WOMEN'S HISTORY AT THE CLEMENTS LIBRARY

This issue of the Quarto celebrates the flourishing field of women's history. It celebrates as well the critical contributions the Clements Library makes to our understanding of women's past.

Because it constitutes such a central component of our understanding of the past, it may be hard to remember that women's history as a self-conscious scholarly field is only three decades old. Born of the feminist movement of the 1960s and early 70s, it was political in its origins and radical in its intent. It insisted that the scholarly canon be restructured to make the study of women's roles and visions, power, and oppression central to historical analysis. If the personal was political, then so too was history.

At the same time, like the Clements Library, women's historians looked to Clio, Muse of History, as their inspiration. While resistance to women's marginalization within our society and invisibility within much of the academy shaped the questions we asked, those questions in turn pushed the methodological approaches and conceptual frame of traditional history to new frontiers. They revolutionized historians' understanding of the family, the process of economic change, and the distribution of power within both traditional and industrial societies. They led us to uncover hidden worlds of female love and intimacy, problematizing our understandings of both heterosexuality and lesbianism.

They encouraged us to explore the impact chattel slavery had on African American and Afro-Caribbean women and the effect of land seizures on Native American women. In the process we discovered both unimaginable dehumanization and remarkable moments of resistance and revolt. We uncovered women's centrality to modernity's sense of change and dynamism.

A vision of past cultures as multi-layered composites of women's and men's experiences, rich in complexity and conflict, emerged from women's historians' merger of the political and the professional. Perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of contemporary women's history was our refusal to accept gender role divisions as natural. Gender, we insisted, was man-made, the product of cultural processes, not of biological forces. No universal femaleness or maleness exists. The study of women's past has eroded traditional disciplinary boundaries and brought historians, literary critics, anthropologists, art historians, and political theorists into active collaboration. The study of women has become central not only to social and political history but also to critical legal and race theory and the new academic fields of cultural studies and performance theory. We have helped change the academy—as we have helped change the world our students will inhabit.

One of women's historians most crucial moves in the past fifteen years has been to focus on issues of race. Gender, we must never forget, is always colored, in one hue or another, while race is always gendered. We can never explore—or experience—the one in the absence of the other—at least not in western societies from the beginning of modernity to the present. We insisted that focusing upon the interweaving of constructions of race and gender would reveal the ways western societies produced and reproduced power and privilege. We began to ask, therefore, not only how the construction of racial and gendered categories affected women of color but the role racial stereotyping played in the production of the white woman, simultaneously empowering and constraining her. Above all, we asked how the twinned construction of white women and women of color worked to produce the privileged and empowered figure of "the white man."

Readers of the Quarto and scholars of the University agree—the Clements Library is one of the brightest jewels in the University's diadem. Its resources for the study of women's past and the
deployment of concepts of gender and race are staggering. Thinking only of "the West," the Clements collection of maps and atlases, beginning with the late medieval era, has enabled scholars such as Valerie Traub, Graduate Chair, UM Department of English, to trace the ways the modernizing west, from its begin-

now New Mexico)—and the ways the cultural representations of women helped constitute those self-images. Closer to home, the Clements' exceptional collection of eighteenth-century British and American imprints, which ranges from novels and plays to captivity narratives to newspapers and magazines, to medical texts to city directories to school books has permitted me to detail the ways "The Founding Fathers'" constitution of an "American" national identity was both shaped by and reshaped British concepts of race, gender, and class. These riches, combined with the Clements' extraordinary graphics collection, permit other scholars (Carol Karlsen, UM History Department, for example) to explore the role gender plays in the representation of America as a new nation and "her" virtuous citizens as brave "Sons of Liberty." They permit us as well to examine the processes by which African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans, as well as groups of European immigrants (Jews and Irish, for example), were excluded from the virtuous American body politic—made "un-American." The Clements' graphics collection helps us see, literally and metaphorically, the critical roles gender, race, sexuality, and ethnicity played in the production of an American national identity.

The lively contributions to this Quarto guide readers through the

Jacques Grassot de Saint-Saveur's 1788 image of a Native American woman includes some realistic details of tattooing and personal adornment in an otherwise idealized, classical representation of the female form. From the Print Collection.

Clements' rich holdings: Carolyn Hart's delightful romp through the Library's sheet music collection, its boxes and drawers full of "ephemera," its justly famous photography collection; Brian Dunnigan's description of women in America's early military; Candice Dunnigan's showcasing of late nineteenth-century actresses depicted in a significant collection of theatrical photography. Mary Pedley shifts our focus from how maps represented women to how women represented maps. As one of Second-Wave Feminism's first generation of women historians, I am particularly appreciative of Barbara DeWolfe's discussion of cataloging. Women's historians began our voyage of discovery searching through catalogs that rendered women invisible and inaccessible. To have a library dedicated to revealing women's presence will make not only women visible but will reveal the past in its multiple and intriguing complexities. Thank you, Clements Library and staff. Historians are deeply in your debt.

—Carroll Smith-Rosenberg
Alice Freeman Palmer Professor of History, Department of History; Women's Studies Program; American Culture Program; University of Michigan
Law Suit No. 2200. Third Judicial District of the State of Louisiana for the Parish of East Baton Rouge. On March 28, 1836, Mary K. Barton petitioned for a “Separation from Bed and Board” from her husband of four years, Seth Barton. The final judgment was rendered on January 16, 1839. The Bartons and their three-year-old child, Henrietta, had resided in Baton Rouge and at Arlington Plantation, where life had not been peaceful for Mary. She lived in fear of her cruelly unkind, violent, and alcoholic husband. At one point, Seth threatened Mary with harm if she did not sign a paper denouncing her father, with whom Barton was having legal difficulties. So fierce was Seth’s animosity toward his Williams in-laws that he told Mary that “if he thought there was any Williams blood in its [Henrietta’s] veins he would extract it.” His threats of violence became real in 1835, when an inebriated Seth shot his overseer. The day after the shooting, Mary Barton attempted suicide, and the following day her husband was committed to prison. Deponents for the case spoke of Mr. Barton as a dangerous man with an irritable temper and of Mrs. Barton as a kind and affectionate wife. When Mary petitioned for a final divorce on February 1, 1841, Seth did not contest it.

During the years of the Bartons’ separation, 1,600 miles away in Shelburne, Vermont, a young, unmarried woman named Lucretia Lyon was puzzling out what she could do to support herself. Having finished her education at Reverend S.A. Crane’s boarding school in nearby Burlington, she was considering some friendly advice from home that she should establish a school for young ladies. “I had better go to teaching, even if I could get but a very small profit,” she wrote her brother Lucius Lyon. However, manuscript collections of prominent men—almost lost among the thousands of letters written about politics, Indian affairs, economics, and war. They are typical of the kinds of sources for women’s history that remain buried in manuscript and archival collections and are lost to investigation because they do not stand out as “women’s papers.” Mary Barton and Lucretia Lyon are not well-known women like Emily Dickinson or Eleanor Roosevelt, whose papers are eagerly pursued. Nor do they represent women’s organizations like the League of Women Voters or the YWCA. Nevertheless, these letters and documents are important sources for the study of women’s history and can be found (or not found) in every manuscript repository in the country and in almost every collection.

Lucretia Lyon’s story has been overshadowed by the career of her brother Lucius, Michigan’s first United States Senator and surveyor-general for Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. The Lyon Papers contain approximately 8,000 letters, the majority from men interested in land speculation, settlement, Indian affairs, and politics, including letters from leaders of the national Democratic Party. However, the letters between Lucius and Lucretia make up a tiny collection of their own. A sampling of her correspondence in 1839 includes descriptions of her studies, her school, family news, a proposed tour of the United States with Lucius, and her membership in the Female Episcopal Charitable Society, for which she volunteered.
Barbary Aplin's cyphering book, from the Pen and Ink Collection, records the deaths of two of Aaron and Elizabeth Sparks' children. Hannah Ann, age five, and Mary, age one, died within ten days of each other. Pinned beneath their names is a one-inch-square piece of red and white calico fabric. Had it been cut from one of the girl's dresses?

This pen and ink image on fabric of an African American girl was intended as ammunition in the fight against slavery. It is today in the African American Collection.
even though the majority of the contents related to his daughter. Finding aids provide guidance to contents, but one would not know in advance that a particular collection contained information on subjects not apparent in the description. Search engines for manuscript databases, though fast and efficient, are often more cumbersome and less thorough than manual searches unless users know the exact keywords that will yield the best results. Searching for women and minorities is therefore often hit or miss. Since most source material is accessible to historians through the keepers of these sources, then how we catalog, what we catalogue, and how we set priorities for cataloging are crucial factors in the direction and development of historical investigation. Historians cannot write about what is not available to them.

Women’s history has received much more attention and prominence during the last three decades, and repositories are urgently trying to keep pace with the source needs of researchers. Women’s libraries and special collections have been established, and most libraries, historical societies, and archives now have guides to their women-related holdings. The Clements Library has begun the Women in History Project, generously funded by a grant from the president of the University of Michigan’s New Century Fund. This project will ultimately identify all manuscript collections that contain information relating to women and provide internet access to their descriptions. The challenge for the Clements and for other repositories to know what we have on women and gender, where it is, how to find it, and how to make it accessible is a daunting one, but such inventories are necessary for a fuller understanding of women’s place in history. It makes sense to start the cataloging and identification of women’s sources with collections that pertain almost entirely to women. These are, by their nature, identifiable and therefore easier to access. But we should not rest with highlighting the obvious. We need to delve deeper into the materials and devote as much if not more effort to locating women who are obscured. We must turn over rocks and look in hard places.

— Barbara DeWolfe
Curator of Manuscripts

A miniature portrait of Sarah Dring Macomb (1765-1849) was acquired with a collection of Macomb family business papers. This 1847 copy of a work of about 1796 depicts the young widow of prominent Detroit landowner and merchant William Macomb.

In 1776, the year of American independence, a “negro wench” named Phoebe was rented to Captain Thomas Farmer. The term “wench,” originally used to describe lower-class English women, became in the South an exclusive term for female African American slaves. From the African American Collection.
BEYOND THE BASICS

At the end of my first year in the University of Michigan’s History Ph.D. program, and after spending many pleasant spring hours at the Clements Library working on my first seminar research paper for Professor Susan Juster, the director of the Library offered me an extraordinary summer employment opportunity. I was hired to assist the curators in examining some of the less-frequently-utilized collections here for images, stories, and representations of women to include in an exhibit this fall. As a scholar who is primarily interested in women’s and gender history, I jumped at the chance and can honestly say that this is the best summer job I have ever had. With every box, cabinet, and drawer that I have opened, I have encountered incredible artifacts from past centuries. In the process, I have learned a great deal about the history of American women, and quite a bit about the little-known documentary tools available in research libraries.

I began my summer by immersing myself in the gray boxes of nineteenth-century sheet music that take up most of a wall in the stacks. This was my first encounter with sheet music as a historical resource, and I happily found that these delicate pages offer much to those of us who work to uncover the women of the past. The lyrics and cover illustrations of that century touched on an array of issues that affected women’s lives: the premature death of children, movements for women’s rights and fashion reform, the growing problem of poor working women and orphaned children, and the usual array of songs about true love and romance, to name but a few. I was pleasantly surprised to discover that a large number of women penned lyrics for songs, a source of revenue and “women’s work” of which I was not previously aware. And, perhaps most intriguing to me were the very interesting representations of women found in these boxes of music. For example, the nation’s strength was repeatedly depicted as Liberty, a woman clad in the robes of antiquity and wielding a sword or shield, protecting the nation against injustice and tyranny. Such depictions are important to hold up against the stereotypical image of nineteenth-century women as frail and helpless. The sheet music also offers glimpses into changes in language and word meanings. Young people today, who use and perhaps think they invented the slang term “dude,” might be interested to know that the word has had earlier uses and meanings. The male subject of 1884’s “Oh! I’m Not a Dude, and Don’t You Forget It!” (written and composed by Clara Dumont) strenuously objected to being perceived as overly concerned with sartorial style. However, the nattily-dressed woman on the cover of Florence Palmer’s ditty “I’m a Duded” proudly admits to being caught up in the latest fashions—and enjoying the attention she receives as a result. Careful study of these pieces of musical and social history can thus tell us much about the ebb and flow of issues important to women at that time, or, more important, what nineteenth-century musical composers perceived those issues to be.

After a few weeks poring over sheet music (and wishing that I hadn’t given up on the piano as a child—it was maddening not to know how to “read” the tunes that went with the lyrics I was inspecting), I moved on to the Ephemera Collection. This is an assemblage of—well—really interesting stuff that the Library has collected in one way or another over the years. Enclosed in dozens of folders, boxes, and binders, the ephemera collection includes a wide variety of items. There are cards of all stripes (post, calling, greeting, playing, and business); menus from nineteenth-century restaurants; advertisements for food, clothing, resorts, machines, or anything else bought or sold; paper dolls, tin soldiers and other toys, bits of clothing and memorabilia; invitations, labels, stationary, and tickets—the list goes on. Women are everywhere in this collection. Iconic representations such as Liberty, Columbia, and Justice grace the borders of envelopes, currency, and stock certificates. In one instance, I found an 1802 stock certificate in the name of one Elizabeth Lowell for shares in the Lancaster and Susquehanna Turnpike Road. The value of such discoveries, in terms of intellectual curiosity, is priceless. This particular document made my mind churn with questions. In 1802 not many women were holding stock in companies, nor were they able to keep much property in their own name. What, then, does this certificate say about women and financial security in turn-of-the-nineteenth-century Pennsylvania? Who was this woman, who either had the foresight to invest so wisely or had the stock bestowed upon her by someone else? Was she related to the owners of the road? Why would she want shares in such a venture? Was it a profitable investment for her? Such finds challenge what I thought I knew about women’s history and have inspired me to “hit the books” to see where historians have acknowledged such anomalies, or seen them as surprising regularities. From these seeds great dissertations are born, and bits of our nation’s past are rediscovered.

The Ephemera Collection also yielded many images of women. Sex not only sells in the twentieth century, but cartoons of alluring and beautiful women were used throughout the nineteenth century to push stoves,
A sampling of nineteenth-century trade cards from the Ephemera Collection provides some idea of the varied ways in which images of women were used in advertising.

corsets, tobacco, even corn starch. In one particularly interesting folder of playing cards I came across what appeared to be a regular deck; however, when one holds the cards up to the light, hidden in a watermark are images of half-dressed and provocatively posed "French" women. This discovery spoke volumes to me about the use of women, sexuality, and the erotic during that time. I also found a card printed with directions for putting on a corset: "...lie down with hips slightly elevated on pillow—draw up knees so that heels come as near body as possible—while in this position, inhale deeply six or eight times (as though sobbing) then draw up lower laces...." Artifacts such as these go a long way in helping us understand what women wore, what they ate, and how their images were used as decoration, enticement, or entertainment.

After tearing myself away from those magical boxes of ephemera, I moved on to the Clements' substantial collection of photographs and photo albums. Here, I was once again far from disappointed; the prints yielded still more images of women of all ages, ethnicities, and races. The Library has thousands of portraits of women—famous, infamous, and anonymous—from infancy through old age (and even
in death, as evidenced by postmortem photographs). These documented moments in time help us understand how nineteenth-century Americans utilized this new form of technology to record the world around them. The way that pictures were taken and their subjects tell us what was important a century or more ago. Women’s use of photography can be seen in the albums that they carefully compiled, and which today, thanks to careful collecting by the Clements, line the shelves of the photo stacks. Women and girls of all ages seem, in these albums, to have begun recording new sorts of diaries by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They documented activities and antics at summer camps, giving us photographic insights into their games, productions, costumes, and friendships. Women captured their families on film, displaying loved ones and homes for their own enjoyment in their own time. Historians can now use those pictures to trace the evolution of domestic arts and furnishings and the difficulties of women’s work in the home. The Clements holds a number of albums chronicling women’s trips “out West,” or abroad as missionaries, or outings to the beach with their gang of friends. Aside from a distinct lack of smiles in many of the earlier pictures, not much seems to have changed in terms of the everyday events that women, then and now, chose to preserve.

Yet another fascinating collection is the assemblage of books, primers, and periodicals printed over the last few centuries for young people. The juvenile literature section of the Clements yields much fruitful information regarding the education, play, and socialization of girls throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Clements has a wonderful array of primers from which girls would have learned their ABCs; in one magical moment, I opened a flip-top box to discover a writing slate, such as a schoolgirl might have used to mark out her lessons. A girl’s education in previous centuries would not, however, be considered complete without lessons in how to become a lady. Moral advice and behavioral parables were printed for young girls and make up a large portion of the juvenile collection. A slight, three-inch high book from the 1820s, Giddy Gertrude: A Story for Little Girls, warned young ladies, in stanzas of rhyme, against becoming like Gertrude—a careless child who soiled her clothes, and whose sewing stitches were too long. The Good Little Girl’s Book of 1849 further illustrated the difference between right and wrong through sketches of the different “types” of girls in the world: good-natured vs. thoughtless, orderly vs. slovenly. Most interesting for the historian are opportunities to compare directly the gendered messages aimed separately at boys and girls in earlier eras. The Clements’ copy of The American Girl’s Book, Or Occupation for Play Hours (1849) provides a look into the play time of little girls at mid-century. Inscribed in a strong hand to “Emily Rebecca Osgood Peirce, from her Papa,” the book listed all the “sports” appropriate for young girls of seven or eight years of age: “Hide and Seek,” playing “Sewing School,” and “Blindman’s Bluff.” Additional pastimes included in the book were riddles to be solved and seventeen different patterns for making pincushions. The 1851 Boy’s Book of Sports and Games, however, listed very different activities: “Regiment of Soldiers,” “Foot-Ball,” and “Rounders,” plus archery, swimming, cricket, “angling,” rowing, and riding. The gendered messages of previous centuries are still with us today in many ways, and these materials can tell us much about how notions of child-rearing that are falling away in our own time were enforced in the not-too-distant past.

I have only just begun to describe some of the “unusual” sources for women’s history at the Clements. The Library also houses vast collections of broadsides, pamphlets, county atlases, and periodicals teeming with information about American women of the past, and, of course, hundreds of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century books on cooking, etiquette, women’s health, biography, and other topics. My time here has taught me, the future teacher and scholar, invaluable lessons about the scope of information in non-traditional areas that is available to researchers. And, I will be a much better historian and instructor as a result. Most important, however, I have spent the summer doing what I love most: learning about the history of America’s women, and being inspired to learn much, much more.

—Carolyn E. Hart
Curatorial Assistant,
Manuscript Division
WILL YOU MARRY A SOLDIER?

"Oh say Bonny lass will you lie in a Barrack will you marry a Soldier and carry his Wallet" an officer asks a hearty young woman in an American cartoon of the War of 1812. "O yes I will do it and think no more of it," she replies, hoisting the officer on her back as a column of U.S. troops fords a stream. Another woman, calf-deep in the creek with two children clinging to her shoulders, recites a ditty about going over the sea and "over the Water with Charley," while a drummer muses that if ever he marries he has no doubt that his wife will "follow the drum."

The scene is imaginary and, in fact, pirated from a satirical print by English cartoonist Thomas Rowlandson. The soldiers' coats are blue rather than red in this variant, and the American engraver has reversed the entire composition, but the ragged marching column, like its British model, remains encumbered with women, children, and sluttering items of camp equipage. This satire on military inefficiency nonetheless emphasizes the presence of females in all European-style armies of the colonial, revolutionary, and early national periods of American history. Although women would not become "official" members of the armed forces for many years, considerable numbers of them had already chosen to "follow the drum" by marrying a soldier. Those permitted to accompany British, German, or French troops overseas or American soldiers on campaign resigned themselves to a life of discomfort, hard labor, child-rearing in difficult conditions, crowded camps and barracks, violence, abuse, and the hazards of war. Carrying a soldier-husband's wallet (knapsack) was one of the easier tasks an army wife might be called upon to perform.

Like so many aspects of women's history, documentation of their roles in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century armies is scattered and fragmentary. The wives of officers left the most literate accounts, such as the classic journal and correspondence of Friederike Charlotte Louise von Riedesel, wife of the Brunswick general who commanded John Burgoyne's German auxiliaries in the 1777 Saratoga campaign. Officers' wives made up only a small percentage of the women with armies, however, and few of the largely illiterate spouses of enlisted men were able to record their own experiences. Sarah Osborn's story of marching with her husband during the American Revolution, for example, survives only because she filed a deposition in 1837 seeking a pension. Much of the evidence about soldiers' wives is thus confined to dry lists or entries in manuals, regulations, or order books addressing the problems created by mixing women and children with large numbers of soldiers.

The perception remains common among many today that female "camp followers" were prostitutes or the mistresses of officers. While no military post or large force of soldiers could fail to attract prostitutes (the sobriquet "hooker," for example, has a military origin), the great majority of women with the armies were legitimately married. Many were wed in traditional ceremonies. Other unions were less formal, such as the practice of "Leaping Over the Sword."

Women had been a part of military forces in America from the earliest days, but the influx of British and French regular troops during the 1750s greatly increased their numbers. Officers in the British army tended to discourage marriage by their soldiers, but small numbers were permitted to wed with the promise of good behavior and a willingness of the wife to work. A few wives and children were allowed to go "over the Water with Charley" when British regiments were sent to America. Once ashore, soldiers of both sides often found spouses locally. Many French regulars deserted in the closing months of the French and Indian War to remain with their Canadian wives. British forces of the late eighteenth century generally permitted three to six wives per company, for an official total of up to sixty.
women for a regiment, but the numbers varied greatly according to station and the attitudes of commanding officers. Units in garrison tended to have more wives, and military documents occasionally reveal their numbers. Twenty-seven women and fifty-one children were with the eighty-eight British officers and men of the Chambly garrison taken by the American rebels in 1775. Returns in the Clinton Papers list an enormous number of women (3,551) and children (3,259) with the nearly 29,000 British, Loyalist, and German troops occupying New York in September 1779—19% of the total number of people being fed there by the army.

American provincial units of the French and Indian War, though raised for much more limited periods of time than regulars, included some women, such as those of the New York Regiment ordered left behind when the soldiers set out from Oswego to besiege Fort Niagara in 1759. Continental forces of the American Revolution had the female counterparts of their British and German opponents—"Molly Pitcher" of the 1778 battle of Monmouth being only the most visible example. The British practice of allowing soldiers’ wives was continued in the small post-war U.S. Army, and garrison records and order books include the names of many women who marched with their husbands as the country expanded westward and fought the War of 1812 and the Mexican War.

Women and children who were granted the indulgence of being allowed to follow the army were invariably expected to work for the privilege—and the proportion of rations that sometimes, though not always, came with it. The most common task was to launder for the soldiers, for which women were paid and which provided an essential logistical service in camp and garrison. Some worked in hospitals or for officers and officers’ wives, while others performed labor for civilians in garrison towns. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, U.S. regulations authorized female hospital matrons to cook and clean (for which they were paid and fed) and laundresses, who were provided rations and paid by their patrons at established rates. This pursuit of some "scheme of industry," as one British writer put it, made it possible to support a family and maintain a military marriage, otherwise, so far from home, they and their children would certainly have starved.

Even with these meager perks, women were subject to difficult circumstances. Many post commandants attempted to provide separate housing for families, but they were just as likely to find themselves crowded into a barracks room with a dozen other men and only a blanket-draped bunk for privacy. Alcohol-related violence and abuse were common. Incidents of sexual harassment by officers and soldiers were certainly frequent, judging by examples from Ticonderoga in 1764, detailed in the Gage Papers, and at the American cantonment of Greenbush near Albany in 1813 recorded in the order book of the 29th U.S. Infantry.

Women who remained close to their husbands during wartime also ran the risk of becoming casualties. Many of the "articles of capitulation" from eighteenth-century sieges recorded in the notebooks of Frederick Mackenzie include clauses relating to the safety of army women and children trapped within fortresses. French and Canadian females were in Fort Niagara when it was besieged in 1759, where they actively assisted in the defense by sewing sandbags and tending the wounded. British and colonial women and children were surrendered at Oswego in 1756 and at Fort William Henry in 1757. The same could be said for sieges of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Women with troops in the field were particularly vulnerable. A number were among the casualties of Braddock’s defeat in 1755 and the surrender of Fort William Henry in 1757. Arthur St. Clair’s 1791 debacle on the Wabash cost the lives of as many as fifty-six U.S. Army women.

Documentation about women who followed the drum is scattered, but the sources that survive offer a tantalizing perspective on colonial and early national military practices in America.

—Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Curator of Maps and Head of Research & Publications
DESIGNING WOMEN

In 1762 the reviewer of new literary and scientific works for the French periodical Mémoires de Trévoux announced a map showing how an eclipse of the sun, expected in April 1764, could be seen across Europe. This singular map was made even more notable by the fact that its astronomical information was calculated by Madame Nicole-Reine Lepaute, its geography was engraved by Madame Lattré, and its decorative ornaments by Madame Tardieu. “Voilà,” concluded the reviewer, “thus new proof that knowledge of Sciences and the Beaux Arts is not an exclusive privilege of a single sex; women will also distinguish themselves in this noble career when they wish to busy themselves usefully, or rather when the abuse of only giving them a frivolous education is felt.”

Women designing maps was a phenomenon as remarkable as a solar eclipse in the eighteenth century, for the process was an intellectual labor reserved for those with a specialized education—one heavy in mathematics, languages, and history, all subjects thought unsuitable for young ladies. We rarely see a feminine name attached to the design of a map. On the other hand, it was not at all unusual for women to engrave and publish maps. They had for a long time been active in the work force of engravers and printers and were equal participants with men in those trades. Most were trained by fathers or husbands and enjoyed the legal right to continue the business upon the death of either. We find their names hidden behind initials or in the corner where the engraver signed the copper plate.

It is often difficult to untangle the knotted skeins linking cartographers, engravers, printers, and publishers in the world of copperplate publishing that dominated illustration from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Female strands can be particularly elusive, but much work has been done in the past twenty years by Alice Hudson, curator of maps at the New York Public Library, and Mary Ritzlin, a map dealer in Chicago, to tease out the names of many women involved in the map trade. Their efforts have made it possible to identify several important female engravers and mapmakers whose work is represented in the map collection of the Clements Library.

The arduous and demanding skill of engraving required a steady hand, fine coordination (it must be remembered that all engraving of words had to be done backwards!), and excellent eyes—skills similar to those needed for fine needlework and lace-making, tasks normally associated with women. These skills were learned young, as can be seen in the work of Eliza Collés, who at the age of thirteen helped her father Christopher produce his ambitious survey of roads, the first American route book, published in 1789. As with many cartographic ventures, financial difficulties threatened to halt progress on the small book of eighty-six strip maps when the engraver, Cornelius Tiebout, left in mid-production. Young Eliza, who had been assisting Tiebout, took up the burin and is reputed to have engraved the final maps for her father’s atlas. She continued working for him, engraving several plates for his never-completed Geographical Ledger and after her husband’s death in 1762. Similarly, we see the practice in Michigan when Roxanna Farmer, wife of surveyor and publisher John Farmer, took over the business after his death in 1859. The Rail Road & Township Map of Michigan (1862) appeared over the name, “R. Farmer,” with “And Company” added to include her two sons and daughter.

The earliest female mapmaker encountered in the Clements collection is Virginia Farrer, who may also be counted as one of the earliest map compilers in the era of copperplate printing. Her father, John Farrer, was an official in the Virginia Company who assembled the map of the colony that

Virginia Farrer’s name appears at the bottom of her 1651 map of Virginia.

Systematizing Atlas of 1794.

Just as women picked up the pieces of unfinished engraving projects, so they stepped in as printers when debt or death interrupted publications. Mary Ann Rocque worked with her husband John, a Huguenot émigré to England, whose surveying and engraving is best known from his detailed plan of London (1746). Mrs. Rocque continued the publication of derivative maps, notably A Set of Plans and Forts in America (1763),

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American students visualized the voyages of European explorers through the first of Elizabeth Sherrill’s series of maps, published in Emma Willard’s school atlas of 1831.

accompanies Edward Blands’ *The Discovery of New Brittain* (1651). Virginia edited and revised the map, which she then signed Domina Virginia Farrer. Such work required a higher level of education than that of an engraver or printer, but the skill was not surprising in the Farrer family. The seventeen children of John and his brother Nicolas were raised together and educated, girls as well as boys, in book learning and bookmaking.

We encounter a parallel to Virginia Farrer’s scientific bent over one hundred years later in what is perhaps the earliest anthropological map ever published: *Esquisse d’un Tableau général du Genre Humain...* by Mlle. Le Masson Le Golft, published in 1786 by a Mr. Moithey. Its publication was announced in the *Journal de Paris* of January 21, 1786, in a brief notice that described Mlle. Le Golft as the compatriot and pupil of M. L’abbe Dicquemare, “one of our greatest naturalists.” “Mlle Le Golft has conceived and executed a very pleasing idea: a world map which offers a general tableau of human-kind. With the aid of some symbols, one sees at a single glance, the religion, mores, shape, and color of the diverse peoples who inhabit the earth. This map is only a sketch of a general plan which Mlle Le Golft proposes to develop...It is very useful for young people and ought to be placed at the front of all elementary geography books and come right behind the world map in all geographical collections.” We know very little about Mlle. Le Masson Le Golft, though three of her books are known: *Entretien sur le Havre* (1781), *Balance de la Nature* (1784), and *Lettres Relatives à L’Education* (1788). The last may contain an elaboration of her map, which is unique in its use of sign and symbol for ethnographical purposes.

Mlle. Le Masson Le Golft’s educational interests at the end of the eighteenth century reflect a general trend toward publishing maps and atlases for use in public schools, a growth industry in post-revolutionary countries. A Mme. Coindé, of the French Boarding School in Montagu Square, London, made her contribution to this niche market with her 1813 edition of the immensely popular *Le Sage’s Historical, Genealogical, Chronological, and Geographical Atlas*, to which she added six charts of her own composition. The atlas mixed genealogical and chronological charts with colored maps surrounded by explanatory text. The first of Mme. Coindé’s engravings is a chart of the mythological families of Greece and Rome, “particularly adapted for the use of young ladies, into whose hands very few books on that subject [mythology] can be put with propriety; and without some knowledge of this branch of history, how could they enjoy the reading and theatrical presentation of the best authors and poets, or even the chefs-d’oeuvres of the most famous artists, either ancient or modern, which, by the assistance of this map, will become clear, amusing, and instructive.”

The amusement and instruction of young ladies and the general improvement of their education constituted the life-long concern of Emma Willard, who forever changed the academic landscape of the United States. Her school textbooks on history and geography naturally led to the composition of maps and atlases, first in collaboration with William Charles Woodbridge, and then on her own. The maps she conceived were drawn by one of her former pupils, Elizabeth Sherrill, who became vice principal at Mrs. Willard’s school in Troy, New York. Willard’s maps are notable for their simple themes and for Sherrill’s clear execution, making them easy for the young mind to digest.

Our designing women thus far have all carried on their cartographic activities from the safe vantage point of the study or the workshop. What of women surveyors? The heart of the mapmaking process was terra incognita for most women. Little encouraged in outdoor pursuits, they would have found small allure in the physical hardships and tedious labor required by the measuring and marking of survey work. Yet, the Clements collections hold an exception or two. Elizabeth Gwillem, a Devonshire heiress with a talent for drawing, brought her wealth and artistic nature to her marriage to John Graves Simcoe, lieutenant governor of Upper Canada from 1791 to 1796. Her diary tells us how she reveled in the vast tracts of wilderness, and her sketches and maps reveal her sympathetic understanding of North American scenery and geography. She was a great help to her husband who relied on her cartographic abilities. A manuscript map of Upper Canada and the Great Lakes region, in Elizabeth Simcoe’s hand, demonstrates her powers of synthesis and attention to detail in its delineation of the area under her husband’s command.

Our final example of woman’s work in cartography contains a mystery, for we know nothing about Ann Maine Wells, whose name appears on this map, or whether she is even its author. The newly acquired manuscript plan of the “Camp of the Army of Occupation” in Texas is dated 1845-6 and shows General Zachary Taylor’s encampment near Corpus Christi on the eve of war with Mexico. The name Ann Maine Wells is written prominently at the bottom, with the bold confidence of authorship and in the same gothic lettering as some of the labels on the map, which is rendered in a military style. Prominently identified are the quarters of “Dr. Wells,” who might be Surgeon John B. Wells. Was Ann his wife, daughter, or sister? If so, she would seem to have followed in the footsteps of other wives, daughters, and sisters who learned their craft from the men in the family but showed by their skill that cartography was not entirely “the preserve of a single sex.”

—Mary Sponberg Pedley
Assistant Curator of Maps
Here are faces hidden within rows of boxes in the depths of the Clements Library—famous, infamous, garish, haunting, comical, and beautiful. The faces are found in photographs, the majority of them seven by five inches, sepia-toned, and in remarkable condition. They were publicity photos and memorabilia keepsakes. The people who belonged to these faces have been dead for decades, but at the time their photographs were taken they were America’s actresses of the late nineteenth century. Covering primarily the 1880s, 1890s, and early 1900s, this photograph collection captures the talent of the American stage. The theatrical collection is an untapped treasure chest for the serious student of theater and of women in the theater.

As a volunteer curatorial assistant with a background in theater and theater history, I accepted the challenge to delve into this collection to organize and identify. The project seemed simple enough: to look at what was in the boxes. Complications soon arose, because one cannot simply “look” at a face, jot down the name on the back, and then proceed to the next. Each face, as it was encountered, became alive again, and opening the boxes has been a tantalizing and almost eerie experience. I have developed friendships with and recognition of actresses (and the actors who share the collection with them) as they performed once again before me.

The faces were captured in a multitude of expressions and poses: coquettish smiles, eyes looking back over bous from beneath elaborate hats, grins from under veils, or direct stares over a bared shoulder. An ample colleen in tights with thick legs bows and winks if you stare at her long enough. I was awestruck. It has taken many months to look through this photographic record of the past, and the boxes seem to hold more each time I delve into them as identification and research reveals personal histories and minute details.

The actresses were major players “on the boards” in their time, though most no longer register as household names. The majority of them were from the New York stage, although London and Boston are represented as well. Photographs from Philadelphia, Columbus, Milwaukee, and Providence, Rhode Island, are also interspersed in the collection. Performers were frequently traded from one company to another for a season or a show or a single run of a production. They traveled more than one would expect—especially across the Atlantic. The boxes contain some 1,200 photographs, approximately two-thirds of which are of females. Among the well known are Lillian Russell, Sarah Bernhardt, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, Eva Tanguay, and young Ethel Barrymore. The actresses with less familiar names have intrigued me the most, however. Many of these women were earning good incomes in their chosen livelihood, playing in roles after role. Their photos—and the sheer number of them—are a testimony to their endurance in their craft. One such actress who “spoke” to me through her work recorded in these photographs was Marie Jansen. Her images provide a good sampling of the scope of this collection.

Jansen was born Hattie Johnson in Boston in the 1850s. The exact date of her birth is uncertain, though her obituary gave it as 1859. She was a singing, acting, and comic
sensation who epitomized “the complete theatrical.” A crowd-pleaser full of vitality, she gave her all to her roles. Jansen first acted in her hometown of Boston at the Park Theater in Lawn Tennis in 1881. She then appeared in New York in a brief role in Olivelette before returning to Boston to become a headliner when she joined Colonel McCaul’s company. In 1883 Jansen performed in The Beggar Student.

After a stint in London, Marie Jansen joined actor Francis Wilson’s opera company, and together with Wilson and Herbert Wilke appeared in The Oolah in 1889. Wilke and Wilson were both big draws, actors of status who excelled in all forms of drama. On stage with them, Jansen became known for her earnestness, talent, and timing. Her success in The Oolah was followed by a role in The Merry Monarch, another production with Francis Wilson.

Marie Jansen’s roles showed a versatility that is captured in her photographs. She had the talent to alter her appearance to play in a variety of parts—cutting Victorian tresses, looking at home in Grecian robes or flower garlands, at ease in a tuxedo, or finding humor in a tutu. Jansen remained actively working into her early 40s, by which time many an ingenue would have “peaked” twenty years before.

Following her string of successes, Marie Jansen appeared in Little Miss Dynamite in 1896, a show written especially for her. Unfortunately, it was a flop, running for only two weeks. Recovering from this setback, she broadened her role in the theater by forming her own company in 1901. This too proved unsuccessful, however, and she retired from the theater. Her later years were apparently spent in the Boston area. She died in Milford, Massachusetts, on March 20, 1914 at the age of fifty-five.

There is surely much more to be learned about Marie Jansen and her place in the American theater at the end of the nineteenth century. But she, along with Pauline Hall, Blanche Wilson, Kate Claxton, Merri Osborne, Isabelle Unruhhardt, and many others are still with us, vivid and alive again in a collection of photographs awaiting careful study in the Clements Library.

— Candice Cain Dunnigan
Curatorial Assistant
significant tax liability. The greatly expanded and improved Gift Receiving Office of the University is exceptionally sensitive to donor wishes and will be as helpful as possible in making a capital gift to the Clements Library a rewarding and profitable experience. The Library Director (John Dann: 734-764-2347), Administrative Associate (Shneen Coldiron), or CLA Chairman (Peter Heydon) would be delighted to answer questions confidentially or direct inquiries to the appropriate University financial officers. Major capital donations, bequests, or gifts over time that enlarge the Library's permanent endowments would be particularly appreciated at the present time. The Clements Library, in contrast to many charities, completely respects the wishes of donors and applies every cent donated or accrued to the purpose for which it was given. Your gifts will literally make the difference as to whether vital documentation of America's historical heritage is preserved and made freely available for research or lost forever.

— John C. Dann
Director

PIERPONT FUND

Thanks to a generous donation from Mr. and Mrs. Donald P. Malloure of Birmingham, Michigan, and Longboat Key, Florida, a permanent endowed fund for acquisition of source materials, to be called The Pierpont Fund, has been established. Wilbur K. Pierpont, longtime friend of the Clements whose passing was noted in the last issue, was a close personal friend of the Malloures. Mr. Pierpont was particularly aware of and concerned about the importance of continued acquisitions in sustaining and expanding the stature and usefulness of the Clements in the academic community. The existence of this fund, and its future growth, would have pleased him beyond measure.

GEORGE H. TWEENEY
(1915-2000)

George Tweeney, past member of the Board of the Clements Library Associates and benefactor of the Library, passed away on May 7. He had lived a truly remarkable life. Born in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, he was a Canadian track star in high school (in Windsor, Ontario) and a member of the 1932 Canadian Olympic team. He was a pilot who flew pioneering transatlantic Pan Am Clippers in the 1930s before heading the Aero Department of the University of Detroit during the military buildup of World War II. Having earned his graduate degrees at Michigan, he taught at Wayne State before moving to Seattle and a longtime career at Boeing.

He was an avid book collector, a notable bibliographer, and an occasional book dealer who knew many of the great figures of twentieth-century America (Orville Wright, Einstein, Faulkner, and Hemingway). He had a lifelong interest in the annals of the book dealers, auctions, and collectors of the past—most of them delightfully eccentric people. He recently donated a comprehensive collection documenting the wide-ranging activities of A. Edward Newton, the Philadelphia bibliophile and collector enthusiast, who was a friend and mentor of the Clements Library's first director, Randolph G. Adams. George was a man of great personal charm, limitless enthusiasm for everything bookish, deep affection for the Clements Library, and unfailing good humor. He will be greatly missed but long-remembered.

persons at the University of Michigan to receive a prestigious award from the Guggenheim Foundation. Mary, a recognized expert on French cartography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, will use her grant to prepare a series of lectures to be presented at the Newberry Library's conference on the history of cartography to be held in Chicago in the autumn of 2001. Her lectures will serve as the basis of a book to be published by the University of Chicago Press.

GOLF HISTORY

The collections of the Clements Library record many human endeavors in the Americas from the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. Perhaps one of the least recognized is sport, about which the Library holds many books and periodicals, particularly for the nineteenth century. Included on the shelves of the Rare Book Room, thanks to the efforts of Clements Library Associates board member Duane Norman Diedrich, is a copy of James P. Lee's Golf in America (1895), the first practical guide to the sport published in the United States. Lee's book is among many sources drawn upon by Brian Leigh Dunningan, Clements Library Curator of Maps, and Frank Straus to write Walk a Crooked Trail: A Centennial History of Wawashkamo Golf Club. Published this summer by Wawashkamo Golf Club of Mackinac Island, the book tells the story of Michigan's oldest surviving Scottish links-style course, laid out in 1898 on a farm that was also the site of a War of 1812 battle.
UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

Clements Library Associates will be invited to five particularly exciting fall and winter events, all of which are in the planning stage as this issue of the Quarto goes to press. Special mailings will provide details for each. Capacity for several of these programs will be limited, and some will be open to CLA members (and one guest) only, so it will be important to make reservations quickly.

The Library’s exhibit on sources for the study of women’s history will open on October 2. To complement that event, the History Department and the University’s Center for Women’s Studies will sponsor a lecture on November 9 by eminent British scholar Amanda Vickery. Professor Vickery will speak about her pioneering research on the social and intellectual world of eighteenth-century “provincial” (i.e. outside of London) British women.

Farther afield, the first annual Fall CLA Bus Trip will visit Lansing on October 26 for a special, behind-the-scenes tour of the restored State Capitol and the Michigan Historical Center with its fine museum, library, and archives. Prompt registration is particularly important to help the staff finalize transportation arrangements.

On Tuesday afternoon, December 12, we will be particularly honored to host what promises to be a memorable debate between Thomas Jefferson (played by much-acclaimed actor Clay Jenkinson) and Alexander Hamilton (Air Force Academy Professor Harold Bidlack). Audience participation will be an important part of this event, which will also mark the opening of a Jefferson-Hamilton exhibit at the Clements.

The Library will host a special observance of Washington’s Birthday on February 22. UM Professor Emeritus of History John Shy will speak on “Reconsidering General Washington.” A panel discussion by members of the University’s Military Study Group will follow Professor Shy’s presentation. The event will kick off Arlene Shy’s exhibit, George Washington, Man and Monument, which coincides with the Ann Arbor Public Library’s exhibit, Washington, The Great Experiment (March 6-April 22).

Finally, in March, Professor David L. Holmes of William and Mary will speak on “Was George Washington a Christian? The Religion of the Founding Fathers.”

Keep your eyes open for Clements mailings, some of which you may already have received and others that are imminent!

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

July 7 - September 29: Exhibit, May the Best Man Win: Presidential Politics With Song. Weekdays, 1:00 - 4:45 p.m.


October 2 - December 8: Exhibit, From the Cradle to the Grave: Sources for Women’s History in the Clements Library. Weekdays, 1:00 - 4:45 p.m.

October 11: Michigan Map Society meeting, 7:30 p.m. George Ritzlin will discuss the 1825 Orange Risdon map of Michigan.

October 26: “Behind the Scenes at the Capitol.” Clements Library Associates fall trip to the Capitol and Michigan Historical Center.

November 9: Lecture by Professor Amanda Vickery, “’So Much for Linen, Now as to Politics’: The Secrets of Women’s Sources in Eighteenth-Century England,” 4:00 p.m.


December 12 - February 16: Exhibit, The Jefferson-Hamilton Debates. Weekdays, 1:00 - 4:45 p.m.

February 22: Lecture by Professor Emeritus John Shy, “Reconsidering General Washington,” 4:00 p.m. A panel discussion by members of the UM Military Studies Group will follow.

February 22 - April 27: Exhibit, George Washington, Man and Monument: An Exhibit Exploring Events That Define a Life and Created an American Icon. Weekdays, 1:00 - 4:45 p.m.