mtg. We were told that J. S. when spoken to gave as reason "he had hair on his face", which had been better unsaid one would think, without there was some other more substantial reasons with it. He might have considered too the position he has been placed in. Jos. Crosfield we understood was not in either of his communications unsound in any degree. ... you daughter E. S.R."

"Race St 1 mo 5th '67

To Joseph Snowden

My dear Uncle,

... Thou speaks of the discouragements of the present day, in looking over the church – It is very incomprehensible to me why the gospel light should seem obscured – Certainly immortality is as precious to individuals now as it was 200 years ago, and the cross no heavier – I often think of it in connection with the children educated amongst us in our corporation and Aimwell Schools, and wonder why there are no eminent instruments raised from their number to promulgate the truth as we believe it. I can hardly think it is from lukewarmness or that fewer receive the penny of reward than in days that are past, but that a different dispensation exists – that as our ministers belong to a distinct denomination & have not come from the mass & have little sympathy in common with them we cannot see such a gathering to our society as in its rise, when we appeared less peculiar tho' more zealous.

I heard recently of meetings from 6 to 800 held by a goodly man among the raftsmen and boatmen on the Ohio wh I suppose partook in some measure of the earnestness of those favored times.

I often feel my great unfaithfulness and the prevalence of a worldly spirit but I don't look any longer for any revivals in our midst, but hope in all our trials and glooms we may be driven like the disciples of John when they lost their leader to go and tell Jesus, as uncle Thomas desired we might last 4th day. No doubt Frds have done much to enlighten Christendom, and it as necessary as ever that they sh'd be on the watch not forsake or betray our doctrines, principles or testimonies, but all that seems to be doing is lying as it were out of sight in the dust, if so there may be hope ... E. Rhoads"

"Haddonfield, 2 mo 23^d/68

My dear Uncle

Joseph Snowden

... Thou wilt be interested to hear from your meeting here I was characterized today with that solemnity which has often been to covering – E. Sharpless spoke on the text – "Some mens sins go beforehand to judgment, and some men they follow after about his usual length of time – and afterward Sister D on the passage "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked." Expatriating on the truthfulness of this language and the necessity of knowing that change which is essential to true holiness and salvation – The meeting appeared to me as large as I have often seen it so many vigorous men attend that it awakens the hope that standard bearers for the truth will appear amongst them.

The meeting of Old Women at Snow Hill works as well as can be expected – They now wish some instruction in reading etc. L Nicholson proposes employing a teacher there in the evenings to save his daughters and others the expense . If such an arrangement could be made it would look satisfactory. I had warm sympathy with Phebe Roberts concern at Westtown. It had given me some anxiety that so many sh'd be necessarily absent from mtg the 1st day I was there; and that none of the employees except Lucy Page seem attached to the mtg in house. I did not inquire much into it except of Mary Frame, who said her people were uneasy with her neglect.

I have been much interested lately with a sketch of Nicholas Waln's life in wh his views of church unity and discipline are revealed. What a different day was his when evening mtgs were attended by members of congress and the Bar now our own members are not attracted – the vacant seats evincing a sad delinquency. But we must hope and trust... E. Rhoads"

"Westtown, 6 mo 11, 1868

Joseph Snowden

My Dear Friend,

... I have heard of different plans, proposed for the new building – The one referred to in thy letter is the most objectionable. I have hoped that nothing would be permitted to be done, in the work, till the right thing is determined upon, if it can be. How, would a plain commodious building put up east of the boy's play shed, for school rooms, for the boys, answer for the present? I think thou and Hannah know, what is wanted here, better than some...

Westtown is looking very beautiful now in its dress of summer. I should be glad to welcome thee and Hannah both next week ... Our new superintendents? Are very agreeable people... Thy Hannah

Snowden, must have been an uncommon woman, to manage all things here, as she did, nurseries, dining rooms, kitchen &c &c – all places and things.... There are wearying wearing duties in the life of a teacher here, and these combined with the care of a family of young children, may have proved too much for Samuel. There are also many pleasant things connected with the life of a teacher here – among which must be reckoned – intercourse with valued friends... Sarah Bailey”

“Westtown, 6 mo 27th 1868

My Dear Friends,

Joseph Snowden and Hannah Snowden,

After an almost sleepless night in which my mind tossed through a kind of agony – I have concluded to write to you – I am sure I loved you both dearly, when you were here, and now, I do not know, whether you are my friends – indeed whether I have any friends or not, is a question, since after having served the committee faithfully, they have seen it fit, to turn me out of doors. I thought sometimes, last night, could it be, that I had a friend in Heaven or on earth, that I should have been thus treated by the committee It did seem, as though I should lose my reason.

There are things carried on here, that I know never used to be allowed – one young couple engaged to be married and yet allowed to stay here – keeping up their intercourse and visits daily and sometimes at night – and another young man, paying attention to one of our assistant teachers it would seem coming over occasionally to visit in 25 – these things permitted, and yet I am turned out of doors, without any satisfactory reason given.

Rebecca Cope told me, she intended to have me, on the committee – but what alleviation is or compensation, for my suffering mind to tell me that - I never was ambitious, or I would never have staid here, in my younger life, for the small salary of two hundred and fifty dollars – I would have tried to have got somewhere, for a larger salary – but my father and mother were always, so satisfied, with our being at Westtown, and desirous for us to be there that in condescension to their wishes I remained, I then had a sister with me – becoming very much attached to the place I remained contented, after she left – We also had a good friend of our family, Samuel Bettle Sr on the committee as also my mother’s cousin Thomas Kimber who were always anxious for us to be here. I am not able to see that being on the committee is anything desirable, or could repay me for the suffering, on account of having been sent away without any sufficient cause given. I have tried to keep up with the improvements in modes of teaching. I went to the normal school at Millersville in my vacation last, I spent a week in Phil attending schools of being “a live teacher” if that is any recommendation... The teachers here, have always accounted me one of the workers. I have certainly not been eating the bread of idleness or sloth. I do hope that you are still my friends ... Sarah Bailey”

“Burnley 9 mo 13 /68

My dear uncle Joseph,

... I should have written to thee before to ask thee if thee thinks I could get a situation at Westtown in either 27, or 28. I have wanted much to see thee. And would have come down but we have been so completely tied at home ... and today concluded to write and ask thee if thee would think it suitable and would be willing to assist me. A year ago I should not have proposed it, or indeed have been willing to try such a thing, but now I want to teach... I think a term of Westtown life would fit me better for your manner of teaching & give me a kind of introduction to school life. I do not think I am very wild now, at least I am trying not to be, at least I am trying not to be, and indeed have felt no temptation to

be this summer. I would of course conform to the rules, all of them, and in every way try to be an example to the scholars, and of use to the teachers. It would give me an opportunity which I could not have at home to review my studies, and above all it would give me something to do, for I am not especially needed at home. I do not want to be a useless member of society, and my hands are tied at home. This is not a freak, that I shall tire of but an earnest, that I shall tire of, but an earnest purpose, that I mean to carry out so far as I can – and I know of no one to whom I would so willingly apply as to thee my dear uncle ... At present I would rather not assume the charge of a school as principal for I never felt so unfit for a position of responsibility as now. I want some good hard work to do this winter and I must have it Abby Gould”

“Chesnut Bank 9th mo 23rd [1868?]

My dear Father,

... I am sorry thee feels so discouraged about Westtown affairs, things do not look very promising there at present I must admit as far as I've any opportunity of judging - Where are the superintendents & teachers to come from? But we must hope for the best, perhaps a brighter time will come. Thee & mother both ought to take satisfaction in thinking of the valuable & important services you have rendered there thro' many years & think your judgment is still respected & regarded tho' perhaps sometimes overborne by members of another way of thinking. ... E.S. R.”

“Chesnut Bank 11th mo 1st 1868

My dear Mother,

I was very sorry to hear of thy severe attack of pain, and hope thee has had no return of it ... Has thee ever thought of trying Electricity as administered by Dr. Beckwith, 1220 Walnut St. I think I mentioned it to thee once before at Elizth Yarnall's suggestion (Thos Yarnall's wife of Middletown) who told me she had a friend apparently cured of aggravated Dyspepsia by it, & she has benefitted herself. I think it is sometimes advised by Physicians. I feel as if I would like thee to try anything reasonable or that afforded hope of some relief, without the use of much medicines ...”

“Westtown 2 mo 21 /1869

Joseph Snowden

Dear Friend

I received thine dated 5th of this mo. – And was glad to hear thou still feels an interest in Westtown – “That it be kept up on the ground for which it was established that is for the Religious guarded education of our youth” And I trust I feel a degree of the same concern with a desire not to violate any of the established customs of the Institution – but thou knows here – as well as elsewhere friends differ in their views – and all probably alike sincere in what they believe to be right. The utility of the many changes time must make manifest that of the free intercourse between the two sides of the house has (I presume) been exaggerated by the children – though they did meet in the family parlor on first day evenings under the care of the Superintendent and Matron generally brothers, sisters and cousins – until all had been in once who wished to, I considered it an improper change and discouraged it all that seemed right for me as did D Scott but understood T Conard our resident committee friend urged its continuance. I felt the same objections thou mentioned and used nearly the same words in my argument against it. It is entirely given up. In regard to the intercourse between the officers alluded to, so far as I know, there has been less of an objectionable kind, this than the two previous sessions.

The increase of force that seems requisite of latter times must necessarily increase the expense – as that is apart from my sphere I touch lightly – I desire to dwell more on my own than others failings feeling utterly unable to do any good things of myself yet I do believe He who has can and will if he is abode in, enable us in this Institution to perform our very responsible duties to the honor of this precious cause. There will assuredly be Testimony bearers raised up from time to time ... Sarah W. Moore”

“Philad. 2 Mo. 27, 1869

Joseph Snowden

My dear Friend,

I feel deep sympathy with thee and thy children in your bereavement in the decease of my dear and long beloved friend Hannah E. Snowden, thy dear wife. I feel very sad in being deprived of the privilege of again seeing her and mingling with you in performing for her beloved remains the last sad token of affection. The extreme illness of my aged Aunt Sarah Johnson in Solebury Bucks Co prevents my being with you at the funeral. I am sent for and feel it a duty as my aunt particularly desires me to come to her speedily as I can, to go there today, as the condition is such (in her 86th year) her physician says she cannot survive much longer. ... Israel H. Johnson”

“Westtown 5 mo 23rd

My dear Uncle

Jospeh Snowdon

... The School has opened under as favorable auspices under as favourable auspices as was anticipated – about 80 of each sex, including day scholars – It has been slow in settling owing to children having been exposed to disease wh prevented their coming – as it is, we have had a case of French measles on the girls side, and mumps on the boys.

I find it adds to the interest of my duties alternating between the boys and girls. They are equally tractable so far as I am concerned though I find it easier to labor in my old niche in 25 than among the stronger spirits in 51.

The “Com. Of 4” have been out since we have been underway and are I think an excellent adjunct to our other officials. J Scattergood spent a night with us I believe it was a voluntary visit Four friends were here to attend meeting last week R’d Bailey. Phillip and Elizabeth Dunn and cousin E. R. Evans. ... I felt a little disappointed when I heard the nomination of new members that T. P. Cope nor John Carter nor none of our talented young men were on it- but I suppose they have enough on hand and are not quite ready yet. When we met after Yearly meeting it felt very comfortable that no Elaibs nor any gallant ships were enumerated amongst us and since coming out here everything is so much in the simplicity and one department is so entirely in harmony with another, that I have said to myself – these walls do not admit of anything that is very high of stature and feel how good and how comfortable and Christian it is, for us to keep in the humility and observe the golden mean of moderation in all the bearings of this excellent institution not that I want only moderate gifts to be exercised on its behalf but those who appreciate its concern & object and the beauty of simplicity ...”

"Chesnut Bank 8th mo 4th 1869

My Dear Grandfather,

We have been to Westtown to see cousin Joe, and we saw all the boys & girls going into school and Janie sat on the seat & the girls kissed her, and Teacher Sarah showed us some shells and two boats & the things that make the boats go (oars), and a nice red butterfly & a blue one in a little box. We went up in the Girl's chamber & saw four rooms with beds in. We saw where they were washing & the man had a little thing to put the tub on & wheel the clothes along and we saw Margaret (Winters) & she took the rag off & let the water run & made a great big noise (otherwise let the steam into the tub) and we went up stairs & saw the man coming upstairs with the clothes & saw them hanging up on the horse.

... We have a little school & we sew, say our lessons & write on our slates & say on the map. Thee don't know we have got a map. ... Hannah Rhoads, Jane S. Rhoads"

"Deep River P.O. N.C. 9th of 7 mo 1869

My dear friend,

I would not renew thy sorrows, but since hearing of thy sad bereavement in the removal by death, of thy beloved companion my thoughts have very often turned toward thee... it comes from a heart not forgetful of the kindness & esteem received from you whilst under your parental care at Westtown and during the years that have passed since that time, & notwithstanding the cares around me, I've not been unmindful of your influence, & feel this day that I owe greatly my enjoyment in life to having been the recipient of such a privilege...

I should very much enjoy seeing thee in North Carolina if thou feels like taking such a journey. Sister Asenath & husband have made us one visit since the Surrender. It has been cheering to us to have our friends come amongst us, & especially so, since that terrible war, oh! May we never have another such a time ... Abbie N. Mendenhall..."

"Westtown 9 mo 14th 1869

Joseph Snowdon

Dear Friend,

... I do so much desire that those, who practically know Westtown, will hold on to it and not lose their interest. I cannot but think, such are better qualified to judge of, and understand its workings, than inexperienced ones are. We hope to see thee here in a few days now, at the coming examination, as we think thee is on the committee to attend – Dear Hannah attended here, just one year ago, with thee How hard to realise that we shall see her face no mor – How interested she seemed, tho' suffering in her health, very much, at times, even then. I very often think of her. Her mind could grasp so much, and keep so much moving forward with ease to herself and without jarring in the household, a very desirable qualification, and one that few possess...

The friends, who now are at the head of this institution are very desirous, to have it continued properly, and often feel that they have much to learn, and also feel, how needful it is, to seek for Best Help, to enable them to conduct all rightly – very few know what a variety of subjects will claim the attention of superintendent and matron here, until they get fairly inaugurated, and the business of all the departments, comes before them – They then begin to feel what they have undertaken and what

is coming upon them, in the form of care. It takes time to enable them to manage all, with ease to themselves. We have spent a very pleasant session here, together, both teachers and scholars. The teachers sometimes think and say "we never had so good a company of girls taking them altogether", before, as now. I suppose tho' we forget, sometimes, in the past – and 'tis well we should – But there certainly is a great desire, on the part of the present company of scholars, to do rightly.

The new building will be done, in time to open school in it, next session I suppose – but it does move forward slowly – There is quite a difference of opinion respecting this building among friends generally – but all agree, that, there are eight beautiful school rooms in it. It will be an additional expense to the school to light and heat a building detached from the main building, as this is. The building committee no doubt, thought of all these things, before they gave orders to dig the foundation. It is a very large building – 4 large rooms in the attic – These if used, will have to be lighted and furnished. ... Sarah Baily"

"Chesnut Bank 1st mo 9th 1870

My dear Father,

... I was interested in what thee had to say about Harry's wife & should be glad that she might know something more of real Quakerism. I felt an anxiety, when there lest she should hear slighting remarks relative to ministers in our Society that she would be at a loss to understand & that might be as stumbling blocks. What meeting w'd be likely to notice Harry's case? I should think his right in the society w'd be rather difficult to prove now, unless he is still recorded on the old books at Newport. ... I am sorry to hear such unfavorable accounts from Edward Sharpless. There must be a propriety in having him at the Asylum. ... E. S. Rhoads"

"Chesnut Bank 12th mo 4th 1870

My dear Father,

... The extract of Cousin Jesse's letter was very satisfactory and evidently in a good spirit I suppose from what we have heard Anna has more difficulty in getting along than many & we can see how it has happened that she has been placed at that Public School thro' the influence of others. I do not wonder thee feels tired and discouraged after what has passed. It is a low time in the church, a low time in any body of Christian professors when the rightly expressed concern of an experienced Elder to a younger brother of the same calling respecting anything which would have a tendency to lessen his standing or throw a shade upon the cause he has espoused, is spoken of as being "like the Inquisition". I think cousin Susan must have been under excitement when she said this I have know the time when she regarded thy judgment very differently... I am as much in favor of a liberal education as she, and I can bear testimony to thy liberality in granting me excellent opportunities when young, but in placing children at school I should regard their associations & the kind of care they would receive as of more importance than their literary advantages. There are few children so interested in their books that they are not greatly influenced by surrounding circumstances, and we would want them to receive such an education as far as lies in our power as will enable them to serve the creator best & perform the practical duties of life. That education is a poor preparation which trains the intellect in some directions, while in others the mind is going out to things of the world..."

"West Chester P. 12mo 1870

Dear Friend

Jos Snowdon

... Our friend Wm Ditzler has been attending meetings in this quarterly mtg lately & appointing others, for those who not attend one, more especially those who do not attend any meeting & for those wh. separated from this society in 1827 known as Hicksites. Tomorrow he expects to be at Birmingham & in the afternoon (if they are meeting) to hold a meeting in this house. We attended one of this kind held at Concord two weeks since which was satisfactory.

We are deeply interested in the journal of our late valued friend W. Evans & are about half through it. Some think there is too much of it, but we have not yet met with a passage that we could wish omitted. It is a valuable contribution (in our estimation) to the religious history of the society Many of the generation who are now, & who have just passed away from us I think will be referred to in after times as persons of rather remarkable attainments. Indeed the period in which they lived has been & is a remarkable & eventful one, some account of which is very desirable to preserve by journals of valuable friends & otherwise. I hope those who are gratified & feel called to the work will be faithful to the trust ... W. P. Townsend"

"Chesnut Bank, 1st mo 8th 1871

My dear Father,

... My dear J. has thought we had cause for encouragement today in attending two meetings appointed for our friend Wim Ditzler. In the morning at the colored Meeting House where he addressed them appropriately and with much earnestness & was particularly favored & fervent in prayer for those assembled and the people of this vicinity. It was gratifying to see the zeal of those who all have to labor for their daily bread in producing such a comfortable, clean room for Divine Worship well warmed by a good coal stove. They were very orderly and attentive refraining in great degree from their usual responses, but manifesting much satisfaction with the opportunity. This afternoon the meeting was at Providence Mtg House now held by the Hicksites at which a number of them attended. Wm was led to open very clearly and fully the doctrine of Salvation by Jesus Christ ... It was comforting to hear such doctrine preached in a Hicksite Mtg House, and they seemed very open & cordial after meeting some expressing their satisfaction with his services. Thomas Yarnall also spoke acceptably to many there. ... The Biographical Notice of Rebecca Jones, led me to hunt up her "Memorials", and I have been much interested in perusing some parts of the book. It contains much that is valuable, and the frequent allusions to our honored grandparents are very pleasant.... E. S. Rhoads"

"Chesnut Bank 3rd mo 26/71

My dear Father,

... From what we learn from Paschall Morris who is a member at Twelfth St. the chief cause of dissatisfaction with S. Smilie was her having attended at other places of worship and when the ministers kneeled assenting or joining in their forms thus upholding publicly a hireling ministry – the very thing which being contrary to discipline renders our members liable to be dealt with as offenders. The act of the Elders was said to be a united one – Last 4th day in the Monthly meeting one of Samuel Froths daughters supplicated publicly in the meeting for worship for forgiveness for those who had turned aside the feet of a gospel messenger with some more to that effect and in the mtg for Disci.

Samuel Shipley called the Elders to account and wished the matter put straight, saying that these practices of other religious societies had been sanctioned by the Christian church for 1600 years, while Friends had only been in existence for 200 years. Strange argument for a Friend to use.

It was set aside as being an unusual & unheard of proceeding to arraign the Elders in the monthly mtg. Anna Shipley opened the same thing in the women's meeting and appealed to the clerk to know what course they should pursue to have the matter rectified or words to that effect. Such as these feel strengthened I suppose by the sympathy of many in other yearly meetings. This spirit of dissenting, and determination to have a new way for the Society to walk in, in which all if possible are to be forced. Looks very discouraging, but I trust the efforts of the faithful will be blessed, and that such will combine the spirit of love with firmness, in their intercourse with those who differ from them. Some of the most solid Friends in Twelfth St. I have no doubt have much to feel just now in their own meeting – needing the sympathy and support of others. ...”

“Had[donfield] 5 mo 28th 1871

Dear Uncle

Joseph Snowdon

For sometime past I have felt my mind drawn I believe in a measure of gospel love towards the inmates of our County Almshouse, and have had an impression that it might be right for me to visit the Institution under that feeling perhaps on a First-day afternoon. If there seems no objection to their being called together by the Superintendent in their dining room, it would be a relief to my mind to meet with them in that way. I have mentioned the subject to Father Nicholson and perhaps you could confer together respecting it when thou next comes in to Haddonfield and let me know your conclusion. I desire to do nothing but what seems easy to your minds and may be the putting forth of the hand of Truth; believing that no religious service can profit others without it has such an origin. I found on the occasion of a visit to the Almshouse last year that the spiritual interests of the poor people there received very little attention from any quarter, and they have frequently been on my mind since that time. ... Chas. Rhoads”

“Philada 6 mo 12th 1871

My dear friend

Joseph Snowdon

I often feel very thankful that I have had my lot cast so favorably as to have charge of “Friends Book Store” and it seemed as if I could plainly see the pointings of Divine Wisdom in it: and thereby I have been in measure kept as in the hollow of His holy hand as it were from the strife of tongues – and from much care that attends mercantile life, and much uncertainty and anxious solicitude Yet laboring at a stated small salary, and my expenses and cares increasing, and time passing rapidly away and I am advancing too towards the meridian of life – I have been brought under a degree of great anxiety, and feelings of distress have so covered my mind at times that I have been much discouraged about my getting along in temporals: So that I have thought it was not right for me thus to continue at the Book Store. Friends generally members of our Y. Mtg transacting business with me, suppose I am doing well: one Friend remarked “he felt that I was filling up my measure of usefulness”: But did thy know as well as the ‘Book Committee’ do, how I was struggling in a very economical way to get along (with an interesting little family at my side) to make ends meet, (saving nothing for a coming day) They would, I doubt not, recommend cheerfully to the Yearly Meeting, an increased

paying salary. I have mentioned to my Friend Jos. Scattergood, these things, and he recommends my being better paid and I have also thought I ought to try to get into some business – If I could by application work myself up into some reliable Firm, who knew my qualifications I might do better. However thou art well aware it would be a small Tax on the Y. Mtg. to pay a good salary. ... Jacob Smedley”

\$ 5,500.00

My Dear Sister Mary

Baltimore Oct. 7, 1834
One day after the glorious Victory

It will no doubt surprise a lady, to be addressed with what I intend a description of our great & glorious Whig Victory, but, as it is necessary for a Voter to have a Mother, among his other qualifications, and as the Mother generally exercises an important controul over the minds of her children both male and female, it is necessary that she should be imbued with a little of the ~~great~~ of a Whig, so as to encourage her rising sons to pursue that path which alone will continue to keep our glorious Constitution on its original bases, and the laws emanating from that Constitution, to be respected and obeyed. Yesterday was a proud day for our little Monumental city; and I am happy in saying that my gloomy anticipations were not realized. The Polls were opened at the usual hour, and so great was the anxiety of all concerned to get their votes registered early in the day, that some unforeseen occurrence such as death by making divers causes, should prevent them, if they delayed that in two hours after the Polls opened one half the voting was done. The greatest order prevailed throughout the day, and both parties acknowledge that they have never witnessed a more orderly, or quiet Election, than the well contested one we had yesterday - it was an Election of principle

20. (Political Americana) E.[vans], J.K., **Autograph Letter Signed, (only with initials), Baltimore, October 7, 1834, to his sister, Mrs. Mary Troth, care of Henry Troth & Co., 224 Market Street, Philadelphia**

quarto, 3 pages, plus stamp less address leaf, tear in blank margin of second leaf of letter sheet, due to careless opening, not affecting any text, otherwise in very good, clean, legible condition.

A well-written letter by a Baltimore Quaker, written “one day after the glorious victory” in municipal elections of the newly organized Whigs.

“...It will no doubt surprise a lady to be addressed with what I intend a description of our great & glorious Whig victory, but, as it is necessary for a voter to have a mother, among his other qualifications, and as the mother generally exercises an important control over the minds of her children — both male and female, it is necessary that she should be imbued with a little of the zeal of a Whig, so as to encourage her rising sons to pursue that path which alone will continue to keep our glorious constitution on its original bases, and the laws emanating from that constitution to be respected and obeyed. Yesterday was a proud day for our little monumental city, and I am happy in saying that my gloomy anticipations were not realized. The polls were opened at the usual hour and so great was the anxiety of all concerned to get their votes register early in the day lest some unforeseen occurrence such as death by making divers causes, should prevent them, if they delayed, that in two hours after the polls opened one half the voting was done. The greatest order prevailed throughout the day, and both parties acknowledge that they have never witnessed a more orderly, or quiet election, than the well contested one we had yesterday. It was an election of principle against unhallowed power — and principle prevailed.

The first five wards of the city — the district (mis?) represented by Isaac McKim in Congress gave a majority of 219 votes against executive usurpations, the illegal seizure of the public monies, and the detested doctrines of the protest. The total majority of the city in favor of a more efficient “reform” than that promised by the “Old man” (or boy) is 314, which shows a gain on our side since last election of nearly 1000 votes. Does this not tell the “Powers that be” in more emphatic language than we used when they sent the “protest” for the inspection of the people that we hold no such doctrines as they are pleased to dictate, but that the people define for their selves the meaning of the great charter of their liberties.

Our political opponents retained a cheerful expression of countenance throughout the day, and bet confidently in heavy amounts on the success of their candidates, but the Knight of the “rueful visage” paid them a sympathizing visit ere the watchman had cried “past 9 o’clock.” Indeed, I pity them on account of their mortification. They are so unused to defeat, have so long been the victors, that now the change depresses them beyond calculation. Poor Galled jades! They have not even the stimulus of the “Yellow Jackets” to destroy the effects of their iron collars. They have heretofore hugged their chains in ecstasy because they were gilded chains. But now they feel their sores because they are beaten and have foolishly parted with the “gold” — the only salve that could keep them easy. They have lost their party and have lost their money too. As soon as the result of the election was known, the Whig banner — which had been deposited in the Chronicle office — was brought into Market Street & sent forward to the residence of our principle candidate, followed by about 4000 Whigs. Other processions then took place and kept up the joyous uproar until 3 this morning. Some of the Whigs have been in ecstasy ever since, and all of them look happy. The barbers have been obliged to obtain recruits of journeyman & razors, and have agreed among themselves to shave the Hickory’s at so much per square foot. Their faces look as long as a barn door and they are so ashamed of them that it is a difficult affair to find one in the street.

I feel nervous with excitement and two days severe labour in the cause, and must therefore conclude with love to all folks, and with best wishes for the success of the Philadelphia Whigs...”

The writer’s identity could not be clearly established, though it seems he was a brother-in-law of the Troth family of Quakers who owned a pharmacy in Philadelphia. This election was one of the first head-on contests between two new political parties – the Democrats and Whigs, although the latter, evolving from the National Republicans was still not clearly a place for anti-slavery advocates (like Quakers) could find refuge. The Whig victory in Baltimore made national news because it was not duplicated elsewhere, the Jacksonians retaining control of the US House of Representatives, while

the National Republicans/Whigs gained some seats by benefiting from the decline of one-issue third parties like the anti-Masons. The issues cited by the writer – “votes against executive usurpations, the illegal seizure of the public monies, and the detested doctrines of the protest” – seem obscure in retrospect but it’s clear from his words that, at the time, they aroused strong feelings. The “beards” and “razors” comment is interesting because it was apparently connected with a fashion statement of the time that Jacksonian “workingmen” could be distinguished by their facial hair. It’s also ironic that the writer felt he should apologize, with tongue in cheek, for writing a political letter to a woman.

\$ 150.00



21. Sanborn, William, **Collection of Correspondence written to William F. Sanborn, master brick mason of Lowell, Massachusetts, native of Sanbornton, New Hampshire, written by his fiancé and later wife Lavinia L. Fiske, of West Deerfield, New Hampshire, as well as letters from other family members, 1838-1856**

46 letters, 93 pages, dated 22 April 1838 to 15 Aug 1856. All of the letters are incoming written to William F. Sanborn, master brick mason, living in Lowell, Massachusetts. These folding stamp-less letters, are written in ink and in legible hands. The lot includes 15 letters by Lavinia L. Fiske, of Deerfield, NH, both before and after she married Sanborn. There are also 14 letters from Ann S. Fiske (1817-1883), later Ann S. Moulton after marrying Asa P. Moulton (1829-1901) of Deerfield and Meredith, (the sister of Lavinia L. Fiske), as well as 2 letters from Harriet Fiske, (another sister of Lavinia). Brothers of William F. Sanborn, Nathan (3) of Sanbornton, NH and David (3) of Boston, MA also write. The remaining letters appear to be other relatives, friends, or associates, writing from Deerfield, Nashua, and Sanbornton, New Hampshire.

William F. Sanborn was born 9 Nov 1816, in Sanbornton, New Hampshire. He was the son of David Sanborn (1783-1847) and Sally "Sarah" Copp. The Sanborn family was the founding family of

Sanbornton, New Hampshire, and had lived in New Hampshire since the early decades of the 17th Century. William's father David was a farmer, having inherited the north end of his father's farm. Due to the limited opportunities at Sanbornton, William moved to Lowell, Massachusetts sometime before the correspondence in this collection starts in 1838.

He married Lavinia L. Fiske about 1841 and together the couple had at least three daughters. The Sanborn family is found at Lowell, Massachusetts, in the 1850 and 1860 Census, and then moved to Billerica, for the 1870 and 1880 Census. William worked as a master brick mason, perhaps drawn there by the many building projects in the burgeoning manufacturing area.

William's wife Lavinia L. Fiske was born about 1817, at Deerfield, New Hampshire, the daughter of John Fiske (1772-1851) and Deborah Ladd (1777-?). Both of her parents were from Deerfield; her father was a farmer. There were at least ten children born to John and Deborah Fiske, Lavinia being the next to the youngest. This collection includes letters written to William and Lavinia, by Lavinia's sisters Harriet and Ann. Ann Sanborn Fiske (b. abt. 1817) married Asa P. Moulton, a local farmer in Deerfield.

William F. Sanborn died at Billerica in 1885. His wife predeceased him in 1881.

A few excerpts and highlights:

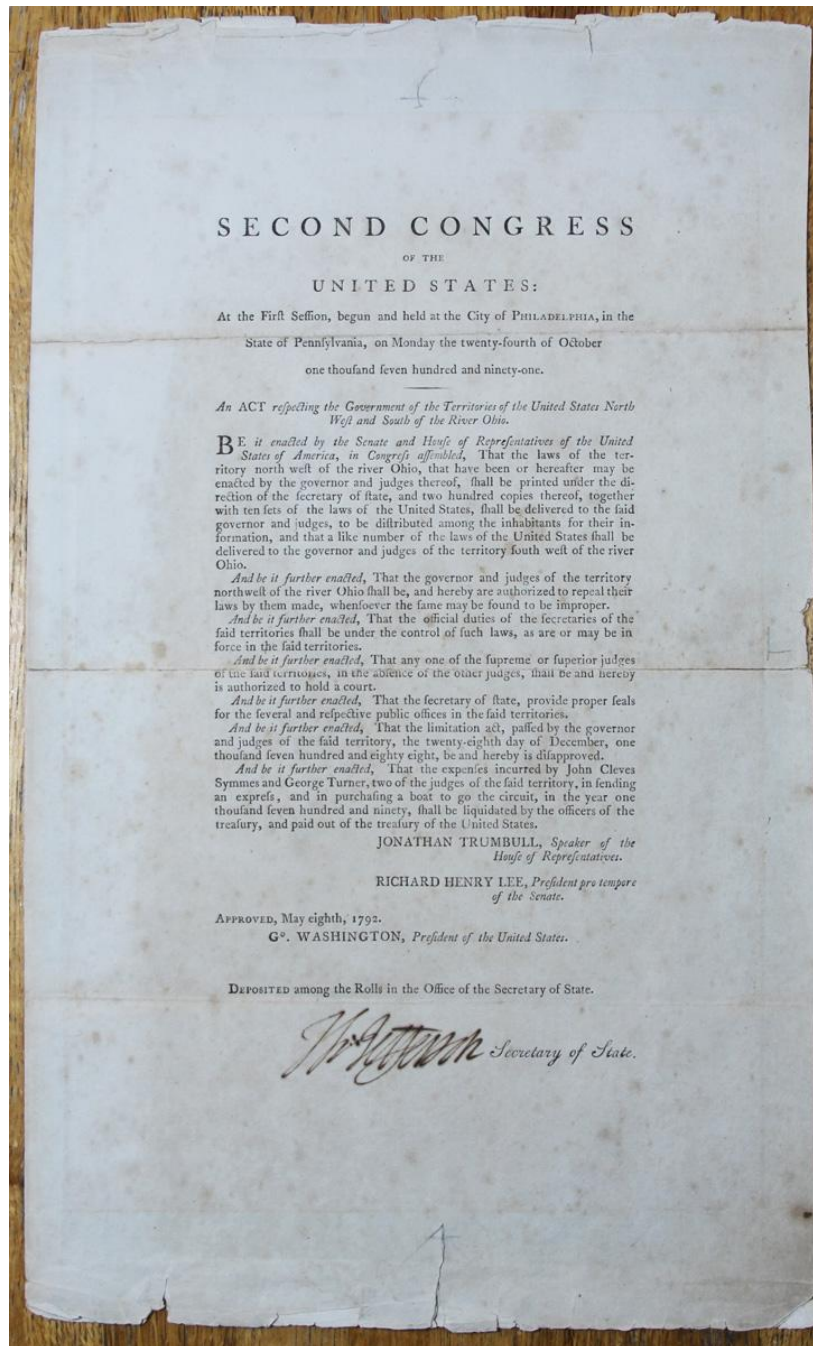
"August 9, 1840 (Lavina) - "We had a very heavy hail storm on the 6 inst, indeed it injured almost every thing in its reach. It has broken a great deal of glass at almost every house on the road for some distance. It was alarming to everyone, many were brought to think the expected day had come in which time shall be no longer. We were very much terrified indeed, thinking we might soon perish in the storm, the hail stone were as large as a walnut...the age people say they never knew as severe storm in this section of the country since their remembrance, but I feel thankful through the mercys of the lord we are yet spared a little longer...."

"January 3, 1841 (Lavina) - "And should we, Dear Wm, this year commence the married life Oh may it be the happiest years of our life, may we ever cherish that love for each other that we can truly say with the strongest affections its the happiest years of our life, may we abide in love and union and when we are separated from this life may we rest in the arms of our savior, which is the desire of your unworthy friend...."

"July 20, 1845 (Ann Fiske Moulton) - "They had a great day in Manchester that day I came up, they were celebrating the day on account of the death of Gen. Jackson. These shops were all trimmed in mourning when I got there. They looked solemn and seemed to say to passersby that some one of their number had finished their work and bids adue to all things here below. They come out with three very pretty companies and formed a procession at two o'clock and marched through the streets with their music (which was very beautiful) and then proceeded to the grave near the depot where they had an address portraying the character of Gen. Jackson."

A look at the daily lives of members of a New Hampshire family driven to seek economic opportunity outside of rural New Hampshire.

\$ 250.00



Signed by Thomas Jefferson: 1792 Congressional Act Concerning the Northwest Territory, Rare Large Paper Copy

22. (United States Laws. Second Congress. Northwest Territory) **Second Congress of the United States:**
At the First Session, begun and held at the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, on
Monday the twenty-fourth of October one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one. An Act
respecting the Government of the Territories of the United States North West and South of the
River Ohio. [Caption title]

[Philadelphia: Childs & Swaine, 1792] folio, (measuring 16 x 9 ½ inches, text printed on one page of a bifolium, some light horizontal fold lines, slight splitting along folds repaired on verso with archival tissue, some ruffling to edges, not affecting text, light toning to paper, else very good. Printed on American 18th

century laid paper watermarked HS Sandy Run with a post horn, manufactured by Henry Schutz. See Gravell, *Catalogue of American Watermarks 1690-1835*, p. 203, figures 304-308. Francis Childs and John Swaine were the Congressional printers in 1792.

Very rare printing of an early United States law respecting the recently organized Northwest Territory, signed in manuscript by Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State. The document, which also carries the printed signatures of President George Washington, House Speaker Jonathan Trumbull, and Richard Henry Lee, president pro tem of the Senate, was approved May 8th, 1792. Individual acts and bills of the first and Second Congress were routinely printed for public consumption. A provision was made, however, to print a few copies of each act on large paper for dissemination to the states, and to have each copy signed by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. The present copy is one of the large paper issues, bearing Jefferson's manuscript signature beside his printed title.

The present Congress act deals with the laws and government of the territory:

"... That the laws of the territory north west of the river Ohio, that have been or hereafter may be enacted by the governor and judges thereof, shall be printed under the direction of the secretary of state, and two hundred copies thereof, together with ten sets of the laws of the United States, shall be delivered to the said governor and judges, to be distributed among the inhabitants for their information, and that a like number of the laws of the United States shall be delivered to the governor and judges of the territory south west of the river Ohio.

And it be it further enacted, That the governor and judges of the territory northwest of the river Ohio shall be, and hereby are authorized to repeal their laws by them made, whensoever the same may be found to be improper.

And be it further enacted, That the official duties of the secretaries of the said territories shall be under the control of such laws, as are or may be in force of said territories.

And be it further enacted, That ay one of the supreme or superior judges of the said territories, in the absence of the other judges, shall be and hereby is authorized to hold a court.

And be it further enacted, That the secretary of state, provide proper seals for the several and respective public offices in the said territories.

And be it further enacted, That the limitation act, passed by the governor and judges of the said territory, the twenty-eighth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, be and hereby is disapproved.

The act goes on to pay debts incurred by John Cleve Symmes and George Turner, two judges of the territory, in 1790 while in execution of their duties.

Evans 24902 locates two copies of this act (NYPL, Rhi), OCLC locates three additional copies, including Yale and AAS. The dimensions listed for these copies, 34 x 21 cm, indicate that these are smaller than the present copy and are not among the special copies signed by Jefferson for official transmittal. A very rare and desirable American law, pertaining to an important national issue and bearing the signature of an iconic figure in American history. Not in Streeter Sale. We have located only one of the large copies in auction records, that being the example in the Sang Sale in 1978.

The Northwest Territory, officially “the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio”, included the Old Northwest when it was established by Congress July 13, 1787. Already the Ordinance of 1785 had provided for the survey of the public land in townships, each six miles square and divided into thirty-six sections of 640 acres. Payment for the land was permitted in specie, or in Continental certificates, and, for one seventh, the land warrants issued to Revolutionary soldiers were accepted. Section sixteen in each township, the Ordinance set aside for the support of education.

The Ordinance of 1787 outlined the governmental framework. At first there would be an arbitrary administration, with a governor, three judges and a secretary elected by and responsible to Congress. When the population included 5000 free white males of voting age, the Territory would have practically local autonomy, with a legislative assembly, although Congress would still choose the governor. Finally, when any one of the stipulated divisions contained 60,000 free inhabitants it would be admitted into the Union as a state. An important clause in the Ordinance forbade slavery in the Old Northwest.

The two ordinances, modified to meet changing conditions, remained the basic principles for the organization of the Old Northwest, and set precedents for later territorial development.

In 1787 the Northwest Territory had a widely scattered population of some 45,000 Native Americans and 2000 French. The first legal American settlement was at Marietta, April 7, 1788. Gov. St. Clair inaugurated the territorial government, July 15, 1788, forming Washington County between the Scioto and the Miami, and in March he set up St. Clair County along the Mississippi north of the Ohio. Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, then organized Knox County between the Miami and St. Clair County, and in 1796 he formed Wayne County with Detroit as the county seat. From these basic counties others were set off as population increased.

The Native American menace confined the earliest settlers to the Ohio Valley, but after Wayne's decisive victory at Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, and the subsequent Treaty of Greenville the greater part of Ohio was opened up. Population now increased so rapidly that the autonomous stage of government was inaugurated on September 4, 1799, with the first meeting of the territorial assembly. Owing to the distance between many of the settlements a division of the Territory became necessary, and in 1800 the area west of a line north from the mouth of the Kentucky was set off as Indiana Territory. The diminished Northwest Territory was further decreased in 1802 when Michigan was annexed to Indiana.

A movement for statehood began, which was aided by the Republican (Jeffersonian) national victory in 1800. Although the Territory had approximately only 42,000 inhabitants, April 30, 1802, Jefferson approved the Enabling Act. With the first meeting of the state legislature, March 1, 1803, the Northwest Territory gave place to the State of Ohio, the “first fruits” of the Ordinance of 1787.

\$ 42,500.00

Newport 5th mo 23 - 1831

My dear Nephew,

Thy letter of the 15th from New York, reached me on the 21st, announcing thy having handed to the Executors \$100 for me, and the intention of thy father to continue the supply while we both ~~live~~ live, and the provision made in his Will in case I should survive him - all which is satisfactory and comfortable to me.

I find also that thy dear Rachel is poorly, with alarming symptoms, which however, we may hope, will not prove as they ~~first~~ ^{now} seem to threaten - but to be a favourable turn at last, as such a state often does - and that her truly valuable life and estimable qualities may continue to comfort thee & her children & friends through a long period. Thy mother's lowness of spirits would be a subject of serious concern to her friends but for their long experience, that this constitutional infirmity is not lasting - but is succeeded by a more comfortable condition. I was glad to find that thy father's health was good. I see thy aunt Hazard has occasion to test her sound mind and strength of character, to bear up, in advanced age, under the trials that attend her - and I hope she will be supported & carried comfortably through them to the end.

My father is in a very suffering condition. Last autumn and the fore part of winter he was remarkably well, and his ~~condition~~ ^{situation} seemed to promise a comfortable state, as to health, than he had enjoyed for many years before: but towards the middle of winter a change gradually came on - the violent head aches, preceded by blindness, returned - accompanied, often, with pain at the breast and nervous agitations, which prevented sleep, & put an incapacity to bear food, that he now seldom attempts to take meat, though his appetite is good - he is consequently very feeble, & I think more emaciated than I have ever seen her - and it frequently looks probable that he may not live a month. I also have had a poor winter, from the Sciatick, which confined me several weeks - and about five weeks ago I was attacked with dizziness of loss of recollection of the power of utterance, portending the approach of apoplexy or palsy - from which, however, I was happily relieved by timely medical assistance - and am now under a regimen of greater abstinence than I have been wont to practice: my health is now pretty good - but I am so much enfeebled in my knees, ~~and~~ ^{and} with a rheumatism of nervous weaknesses in other limbs, as renders going about so difficult that I am induced to give up attending the present yearly meeting in New York. I propose, however, to go after the close of the Yearly Meeting for New England, to see the City of her family & a few other friends thereabouts.

My father & I hope & desire, that, considering all circumstances, thou wilt not suffer the present opportunity, of being so near us, with the great facility of intercourse, to pass unimproved, by making us & thy other near friends, a visit - that we may mutually enjoy a good & cordial intercourse once more - brightening the chain that has so long & charmingly bound us together. Think of ~~these~~ ^{these} deeply - and do not suffer any common complication to prevent a visit that thou wilt so graciously and sincerely desire to have a visit from thee. There will be time enough before ~~the~~ ^{the}

1831 A Vermont family of Underground Railroad heroes

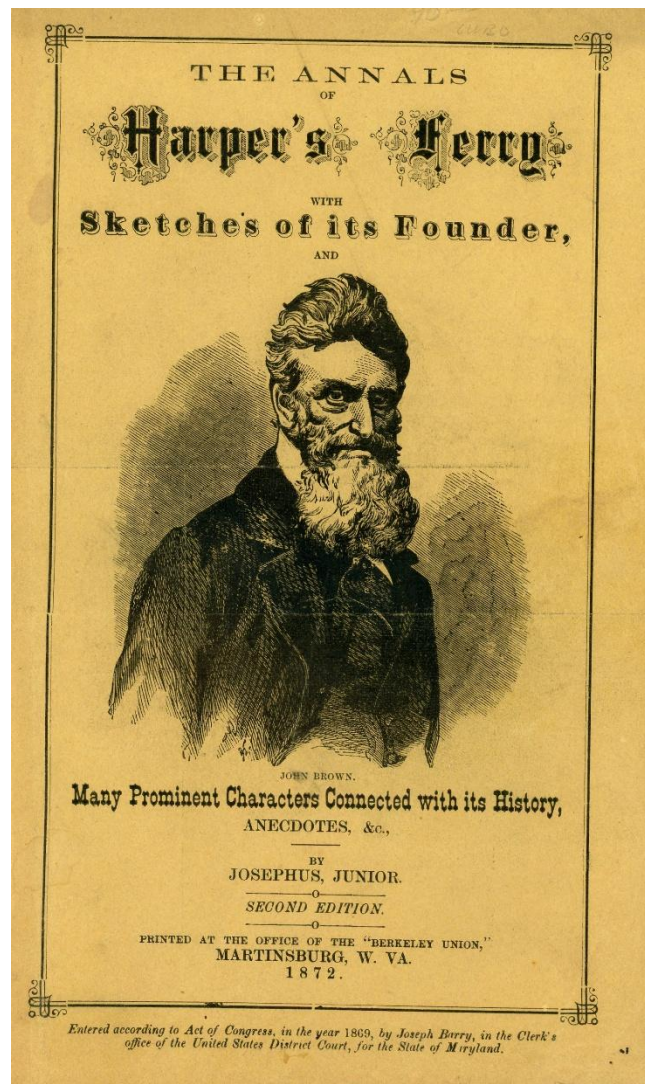
23. (Vermont) Robinson, William T., Autograph Letter Signed. Newport, Rhode Island. "5th month 23" (May 23), 1831, to his nephew Rowland Robinson "at Lydia Gilpin's Boarding House", Vandewater Street, New York City.

Quarto, two ¼ pages, plus stamp less address leaf, one third of address leaf missing, else in good, clean and legible condition.

A mundane letter of family news by a rich Newport Quaker merchant, whose father, a "violent" Loyalist during the American Revolution, had been a slave trader and South Carolina plantation owner, until he had a change of heart and became a fervent Abolitionist. This tradition was handed down to the writer's nephew Rowland Thomas Robinson, his wife Rachel Gilpin Robinson, and, later, their children, all leaders of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society and daring "conductors" of the Underground Railroad, who regularly harbored fugitive slaves in their home and then helped them to escape to Canada. The Vermont Robinson home is now a National Historic Landmark, singled out as one of the best-documented "safe houses" of the Underground Railroad because of some 5,000 Robinson family letters held by Middlebury College.

This letter says nothing about slavery or Abolition but reveals financial troubles and medical problems in the family ("nervous agitations", "lowness of spirits" and perpetual "ennui" of various relations and the "alarming" illness of Rachel Robinson), and gives a hint of past family tensions, with the wealthy uncle hoping to "resume good and cordial intercourse" with his sheep-herding relations. Also, intriguing is the letter's address –the New York City "Boarding House" of Lydia Gilpin, a relative of Rachel's – which is not mentioned in any of the Robinson historical studies and may have had some connection with their Underground Railroad activities

While the Robinson Family Papers are voluminous, there do not appear to be any significant group written by William T. Robinson. \$ 125.00



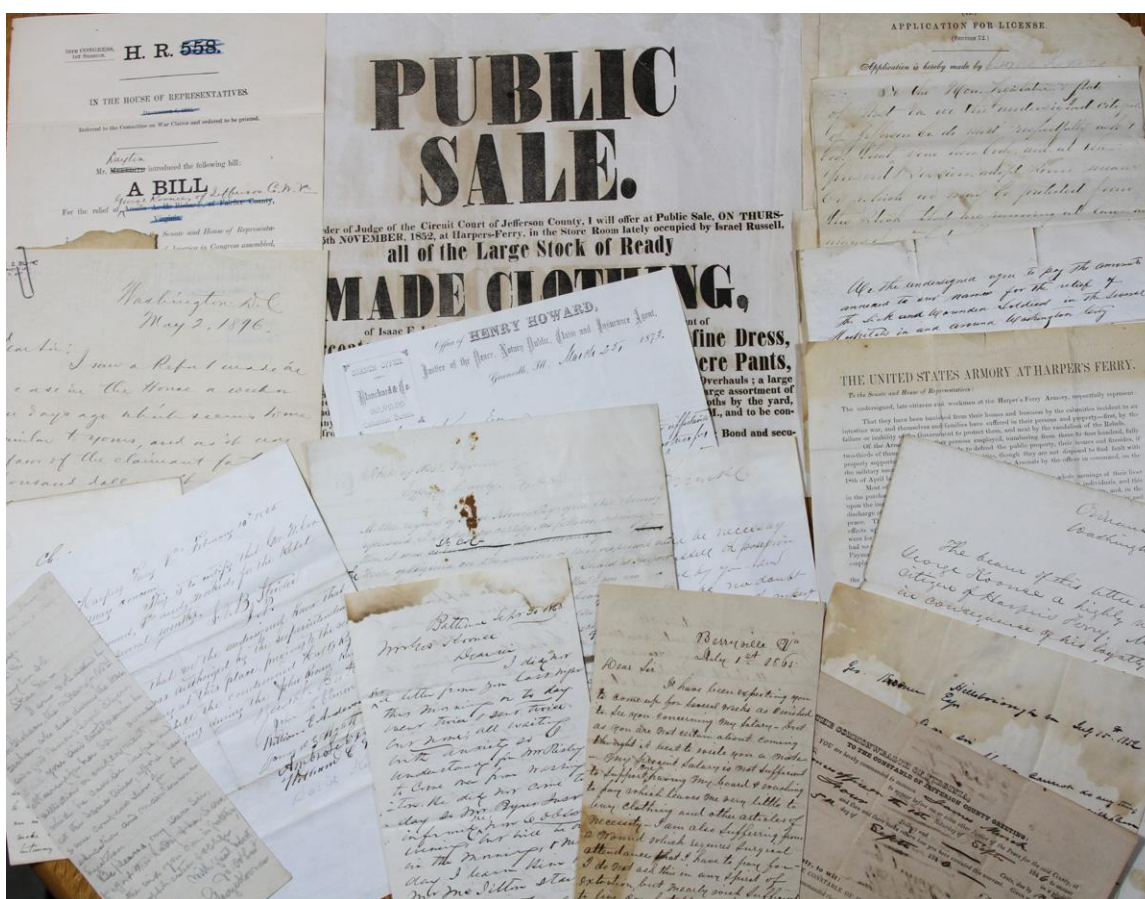
24. (West Virginia) [Barry, Joseph] **The Annals of Harper's Ferry with Sketches of its Founder and Many Prominent Characters Connected with its History, Anecdotes, &c, by Josephus Junior.**

Martinsburg, W. Va. Printed at the Office of the "Berkeley Inion", 1872, second edition, enlarged, octavo, 126 pages, two portraits, one of John Brown, original printed pictorial wrappers, with portrait of John Brown. Some very minor wear to wrappers, occasional spotting and smudging to text, several contemporary ink corrections to text, otherwise a very good, clean copy.

This is the enlarged second edition after that printed in 1869 at Hagerstown, Maryland. The work includes an important chapter, pages 29-61, on John Brown's Raid on the Armory at Harper's Ferry. The work also includes an important section dealing with the contest for Harper's Ferry during the Civil War, pages 61-90.

Eberstadt:137:65, Howes B-191

\$ 350.00



25. (West Virginia) Koonce, George (1818-1908) **Group of Manuscript and Printed Ephemera Pertaining to George Koonce, citizen of Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and his efforts to gain Compensation for his Defense of the Federal Armory and Arsenal at Harper's Ferry from Confederate Attack and Seizure in April 1861, materials dated 1846-1896**

Collection includes ten letters, 15 pages, four printed and manuscript documents, one manuscript subscription list, one manuscript petition, two printed broadsides, all pertaining to Mr. Koonce.

George Koonce was born in April 1818 in Ohio to Nicholas and Elizabeth Koonce. Shortly after his birth, his family moved to Harper's Ferry, Virginia [now West Virginia]. Koonce was an auctioneer during the 1850s and 1860's and served as the town constable, from the 1840s-1860. He was married twice, first to Emily Piles, and then to Bettie Ellen Brittain. He had at least one son George William Koonce (b. 1840).

On April 18, 1861, less than a day after Virginia seceded from the Union, Lieutenant Roger Jones was stationed at the Harper's Ferry Armory, with a company of 42 regular United States soldiers. Upon learning of the approach of Confederate soldiers, whose intent was to take over the armory, he made preparations for its defense, calling upon the local citizens for aid. Many responded, including George Koonce, a former town constable, according to the 1860 Census and Justice of the Peace for Jefferson County, who led the local men against the Virginia army of 2,000 soldiers. Koonce and his fellow citizens halted the larger Virginia forces at Smallwood's Ridge, near Bolivar. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Jones, acting on orders received from Washington, set fire to the armory and arsenal, and with his men retreated northward. Koonce and his fellow volunteers did not return to Harper's Ferry until it had once again fallen into the hands of the U.S. government in 1862.

In June 1861, Koonce represented Jefferson County at the Second Wheeling Convention to vote on the secession of western Virginia. However, Koonce, a Unionist, and who harbored ill feelings towards the Confederacy after the events of April 1861, was not representative of the majority of the citizens of Jefferson County, most of whom supported the Confederacy.

Koonce lost his home and his business as a result of his involvement in the April 1861 fight. During the Civil War period he operated a general store in Harper's Ferry in partnership with a Mr. Horner from 1863 to 1864. Much of the material in this collection concerns Koonce's efforts seeking compensation from the government for his losses.

Following the war, Koonce became active in politics once again, serving as a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates (1865-1867) and a member of the West Virginia Senate (1870-1871), running on the Radical ticket. He was a member of the Corporation of Harper's Ferry 1875-1876. He was also a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Koonce died at 90 in Halltown, West Virginia in 1908.

The collection includes two printed broadsides:

PUBLIC SALE.

By Order of Judge of the Circuit Court of Jefferson County, I will offer at Public Sale, ON THURSDAY 25th NOVEMBER, 1852, at Harpers-Ferry, in the Store Room lately occupied by Israel Russell,

all of the Large Stock of Ready

MADE CLOTHING,

of Isaac E. Lobree, consisting in part as follows: a Large Assortment of

Overcoats of various styles and qualities, fine Dress, Sack, and Frock Coats, Pea Jackets, Blk. cassimere Pants,

of fine quality, Fancy coloured ditto, Cassinett Pants, Kersey and white Linen ditto, Overhalls; a large assortment of Blk Satin Vests, Silk and other Vests of various styles and qualities; a large assortment of Men and Boys Caps and Hats; Handkerchiefs, Suspenders, Buttons, Cassimere and Cloths by the yard, and many other articles not necessary to mention. Sale to commence at 10 o'clock A. M., and to be continued from day to day, until all is sold.

TERMS: For all sums over \$5 a credit of 90 days will be given, the purchaser giving Bond and security; for sums under that amount the cash will be required.

November 15th 1852.

GEORGE KOONCE, Constable.

1. **Public Sale.** By Order of Judge of the Circuit Court of Jefferson County, I will offer at Public Sale, On Thursday 25th November 1852, at Harpers-Ferry, in the Store Room lately occupied by Israel Russell, all of the Large Stock of Ready Made Clothing, of Isaac E Lobree, consisting in part as follows ... November 15th 1852. George Koonce, Constable.

[Harper's Ferry?: 1852] broadside, measuring 13 ¾ x 11 ¾ inches, some light ruffling to edges, some slight stains, otherwise very good. Example of western Virginia job printing.

THE UNITED STATES ARMORY AT HARPER'S FERRY.

To the Senate and House of Representatives :

The undersigned, late citizens and workmen at the Harper's Ferry Armory, respectfully represent :

That they have been banished from their homes and business by the calamities incident to an intestine war, and themselves and families have suffered in their persons and property—first, by the failure or inability of the Government to protect them, and next by the vandalism of the Rebels.

Of the Armorer's and other persons employed, numbering from three to four hundred, fully two-thirds of them were loyal, and ready to defend the public property, their homes and firesides, if properly supported by the Government authorities, though they are not disposed to find fault with the military necessity which led to the destruction of the Armory by the officer in command, on the 18th of April last.

Most of the employes who were heads of families had spent the whole earnings of their lives in the purchase of their little homesteads either from the Government or from individuals, and this upon the implied faith of protection. They formed a contented and happy community, and, in the discharge of their duty as workmen and citizens, looked forward to a continuance of prosperity and peace. They find language inadequate to convey to your honorable bodies a proper estimate of the effects upon them of the desolation and blight by which they were visited. Many of their families were for months within the hostile lines, clinging to their hard-earned homes, not only because they had no other abodes, but because they were left without the means of removal, by the default of the Paymaster who had retained their wages. For many months they were without money and without employment.

But, waiving further reference to their personal grievances and sufferings, they respectfully ask the attention of Congress to considerations of a public character which suggest themselves. They cannot believe that a Government so paternal and powerful as this will consent to abandon property so valuable as that possessed at Harper's Ferry, and so susceptible of easy defence against an invader.

Your Memorialists are far from objecting to the establishment of an Armory on the Western waters. On the contrary, they believe that the growing population of the West and the extended frontier exposed to Indian aggression, require such an institution. But this, they respectfully suggest, is no reason for abandoning Harper's Ferry. The Government yet owns at that point a large body of woodland, sufficient to supply the Armory in all its wants, and has the water-power, water-wheels, and other facilities, worth perhaps a million of dollars. The old dam across the Potomac is yet standing, and a new one partly built, two of the large Armory buildings are uninjured, and the walls of all the others are sound to the second story. The officers' houses and some of the dwellings are uninjured. The canals and waste-ways are in good condition, and the whole establishment can be renovated and restored to the utmost efficiency for less than half the amount which it would cost to establish a new Armory.

There are many sacred recollections connected with Harper's Ferry. The fact that it was selected by the Father of his Country as one of the most eligible positions in the Union for the manufacture of arms—a place which, with proper forethought, can be easily protected and defended—should have weight in the question. And as it is the purpose of the Government to restore the Union and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws, there would seem to be an especial propriety in restoring to active usefulness so important a portion of the public property. In this restoration is involved not only prudential and economical considerations, but the good faith of the nation to its dependents, and its honor as a power worthy of respect.

Being now unrepresented in the National Congress, the memorialists submit their humble views for what they are worth, but with some degree of confidence that honorable members from other sections will give the subject due consideration. And, as in duty bound, your memorialists will ever pray.

George Koonce,
John Diekey,
James W. G. Hyatt,
A. Kelly,
J. W. Crutehley,
Thomas B. Stahl,
John W. Stahl,
A. W. Bussey,
Thomas H. Board,
William C. Kirby,
J. C. Miller,
Z. L. Butt,

James Baxter,
Isaac W. Bussey,
Ebenezer Mariatt,
A. M. Cridler,
M. W. Leese,
D. Coates,
Thomas F. Coates,
James Mariatt,
Henrie Friedrick,
George W. Koonce,
Dennis Snook,
N. S. Grice,

Jeremiah Donavin,
H. Fossett,
Zadoc Butt,
W. F. Crutehley,
W. M. Brown,
J. T. Crutehley,
Columbus C. Bussey,
Emory C. Graham,
Martin Leese,
Wm. T. Lenox,
D. J. Young,
Edward Nichols,

William Chambers,
Alfred H. Grice,
Cornelius Keyser,
John W. Grice,
H. H. Lemon,
C. W. Snook,
John W. Medlar,
Robert Nicholson,
John Kelly,
William Kelly,
Joseph Kelly,

In behalf of themselves and associates.

2. **The United States Armory at Harper's Ferry, To the Senate and House of Representatives: To the Senate and House of Representatives: The undersigned, late citizens and workmen at the Harper's Ferry Armory, respectfully represent: That they have been banished from their homes and business by the calamities incident to an intestine war, and themselves and families have suffered in their persons and property – first, by the failure or inability of the Government to protect them, and next by the vandalism of the Rebels. ..."**

[Harper's Ferry": 1862] broadside, measuring 12 ¼ x 8 inches. Top edge slightly browned and ruffled, pinhole in each corner, otherwise very good. Not in OCLC.

The broadside presents the memorial of 47 citizens of Harper's Ferry, headed by George Koonce, presumably its main author, seeking assistance from the federal government for losses incurred both by the rebel invasion and for the destruction of the Armory and Arsenal ordered by the government on April 18, 1861. Many of the memorialists were presumably former employees of the Arsenal who were unemployed and unpaid after the Confederate takeover. The broadside also appeals to the government not to close the Armory stating that the buildings and infrastructure were not seriously

damaged, and that its location made it easily defendable. There were plans at the time, 1861-62, to relocate the National Armory to a more secure location, including Peoria, Illinois.

“Of the Armorers and other persons employed, numbering from three to four hundred, fully two-thirds of them were loyal, and ready to defend the public property, their homes and firesides, if properly supported by the Government authorities, though they are not disposed to find fault with the military necessity which led to the destruction of the Arsenal by the officer in command, on the 18th of April last.”

This broadside is the first presentation in the collection of Koonce's search for compensation or reparations for losses incurred as a result of his actions on April 18, 1861. This was to become a cause which occupied him for many years.

Much of the correspondence and documents in the collection concern Koonce's attempts to secure compensation for the losses he incurred as a result of his actions in defense of Harper's Ferry in April 1861.

Sample Quotes:

“Ordnance Office
Washington July 16/61

The bearer of this letter is Mr George Koonce a highly respectable citizen of Harper's Ferry. Mr. Koonce in consequence of his loyalty to the Union has lost nearly all the property he possessed and is desirous of obtaining such employment as will enable him to support himself & family. I most cordially recommend as a person worthy of trust & confidence.

J. G. Benton
Capt. Ordnance
US Army”

“Baltimore Sept. 30, 1863

Mr. Geo Koonce

Dear Sir,

I did not get a letter from you last this morning or to day, went twice & sent twice but none; all waiting with anxiety so I understand from Mr. Risling to come over from Washington. He did not come today so Mr Byres just informed me from 6 o'clock evening but will be over in the morning ... I learn him & Mr McIlton start up to Harpers Ferry to dispose of the appointments in the upper country & Harpers Ferry – I have seen Mr Chaplain since 10 o'clock. He will present your claims & urge them all he can. I send this up by Mr. Allison, who will send it to you in the morning. I hope the privileges will be granted to the people of Harpers Ferry. I shall go to the post office tonight at 8 o'clock with a hope of getting a letter – or two. I have been so wearing did not send up the trunks & little hats to day & other little things will do so tomorrow. I have wearied & run and anxiety until I am sick - & hardly able to walk, you can imagine from your own feelings many times when you are wearing with Business – I wish you were in Washington tonight with your Papers & could have an Interview with the President I think it would insure your place – but that can't be, Mr. Chaplaine will do all he can for you. He knows Mr. Risley well & is coming up with him & Mr. McIlton. Mr Byres expects a place in

Shepherds town, or Loudon Co. very anxious about it but has to wait – Mr. McIlton told Mr. Frey to day goods would not go across for two weeks perhaps & that people would be allowed to come over for family supplies – as usual – I hope things will all go well ... Jn Rissell”

“Harpers Ferry Va February 10th 1865

To whom it may concern

This is to certify that Geo. W. Cox went to Richmond Va and worked for the Rebel Government for several months. S. V. B. Strider J.P.

This is to certify that we the undersigned know that Mr. Geo Koonce was authorized by the Superintendent of the U. S. Armory at this place, previous to the rebellion to collect and sell the condemned Hall's Rifles loaned to the citizens during the “John Brown Raid.”

Isack Butt

John McClenen

William E Anderson

James Hyatt

Ambrose Cross

William C. Kirby

David Kelsey”

Harpers Ferry Wst VA. March 1, 1869

W. B. Willey Esq.

Senator U.S.

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I am solicited by Mrs. Graham, the widow of Wm Graham, who died during the war, and a good Union & Loyal citizen, to ask your kind interference in attaining for her son some situation or employment, in which he can be useful, and at the same time, afford her some compensation for his education and maintenance heretofore.

Be pleased, my dear Sir, to afford this lady & her son all the aid you can in furthering their application & oblige... George Koonce”

[Draft]

“State of West Virginia Jefferson County

At the request of George Koonce Esq. of the State & County aforesaid, I do hereby certify, as follows, namely:- that I was Lt Col. ~~Substituting in command of the Rebel~~ of the troops of Virginia, on the evening of their approach and attack on the U. States Armory and Guard at Harpers Ferry W. VA. viz the 18th of April 1861 – That I am now a resident citizen of Charlestown, in said County – That on the night of the day above named, while the ~~Rebel~~ Virginia troops were in motion moving by the Turnpike to on Harper's Ferry , they were met and halted by pickets of a company ~~Mr Koonce then~~

~~in command of a small body of citizen soldiers of a company said to be the~~ Floyd Rifles organized among the workmen of the Armory & commanded by Geo Koonce at the time that this occurred about two miles over from the town of Harper's Ferry. ~~Mr. Koonce was accompanied by two or three other officers of his command and armed as soldier.~~ That upon his hailing the Rebel troops, and demanding to know by what authority they were marching their armed forces into the town, a parley was held with him by Captain Turner Ashby and Col. Allen the commander of the Rebels, Virginia Troops, which resulted in the declaration on part not withstanding we were warned by Mr. Koonce that we would be resisted in our attempt to capture the Armory and Armory stores and Arms – that thereupon , the command was given our soldiers to Load with Ball cartridges, which was done, and in the meantime the delay was availed of by Mr. Koonce and his associates to move off, by the Turnpike, towards the town, that at a little distance he was hailed and ordered to return to the command which he refused to do – that this parley and delay, I have no doubt afforded him time to call in his pickets, and transmit the information of our strength and purpose, to the Federal Official in command of the Armory, and Armory Guard. That on our approach to the brow of the hill overlooking the Armory Buildings, which was in a few hours after the Parley with Koonce, we found all the Armory Buildings and Arsenal in flames – That the loss of the Arms in the Arsenals, said at the time to be about 17 or 19000 muskets & rifles, was a most serious loss & deprivation to the Rebel Confederate cause. That on our taking possession of the place, and retaining it, subsequent to the withdrawal of Captain Jones, with the soldiers, I was satisfied that Mr. Koonce and his little party (said to be only sixteen in number) had performed not only a meritorious action, in behalf of the U. S. Government: but a most perilous one personally – that the sentiment of the secession population might have been so directed by their personal enemies, as to have that night culminated in their destruction.

Sworn to, subscribed & acknowledged before me this day of January 1871.”

“Dear Sir

Have this written just as I have interlined it & will sign with pleasure, & will also establish the facts as I remember them & while the war is over – I have cast aside all feeling on that score & will do all the good to justice I can ... Jas. Lansdorff } Geo. Koonce”

“Charlestown, Feby 9/94

Geo Koonce Esqr.
Halltown

My Dear Sir,

I am trying to get the claim of my father in law, late Thos. Hill-Willis in shape to go before the court of war claims. I write to ask if you are able to give any evidence as to Mr. Willis' loyalty. Most of his neighbors who knew how he stood during the war have died. I think his claim is sufficiently proven as to property taken for Federal use, but some of the papers in his care are missing and the matter of loyalty has to be established. If you can aid me in the matter I will be glad to make an appointment to take your testimony. Yours truly,

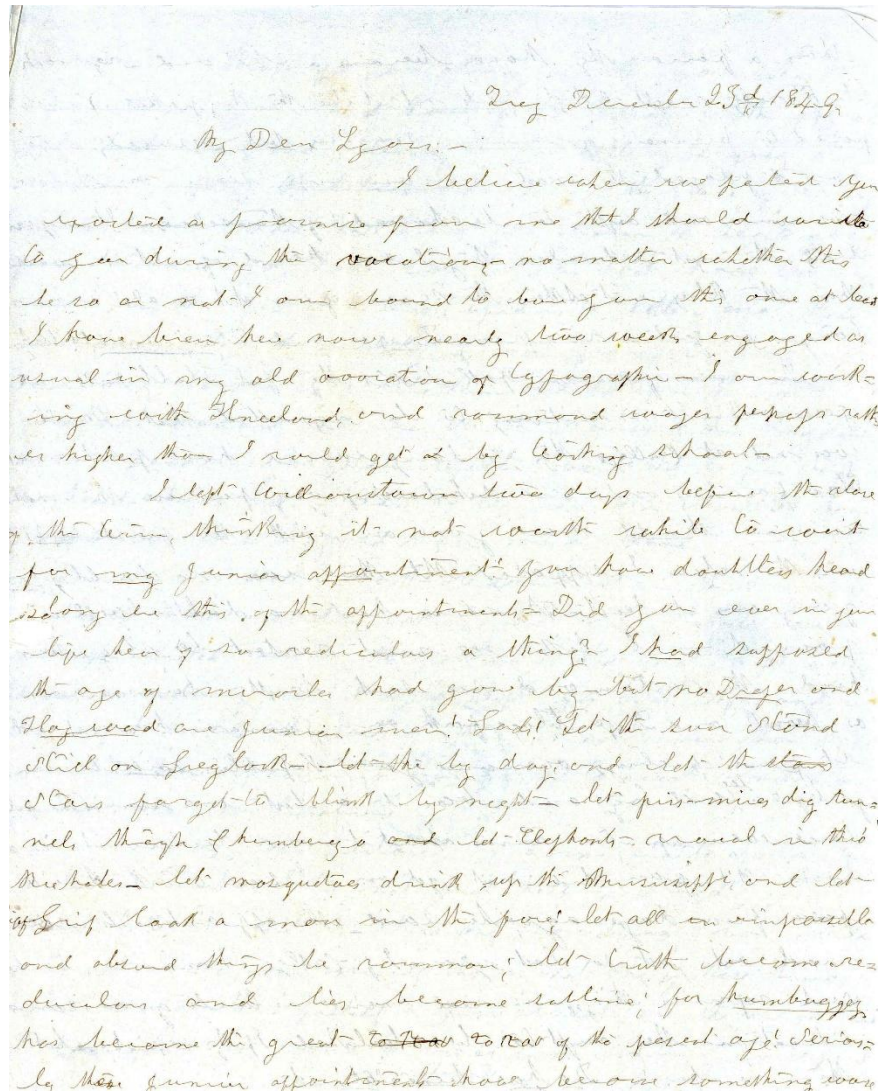
B.C. Washington”

"Washington, D.C. May 2, 1896

Dear Sir,

I saw a Report made in a case in the House a week or ten days ago which seems to me similar to yours, and as it was in favor of the claimant for ten thousand dollars, it seems to me your case might be pressed to advantage at the present time. I enclose a Bill and if you think well of the matter you can send it to Mr. Dayton, with the request that he introduce it. G. W. Z. Black"

\$ 2,000.00



Troy December 23d 1849.

My Dear Lyons -

I believe when you asked me to write a promise from me that I should write to you during the vacation, no matter whether it be so or not I am bound to bring you this one at least. I have been here now nearly two weeks engaged as usual in my old avocation of typography - I am working with Shedd and Hammond making paper rather higher than I could get at by looking abroad.

I left Constantinople two days before the close of the term, thinking it not worth while to wait for my junior appointment. You have doubtless heard along the line of the appointments. Did you ever in your life hear of so ridiculous a thing? I had supposed the age of miracles had grown big but no Dreyer and Haywood are junior now! Lord! let the sun stand still on Greylake - let the day end - let the stars & cars forget to blink by night - let prisoners dig tunnels through Hamburg's and old Elephants' graves in this nick of time - let mosquitoes drink up the Mississippi and let the Gulf Coast a snow in the face! let all be impossible and absurd things be common; let truth become ridiculous and lies become rational; for Hamburg's has become the great ~~to~~ to read of the present age! Serious as these junior appointments have become something more

1849 Youthful letter by a future San Francisco literary journalist who befriended Mark Twain

26. Williams, Samuel, **Autograph Letter Signed, as a brash Williams College student, Troy, New York, December 23, 1849, to college friend J. Lorenzo Lyons, Dover, Massachusetts**
quarto, 3 pages, plus stamp less address leaf, formerly folded, in very good, clean, and legible condition.

When in 1921, the Book Club of California commissioned the Grabhorn Press to print “City of the Golden Gate”, a description of San Francisco in 1875, it was a tribute to author Samuel Williams’ literary renown; when he died in 1881, after 15 years as veteran literary editor and book reviewer of the San Francisco Evening Bulletin, William was probably as well-known in the city’s literary circles as his friend Mark Twain.

Thirty years earlier, when he wrote this letter at age 23, Williams had already sensed that he was destined for journalism. He was then working his way through college as typographic assistant to J.C. Kneeland, inventor of the self-inking printing press. Apart from the newspaper work which he began immediately after graduating from Williams College, he became a prolific writer, some of his magazine articles recounting his experiences in the Middle East, where his friend Lorenzo Lyons, following in the footsteps of his uncle, the first American missionary to Hawaii, would himself spend ten years as a missionary in Syria and Lebanon, then under Ottoman Turkish rule, aiding Christian survivors of Muslim massacres.

In this sarcastic letter, written two years before their graduation and foreshadowing his talents as a writer, Williams writes Lyons of his outrage that the College’s junior honors had been awarded to undeserving, shallow young men adept at “humbuggery...the great token of the present age!” The awards, Williams joked, were as “miraculous” as “pigmies digging tunnels, elephants passing through keyholes, mosquitoes drinking up the Mississippi” - “impossible and absurd things” having become common, “truth becoming ridiculous and lies sublime”. The awards ad become nothing more than a “farce...a lie and reproach”, made by faculty who were supposed to be “men of common sense”, but had displayed “the most uncommon sense” and “ought to be ashamed of themselves...” Williams adds a bit of advice to his friend – not to “have too many irons in the fire”, to pursue too many young ladies, as “Cupid is a little rascal...the most tyrannical of despots. I mean some day to raise a rebellion and dethrone the little winged monarch” and build on the “ruins of his kingdom a Democracy – a golden Republic...a Eutopia. “There might still be “sighs or tears or suicides”, but “then I’ll be king and reign in his stead.”

\$ 125.00

