

“With the President’s Permission...”

New York Acquires The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation

BY PAUL MERCER

The New York State Legislature purchased the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation from famed abolitionist Gerrit Smith in 1865, shortly after Abraham Lincoln’s funeral train passed through Albany. Smith had won the document in a lottery held at the Albany Relief Bazaar in the winter of 1864. How this priceless artifact came to Albany, and eventually to the New York State Library, is a tale of politics and patriotism, enlivened with ephemera.

Sanitary Fairs and the Albany Relief Bazaar

From the earliest days of the Civil War, northern civilians sought ways to contribute to the war effort. The United States Sanitary Commission (USSC)¹, established in 1861, was ostensibly a philanthropic humanitarian organization with the goal of bringing modern medical relief to soldiers in the battlefield. Through an adjunct agency, the Women’s Central Relief Association, the commission established a national network to distribute the many products of soldiers’ aid societies—bandages, clothing, food, etc. A philanthropic purpose notwithstanding, the commission was led by men of strong political convictions who understood their work as a way to forge a sense of national patriotism and support for the war effort.

Between 1863 and the end of the war one of the chief public means



Figure 1: Poster (folio size) for the Albany Relief Bazaar, lithographed locally by Lewis & Goodwin. [all images are from New York State Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections]

Continued on Page 4

The Ephemera Journal

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America

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Deadlines: April 1, August 1,
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Dear Members and Friends:

I hope that this summer has provided an opportunity to relax with ephemera, and I welcome you to another wonderful issue of the Ephemera Journal, and a new season with your Ephemera Society of America. There is a great deal of activity, and I am anxious to share my enthusiasm!

Our March Conference and Fair was a great success — special thanks to everyone — from participants, to the attendees, for you are all responsible for our triumph. Without taking a breath, the committee is already working on the conference for next March, *Food and Drink – Field to Table*. As the exceptional theme indicates, our goal will be a menu of delectable ephemera, to please your palate, and feed the senses. There will be noteworthy presentations, accompanied by a remarkable book-signing event, and our famous banquet, preceded by cocktails and auction; the pleasure of your company is requested! Formidable dealers, stocked with the finest material, make our Fair the country's showcase. There will be superb ephemera to meet the criteria of our eclectic audience, so, please mark your calendar for a special weekend, March 14-16, 2014, in Greenwich, CT.

Of primary importance is our website, which has been miraculously updated to make it your vital tool. The job is not ended, but you will see great changes, thanks to countless hours and effort by our own Sheryl Jaeger, and Pam McCluskey, of *Glory Horse Design*. The best has been saved and modernized, but we also now include an amazing *Definition of Ephemera*, thanks to Bruce Shyer, and much more information about who we are, and what we do. Accessibility to articles, program registration, payments, a current calendar of pertinent events, our blog, and contact with social media, makes this site now indispensable.

As this letter is being prepared for publication, we are eagerly anticipating an exceptional event with The Library Company, in Philadelphia. In celebration of the digitalization of their Visual Culture collection, a special seminar has been jointly planned. We are fortunate to have been invited to collaborate with this eminent library of American printing and ephemera, founded by Benjamin Franklin. Accompanied by special tours and receptions, we are delighted to have been able to offer this unique opportunity to our members. A report will be published in the future.

The ability to provide two important programs for our members, in such a short time, is realized by the great effort expended by your dedicated officers. As President, I am gratified by their dedication and teamwork. You have elected a strong and capable Board, working tirelessly, to achieve our mission and bring new ideas to the forefront. A quarterly meeting was added to our agenda, so that we may be in closer contact, while working on your behalf. Please help us by volunteering your expertise in any area, as you are essential to our success.

Sincerely,



Nancy Rosin
President

Ephemera/34

Make plans now to attend the conference at Ephemera/34, "Field to Table: The Ephemera of Food and Drink."

Our essential connection to what the earth produces, and how these sustain us is at the core of our lives. Each step of the process from the field to the table represents a different aspect of our society and its values. The ephemera of food and drink illustrates the different points of view of that story, reflecting how our society has evolved. This narrative includes survival, culinary achievement, hard work, the aesthetics of food and table presentation, balance, culture, health, satisfaction and commerce. What drives us? Our needs and initiatives, the creativity of our inventions and discoveries, our passions and resources are all involved in getting things from the field to the table.

Suggestions of non-members of the Society who might particularly benefit from attending this conference may be sent to bjloe@earthlink.net or Barbara Loe, PO Box 95, Cazenovia NY 13035.



One of the many food and drink related pavilions at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893

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In this issue...

We decided to join the ranks of 150th Civil War anniversary publications when, at Ephemera 32 in March 2012, Brian Caplan and Jonathan Mann gave an extraordinary dual presentation. They emphasized that the period of the late 1850s through the Civil War was when ephemera had the most social and political clout. Sadly, their paper has been delayed because of health issues. But Bob Chandler offers an overview of ephemera documenting the Civil War in California. And Paul Mercer tells the saga of one of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation drafts. And, to bring interest in Civil War ephemera up to date, we introduce two of the war's many re-enactors, Bob Shuey and Anna Church. Both of the books we recommend this issue offer Civil War commentary: Richard McKinstry's on Charles Magnus – whose print images, arguably, helped mobilize public support for the Union cause; and Sydney Nathans's saga of an escaped slave – whose life inspired influential New Englanders to support Abolition. This issue's 'spotlight on scholarship' features Amanda Casper who introduces her work interpreting the post-Civil War interest in home alteration.

—Diane DeBlois, editor

Speakers on the Fascinating Subjects of Ephemera

Event planners looking for experienced speakers on a variety of interesting and intriguing ephemera subjects will find an excellent roster of speakers available on the Society's website, www.ephemerasociety.org/resources/speakersbureau.html. On the same page is an application for being listed as a speaker.

JOIN THE SPEAKERS BUREAU

The Society invites members who enjoy speaking on ephemera subjects to join the Speakers Bureau and share their knowledge and enthusiasm with others.

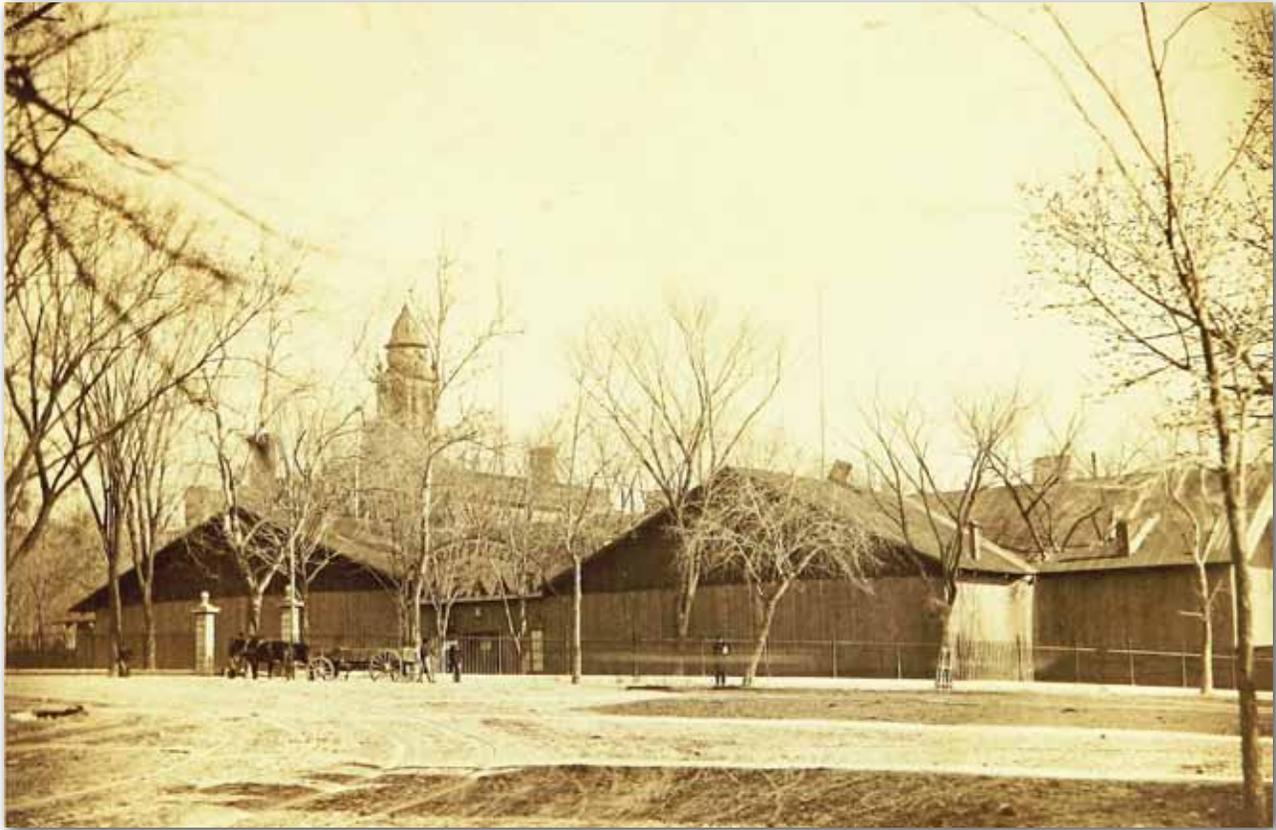


Figure 2: “Army Relief Bazaar Buildings in Academy Park” from Photographs of the Bazaar (Albany, 1864)

of generating financial support for the work of the USSC was the holding of “sanitary fairs” in the cities and towns throughout the northern states. Largely coordinated by committees of upper-class society women in the various host cities, the fairs included elements as diverse as balls, receptions, parades, expositions (especially featuring military- and/or patriotic-themed displays), lotteries, and food concessions. Admission prices would range from 25 cents for a single day to five dollars for a “season” pass. Fairs would last from a few days to several weeks. Overall the total raised through sanitary fairs reached almost \$4.5 million.

The first sanitary fair was held at Lowell, Massachusetts in February 1863. However, it was the October 1863 fair held in Chicago—dubbed “The Northwestern Soldiers’ Fair”—that popularized the concept, and became the model for other cities, including Albany. One important feature of the Chicago fair (copied in Albany and elsewhere) was the organizers’ reliance on pre-existing networks of women in charitable societies. The Albany Army Relief Association (ARA) met for the first time on November 2, 1861. “Mrs. Governor Morgan” (Eliza Matilda Morgan) presided over the meeting and “Mrs. William Barnes” (Emily Weed Barnes) was named the new organization’s recording secretary.² The minutes of the executive committee indicate that from 1861 to 1863

the association, true to its stated aims, worked to solicit donations of funds and supplies through direct appeals to local residents, businesses and organizations. The proceeds were sent to the USSC for distribution.

In late 1863, the executive committee of the ARA began considering the possibility of holding a fair or bazaar to generate greater community interest, and amplify its already successful fundraising efforts. From that point through the early spring of 1864, the Army Relief Bazaar became the association’s chief activity. The planning and arrangements for the fair were taken over by a special committee headed by the leading political and businessmen of Albany and the surrounding communities.

The bazaar opened to the public on February 22, 1864, and closed on March 9. It was held in specially constructed buildings in Academy Park. The central halls of the fair were lined with an odd assortment of national and regional booths depicting the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, Schenectady, Spain and Japan, Troy, the Aborigines, Gypsies, Italy, Russia, and Saratoga Springs, as well as the Netherlands, Switzerland and “the Orient.” There was a Floral Hall, a substantial “curiosity shop,” a grand dining hall, a military trophy room, a perfumery (naturally co-located with the French booth), an orchestra or speakers’ stand, a fair post office (which issued its own specially-printed stamps),³



Figure 3 (left): Army Relief Bazaar postage stamp, issued February 22, 1864 for correspondence from the Bazaar. These stamps were not valid for U.S. postal service, but they were prepared for, sold and used at the fair post offices with the approval and participation of the local postmaster.

Figure 4 (right): Metropolitan Fair postage stamp from New York, NY, engraved and printed by John E. Gavit of Albany.

and an autograph booth. The fair issued its own satirical newspaper, *The Canteen*. In its first issue, dated February 22, 1864, *The Canteen*, in a burst of hyperbole, declared that the fair had magically:

risen like the palace of Aladdin, and when the interior arrangements are perfected it will rival the oriental halls in its crowning splendors. The festoons and overhanging arches of evergreens, the rich display of colors, the fair ladies adorned with the varied costumes, the battle-scarred banners as they have come from war's embrace. And the whole brilliantly illuminated with a blaze of gas issuing in countless jets will form a scene of rare and dazzling beauty

The income derived from sales at these attractions—as well as from general admissions was substantial.⁴ Throughout the Bazaar, lotteries were held to raise additional funds. Drawings were held at all of the booths. For instance, in the first week, the Shaker Booth raffled a Shaker doll; the Indian booth, an inlaid portfolio (won by poet and one-time State Librarian, Alfred B. Street);⁵ the Swiss booth, a music box and a cuckoo clock. Without question, however, the most important prize to be raffled at the bazaar would be the hand-written preliminary draft of President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The President's Gift

On January 4, 1864, Assistant Secretary of State, Frederick William Seward⁶ wrote the following letter to Emily Weed Barnes:

My dear Mrs. Barnes,

I have the pleasure of sending you, with the President's permission, the original draft of his September proclamation. The body of his own handwriting, the penciled additions in the hand of the Secretary of State, and the formal beginning and ending in the hand of the Chief Clerk.⁷

This gift by the President was a major donation to the Albany Bazaar, and an irreplaceable historical artifact. It had been written almost entirely in Lincoln's own hand in September 1862 and was, as Seward noted, the *original* draft of the proclamation that would lead to the freeing of all slaves still held in the United States. Autographed letters and documents, especially those signed by celebrated political and military leaders were especially sought after as collectibles to be sold or raffled at sanitary fairs. In particular, fair organizers were eager to get presidential papers, which presumably would command the highest prices. For instance, the city of New York, for its "Metropolitan Fair," solicited a hand-written copy of the Gettysburg Address, which Lincoln obligingly wrote out—as he had done for other fairs, including Baltimore, for which two were written out.⁸

The *final* draft proclamation (dated January 1, 1863) had likewise been donated to a sanitary fair—the Northwestern Soldiers' Fair held in Chicago in October 1863. In sending that document, Lincoln noted, "The formal words at the top, and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive are not in my handwriting. They were written at the State Department by whom I know not."⁹ Lincoln was well aware of these documents' historic value, but sacrificed them willingly for what he perceived as the greater good: "I had some desire to retain the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better."¹⁰

A special committee was formed at Albany to oversee the disposition of the preliminary draft. At its head sat William A. Barnes, a well-known Republican



Figure 5: 25 cent admission card, a "Troy Ticket."



Figure 6: A "Troy Committee Ticket" for a single admission.

Party official in Albany—and the husband of Emily Weed Barnes. Although never an office holder—he worked in the relatively unprepossessing State position of Superintendent of Insurance—his maneuvering in ultimately acquiring the Emancipation Proclamation for the New York State Library reveals something of the extent of his political and social connections.

For his committee, Barnes chose a number of prominent regional and national politicians, businessmen, and public figures: John K. Porter, a justice of the New York Court of Appeals (who in 1881 would prosecute Charles Guiteau for the assassination of President Garfield); Edward C. Delevan, a wealthy businessman and famous temperance advocate; Gerrit Smith, a leading social reformer, abolitionist and politician; Thomas W. Olcott, a bank president and well-known politician in Albany; James A. Bell, a New York State Senator; and William Cullen Bryant, the American poet, newspaper editor, and political activist.

That men of this stature would lend their names to the lottery for the Emancipation Proclamation was in itself enough to demonstrate the importance that was attached to the event. A letter from Bryant to William Barnes indicates that, in at least some cases, little more than their names would be added

to the effort: "I have just received your letter with a copy of the paper you wish me to sign. I have no objection to being put on the Committee provided it gives me no trouble..."¹¹ However, one committee member, Gerrit Smith,¹² would play a pivotal role in the outcome of the lottery.

A prize of this magnitude demanded pride of place in the fair schedule, and it was decided that the drawing for it would be the grand finale on the closing day. A limited number of tickets, not to exceed five thousand, were to be sold at \$1.00 each. In a fitting ceremonial flourish, the winning ticket would be drawn, using "the same wheel used by the Provost Marshall of the 14th Congressional District of the State of New York in making the draft of Soldiers for the said district."

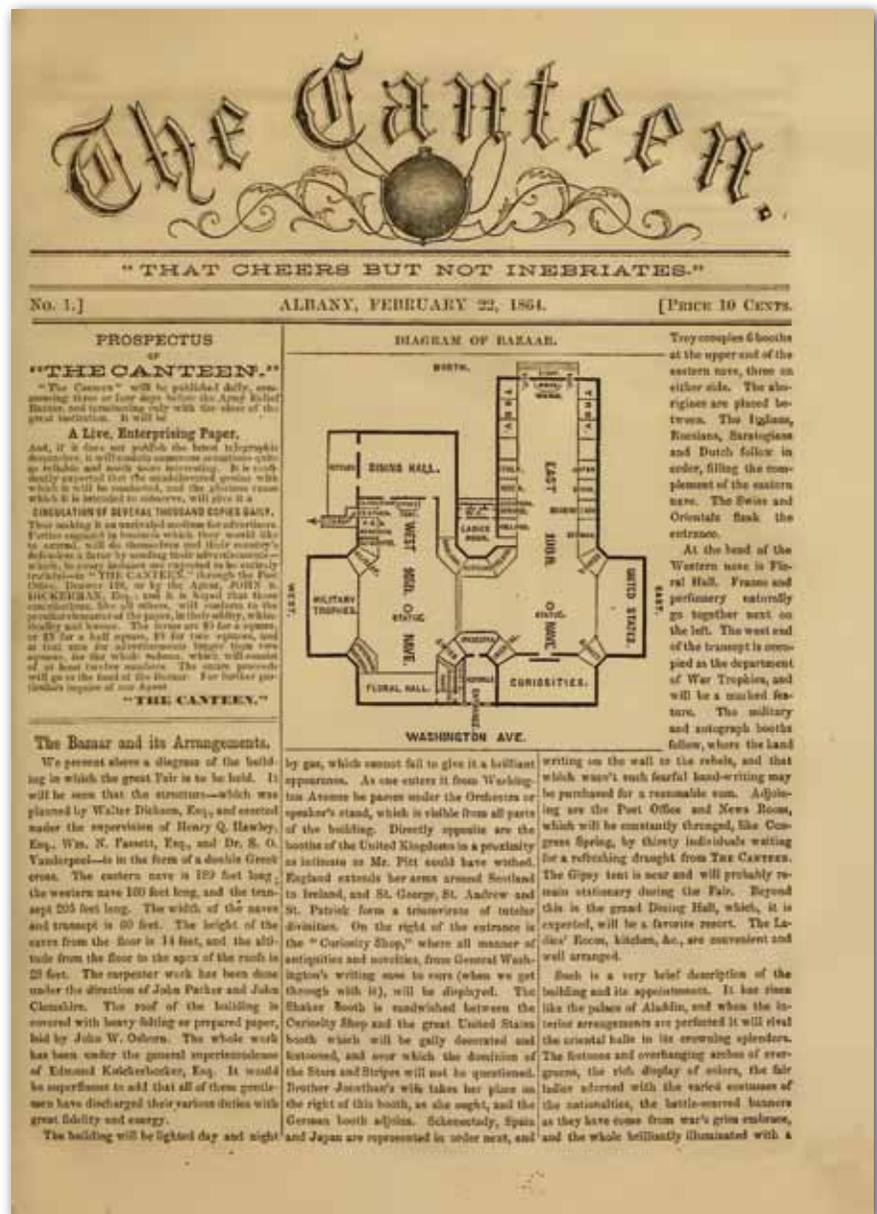


Figure 7: The first issue of the daily satiric publication of the Bazaar, The Canteen.

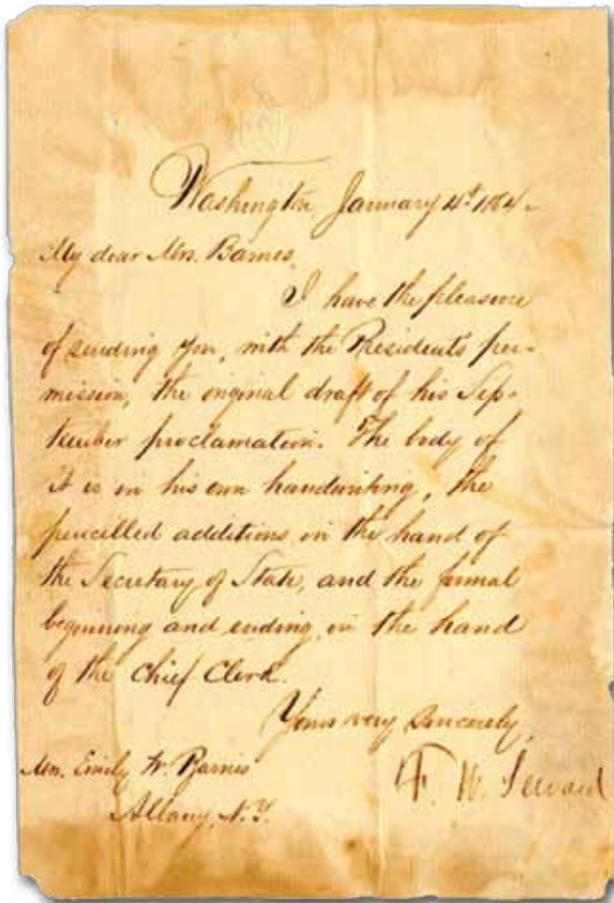


Figure 8: Letter from Seward to Emily Barnes, enclosing the Proclamation “with the President’s permission.”

From the first days of the fair, the President’s gift was an object of considerable attention. A local wag wrote anonymously in *The Canteen*:

*The President sent in a Draft—;
What else could be expected,
From one who’s dealt in
nothing else
Ever since he was elected?*¹³

The sale—for \$3,000—of the final Emancipation Proclamation at Chicago’s Northwestern Soldier’s Fair, the previous October, had no doubt increased the public interest in the outcome of the Albany lottery. For his part, Barnes promoted the view that the preliminary draft was the more important—and thus more valuable—document:

I think the 22nd Sept. [i.e. the preliminary draft] is really more valuable than the 1st of

Jany. [i.e. the final proclamation.] ...The **Judgment** was really pronounced in Sept. Jany. was only enforcing **Execution**. The Sept. Proclamation first embodied the President’s plan on foolscap... the Sept. document was really the effective Proclamation of Freedom.¹⁴

The final day of the fair was March 9, 1864. (Originally scheduled to close on March 5, the fair’s run had been extended by popular demand.) The closing day drew an enormous crowd: “The crowd was absolutely stifling. Every inch of standing and resting space was occupied.”¹⁵ As the fair opened that day, there were still unsold tickets for the Emancipation Proclamation: “Yesterday morning, nearly a thousand tickets were unsold; but the committee ‘took off their coats’ and...by 9 PM all but 8 had been disposed of.” All of this activity no doubt increased the interest of the large crowds in the final drawing as reported by the next day’s *Albany Evening Journal*:

There was a good deal of excitement as the drawing was commenced, and when the venerable Gerrit Smith was announced as the holder of the successful ticket, a loud and hearty cheer went up.

It might be expected that, since he was a member of the committee charged with administering the lottery, Smith’s good fortune would be questioned (especially since he had reportedly enhanced his odds by buying a thousand tickets.) However, according to Barnes, this was not the case, and the public jubilation, probably as a result of Smith’s general popularity, was genuine: “There was a great shout of approval when the draft

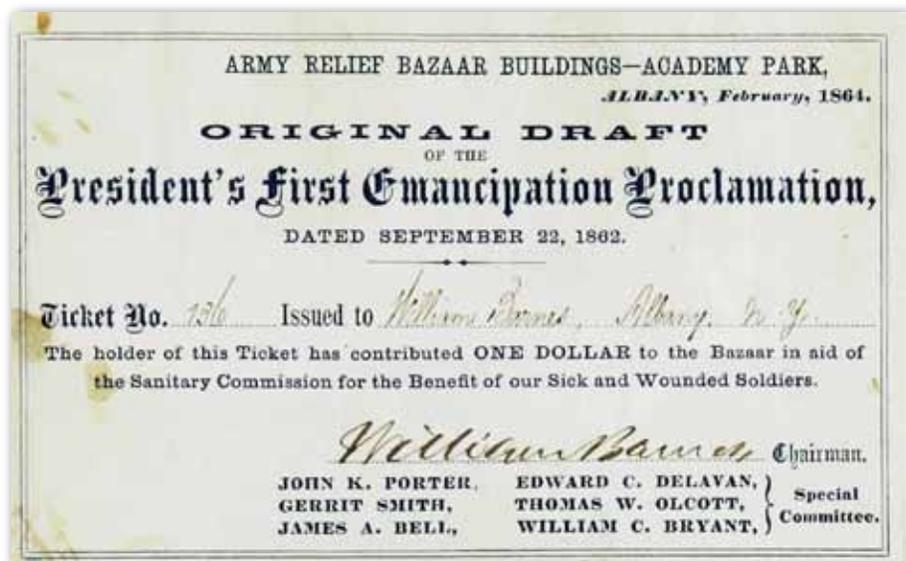


Figure 9: “Lottery Ticket Purchased by William Barnes” bound in Descriptive catalogue of the collection of flags, trophies and relics : exhibited by the Bureau of Military Statistics, at the Army Relief Bazaar held at Albany, N. Y., February 22, 1864 and on succeeding days for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission. (*Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1864*). Extra-Illustrated copy.

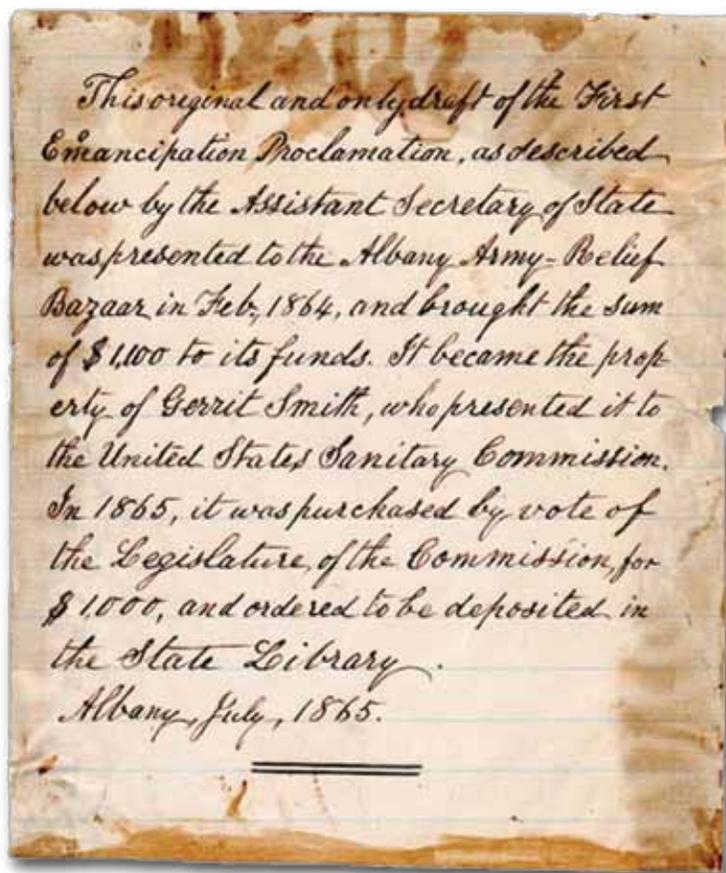


Figure 10: Note of deposit of the Proclamation at the New York State Library.

which gave you the Proclamation [was announced]. Everyone was satisfied and seemed better pleased than to claim it themselves.”¹⁶

The very next day (March 10), Barnes wrote to inform Smith. “You have the Proclamation. The disposition of it although by chance is eminently just. Mrs. B. and I send congratulations.”¹⁷ Even at that early date, Barnes clearly wanted the proclamation ultimately to remain in Albany and suggested so to Smith: “It should go by your will to the State Library, allow me to suggest.” On March 12, Smith replied, characteristically stating:

I have never been proud of owning houses and lands, but I confess that I am somewhat elated by being the owner of this glorious Proclamation of Freedom, in the very form in which it came from our President’s strong and honest hand.¹⁸

Acknowledging that he had already been beset by people with suggestions for how he should best dispose of the document, Smith continued:

I feel bound to adhere to my purpose when I purchased the tickets. That purpose was to let it go to the individual or association, who would pay the largest price for it to the Sanitary Commission...

You will please retain the Proclamation in your office until the purchaser shall call for it.

Barnes replied on March 17, that he would do just as Smith wished, but at the same time indicating that he was already lobbying behind the scenes to acquire the document for New York State: “I saw Mr. Stevens of Buffalo, the chairman of the Com. on Ways & Means & have given him a draft of a SS for the Supply Bill approving funding of \$1,000 for the Proclamation for the State Library.”¹⁹

Barnes evidently persisted in his efforts despite an apparent unwillingness on the part of the legislature to act, and Smith’s intention to raise as much as he could, even if it meant entertaining foreign offers. “I do not see how any offer of more than a \$1,000 can easily be advanced for it unless Great Britain or California may make such an offer. You have it in your discretion and will of course wait until you are satisfied that the highest offer has been received.”²⁰ Meanwhile Frederick P. Stevens, the Buffalo assemblyman who, as chairman of the influential Ways and Means Committee, was central to Barnes’s scheme, was defeated in an 1864 election.

In the interim, the Proclamation was, by Smith’s decree, under the control of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, although it is unclear

whether it ever actually left Barnes’s Albany office. Evidently Smith had at least considered giving it to the New York Metropolitan Fair—although Barnes had his doubts, expressed in his March 10 letter to Smith: “I hope you will not think it expedient or best to send it to the Fair in N.Y I have had a correspondence with them, and I don’t want them to have it from the spirit exhibited by them. I think we had better save the document from a bad or improper disposition which corruption or chance might give to it if again exposed for further sale.”²¹

The question was ultimately settled by the New York State Legislature in 1865, when, after Lincoln’s funeral train visited Albany, they voted to pay the Sanitary Commission \$1,000 for the document, as part of a general appropriation bill (Laws 1865, chapter 598, 88th session, p. 1239). The clause authorizing the purchase, read:

For Henry W. Bellows, president of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, for the use of said commission, the sum of one thousand dollars, as a consideration for the original draught of the President’s first Emancipation Proclamation, dated September twenty-second, Anno Domini, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, to be placed in the State Library.

In the same bill, the legislature also voted a substantial sum to drape the capitol in mourning for the recently assassinated Lincoln. It was a fitting memorial. Lincoln's body lay in state in the Capitol for twelve hours, during which thousands of local citizens paid their respects. Clearly the national tragedy inspired the legislators to finally vote on the purchase of Lincoln's Proclamation, thus fulfilling the wishes of Barnes, and making the Emancipation Proclamation once and for all a treasure of the New York State Library.

Endnotes

- 1 This overview of the USSC and the sanitary fair phenomenon is based on Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North*. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), and on Alvin Robert Kantor and Marjorie Sered Kantor, *Sanitary Fairs: A Philatelic and Historical Study of Civil War Benevolence*. (Glencoe, Illinois: SF Publishing, 1992).
- 2 Albany Army Relief Association. *Journal, 1861-1869*. As the journal notes, the meetings were held in the mayor's office. Although he was not formally part of the organization, the Mayor's influence—not to say his direct involvement in the early meetings—was an indication of the extent to which this women-directed organization was controlled by the male-dominated political establishment of the time.
- 3 For a discussion of the philatelic aspect of sanitary fairs, see Kantor and Kantor.
- 4 In its first two days, the Bazaar raised \$6,239 (more than \$85,000 in current value). By the time it closed, it was reckoned that more than \$100,000 was taken in.
- 5 Drawings were reported regularly in the pages of *The Canteen*.
- 6 Frederick was the son of Lincoln's Secretary of State, William Seward, a former Governor of New York.
- 7 Frederick William Seward. *Letters, 1864-1906*. New York State Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections, 14977.
- 8 The proliferation of these copies—all genuinely written out by Lincoln—has led to some confusion as to which (if any) could be called the "original" manuscript of the address.
- 9 Abraham Lincoln ALS, Washington, 26 October 1863. Reproduced in Kantor and Kantor, p. 172.
- 10 The final draft, auctioned at Chicago, fetched a price of \$3000.00. It was later donated to the Chicago Historical Society, but eventually was lost in the 1871 Chicago fire.
- 11 Bryant, William Cullen to William A. Barnes, January 1864.
- 12 Born in 1797 in New York, Gerrit Smith was a wealthy land owner, temperance advocate and social reformer, remembered primarily for his efforts on behalf of African Americans.
- 13 *The Canteen*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 22, 1864), p. 2. This humorous comment hints at the political controversies attending not only the Emancipation Proclamation but also the military draft, then in effect. That the two were somehow connected, at

least in the public imagination, is also suggested by the intentionally symbolic use of the same wheel for both the Emancipation Proclamation lottery and the military draft lottery.

- 14 William Barnes, Letter to Gerrit Smith, 22 March 1864. *Gerrit Smith Papers, 1775-1924*, Arents Library, Syracuse University. (Microfilm held by New York State Library, MB/FM 974.7 S648)
- 15 *Albany Evening Journal*, (March 10, 1864) p. 2.
- 16 William Barnes, Letter to Gerrit Smith, 17 March 1864. *Gerrit Smith Papers*.
- 17 Barnes, Letter to Gerrit Smith, 10 March 1864. *Gerrit Smith Papers*.
- 18 Gerrit Smith to William Barnes, 12 March, 1864. Quoted in "Remarks to the Exchange Club of Albany...April 24, 1963." New York State Library. *Papers Relating to the Emancipation Proclamation*. New York State Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections, SC16651, Box 1, Folder 5.
- 19 Letter to Smith, 17 March 1864, *Gerrit Smith Papers*. Actually Barnes first mentions discussions with Stevens in a short note, written on March 12, which had evidently crossed in the mail with Smith's reply.
- 20 Letter to Smith, 22 March 1864, *Gerrit Smith Papers*. Barnes' March 12 note had also alluded to an offer from Great Britain, (with Mr. Delevan acting as intermediary).
- 21 Letter to Smith, 10 March 1864, *Gerrit Smith Papers*. The New York fair followed the Albany Bazaar by a month. Whatever Barnes' doubts about the New York Fair may have been, there was no further correspondence on this topic.



Paul Mercer studied Folklore in Canada at Memorial University of Newfoundland, and received his Masters in Information Science from the University at Albany. He has worked at the New York State Library since 1979, and has been a Senior Librarian in Manuscripts and Special Collections since 1986. In addition to acquiring special collections and documents for the library, he is responsible for map collections, and for the library's extensive music holdings. He is Co-chair of the library's Research Residency Committee. A published author of books and papers in Folklore and History, he is also a former board member and past Chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York Folklore Society.

The Civil War West

BY ROBERT J. CHANDLER, PH.D.

California resembled a Border State at mid-19th century, with a population drawn from throughout the world. Southern Democrats, believing in state sovereignty and white supremacy, dominated politics. However, the election of 1860 began a political revolution enhanced by the war that saw the triumph of Unionists, believing in federal government and equality under the law for all. Black Americans received the rights to testify in court, public schooling, ride the street railroads, march in July 4 processions, pre-empt public land, serve as soldiers and, after 1865, to vote. Although the war determined

the place of African Americans in society, this struggle generated little Western ephemera.

Wartime patriotism, though, permeated all aspects of life and spread wide in print and illustration. Carleton Watkins's photographs aided President Lincoln in preserving scenic Yosemite Valley as a park. The President also promoted the mighty Central Pacific Railroad, which was revealed magnificently in Alfred A. Hart's stereos.

On February 22, 1861, with a photographer present, 14,000 San Franciscans gathered at the intersection

where cross streets Montgomery and Post intersected with diagonal Market Street. On George Washington's birthday the animated crowd, equal to the number who voted in 1860, cheered "three times three" for the Union and entirely repudiated a Southern Democratic proposal for a "Pacific Republic."

Southerners who wished to fight joined the Confederate army. "Revolution is abroad in the land and Constitutional Freedom [is] waging a great war of self defense," declared one state senator before leaving for four years of hard service. Stories of a "Committee of Thirty" plotting to capture the Bay forts existed only in Asbury Harpending's mind where truth was always ephemeral. "The chief topic of conversation in this town," one avid Unionist in Santa Clara declared on May 19, "is Union, Union. California is all right and we mean the whole world shall know it."

The storied Pony Express, Overland Telegraph, and Overland Mail brought news to distant California, yet a disconnect always existed. "How little we know of the war," a San Franciscan wrote at the close of 1864. "Still we get all the telegrams as soon as a New Yorker gets it. At the same time the terrors of war we escape."

As early as 1861, patriotic envelopes were popularly produced and some unique designs originated on the West Coast. San Francisco

UNION MASS MEETING!
Junction of Montgomery and Market Streets.
TO-DAY, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, '61,
WILSON COLLECTION

WASHINGTON'S BIRTH-DAY,
AT TWO O'CLOCK, P. M.
The President and Board of Supervisors, the City and County Officers, the Committees of Arrangements and on Resolutions, the Speakers, Members of the "Twelve," and all Union-loving Citizens, are requested to Assemble.

At the City Hall, at Half-past One o'clock, P. M., To-Day,
To march to the Speakers' Stand, at the Junction of Montgomery and Market Streets,
PRECEDED BY THE BAND OF THE THIRD ARTILLERY, U. S. A.

ORDER OF EXERCISES:

1. "Washington's March" By Presidio Band 3d Artillery
2. Organization of the Meeting.
3. Address by the Chair.
4. Speech By the Hon. Edward Stanley
5. "Hail Columbia" By the Band
6. Speech By Col. J. B. Crockett
7. "Ancient" By the Members of the "Twelve"
8. Speech By the Hon. Delos Lake
9. "Star Spangled Banner" By Members of the "Twelve"
10. Speech By Samuel M. Wilson
11. "Flag of our Union" By Members of the "Twelve"
12. "Yankee Doodle" By the Band

And Cheers, three times three, for the Union.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS: H. F. TISCHMACHER, Chairman,
E. W. BUEHL,
JOHN MIDDLETON

Col. J. D. STEVENSON,
DAVID M. GAZLAY,
P. A. BOACH, Secretary.

GAZLAY'S STEAM PRINT, 124 CLAY STREET. (TURN OVER)

Figure 1: Announcement for the San Francisco meeting of February 22, 1861, printed by David M. Gazlay.



Figure 2: California patriotic envelope, published by J.W. Sullivan.

had a half-dozen printers who signed their work: David E. Appleton; George H. Bell, who did song sheets; David M. Gazley; James Mason Hutchings & Anthony Rosenfeld, proprietors of the famous *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*; flamboyant news dealer Jerry W. Sullivan; and S.D. Valentine & Co., who advertised, "Sole manufacturers of the New Union Envelope with original and patriotic verses. Everybody should use it."

In the interior of the state, patriotic publishers were Henry Wagner, Marysville; Charles Palmer, and George W. Welch, Nevada City; and A.G. Simpson, Oroville. Sacramento had half the number of the Bay City: John F. Crawford & C.D. Hossack; Edwin B. Davidson; and Anthony Coolot. To finish, L.C. Van Allen was in Stockton; F. Roman, Yreka; and up north, the Walla Walla *Washington Statesman*.

On a larger scale, German-born Charles Kuchel lithographed portraits of General Franz Sigel and California politician, Senator Edward D. Baker. The casualty at Ball's Bluff also appeared on a lettersheet engraved on wood by William Keith with an accompanying poem.

Sheet music, with printed or lithographed covers, sometimes in color, included: "I Don't Want to Be Drowned," a

poignant vignette as the Pacific Mail Steamer *Golden Gate* burned on July 27, 1862; "Yes! I Would the War Were Over!" (1863); and "The Sunken Rock," commemorating the sinking of the *Brother Jonathan* on July 30, 1865, carrying General George Wright with it. Those produced during the election year of 1864 included, "How the Soldiers Talk;" "Our Boast is the Union;"

and "The Parrott Schottische," dedicated to The First California Guard, a light artillery battery armed with Parrott rifles.

The populace bought half-sheet size songs with words, but no music, including news dealer William Cohen's "California's Golden Shield" mourning Senator David Broderick and Colonel Baker; wood engraver Theodore C. Boyd's "Three Hundred Thousand More" and "Marching through Georgia;" and George H. Bell's, "Cumberland's Crew."

The Comstock Lode and then the Reese River mines of Austin, Nevada, sent tons of silver bricks to San Francisco and mining speculation raged. Of course, when it came to naming the mines, politics dominated. For instance there was the Alabama, named for the Rebel pirate; Alcatraz, the prison for loud-mouthed Secesh; Fort Point, guardian of the Golden Gate; and general patriotic ones: Constitution, Federal Union,



Figure 3: National Poll Tax form, 1862.

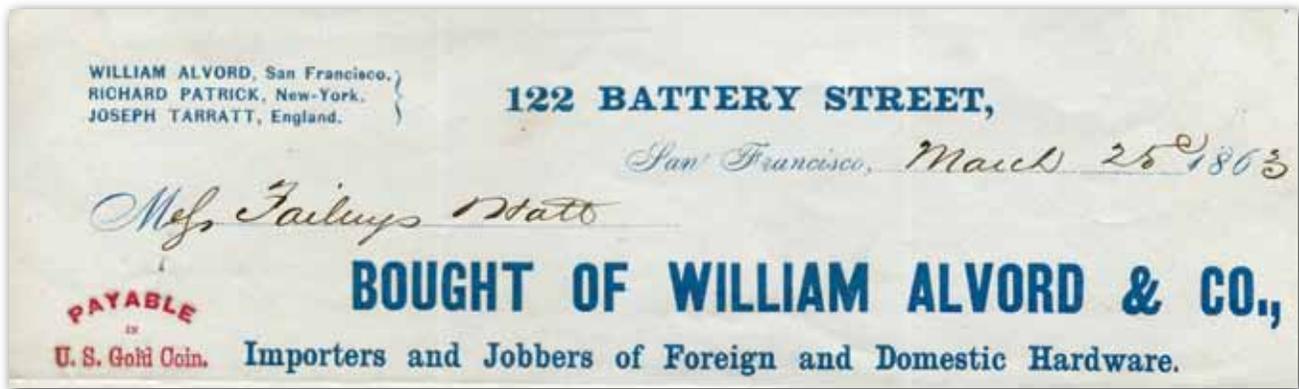


Figure 4: Billhead, payable in US gold coin.

Union, Uncle Sam, United States, or on the other side, Palmetto. Generals and politicians had their share, including Generals Charles Fremont; Joe Hooker, a pre-war Californian; William Kibbe, California's adjutant general; and George Wright, commander of the Department of the Pacific. Naturally, there was a General Jackson as well as, considering the nature of mining, a Stonewall. Among politicians, California Democrats included Milton Latham, a Senator, and Governors John Bigler and John Downey, as well as Horatio Seymour from New York. Republicans included California Governors Leland Stanford and Frederick Low, and additionally Old John Brown.

In the summer of 1862, Californians paid their \$2 Federal Poll Tax with the printed admonition, "levied for the Suppression of the Rebellion." (figure 3) Tax collectors found them a pleasant way "to cram the word 'rebellion' down the throats of secessionists." From 1863 to 1865, California also had Military Poll Taxes,

first black, then blue, and finally orange. From 1862 to 1863, this revenue doubled the number of militia companies to 123 and sustained them thereafter.

In the financial field, the Government had its take. Revenue stamps graced a multitude of documents, while the Internal Revenue Service issued business licenses and internal and excise tax bills.

"Legal tender notes are plenty and no sale for them," a merchant wrote in September 1862. "Every effort will be made to retain Gold as our circulating medium. Bankers refuse to receive anything else on deposit." By spring 1863 billheads carried the short notation, "Payable in U.S. Gold Coin," (figure 4) or a lengthy dissertation: "This Bill of Goods sold, and the terms of sale accepted by the buyer, to be paid for in United States Gold Coin, and default thereof, then to be paid for in Currency, together with any difference there may be at the time of collection between the actual merchandise value in San Francisco of Gold Coin and such currency."



Figure 5: Sanitary Commission Bill of Exchange, September 1862, printed by the American Bank Note Co. NY.



Figure 6: Sanitary Commission Certificate 1864, printed by Charles Christian Nahl.

A year later, a woman in Auburn declared, “Greenbacks are a perfect nuisance. People avail themselves of them as a legal tender to pay off old debts of money borrowed in gold,” she said, “Of course it makes a great difference in the sum total [they were 63 cents then], and the creditors grumble and swear all in vain.” In 1864, courts upheld the Specific Contract Act to make loans and payments in like money. California remained on the gold standard, fostering the unique 1870s National Gold Banks until the Government resumed specie payments in 1879.

At a great mass meeting on September 14, 1862, the Reverend Thomas Starr King orchestrated a meeting “crammed with electricity.” Four days later, San Franciscans had \$100,000 in gold,

but no destination. Starr King saw that it went to the Sanitary Commission, as this duplicate bill of exchange for half the first amount sent testifies (figure 5). At Bloody Antietam on September 17, 23,000 were killed or wounded and California’s gift “dropped, as it were from heaven into our unexpectant hands,” the Reverend Henry W. Bellows exclaimed. “We immediately telegraphed our agents on the battlefields of Maryland to spare nothing.”

One San Franciscan remarked that the Reverend Thomas Starr King, “has done more than any five hundred men in raising money for the Sanitary fund—both in giving money and in getting it from others.” Following King’s death on March 4, 1864, the President of the Commission spent six months of 1864 in California. “Henry W. Bellows,” a parishioner observed, “has peculiar faculty of wheedling people out of their dollars by telling them they are pretty good fellows and that they have done more for sick and wounded soldiers than any other State in the Union.” In 1864, out of his still standing Austin, Nevada store came Reuel Gridley with his famous Sanitary Sack of Flour. Auctioned and re-auctioned across the land it garnered \$275,000. California sent a quarter of the \$5 million the Commission raised.

In the fall of 1864, Charles Christian Nahl designed this certificate (figure 6); two other designs are known from Nevada. Additionally, the California Branch of the Sanitary Commission published a multitude of receipts, certificates, and pamphlets such as a



Figure 7: School Teachers’ Oath 1863.

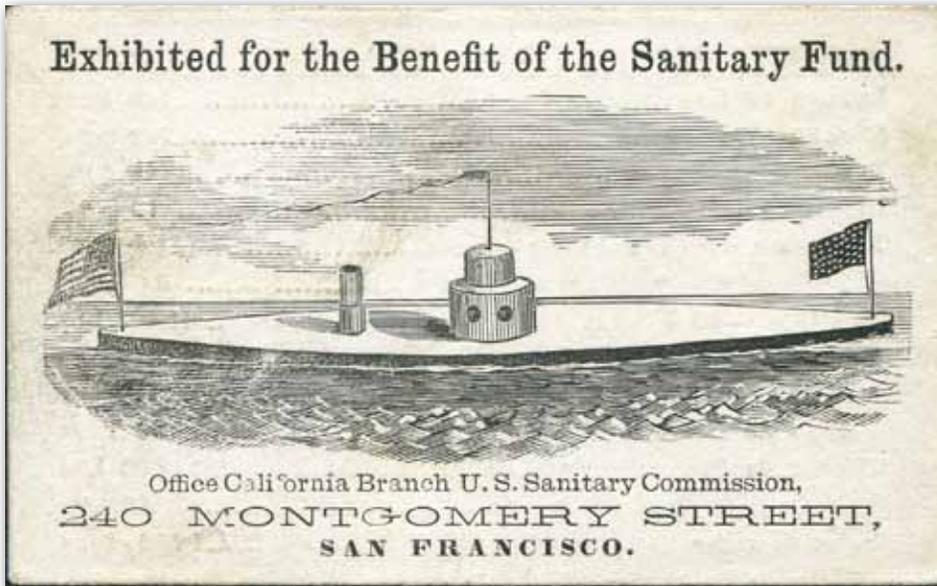


Figure 8: Ticket to see the Monitor Camanche 1864.

history of summary of donations; “How and Where the Money Goes;” and a “Brief Statement of the Sanitary Commission’s Work.”

Following Harpending’s failed attempt in March 1863 to turn the schooner *J.M. Chapman* into a plunderer of gold-carrying mail steamers, the California legislature became the first to pass loyalty oaths. The attorney’s oath drove Democratic politicians to Nevada Territory, while purchasers of tide lands gave Unionists an economic edge. School Superintendent John Swett enforced the Teachers’ Oath (figure 7), enlisting them

to “fight ignorance and its twin sister secession until the last vestige of both shall be swept from our State.” In response, Democrats set up private schools rather than having their children coming home singing “John Brown’s Body” sanctifying emancipation.

The Lincoln Grammar School was the first in the nation to be named for the President, and the San Francisco School Board did this while he was alive. A year after Lincoln’s assassination, the school erected the first statue in the United States to the martyred President. Photographs of school and statue record their

existence and destruction in the earthquake and fire of 1906.

On November 16, 1863, the merchant ship *Aquila* became one of the mightiest warships in the world: It was the first to sink a Monitor. This ship carrying the prefabricated parts of the *Camanche* sank at a San Francisco wharf. “The men are trying to get it up, but I don’t think they will because the sea is too rough,” an eight year old boy wrote. That summer, as workmen assembled the ship, the Sanitary Commission proposed a creative source that raised \$5,500 in revenue. Visitors

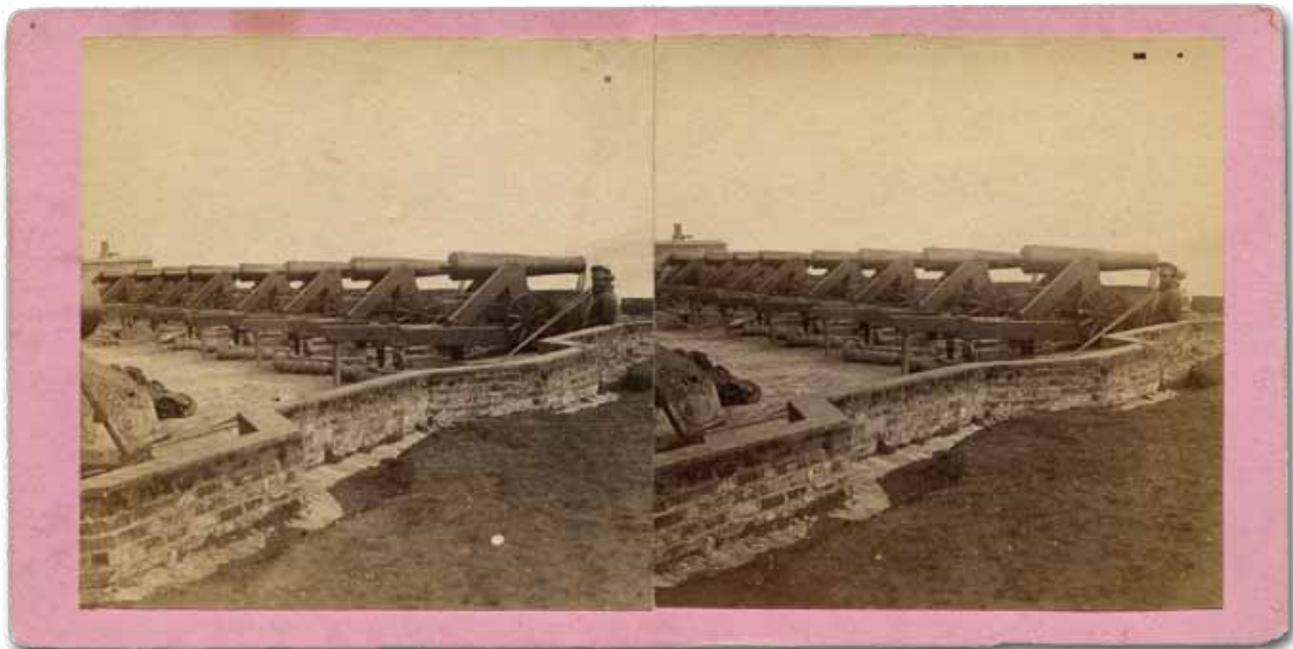


Figure 9: Stereopticon view of Fort Alcatraz, Battery Mansfield awaiting its guns, 1864 (Bradley & Rulofson).

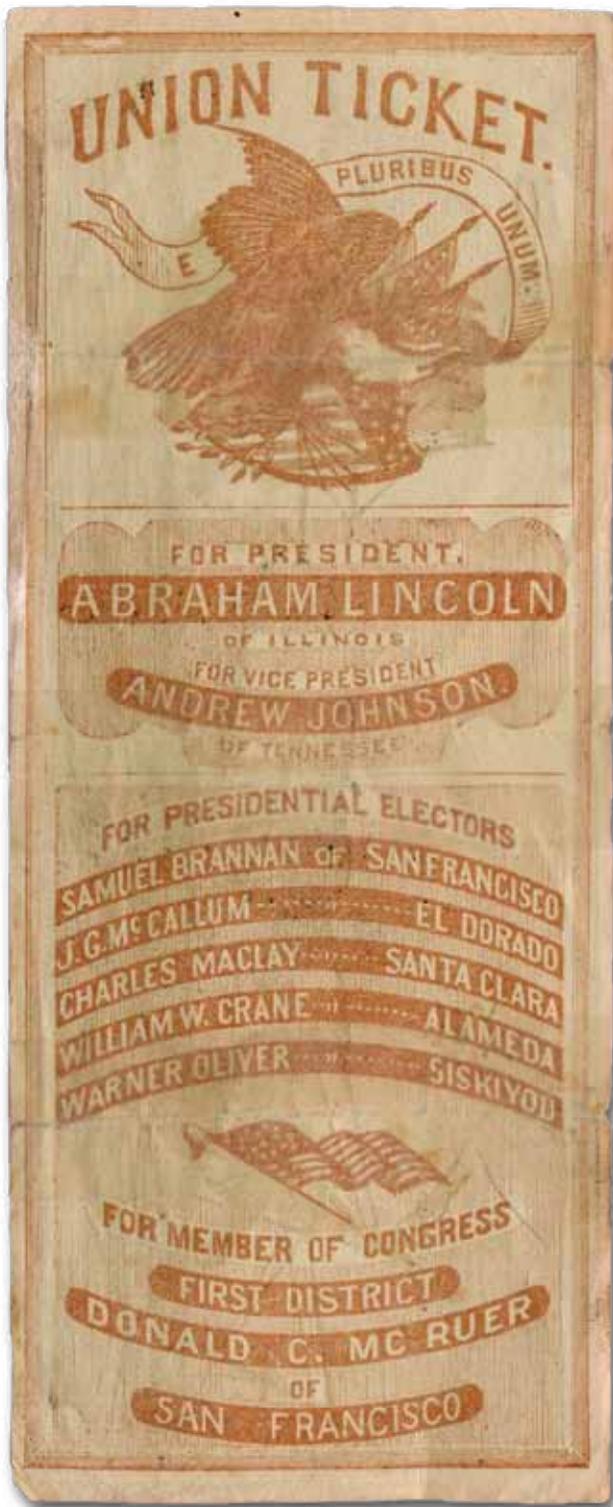


Figure 10: Lincoln Ballot 1864.

could view the growing 200-foot ship at a fee of 25 cents going to aid the sick and wounded soldiers (figure 8).

The 1860s were the first decade of cheap albumen photos and stereopticons. Lawrence & Houseworth and Bradley & Rulofson undertook to photograph mining, a multitude of San Francisco street and harbor scenes, as

well as fortifications. Fort Alcatraz, located at the center of the Bay just past the Golden Gate, had ninety guns when, on April 15, 1864 the fort captain asked Bradley & Rulofson to photograph his command. After the chief engineer sent copies to Washington exemplifying his zeal, explosive Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton ordered all photographs and negatives seized. “At four o’clock p.m.” on August 3 a paper reported, “General [John] Mason with a squad of soldiers dropped in.”

The photograph (figure 9) escaped Stanton. A soldier with rammers close at hand stands by Battery Tower, stretching eight guns toward the South Caponier. This view to the southeast has Telegraph Hill in the background. Note cannonballs ringing the mounts for the Model 1841 42-pounders, the fine stonework, and construction to the rear. Spoked wheels returned the guns to firing position. Eight photographs survive in the Sacramento History center, but the largest collection is in the National Archives filed strangely under “Fort Point.” Similarly, in March 1865, an enthusiastic quartermaster at Fort Point had six interior views taken. The usual results followed, but although Bradley & Rulofson got back the plates, none of these have yet been found—making them exceedingly ephemeral.

The impregnable island lay so close to the Bay City, but yet so far away. From 1862 to 1865, the army imprisoned out-spoken Rebels there. In July 1864, for instance, Charles L. Weller, chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, roared, “Democrats, I do not believe you will be allowed to go to the polls” and “I counsel BRUTE FORCE” to “defend our liberties.” The Government provided free lodging, while the commanding general wondered, “Whether the public safety will admit of Mr. Weller’s release to join his friends, or will require, his friends shall be sent to join him.”

To fight Indians, keep watch on secessionists and guard the Central and Southern Overland Mail routes, California supplied eight regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and a battalion of mountaineers and one of Native California cavalry. Nevada raised a battalion of infantry and cavalry, and Oregon, a regiment of each. Numerous photographs, large recruiting posters and commissions, maps, troop and supply returns, orders, discharges, passes, and routine paperwork document their existence.

As the war progressed, the plain, dull ballots of 1860 gained color and ornament. In 1863, ballots for the gubernatorial and then the judicial election later that year sprouted red white and blue flags and cannon, all differing by county. The pivotal Presidential election year of 1864 inspired more creativity. San Francisco’s Lincoln ballot, for instance (figure 10), curved candidates’ names to prevent disgruntled voters from using “pasters.” The reverse celebrated the sinking of the pirate *Alabama* that had so disrupted California shipping.



Figure 11: White Man's Colonization Society Stock Certificate 1864.

Elections also produced circulars, campaign assessments, meeting announcements, speech pamphlets, ribbons, and companion pieces for the Union League. For example, illustrated billheads recorded the use of 16 teams for the First California Guard to salute July 4, 1864, or celebrated General Phil Sheridan's victories in the Shenandoah Valley. A random bill of exchange documented Dr. Charles Hitchcock, an army contractor, sending his Secesh wife and "Fire Belle" daughter Lillie [later Coit, of Tower fame] to Paris in October 1864.

In late 1864, as Union victory became more certain, California Democrats wished to flee. Some, including the editor of the prime Democratic daily in the State, Beriah Brown of the San Francisco *Democratic Press*, determined to settle on the west coast of Mexico. Their White Man's Colonization Association (figure 11), which excluded "Negroes, Mongolians, or Abolitionists," failed to materialize, but in the spring of 1865, Brown supported former California Senator William M. Gwin's plan, arranged with the French

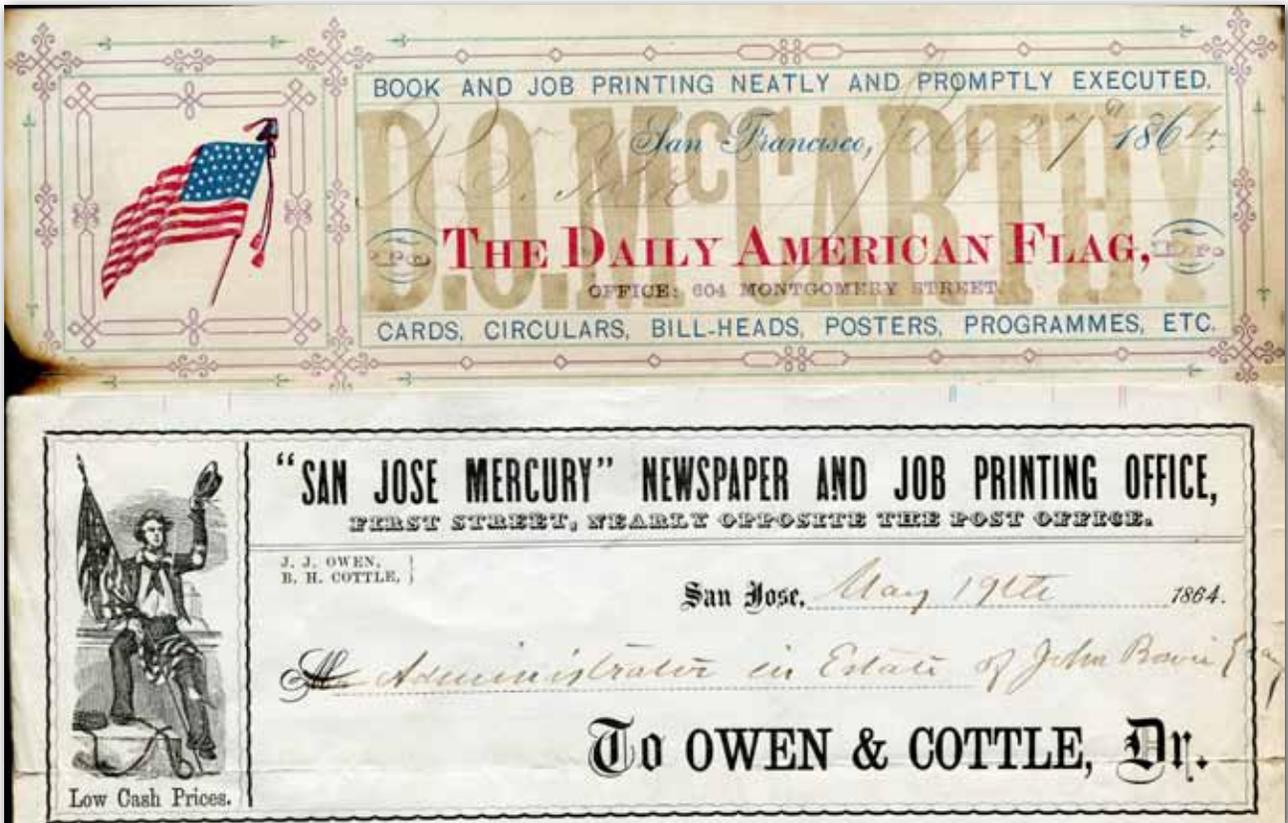


Figure 12: Newspaper billheads, 1864.

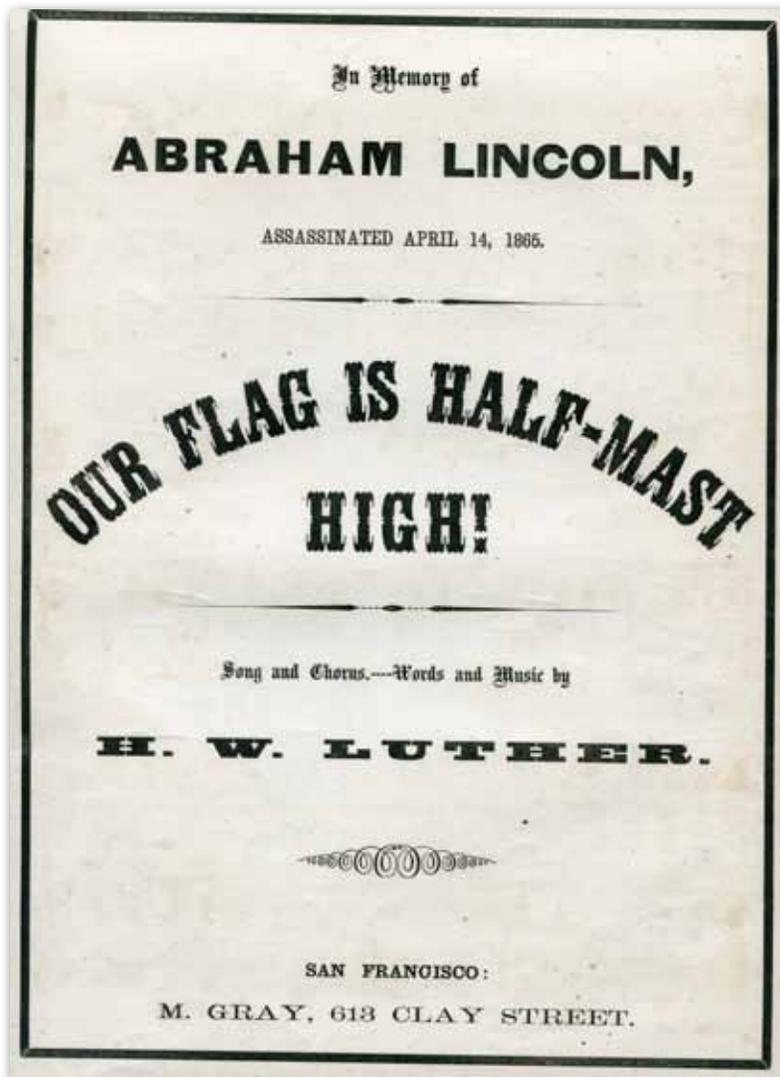


Figure 13: Cover to the sheet music “Our Flag is Half-Mast High” 1865 (Mathias Gray).

Emperor Napoleon III, to colonize the northwestern Mexican states.

Editor James Jerome Owen, Republican, assemblyman, educator, Spiritualist, and general reformer, made his San Jose *Mercury* the first to advocate the emancipation of Southern slaves (October 1861) and black and female suffrage (Spring 1865). The populist *American Flag*, appeared in cosmopolitan San Francisco on April 18, 1864 (figure 12). “You can bet your bottom Dollar there is no Secesh about that Paper,” one admirer wrote. Under the heading “Triple Thunderer,” editor Calvin B. McDonald, the “Slasher of the Press” pitched into “Secesh Jews, Copperhead Irish, and other traitors.”

In 1863, Beriah Brown began the *Democratic Press* as the first San Francisco Democratic Party organ since 1861. Similarly, Thomas A. Brady’s weekly *Monitor* represented the city’s Irish working-class Catholics. The Emancipation Proclamation put it firmly in Democratic ranks. The approaching end of the war led both to

desperate fury as they praised the “firm, brave [and] even reckless [Rebel] resolve” to “achieve independence.”

In 1862, the Government banned a half-dozen California newspapers from the U.S. Mails and about the same number in Oregon to cut their circulation. It had little effect. In the interior, soldiers, especially the Second California Cavalry, found smashing presses led to complete suppression.

On April 15, 1865, telegraphic news of President Lincoln’s assassination plunged San Francisco into mourning. Quickly, angry Unionists destroyed a half dozen Democratic, Irish Catholic, French Imperialist, and British newspapers, including the *Democratic Press* and *Monitor*. That night, bonfires blazed as militia guarded downtown intersections.

Mathias Gray published this maudlin sheet music by jeweler Herman W. Luther in May 1865: “Our flag is half mast high; But we need no warning now; Lincoln’s name will Never die; It is written on each brow.”

On April 17, 1865, General Irvin McDowell ordered the arrest of any person or suppression of any newspaper that was “so utterly infamous as to exult over the assassination.” Half of those arrested aided the excavation for the Casemated Barracks opposite the boat landing at Alcatraz. While digging, they sang,

“What a sad sight to see six and thirty men once free,
Imprisoned for expressing an opinion!

And when this noble band are made to shovel sand
There’s cursing in the happy land of Canaan!”

In June 1865, the Army released all on the loyalty oath and the war was indeed over!



Bob Chandler, retired historian of Wells Fargo Bank, wrote his dissertation on the Golden State’s Civil War journalism. He began collecting in 1980 to use letters and newspapers in his writing and speaking, and picked visual materials for slide shows, or mounted them in protectors on cardboard with captions for traveling displays.

Deconstructing Home Alteration Using Ephemera

(A PH.D. IN HISTORY DISSERTATION IN PROCESS, UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE)

BY AMANDA CASPER

The experience of American home alteration greatly changed after the Civil War. Between 1870 and 1920, complex legal, economic, and social systems developed that changed home alteration from a mundane aspect of everyday private life to a process that was regulated, marketed, and publicly discussed. Closely examining how and why the practice of home alteration changed during this period helps us understand the ways in which people coped with their technical, economic, and social circumstances at a time of complex period in American history.

Using Philadelphia as a case study, this dissertation tentatively titled "Home Alteration in Industrial Philadelphia 1865 to 1925" examines the material, legal, and social history of home alteration. During this period, Americans altered their houses like never before, making the most of a rapidly changing building industry to make them more "comfortable and convenient." The building and material innovations that emerged during this period helped people modify obsolete utilities, "old fashioned" interiors, and inadequate spaces in a new way. The machine-produced building materials and growing demand for housing of the period also enabled unscrupulous and unsafe building practices.

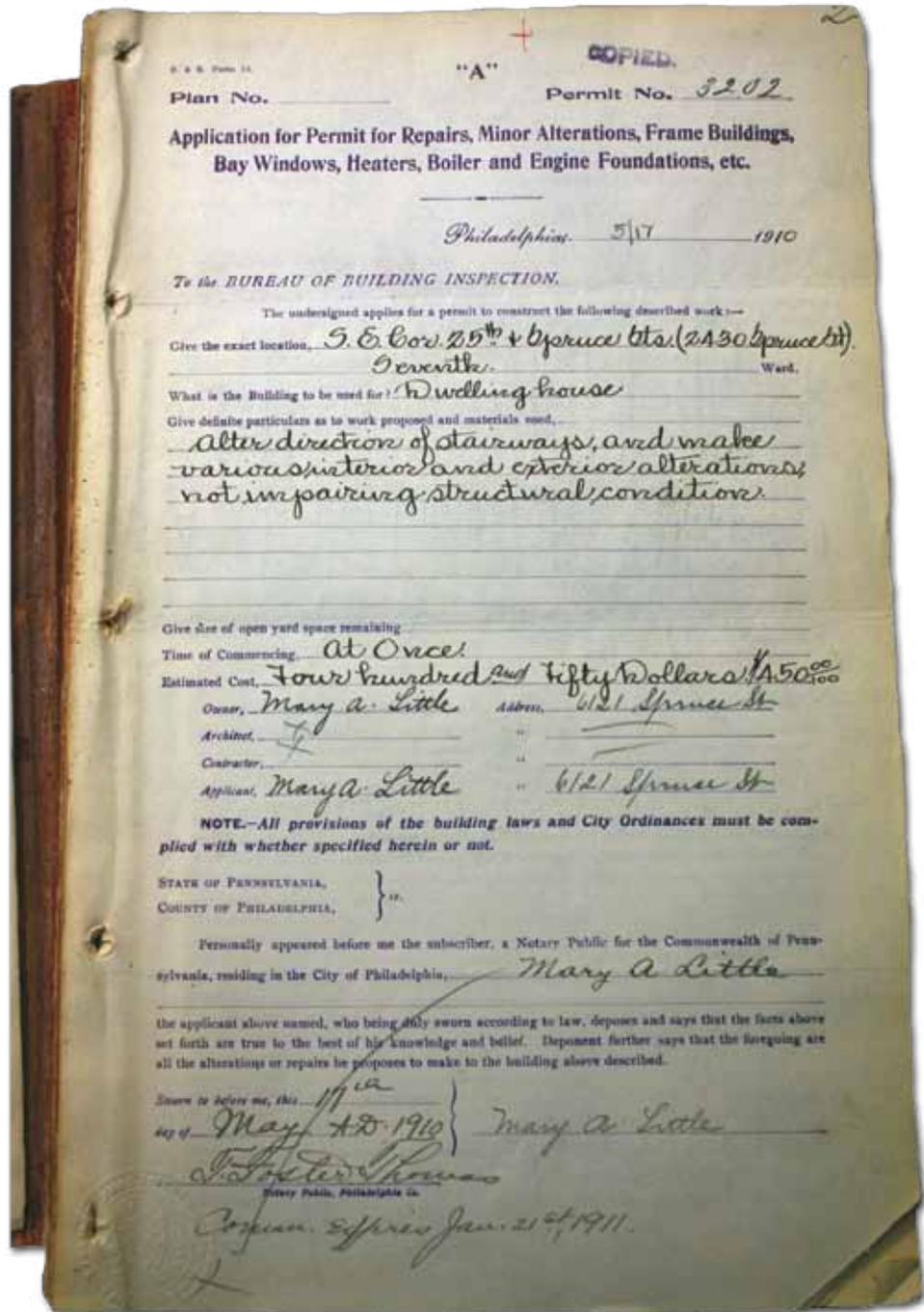


Figure 1: Permit 3202 for rearranging interior, including stairs from 1910. Philadelphia City Archives.

The choice of renovation options made by Philadelphians reflects the complicated ways that Americans selectively adopted new modes of living, strategically used new materials and building methods, cautiously accepted technology, and opportunistically employed unskilled labor. In total, the upgrades, additions, and installations studied will help scholars understand the complicated negotiations that people took with new innovations, materials, technologies, and craft methods.

The changes to home alteration had far reaching consequences. In the age of growing professionalization, regulation, and reform, alteration became a heated legal and moral battleground where craftsmen, architects, building reformers, and city officials fought to control the changing landscape, inform people's behavior, and enforce the American standard of living. The implications of people's alteration choices went beyond the private sphere and became the topic of a contested public discourse. In court cases, reformer's complaints, builders' union minutes, and political inquiries, alteration serves as a convenient foil that Americans used implicitly to criticize class and labor relations, the economy, industrialization, consumption, and the modern standard of living.

For example, the debate about the peculiar Philadelphia "overhanging bath" was not merely about how a bathroom should be installed; instead it involved a contested debate between city officials and developers, a test of public policy and reform, and the extreme limits that people were willing to push safety in pursuit of comfort and convenience.

Chapters in this study explore five popular after-market alterations that took place around the city, and ultimately, in nearly every American house. By 1870, house owners that could do so expanded their kitchens, most often with a frame kitchen (or ell) built off the back of the house. By 1885, those owners with middle class ambitions (or others just looking for a fashionable update) rearranged interiors, closed off discrete spaces, and tacked on new millwork, thus redesigning their homes. By 1914, city officials required that old houses have indoor plumbing and water, though most people had already inserted pipes through walls and joists to meet the demand for more convenient facilities. By 1916, the Philadelphia Electric Company was in the midst of a zealous electrification campaign with the result that by 1925, most houses in the city had electricity. Finally, I return to the kitchen, this time looking at how Philadelphians adopted Progressive ideas of kitchen performance in the face of running water and electricity. These topics demonstrate the aftermarket experience of layering additions, materials, and technologies that took place in most American homes.

The dissertation explores an aspect of architectural history that is often intentionally hidden or removed. As families tacked on balloon-frame additions, rearranged interiors, modified exteriors, updated kitchens, and finagled in complex utilities, they inadvertently created layers of physical evidence. Today, this evidence is difficult to retrieve; it is often buried, concealed, or

already removed limiting the effectiveness of traditional fieldwork methods. Everyday documents that recorded the business of building and the particulars of home ownership are integral for illuminating home alteration.

Homeowners undergoing alteration projects seem silent; however, records such as bills, receipts, and permits provide insight into people's personal choices and allude to their motivations and highlight the everyday interactions between customers and their hired professionals. By examining underutilized records like permits, we can begin to round out the story. Home alteration necessitated permits beginning in the 1880s, and the form gradually expanded to require extensive information from property owners and their contractors (see Figure 1). This dissertation compares extant houses with records of what they previously looked like, and combines that information with data from business and government records.

The project involves ordinary people and their private choices, yet the seemingly mundane act of alteration drew broader concern from professionals, along with reformers, regulators, and tastemakers. Alteration is a useful way for understanding the ways in which people engaged a complicated system of commerce, followed municipal regulation, listened to marketers and designers, and strategically accepted innovations. It also is a unique lens for examining how homeowners and professionals coped during a period of rapid change in urban growth, industrialization, and consumerism.

Amanda Casper, received her Master of Arts in History in 2009 and a Master of Science in Historic Preservation in 2007, and works as an historian for the National Park Service in Philadelphia. She would welcome comments on this work in progress: dott0005@gmail.com.

The Awards Committee seeks nominations for future Maurice Rickards Awards. Persons recommended need not be Americans or even members of The Ephemera Society, but should be seriously involved in the discipline of ephemera as collectors, dealers, researchers, institutional curators, or conservators. Accomplishments in the field include scholarly publication, the preparation of exhibitions and catalogs, the development of new or improved methods of conservation, placement of ephemera collections in public institutions, and the promotion of ephemera as one way of understanding our country's history. Submissions, at any time of the year, may be made to info@ephemerasociety.org or PO Box 95, Cazenovia NY 13025.

Ephemera and the Civil War Re-Enactor

Robert William Shuey and Anna Kathleen Church of Averill Park, New York are Civil War re-enactors with a more family oriented faction of re-enacting (others being the ‘hard cores’ and the ‘stitch counters’ – with increasing levels of obsession). Bob has been fascinated by the war all his life, beginning his collecting in 1964. But it was the flowering of the re-enactment hobby with the 125th anniversary of the war, in 1988, that led the couple to begin fully participating (their vanity license plates read “muskets” and “bayonet”).

At least thirteen of Bob’s Pennsylvania family fought in the war, on both sides, but it is Ordnance Corporal Anson Boeshore Shuey of the 93rd Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry he has chosen to follow. Anson was seriously wounded at the 3rd battle of Winchester (September 19, 1864), suffered a leg amputation and died in the field hospital (Bob is in the process of negotiating with a dealer in Civil War memorabilia for Anson’s temporary grave marker of tacks on wood; his permanent marble obelisk is in Walmers Church Cemetery, Lebanon County PA, near his home). Anson’s letters to his wife have been preserved in the Lebanon County Historical Society, and they have furnished Bob with a complete chronology of Anson’s enlistment. The last letter was sent by Peter Zimmerman, a wagoner, who wrote of his tent mate’s wounding, and then appended the news



Figure 1. Most valuable to re-enactors are Civil War photographs – here, in a rough studio setting of 1861, is Private Albert H. Davis of Company K 6th New Hampshire Infantry Regiment posed in his uniform of pale blue trousers, a 9-button frock coat with shoulder scales (brass epaulettes ostensibly to protect from saber wounds delivered by mounted cavalry) and a Hardee hat (largely replaced later in the war by the more practical kepi). He carries a Model 1841 Mississippi rifle with sword bayonet, a knapsack with bedroll, a canteen and haversack. [Library of Congress]

of his death. Bob’s aim is not to impersonate Anson, but to experience his experience as much as possible.

As with most re-enactors, the prime reference is the regimental history, in this case: *Red white and blue badge Pennsylvania veteran volunteers, A history of*

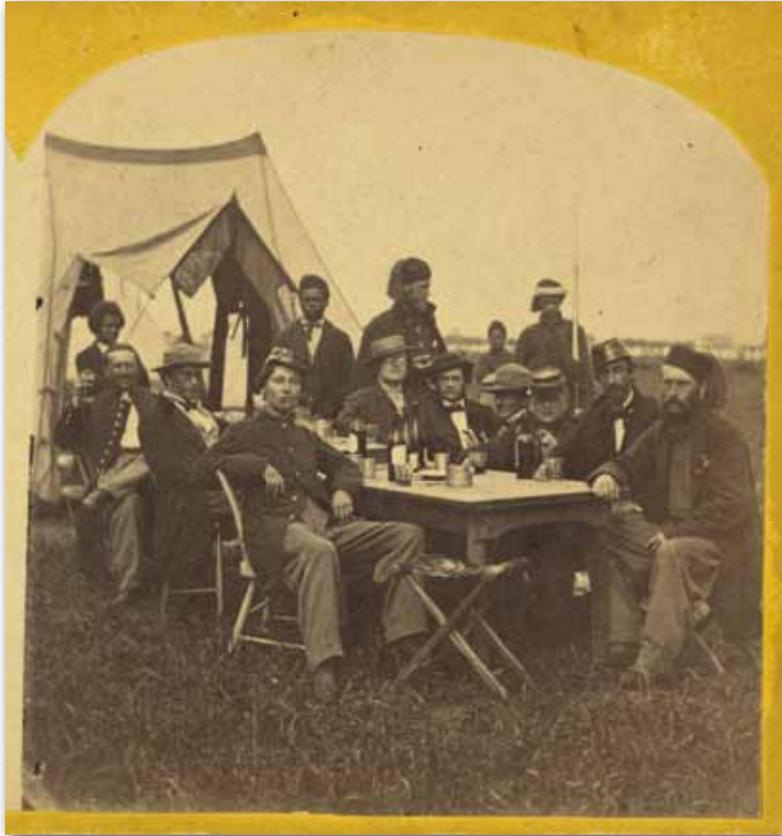


Figure 2. Photographers such as George Stacy took camp views to sell as stereopticon cards. This group of soldiers includes George Templeton Strong at Fortress Monroe VA in 1861. [Library of Congress]

the 93rd regiment known as the Lebanon infantry and One of the 300 fighting regiments from September 12th 1861 to June 27th 1865. Despite the necessity of sorting through the overblown memories of veterans writing in 1911, the information is valuable. The red, white and blue referred to 'Greek' crosses of those colors that the 93rd wore on the tops of their hats to

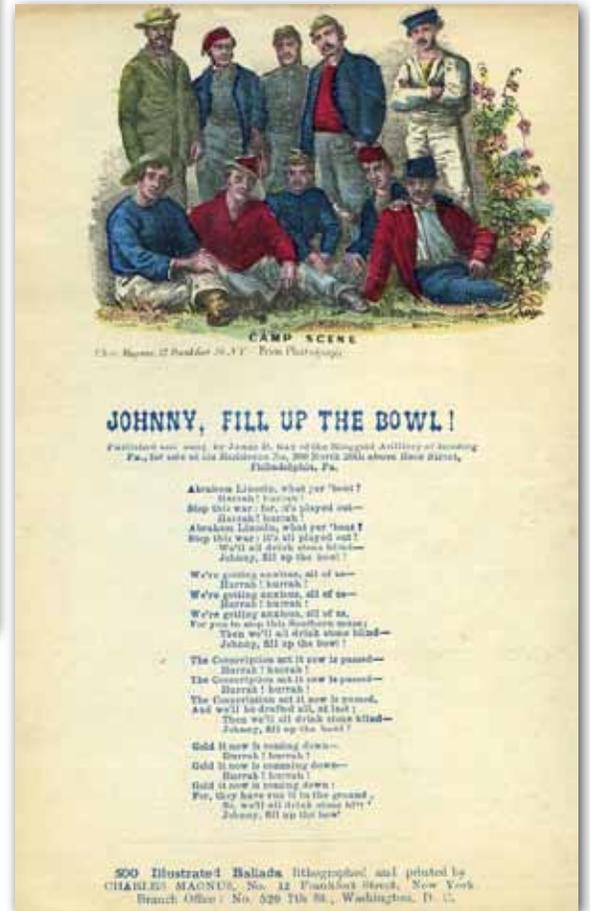
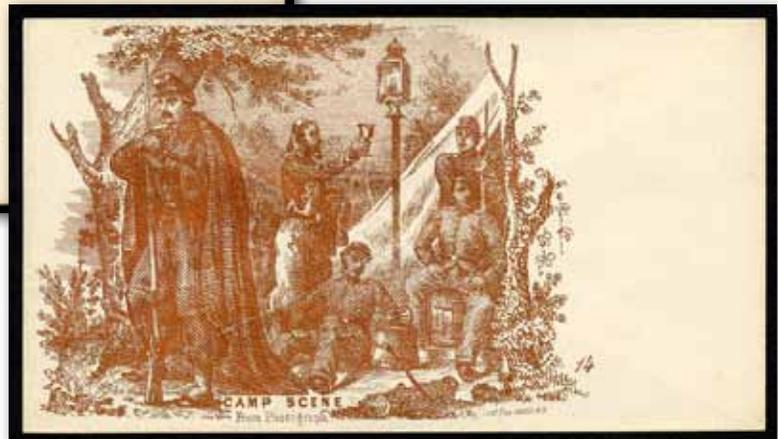


Figure 3. Photographs supplied the model for popularly-distributed lithographs, such as this Charles Magnus songsheet that illustrates a variety of soldier's and sailor's clothing. [Private collection]



Figure 4. Other camp scenes, lithographed from photographs, appeared on envelopes such as these two by Magnus [Library of Congress]



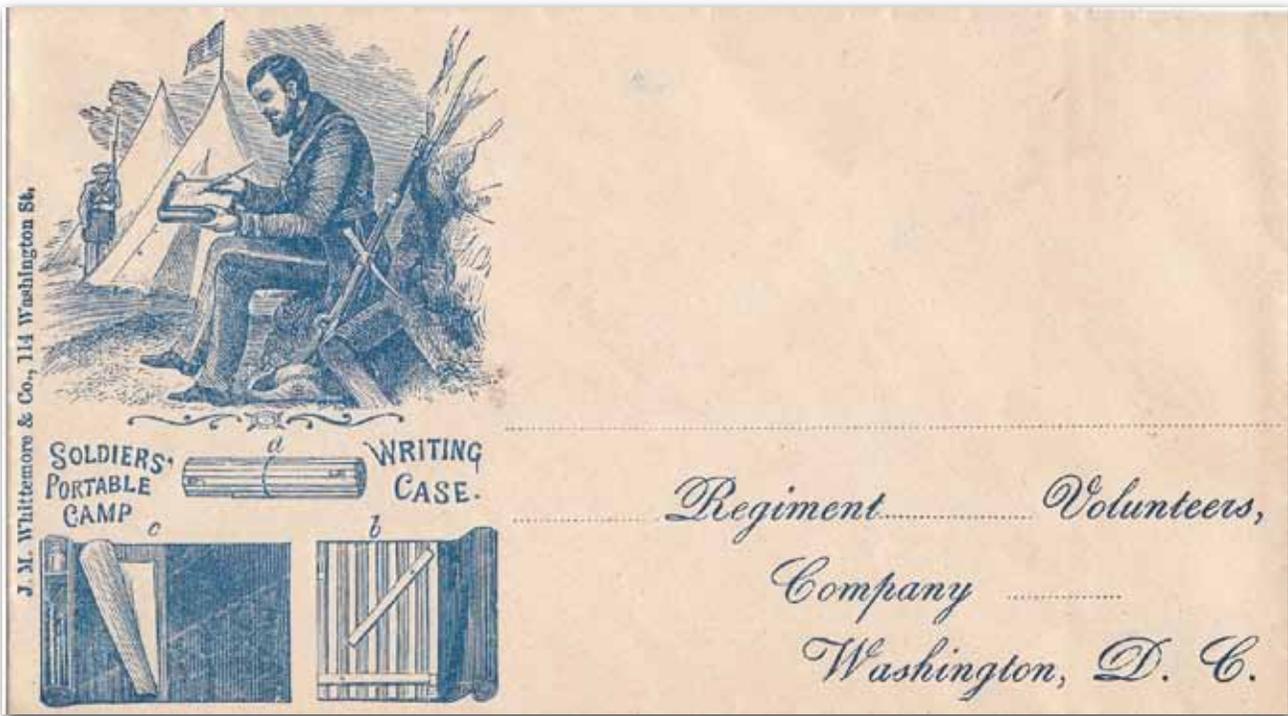
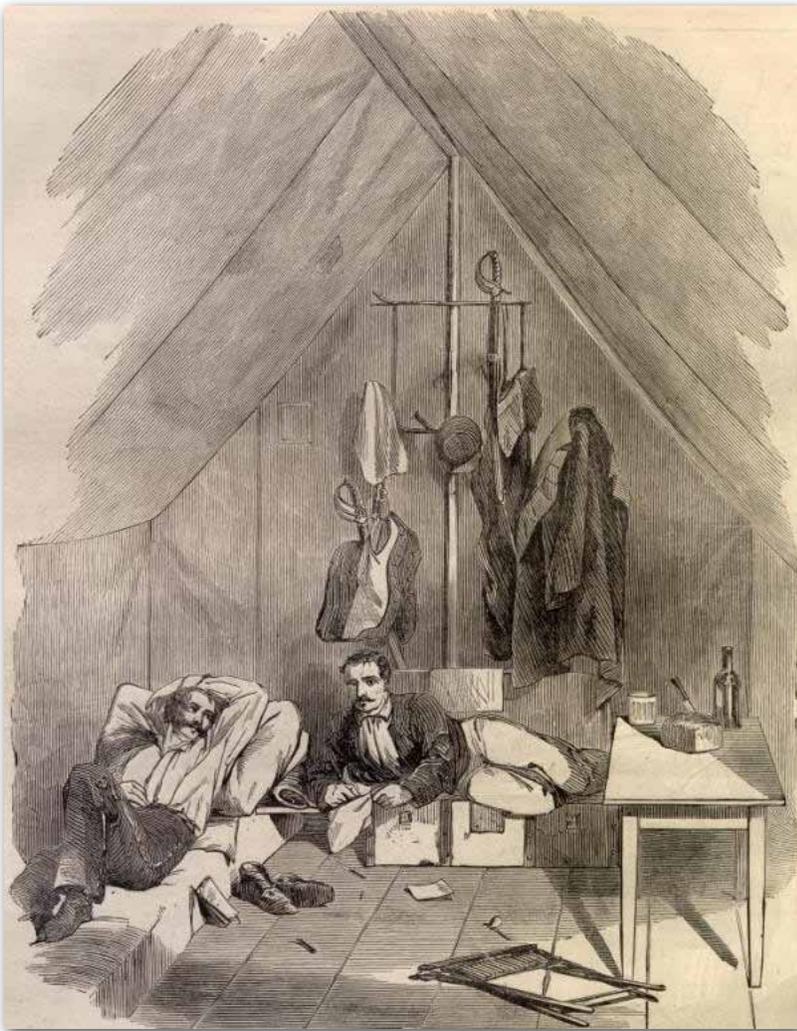


Figure 5. Illustrated envelopes that advertised products aimed at soldiers offer information – such as this portable camp writing case made by J. M. Whittemore of Boston. [Private collection]



designate regiments so officers could sort their men. Bob wears a 93rd veterans pin in that cross shape. He usually wears the later, simpler and less expensive to manufacture, 4-button unlined sack coat, but he owns the 9-button frock coat to wear as a dress uniform. He has been active in various Civil War collecting groups, and when he finds an artifact (particularly ephemera) specific to a colleague's particular regiment he passes it on, as they do for anything 93rd for him.

For her part, Anna experiences the life of a Sanitary Commission volunteer, dressing in a plain cotton day dress over hoop petticoat and spending time, for instance, knitting socks or serving

Figure 6. Other informative lithographic scenes appeared in the popular press, many based on drawings in the field. Here a view of the "Interior of the tent of a private in the Cameron Cavalry" sketched by G.W. Andrews appeared in Harper's Weekly of September 21, 1861. British artist Frank Vizetelly's sketches were reinterpreted as lithographs of the Confederate side of the struggle, in the Illustrated London News. [Son of the South]



Figure 7. For a woman re-enactor, fashion plates such as this one from Godey's Lady's Book of March 1864 offer tips on outer wear and trim detail. [Private collection]

as an amanuensis for soldiers. Not being 'hard core,' they cover any modern accoutrements in their tent, such as an ice chest, with period-authentic camouflage. On march, Bob carries a bed roll of blanket and vulcanized ground sheet and wraps himself in his great coat on cold nights.

Anson's son was just an infant when he enlisted – born on June 27 of the first year of the war, he was



Figure 8. But the life of a woman in the field allowed for only the coarsest of clothing. This photograph of the family of a soldier in the 31st Pennsylvania infantry near Washington DC in 1862 provides excellent detail about the range of household goods furnishing a tent. [Library of Congress]

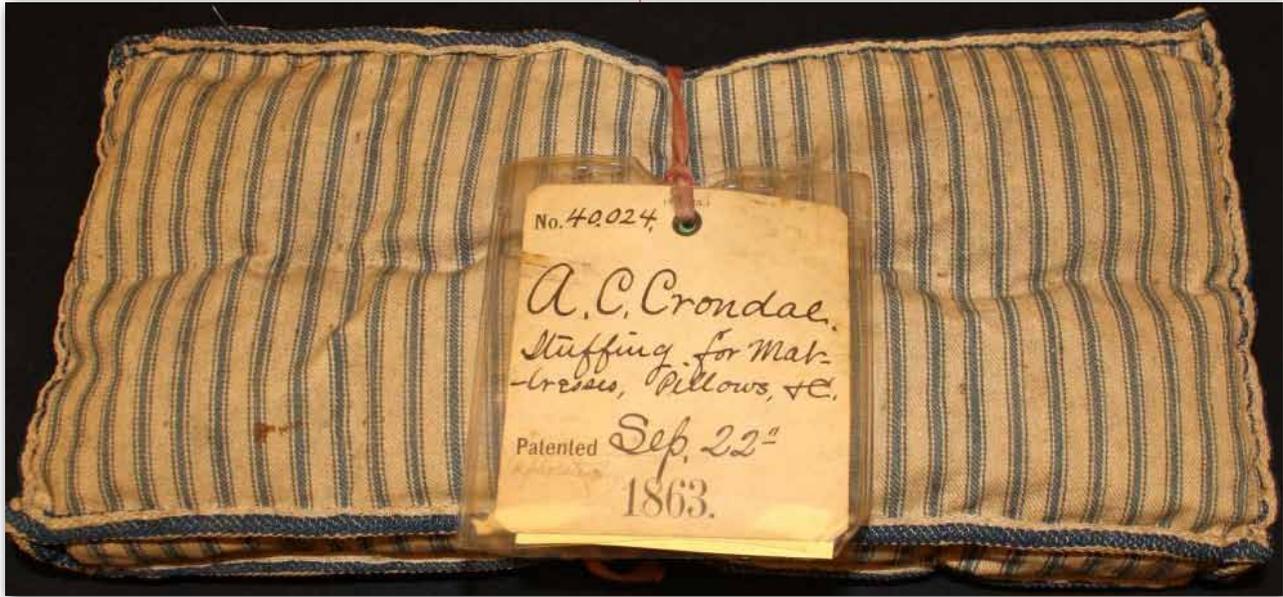


Figure 9. Patent models and other documentation of furniture designed specifically for the soldier provide inspiration – for a more comfortable camp bed, here a mattress patented in 1863 by A. Courlander Crondal of NY filled with small granules of oiled cork. Crondal also patented a folding bedstead in 1864. [National Museum of Civil War Medicine]



named for the first conspicuous Civil War casualty, Colonel Elmer Ellsworth of the 11th New York Infantry. Elmer Ellsworth Shuey died in 1948.

Anson fought at Gettysburg, but Bob did not take part in this year's 150th anniversary, except to display (in uniform) his formidable stock of period weaponry. A friend who interprets a Major in the Confederate Artillery observed that the events (two back-to-back re-enactments) were mobbed with spectators from all over the world, and that the re-enactors (largely American but also from Great Britain and Germany) were warmly welcomed. The camaraderie across all lines is infectious.

This article is from an interview with the editor Diane DeBlois.

Interesting Books

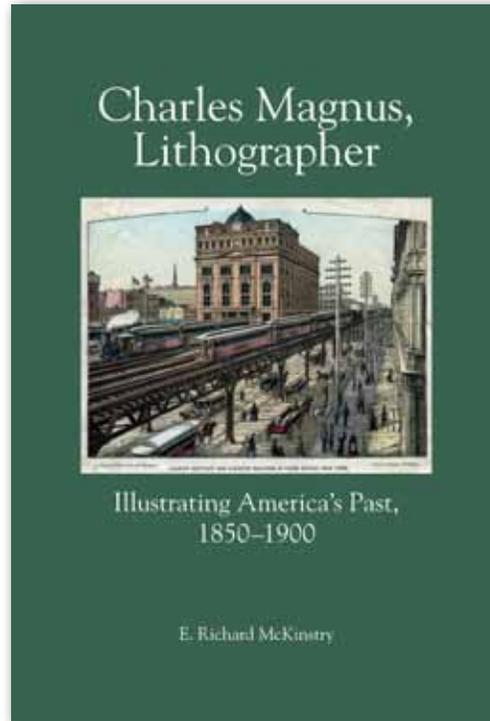
Charles Magnus, Lithographer: Illustrating America's Past, 1850-1900 by E. Richard McKinstry, published by Oak Knoll Press, list price \$59.95.

There are many reasons for ephemerists to celebrate the publication of this book – as Georgia B. Barnhill, Maruice Rickards medalist and former president of our Society, outlines in her preface. Richard McKinstry, himself a Maurice Rickards medalist and former president of our Society, received a Jones Fellowship to fund some of the Magnus research and we are all going to benefit.

Especially in this period of remembering the Civil War of 150 years past we're reminded of how ubiquitous were Magnus imprints – from the least expensive songsheet or envelope to the more elaborate prints, gameboards, etc. A whole chapter here is devoted to Magnus's Civil War output – some of it created specifically to support the Union and some adapted from earlier products.

Despite American familiarity with his work there has been little published about him as a person and about his career. In this book the businessman comes into sharp focus – with an understanding of his advertising and his continuing attachment to European influences. Although we think of him as a lithographer, here he is revealed as more of an agent, promoter, and storekeeper who employed workers to create the products he sold.

There are over 100 color illustrations, and an index listing all items mentioned in the text with the location of at least one copy of each. Of particular worth in the book is the bibliographic compendium, with information on where all known Magnus works and works about Magnus may be found.



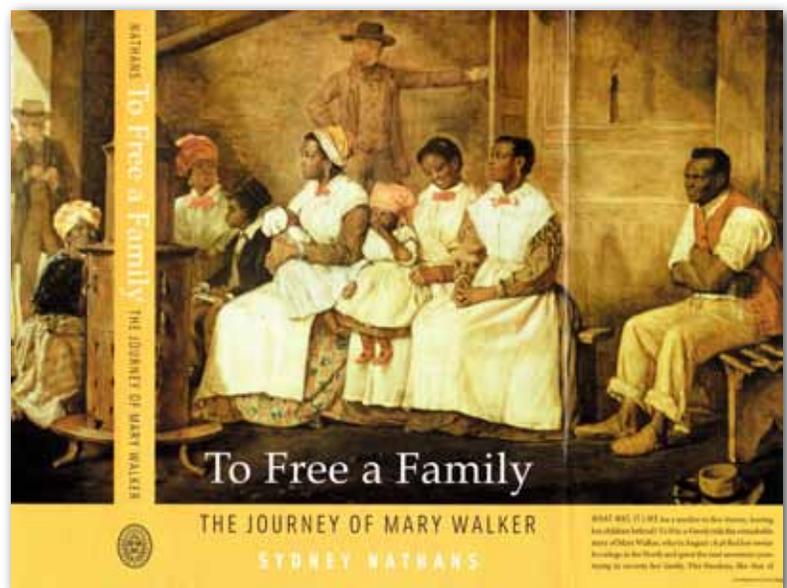
To Free a Family, The Journey of Mary Walker, by Sydney Nathans, Harvard University Press 2012. List price \$29.95

In setting out to trace the extraordinary path of Mary Walker who escaped bondage in 1848, Sydney Nathan, Professor Emeritus of History at Duke University, had the good fortune to discover the Ames Family Historical Collection (housed then in Colorado but now

promised to the Schlesinger Library) – “perhaps the largest and richest collection of American family papers in private hands.” Though Mary Walker is known to have written many letters in her lifetime, only three have been discovered, and so her “journey” is recreated from the correspondence of the New England couple and their family who aided her.

Peter Lesley might have been born to privilege, but his religious doubts ostracized him from his career as a minister and he felt pursued “like a hunted slave” – eventually finding his true vocation in geology and his moral compass in abolition. He and his wife Susan broke the law when they accepted the fugitive Mary Walker – but it opened their lives in many ways.

Dr. Nathans writes an entertaining narrative (carried into the 20th century) that is well bolstered with contextual commentary. He provides the reader with city street maps to help chart the course of Mary's defection in Philadelphia, and with reproductions of key letters in his research, as well as other prints and photographs. His book is one of the best examples of how manuscript ephemera – the letters and diaries of ordinary people – can provide critical documentation.



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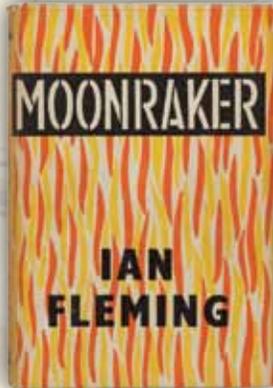
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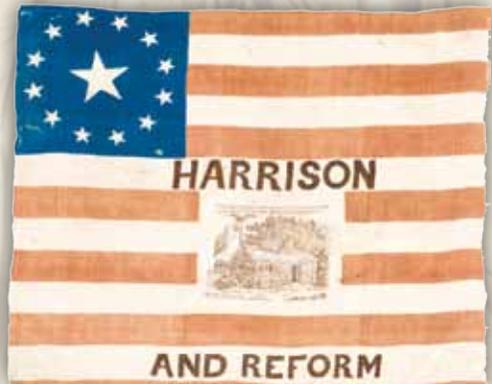


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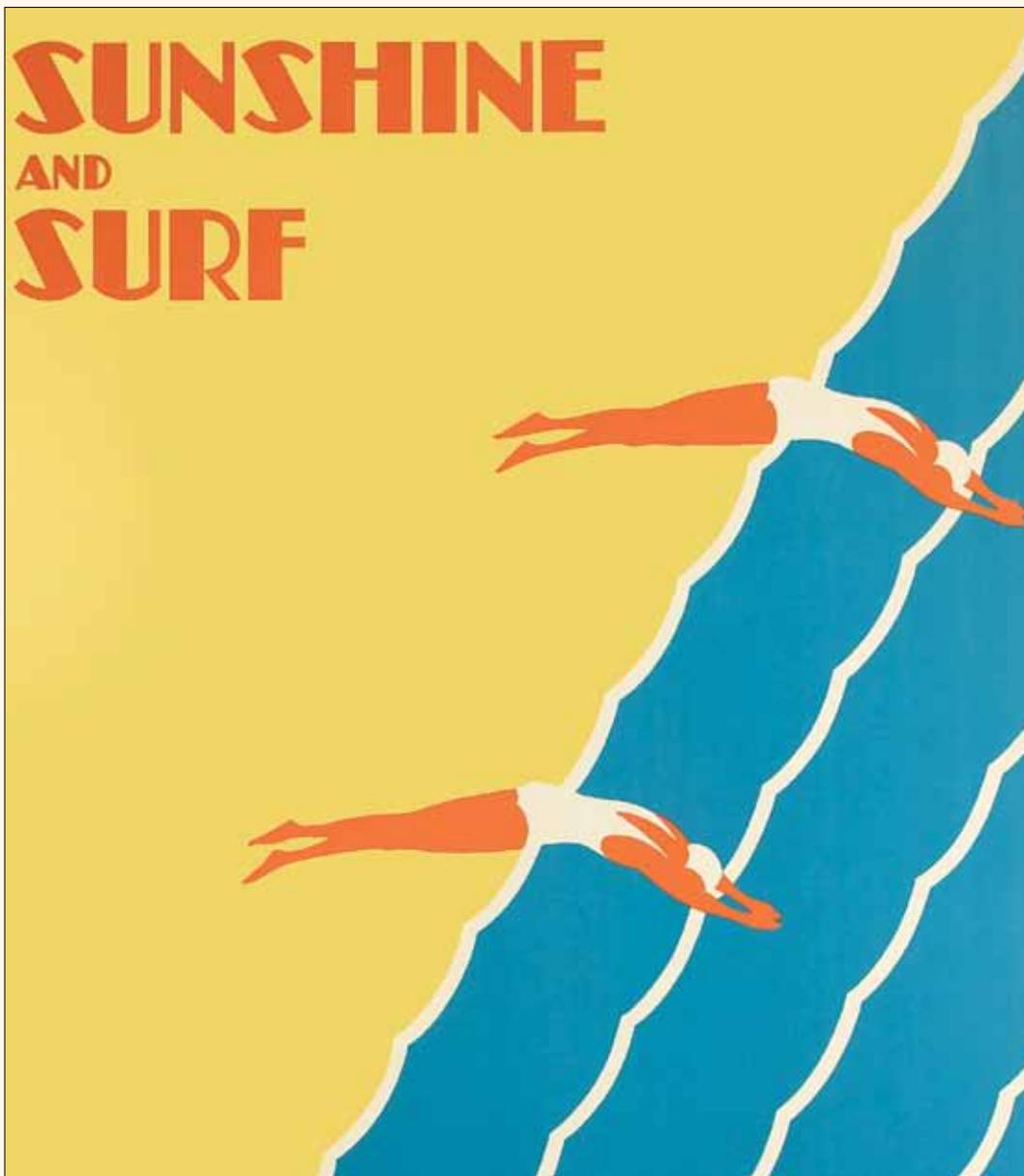
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