Detroit's location on the straits between Lake Erie and Lake Huron has defined the city's history and economic growth. By the time this engraving was published, in 1872, steam-powered ships and industry were an integral part of the growing city's skyline.

The Clements Library is delighted to devote this issue of the Quarto to a celebration of Detroit's 300th Birthday. Since the founding of the Michigan Historical Collections at the Clements Library in the 1930s—now the Bentley Historical Library on the University's North Campus—we have generally deferred to that outstanding institution in documenting the history of Michigan. For Detroit itself, the wonderful resources of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library are preeminent.

The Clements, while it is not a library of Michigan history, is a very important resource on colonial and nineteenth-century American history in general. It is easy to forget that, while Michigan did not become a state until 1837, it was visited and documented by Europeans two centuries earlier. Detroit was permanently settled in 1701, well before such eastern cities as Savannah, Wilmington (Delaware), Lancaster (Pennsylvania), or Worcester, Massachusetts. It is old by American standards, and it was exceptionally important—a strategically located outpost that controlled a primary line of communication and trade routes between the East and West. It was also a frontier command center dividing, at different times, the territories of very distinct and hostile groups of Native Americans, the French, English, and Spanish, or the English, Canadians, and the Americans. It played a major role in Pontiac’s War, the American Revolution, and United States–British–Indian conflicts from the 1790s through the War of 1812.

The papers of Jeffery Amherst and Thomas Gage, our War of 1812 Collection, and the papers of Lewis Cass,
Colonel John F. Hamtramck (1756–1803) was a career U.S. Army officer who ended his days as commandant of Detroit. He purchased a farm east of the town in 1802, where he built this Canadian-style house. It survived as a local landmark until 1898. Isabella Stewart’s watercolor captured the aging building still in a rural, riverside setting.

although national in scope, include important records of events in this region, and there are bits and pieces throughout the Library’s holdings. Brian Dunnigan’s just-issued history, Frontier Metropolis: Picturing Early Detroit, 1701–1838, is based in part on a research project begun at the Clements in the 1930s and provides a highly original and beautifully illustrated account of Detroit’s formative years. We recommend the volume highly to everyone.

History, as written, inevitably reflects the sources available and the biases of the writer. Beyond Michigan’s borders, and even within them, our local past is generally short-changed. From the vantage of Boston or New York, this is a “new, Middle-West” state that developed with the Erie Canal and the advent of the railroad. Detroit is “Motown,” a city that came into existence with the automobile. These were notable developments in Michigan history, but perhaps the 300th anniversary will help to right the balance a bit, reminding people that Detroit was already more than 200 years old when the very first automobile rolled off Henry Ford’s Highland Park assembly line!

— John C. Dunn
Director

M. DELISLE AND LE DETROIT

When Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726) set out to make a map, he did not follow the usual pattern of his contemporaries. He never began by copying the work of others, not even to create a base map. His father, the historian Claude Delisle (1644–1720), had taught him first to gather information from every possible source, preferably non-cartographic, for he found maps to be the most untrustworthy source of geographical information. “Maps, if they are not accompanied by instructions or explanations, serve nothing more than to give us doubt...It takes more than maps to establish cartographic truth,” the senior Delisle explained in an article addressed to the astronomer Cassini. The Delisles would begin by consulting authorities who had written about a particular region: traders, travelers, government officials, geographers, missionaries, those who had visited an area recently, and those whose reports were written a century prior. From these accounts, father and son began the laborious computations required to convert the measurements of distances from different sources, the analysis of observations taken with unreliable instruments, and the listing of place names in various languages to determine which were the same. Finally, they began to work out the mathematical projection that would support the area being mapped. They accompanied their own work with sketch maps and drawings.

In the case of the Carte du Canada of 1703—the first published map to bear the place name “Detroit”—the Delisles began with the earliest accounts of French and English exploration of the northern continent, such as Marc Lescarbot’s Histoire de la Nouvelle France of 1609. They found particular value in the Jesuit Relations, the published annual reports of missionaries in Canada to their superiors in France. They would then turn to their own correspondence with missionaries and even conversations with people who had traveled and explored in Canada. For many of these accounts, the Delisles would construct individual sketch maps, incorporating the places mentioned and often anecdotes about the peoples or the translation of place names. They did not rely on the printed maps that accompanied published works, choosing instead to create their own cartographic representations, however schematic. For example, they prepared no fewer than twenty-six sketch maps of the Great Lakes based on the reports of the Jesuits. From their working sketches and

Detroit first appeared on Guillaume Delisle’s Carte du Canada of 1703. Cadillac’s new settlement was strategically placed between the country of the Iroquois and that of France’s Huron and Algonquian allies on the upper Great Lakes.

PAGE 2  THE QUARTO
notes the Delisles drew the names of places, of native peoples, of villages and forts, and of French and English settlements in Canada and New England. They integrated information gleaned from travelers about distances between places and the longitude and latitude of locations that had been determined astronomically. The full title of their 1703 map only hints at the broad range of sources: “Map of Canada or of New France and the Discoveries which have been made there, prepared from many observations and based on a great number of relations both printed and manuscript.”

Such working methods would have remained a secret had it not been for family pride. Guillaume’s brother, Joseph-Nicolas, ensured that all the papers of his brother and father were preserved and catalogued. Trained as an astronomer, he exhibited his father’s penchant for detail and thorough research. A natural archivist, he kept all his notes, correspondence, and working papers, as well as those of his father and brother. He organized and catalogued the lot and sold the complete Delisle archive to the French government on the condition that he could continue to catalogue and have access to the papers. He did so until his death in 1768. The collection remains in the French archives, shared by the Service historique de la Marine, the Archives nationales, and the Observatoire de Paris. In them may be found the working papers, drafts of maps, sketches, outlines, and documents that formed the basis of the Delisle cartographic oeuvre.

The archive of Delisle papers contains numerous transcriptions of conversations with people who had been to Canada. These were carefully recorded and simply titled, such as: “Many routes, distances and observations as much for the Coast as for the interior of the regions communicated or taken orally by M. de Courtemanche and many other persons who have been in the area.” Imagine, then, the rough voice of Augustin Legardeur de Courtemanche. Born in Quebec in 1663, this Canadian had served hard years as a young man in military service, fighting the English both in New England and in Canada. Time spent at Michilimackinac and his later command among the Miami Indians on the St. Joseph River gave him extensive knowledge of the Great Lakes region. In 1698 Courtemanche arrived in Paris to inform King Louis XIV of the death of the Canadian Governor Frontenac. The Canadian’s experience on the Great Lakes, his knowledge of the places, the native tribes, their names, and the distances between them made him an ideal source of information for Claude and Guillaume Delisle as they assembled their Carte du Canada. We can listen to him speak in the Delisle’s record:

“From Niagara up to the portage there are three leagues running to the south-southwest. The portage is three leagues long.

“From the portage to Lake Erie there are six leagues of Rivers, each at one quarter of a league. In order to go to Detroit by the north and up to the big point there are 50 leagues, running to the southwest from the points. To Detroit there are 50 leagues.

“From the end of the lake [Erie] straight north to Detroit to the fort, there are six leagues, and the River has a [ ] league. The river is filled with islands.

“From Detroit to the Saquis, there are 14 leagues.”

Although this dry verbal description lacks the topographical color and ethnographic anecdotes found in the Jesuit Relations, the Delisles could draw from it their most coveted data: the distances, bearings, and names of places. How then did “le Detroit,” founded in 1701, come to make its first published appearance on the Carte du Canada of 1703? If the Delisles had access to Courtemanche, they may also have heard from Antoine Laumet, who styled himself by the grander title “de Lamothe Cadillac,” a man who by all accounts enjoyed the sound of his own voice. Like Courtemanche, Cadillac also was in Paris in 1698, not as a mere messenger but as a promoter. He had come to present a plan for a colony at Detroit to the Minister of the Marine, Pontchartrain, who stewed over the project with his deputies in Canada for two full years before giving approval in 1700. Although Cadillac’s name has not yet surfaced in the Delisle archive, he could well have been among the “autres personnes” who, with Courtemanche, provided details of the area around Detroit. Its strategic location on the straits between Lake Erie and Lake Huron would naturally have attracted the attention of geographers like the Delisles, as well as the ministers in charge of Louis XIV’s overseas policies.

Cadillac’s proposal for a colony at Detroit had four distinct purposes, all of which are reflected on the Delisle map. Militarily, Detroit would prevent further English expansion into the Great Lakes region. Economically, the colony would help to slow and regulate the beaver trade. The flood of skins in the last decade of the seventeenth century had so saturated the market that the king had revoked all fur-trading licenses and ordered the withdrawal of soldiers from the western posts. Cadillac’s colony would force the many Indian nations shown on the map to regroup and attract them to closer quarters with the French; so busy would they be in this process that they would have no time for hunting. The proximity of the French to the western Indians would also promote exchange and the gradual Gallicization of the natives. They would learn French language and customs, and French settlers would be encouraged to marry “savage maidens.” To this cultural end would be added the moral one of converting the Indians to Christianity and to an appreciation of the laws of the French monarch by establishing missionaries like the Jesuits at Detroit.

Such a vision for a western colony can be seen in the toponymic details of the Carte du Canada. The names of Indian tribes crowd the area of the Great Lakes, and the web of waterways conveys the possibilities of communication throughout the region. Guillaume Delisle’s maps achieved fame for incorporating the most recent explora-
tion information and positions of longitude and latitude derived from the most reliable astronomical observations available. They often lack decorative motifs, in marked contrast to contemporary geographic printers such as Nicolas DeFer and Jean-Baptiste Nolin. Nonetheless, the ornate cartouche of the Carte du Canada exhibits the very aspects of life outlined in Cadillac’s proposal for Detroit: the need for missionaries to baptize and preach, the need for marriage with Indian women (the “savage maiden” on the left of the cartouche carries her baby in Native-American fashion, but wears the voyageur cap of the coureur de bois), and the need to protect the colony against attack by such fierce Indians as the one on the right holding a minatory scalp.

Cadillac would have found all he needed to support his proposal in the working papers of the Delisles, just as the Delisles found what they needed to make maps in the verbal accounts of soldiers and adventurers like Cadillac.

— Mary Spooner Pedley
Assistant Curator of Maps

DETOUR’S FIRST THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION

When President James Madison appointed Lewis Cass to be the second governor of the Territory of Michigan on October 29, 1813, there was little for which Cass and the citizens of Detroit had to be thankful. The city had only recently rebuilt itself from the ashes of the devastating fire of 1805 when, in June 1812, the United States declared war on Great Britain. Misfortune again visited the city when American General William Hull surrendered it to attacking British forces on August 16. Although British troops had already evacuated Detroit by the time of Cass’s appointment, the occupation of the city and the destruction of settlers’ homes and property following the Battle of the River Raisin in January 1813 greatly retarded the progress of the fledgling territory. Even after the war had ended, the governor had to resort to feeding the needy from the public stores as farmers in the former war zone were not yet able to produce food surplus to their own needs. In spite of the staggering challenges that lay before him, Cass dedicated himself to the recovery and future development and prosperity of Michigan Territory.

By 1829 Cass had done everything in his power to promote the territory and to encourage immigration and stimulate public land sales. He accomplished this through land surveys and the opening of land offices in Detroit (1818) and Monroe (1825). He appointed road commissioners to oversee the construction of highways to carry mail and immigrants. In addition, he worked for improved transportation on the Great Lakes and in 1823 sought Congressional authorization to build a lighthouse near Fort Gratiot on Lake Huron. Following the opening of the Erie Canal, in 1825, ships were landing hundreds of passengers at Detroit every week. Easterners taking notice of public lands being offered for sale and interested in resettling were encouraged by the improved accessibility of the region. As a result, territorial population, which was just under 5,000 inhabitants in 1813, had grown to about 30,000 by 1829.

Among other priorities for Cass in the development of the territory were the areas of government and education. By 1826 he had helped promote Michigan from the first stage of territorial government (administered by a governor,
secretary, and judges) to that of the second stage, which enabled the people of Michigan to elect a territorial council of thirteen members and a nonvoting delegate to Congress. In 1826 he successfully argued before the legislative council on behalf of public support for education. Consequently, the following year, legislators enacted a law, which provided that each township with at least 50 families should hire a schoolmaster and those with at least 200 families should maintain a grammar school.

By the fall of 1829 the Territory of Michigan had made great strides toward statehood, and Governor Cass and its citizens had much for which to be thankful. Cass expressed as much in the first Thanksgiving proclamation issued in the territory. His proclamation of November 4, 1829, designated November 26 "as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer." It called upon the citizens of the territory to set aside that day to acknowledge such blessings as their civil and religious freedoms, equal and stable government, the diffusion of knowledge, advantages of education, and general prosperity. The proclamation was printed in the November 5 issue of the Detroit Gazette. The occasion was thought important enough to issue the proclamation at the same time in the form of a separately published, commemorative broadside edition, in all likelihood printed by Sheldon M'Knight, the publisher of the Detroit Gazette. Broadsides are single sheets of paper, printed on one side only. To further demonstrate the significance placed upon the broadside edition, it was printed not on paper but on lovely pink satin. A review of broadsides published from 1796 through 1850 and listed in Douglas C. McMurtrie's Early Printing in Michigan reveals this to be the only broadside publication to have been printed on satin. Moreover, McMurtrie's entry for this item states that there are only two extant copies. One, which is reproduced in this issue of the Quarto, is found in the Lewis Cass Papers held by the Clements Library. The other, owned by the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, was printed not on pink, but on white satin.

— Donald L. Wilcox
Curator of Books

MELODIC AND PICTURESQUE

Detroit did not become a major center of music publishing until the beginning of the twentieth century. Its population was simply too small to provide a profitable local market. With the vast population influx caused by the growing auto industry in the early twentieth century, Detroit did become a major center of vaudeville and theater—exposing the population to the latest musical "hits" and providing enough customers to sell songs.

A Detroit, Jerome H. Remick, whose money came from the family lumbering business, created one of the major music publishing businesses in the country. He published both Irving Berlin and George Gershwin their starts, but in New York, not Detroit. Remick issued such hits as "That Old Girl of Mine," "Oh, You Beautiful Doll," and "Shine on Harvest Moon," but the creative center of song writing was centered on Tin Pan Alley. Detroit simply printed the songs New York City wrote for it.

There were a few Detroit music publishers before 1900—firms such as J. Henry Whittemore, C.J. Whitney & Co., (and Whitney, Warner & Co.), Roe Stephens, and Charles Bobzin (Detroit Music Co.)—but they were essentially "vanity presses" for songs written by local piano teachers, church organists, and music store owners. The music wasn't much, but local sales could often be increased by adding attractive illustrations to the covers.

There are a few very striking lithographs of local Detroit scenes in the Clements Library collection of sheet music. The one accompanying "The Rink Waltz" (1868), reprinted here, and other pieces like it gave Detroit a chance to shine off to the rest of the country.

Lithographs have a particular charm all their own—more romantic and colorful than photographs. They provide important visual records of the town in the period from the Civil War until the age of modern photography.

— John C. Dunn
Director

THE QUARTO PAGE 5
The Clements Library’s growing culinary collections include a wide variety of materials providing diverse perspectives on American foodways. Cooking practices, daily life, and commerce in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Detroit are reflected among these sources. Here is a small but representative sampling of the culinary documentation of one prosperous, turn-of-the-century American city.

William’s Bros. & Charbonneau condiments were featured on a full page of the O’Brien & Company’s Household Manual of 1897.

In 1897 O’Brien & Company offered its clients a Household Manual containing “Modern Menus and Recipes To The Lovers of Dainty Dinner Dishes.” This 154-page book contains suggested menus for everyday service and holidays, recipes, household hints, and numerous illustrated advertisements, both for products the company carried and for other commercial establishments in Detroit. O’Brien & Company billed itself as “Wholesale and Retail Grocers” and “Importing Wine Merchants.” Its downtown store was located at 127-129 Woodward Avenue; its uptown establishment at 1495-1497 Woodward. Both stores already provided telephone service in 1897. The many products offered by the firm included Detroit’s own Williams Brothers & Charbonneau condiments (catsups, pickles), J.M. Flinn Company’s ice creams (“Fancy Bricks and Individual Cuts a Specialty”), Freud Milling Company’s “F-Brand” potato flour, and Windsor Table Salt (“Pure Underground Crystals—Will Not Flake”) from the Tecumseh Salt Company of Detroit. O’Brien & Company imported wines, liquors, table waters, oysters, and numerous other foodstuffs. They also stocked a proprietary brand of coffee called “Our Private Growth Plantation Java.” Their Manual advertised dozens of other Detroit firms, from banks, dentists, and stationery stores to railways, tailors, and Clark’s Mineral Springs Bath House.

O’Brien & Company appealed to the upper classes, reminding its readers that “The finest goods obtainable on the markets of the world at moderate prices is the principle which has won for us a trade which in its extent and select character is unparalleled in so brief a period.” They prophesied that any dish, no matter the recipe or the expertise of the cook, could be a failure without the highest quality of ingredients. This failure, which they refer to as a “veritable Waterloo,” could, of course, be avoided by using their merchandise since “the quality...is the thing that controls the issue.”

Other advertising ephemera in the Culinary Collection give a different but related view of the kitchen. The Detroit of 1880 was the recognized center of the stove-manufacturing industry. Known as the “Stove Capital of the World,” the city’s five major companies (The Michigan Stove Company, The Detroit Stove Works, The Peninsula Stove Company, The Art Stove Company, and Detroit Vapor Stove) manufactured examples that could burn wood, coal, or coke and, later, gas. In 1860 brothers Jeremiah and James Dwyer started the city’s first stove factory at the foot of Mount Elliott on the city’s near-east side. The popularity of their product attracted other manufacturers to the area.

The Detroit Stove Works claimed to be “the largest stove plant in the world.” This company later merged with the Michigan Stove Company, which was responsible for one of Detroit’s landmarks, the “World’s Largest Stove” now on display at the Michigan State Fairgrounds. Michigan Stove’s vice president, George H. Barbour, who served on the national board of Chicago’s 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, sponsored a giant facsimile “Garland” model kitchen range for display at the company’s exhibit. Carved in oak and painted to look like metal, it measured 25 feet high, 30 feet long, and 20 feet wide and weighed 15 tons. The huge stove occupied the place of honor on a platform 20 feet above an exhibition of actual kitchen stoves.

A Detroit Stove Works pamphlet, “Cooking With Gas,” illustrates about a dozen different stoves and ranges, with explanations of their use and praise for the merits of each. It also contains a wide variety of recipes, many from famed cooks of the era. Its opening chapter, “What Gas Has Done for Womankind,” begins with the sentence, “Words cannot adequately describe what gas fuel has done for womankind.”

A particularly informative view into the daily life of Detroit women is found in The Household of the Detroit Free Press, edited by May Perrin Goff. First published in 1881, this encyclopedic volume had at least nine printings by the turn of the century. The Clements Library’s second edition copy consists of 664 pages, including just about everything in the middle- to upper-class housewife needed to know, literally, from “Aeolian Harps, How to Construct Them” to “Taxidermy.” In addition, there are 43 bills of fare, ranging from an extravagant New Year’s dinner to picnic lunches, and a splendid collection of recipes including 60 each for pickles and puddings.

For a final insight, we can examine Detroit’s earliest charitable cookbook. Such publications are a legacy of the Civil War, a time when women’s groups
came together to raise funds for worthy purposes. The earliest recorded Detroit charity cookbook is The Home Messenger Book of Tested Recipes, first published in 1873 to benefit the Detroit Home of the Friendless. Second and third editions appeared in 1878 and 1886, both of which added to the title page the words “Total Abstinence,” reflecting the increasing power of the temperance and prohibition movements in America. The first edition sold several thousand copies at $1.25 each; the second 5,000 at $1.00 each. The success of the second edition was so great that there was demand for a third. It appeared in 1886, modernized to include exact measurements. The third edition retained many of the old recipes but also added new ones from famous contemporary authors and cookbooks as well as “translations of tested French receipts, etc.”

The recipes in the third edition are quite varied and sophisticated. There is a complete chapter on oysters and clams containing more than two dozen recipes, including “Unsurpassed Fricassee Oysters.” Bread, cake, muffin, pie, pudding, and dessert recipes make up most of the book. I am particularly fond of the “Old School Presbyterian Yeast Bread,” “Good Ann’s Receipt for Waffles,” “Margie’s Brown Betties,” and the “Pine Apple Ice.” There are recipes for pickling, canning, and preserving as well as household hints, medical remedies, and cookery for the sick. Many of the early fundraisers attempted to increase their profits by including paid advertising. However, the compilers of the three editions of this work seem to have taken pride in having only one page of advertising—for the Dover Egg Beater, the first mass-produced rotary eggbeater in the United States.

The women also raised funds for the Home of the Friendless, as well as for their second cause, the Thompson Home for Old Ladies, by holding a yearly “Harvest Home” dinner to benefit each institution. On “Donation Day” at the Home of the Friendless in 1885, they served up 8 gallons of ice cream, 8 quarts of sweet cream, 10 pounds of sugar, 6 pounds of coffee, 1/2 pound of tea, 18 cans of raw oysters (besides escalloped oysters), 12 prepared dishes, 3 turkeys, 12 cakes, 300 rolls, and 12 chickens. A total of 275 tickets were sold at 50 cents each. The “Founders Day Supper” at the Thompson Home attracted 340 diners at the same price, who consumed a similar quantity of comestibles. These Detroit women clearly took great pride both in their culinary skills and in their civic obligations.

The examples presented above give only a hint of the diverse facets of a community that are mirrored in its culinary archives. Much is there that lies beyond the table.

— Jan Longone
Curator of American Culinary History
"EMILY’S ADVENTURE"

"y stories are interesting only to children," the elderly matron cautioned, warning to the reporter from the Detroit Evening Journal. "My stories are not worth getting into print, but I can tell you some of the incidents of my life." So began the interview that appeared on March 26, 1887, under the headline, "Aunt Emily Chats." A beloved, legendary character in Detroit society, Emily Ward, had just celebrated her seventy-eighth birthday. She would live to the age of ninety-two! The reporter had come to her Italianate mansion on West Fort Street, set in one of the stately neighborhoods that marked the city, elegant evidence of Detroit’s wealth in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Emily was seated in a rocking chair in a living room decorated solely for comfort, the reporter noted, with "easy chairs of dimensions fitted to receive the large form of the mistress of the house." The walls were hung with paintings, among them a portrait of Emily’s brother, shipping and steel magnate Eber Brock Ward, Detroit’s first millionaire. And she remembered the isolation. "The river and shores were beautiful, but it was only two or three times a year that we saw a schooner."

With the selective memory that is the blessing and plague of old age, Emily did not dwell on the difficult years in the 1820s and 1830s when she provided the only real stability, emotional or economic, her family would have. Instead, she repeated one well-polished story, an "Aunt Emily" classic. Briefly, in the mid-1830s, her father became keeper of the Bois Blanc Island Lighthouse, but as usual Emily took charge. A fierce storm arose, pounding the lighthouse foundation. Emily saw

I was born in Syracuse, New York in 1809," Emily’s story began. "My father was a Vermont man—one of those restless men just fitted for his day—always pushing out into some new venture." The family moved from New York to Canada, near Toronto, and would have stayed but for the outbreak of war in 1812. "We left the day war was declared. My mother and the children went to Vermont. My father and his brother Sam took contracts to transport troops on the lakes. They used flatboats—bateaux, they called them." In December 1817 Eber Ward packed his family and their possessions onto a canvas-covered sled and set off for Kentucky. Struggling against unusually harsh weather, both parents became ill. Tragically, as Emily recalled, "My mother died in Pennsylvania," leaving four young children—Emily, Sallie, Eber, and Abbie.

By 1822 Eber had brought his family to Michigan, to join his brother Sam at Ward’s Landing, later named Newport, then Marine City, on the St. Clair River. Emily, thirteen and now "Aunt Emily" to her family, managed the household and was surrogate mother to her siblings. "My father farmed and trapped and traded with the Indians, going to Mackinac and Green Bay, which were then the money centers of this region, because the soldiers were there." Living in a cabin on a small clearing surrounded by dense, mosquito-infested forests, Emily remembered bouts of malaria. "Oh, how I suffered from chills and fever. I wanted to die, and at times I thought I should die."

"The river and shores were beautiful, but it was only two or three times a year that we saw a schooner."
the masonry seams begin to crumble; an ugly crack opened the length of the tower. She climbed inside the spiral stairs leading to the top. "The tower was swaying back and forth. I removed the lamp and lens," she recalled. She scarcely reached the ground before the tower crashed into the rushing waves.

Only once during the interview did Emily refer to trouble with her father, and even then her account is triumphant. "Father was a little hot tempered and could make money but he couldn't keep it. So I said to him, 'Look here, father, I can't live with you unless you'll let me take care of the money.'" He conceded. Around 1845, Emily returned to Marine City. Her father had died and her two sisters as well, exhausted by early marriages and frequent pregnancies. Emily raised her fourteen nieces and nephews, and found another half dozen orphaned children who needed her care. In time, as her own fortune and her brother's grew, she established a school in Marine City, hired University of Michigan graduates to teach, and, as one admirer said, "presided as a board of education of one, with original and appellate jurisdiction." There would be several marriage proposals in her life, but Emily claimed to have rejected them because she "didn't have time to get married." Again, her anonymous admirer's words seem apt: "She found her mission amongst children, and it was a mission in which her devotion was earnest and unswerving." But in reality, by talking only about the distant past, Emily did not tell the reporter about the other half of her extraordinary life.

That life centered on Emily's younger brother, Eber Brock Ward, and his phenomenal rise from poverty to immense wealth. If it is possible to give any one individual credit for such momentous change, his success in the decades between 1840 and 1875, was a force in transforming Michigan, Detroit, and the surrounding Great Lakes region from a frontier society to a commercial-manufacturing economy. Time and again, he would publicly acknowledge his debt to Emily—his confidante, advisor, partner, and savior—for his survival and success.

Eber Brock Ward began working in the early 1820s as a cabin boy and common sailor on his Uncle Sam's small lake schooners running out of Marine City, virtually floating stores carrying goods to settlements along the St. Clair River. Over the next decade, Captain Eber Ward, in partnership with his uncle, built the largest steamboat fleet on the Great Lakes, carrying Michigan Central Railroad passengers between Detroit and Buffalo, and from Detroit or St. Joseph to Chicago and Milwaukee. When expanding railroads made steamships obsolete, Eber Brock Ward worked with a group of Detroit businessmen to promote construction of a government lock at Sault Ste. Marie. When it was completed, in 1855, one of his vessels was the first through. With the rich ore deposits of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota open, and Canadian lumber and grain accessible, Ward developed a shipping empire that ringed Great Lakes port cities from Detroit to Chicago. An innovator in marine engineering, he used some of the first iron mined in the Upper Peninsula to construct steel-hulled ships.

Ward was determined to make Detroit a manufacturing center. In 1853 he founded the Eureka Iron and Steel Company, platted the village of Wyandotte, and built blast furnaces and rolling mills. Soon after, he founded a second steel company in Chicago and a third at Milwaukee. In 1864 he installed a Bessemer converter at the Wyandotte plant, producing the first Bessemer steel made in the United States.

By all calculations, by the mid-1860s, Ward was the wealthiest man in Michigan. During the Civil War years, when he had acquired several newspapers, he was a powerful Republican spokesman. By 1865, Ward had built the splendid mansion for Emily, directly across from his own showplace on Fort Street. Together, they were among the first patrons of the arts in Detroit. As the city's economy prospered, and its population neared fifty thousand, the cultural scene began to change. Detroit still had no permanent museums, galleries, or academies to foster the arts, yet there was considerable interest in the few exhibitions that had been mounted.

In 1864 a fortuitous series of events brought the artist John Mix Stanley back to Detroit. Stanley had first arrived thirty years earlier, as Detroit was beginning to reap the commercial benefits of the new Erie Canal. He announced his business as sign painter in the 1837 city directory but, after a few years' study with an itinerant artist, he began painting portraits. Throughout the 1840s—50s, Stanley accompanied many military expeditions as a documentary artist and photographer, travelling extensively throughout the West. He visited the Dakotas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, and Washington, amassing hundreds of sketches, paintings, and daguerreotypes, a precious record of life among the Chocotaw, Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Pueblo, and Sauk tribes. From these, Stanley created his "Indian Portrait Gallery," which toured America in the 1850s and was deposited at the Smithsonian Institution. It contained over 150 canvasses, documenting the life of forty-three different tribes. Stanley's work captivated Detroit. A Michigan campaign was launched to
purchase his Indian Gallery. Tragically, all but five paintings were destroyed in a fire that swept a Smithsonian building in 1865.

Despite his loss, Stanley thrived in Detroit, producing some of his finest work. He reproduced his most popular Indian images in a series of brilliant chromolithographs, and began to explore genre subjects and landscape painting in the “Hudson River” style. Stanley joined Detroit’s leaders, among them Ward, in the Prismatic Club, formed to promote “social culture.” In 1870 he and his patron, Eber Ward, were among the organizers of the Western Art Association, precursor of the Detroit Institute of Arts. During these last years, Stanley completed his most ambitious paintings—a large, narrative canvas, “The Trial of Red Jacket,” a sweeping landscape, “A View of Mount Hood,” and, in 1872, a monumental portrait of Eber Brock Ward, nine feet high by six feet wide. Stanley died the following year, but his portrait of Ward had captured his patron at the peak of his power and hubris. Four years earlier Ward had divorced his first wife, mother of his five children, to marry a young, beautiful “trophy” wife. When Ward sat for his portrait, their son, Eber, Jr. was two years old. Walking down Griswold Street on January 2, 1875, Eber Brock Ward suffered a fatal stroke. Within weeks, his great fortune became the object of a spectacular lawsuit contesting his will, a scandal complete with sex and clairvoyants, that riveted Detroit. Today, his portrait hangs in the Detroit Historical Museum.

Stanley had painted another, modest painting, a present to Emily Ward on her sixtieth birthday, a charming, romantic scene, “Moonlight Adventure on the St. Clair River.” It has hung in the Clements Library Director’s office for over fifty years. The event it portrays was a fond memory for Emily Ward, as she told it to the Detroit Evening Journal reporter: “I remember one little thing that happened one summer while we were living at Newport—that’s what they called the place when they marked off village lots in the early 1830s—it’s Marine City now. Across on the Canada shore it was all woods, except one Indian clearing. On that clearing was as fine a patch of wild strawberries as ever you saw. One day Aunt Betsy said to me, ‘Now hurry up with your dinner dishes and take Margaret and Sally and Harrison and go over and get some of those strawberries.’

“So my cousin and I hurried up and paddled across the river. Harrison was a half-witted young fellow, man grown, but couldn’t work steady. We left him in charge of the boat while we girls went to pick the berries. We got through just about sundown, and just as we were going down to the water up runs Harrison shouting ‘Boat! Boat!’ “I knew in a second what was the matter. He’d pushed the canoe off and there we were left, with woods for miles on three sides of us, the river in front. I didn’t wait to get off any clothes, but waded in as far as I could and tried to reach the boat. I reached within a foot of it, but that was the best I could do. So I waded back again, and while the girls sat down to cry, I began to plan how to get out of the scrape. It was beginning to get dark. The woods were full of wolves, and there wasn’t a house for 10 miles up and down the river.

I calculated that the current would carry the canoe over to Indian islands, where there was a band of Indians whom I knew.

“ ‘We must build a raft,’ says I. But how? There were only crooked branches of trees—one of the straight driftwood and logs you will find today. And then we had no rope to fasten the sticks together. But we got the best sticks we could find and then tore our sunbonnet caps to strings. They didn’t go far. Next we took our aprons. Then our dresses. Well, I told the painter Stanley about it once, and on my next birthday he sent me a picture of the incident. It’s in the parlor now, I can’t move about, but you just go in and look at it.

“On the parlor wall hangs the little painting. Two girls clad only in a single long robe of white are standing on a raft and pushing it toward a point of land towards which a group of Indians are running, astonishment mingled with the paint on their copper-colored faces. The brightly burning camp fire lights up the scene, and the forms of the girls stand out clearly against the dark background of island forest.

“Margaret couldn’t do much because she cried so; but the current took us towards the island and we poled in after we got to shallow water. The Indians had found our boat, and the moon being up, we got in and paddled back after Sallie and Harrison. As we neared the home shore I began to fear new trouble. Father and Eber were gone; but Margaret’s and Sallie’s lovers I knew would be on hand waiting for us.

“ ‘Now girls,’ I said, ‘you let me arrange it. Those fellows don’t care anything about me, and when we get in, I’ll just hand up the strawberry pails and tell them to take ‘em up to the house. They’ll begin eating, and you can slip in the back door and fix about your clothes.’

“The boys took the pails and started off. But the girls were in such a hurry and their wet clothes flapped about them so that the whole secret came out and we had to tell them all about it. That’s one of the many stories I tell the children.”

— Arlene Shy
Emeritus Head of Reader Service
AN APPRECIATION

The Library has been saddened in the past few months by the deaths of two stalwart members of the Clements Library Associates Board of Governors: Roy Christiansen of Huntington Woods, Michigan, and Walter Hayes of Shepperton, England.

Both men were eminently successful in their professional careers: Roy was an attorney, judge, and one-time mayor of Huntington Woods; Walter was Editor of the Sunday Dispatch (London) and Associate Editor of the Daily Mail, Vice Chairman of Ford in Europe, Vice President of the Ford Motor Company here, and President of Aston Martin. They each played important roles in numerous charitable and cultural organizations.

It was their unbridled enthusiasm for the Clements Library’s mission and wholehearted support for its efforts and accomplishments that made them such exceptional friends. Both men took the time to get to know the Library intimately—the collections, the staff, what it does, what it does not do, and what it might do—and in their own particular ways, with their unique talents, they brought the place closer to achieving its goals and its promise.

Roy Christiansen attended every meeting, every public lecture and program. He was unceasing in his efforts to introduce the Library to new people “who ought to be involved.” He was one of those individuals who had no time for pettiness—there were too many new and exciting things to learn about—and the sense of excitement that he brought to Board meetings and contacts with staff members was contagious. In Roy’s honor and in respect for his deep affection for the Library and the University of Michigan, his law firm—Kerr, Russell and Weber—has purchased two eighteenth-century books of great rarity and importance, one of which is described in detail in this issue of the Quarto.

Walter Hayes’ contributions and impact on the Library could not be overemphasized. The Library Director has provided this personal tribute and reminiscence:

WALTER HAYES, A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

It might seem almost inconceivable that, as late as 1980, the Clements Library had neither a photocopy machine nor a computer. Walter Hayes, then Vice President of Ford Motor Company, arranged, unsolicited, for the company to donate serviceable used machines to the Library, and we took our earliest steps toward the modern age of technology. It was typical of his thoughtful generosity. Walter, himself, continued to write with a manual typewriter until the day he died. That was typical of Walter as well.

I was first introduced to Walter and Elizabeth Hayes by Professor Kenneth Lockridge, who was their neighbor for the several years they lived in Ann Arbor during the early ’80s. Elizabeth Hayes soon became a devoted volunteer manuscript cataloger. Walter, a notable book collector, fell in love with the Clements Library at first sight. He instinctively appreciated the qualities that make its collections exceptional, and he realized that it could benefit greatly from the kind of support and expertise he could provide. As Board member, friend, and critical advisor he can rightly be considered one of the dozen or so individuals who has made the Library what it is today.

What is remarkable is that he played as essential a role in many other seemingly unrelated fields: theater criticism, support for the arts, auto racing, and historical preservation to name a few. He wrote a delightful children’s book, the finest biography of his close personal friend Henry Ford II, and the wonderful study of Captain Mayhew Folger of Nantucket, the New England ship’s captain who solved the mystery of the mutiny on the Bounty—Walter solved the mysteries of Capt. Folger! The list could go on and on.

At the Clements and in England, he and Elizabeth provided every possible assistance with the publication of the journal of Jacob Nagle. Walter conceived the whole idea for our 101 Treasures book, published to mark the Library’s 75th anniversary. For almost two decades he was “our man” in London, never failing to change his personal schedule to look at something for us at Sotheby’s or Maggs or to secure a copy of an elusive document from the...
observer rather than a judge. He found almost all things and all people interesting and deserving of respect. He was intensely loyal. He considered petty animosities, resentments, and second-guessing simply a waste of precious time that could better be used taking on new challenges, new ideas, and meeting new and interesting people.

Walter had a brilliant aesthetic sense. The publications of our Library that he had a hand in producing—such as the award-winning Folger volume—are tangible records of this. His personal library was an exquisite mirror of his diverse interests and his appreciation of excellence and beauty. But this artistic sense was more than that—it was part of a general attitude. He maintained a sure sense of proportion in his life, allowing neither career successes nor disappointments to interfere with his love of life and the delight he took in the people he cared about. He made even the smallest and most mundane tasks exciting adventures and opportunities.

Walter Hayes generated enthusiasm and excitement, and the Clements Library benefited immensely. It will continue to benefit from his involvement in countless ways for years to come.

—John C. Donn
Director

THE CAPTAIN FROM NANTUCKET

In 1996 the Clements Library published The Captain from Nantucket and the Mutiny on the Bounty by Walter Hayes. Walter, a member of the Library’s Board, had been a serious student of South Pacific voyages of the eighteenth century for many years. Based in part on materials at the Clements Library and on extensive archival research, this book, for the first time, presented the complete history of Captain Mayhew Folger’s discovery of the fate of the Bounty’s mutinous crew. The book is a delight to read and a work of beauty. It won the most prestigious award given for graphic book design as one of the American Institute of Graphic Arts’ “Fifty Books of the Year.”

The Library published both a “regular” edition and a special, limited edition, boxed and signed by the author. The two editions have a list price of $100.00 and $125.00 respectively, but, as a special tribute to the memory of Walter Hayes, members of the Clements Library Associates may obtain the “regular” edition for $50.00 and the limited, signed edition for $65.00 through September 1, 2001.

Please add Michigan sales tax (if applicable) and add $5.00 for postage and send to:

William L. Clements Library
University of Michigan
909 S. University Avenue
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1197

or call John Harriman
at 734-764-2347
for further information
In 1777 Major Robert Donkin, a veteran British officer in the American Revolution, published *Military Collections and Remarks*, issued by Hugh Gaine in New York City. The volume was published as a fund raiser for the wives and children, back in Great Britain, of soldiers who were serving overseas, and it was subscribed to by several hundred officers in the army then occupying New York and Long Island.

In content it is a rambling sort of military manual and commonplace book, largely copied from other sources. It would be unexceptional if it did not have a most amazing footnote to a section on "BOWS" (i.e. bows and arrows) on page 190, which reads as follows: "Dip arrows in matter of small pox, and twang them at the American rebels, in order to inoculate them; This would sooner disband these stubborn, ignorant, enthusiastic savages, than any other compulsive measures. Such is their dread and fear of that disorder!" (See below.)

Advocacy of germ warfare in the civilized eighteenth century? Smallpox was widespread at the beginning of the American Revolution. There are some indications, or at least a strong belief among American Indians, that the British had willfully sent infected blankets into their camps during Pontiac’s War. American soldiers besieging Boston and Quebec in 1775 were convinced of the same sort of British perfidy.

Intentional spreading of fatal disease was as explosive an issue in the eighteenth century as it is today. Donkin’s remarks might have been a bit of gallows humor, but it was not a laughing matter. A single comment of that sort, in print, could have great propaganda value to the Americans and could easily have generated retribution of some sort.

Mr. Clements considered it a major coup to acquire a copy of the Donkin book in the 1920s, but the infamous footnote had been carefully cut out—as it turns out from almost every copy of the book that survives. Either the military command, the printer, or the binder seems to have censored this inflammatory reference before the book was even distributed to subscribers, but they missed a couple of copies.

The Library was thrilled, then, when the contribution of Kerr, Russell and Weber, in memory of their much-esteemed late partner Roy Christiansen, made it possible to acquire this uncensored rarity, which is in its original binding and in pristine condition. Both copies of the book are being provided with a beautiful box, which will include a label honoring Roy Christiansen and the donor.

The book is both rare and important. Probably no other Library has both the censored and uncensored versions—making it another one of the unique treasures that makes the Clements one of the great libraries. It has a wonderful story associated with it, and Roy loved to listen to and tell stories about special items in the collections. It would be hard to imagine a more fitting, permanent memorial to a very special person.

—John C. Dann
Director
ANNOUNCEMENTS

DETROIT 300 EXHIBITS

Scattered throughout the rich collection of Americana that is the Clements Library one will find items relating to Michigan and to its largest city. Detroit celebrates its tercentennial this year, and a number of the Library’s pieces will be displayed in Ann Arbor, Detroit, and Lansing. The Clements Library’s own exhibit, “Detroit’s 300 Years—Four Landmarks in the Collections of the Clements Library,” will be in the main room from June 25 through September 28. It will focus on four significant events from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history of Detroit that happen to be particularly well represented in the collection.

Sixteen important maps and images will be displayed farther afield. Most will appear in “Frontier Metropolis: Picturing Early Detroit, 1701–1838,” a joint exhibition mounted by the Michigan Historical Museum and the Detroit Historical Museums. The exhibit is based on Brian Dunnigan’s book of the same title. It will open May 5 at the Dossin Great Lakes Museum on Detroit’s Belle Isle, where it will remain through September 2. “Frontier Metropolis” will then be at the Michigan Historical Museum in Lansing from September 14 through December 2.

Clements Library Associates who take the spring field trip on May 12 will see “Frontier Metropolis” at the Dossin Museum.

The Detroit Institute of Arts will present “Building Detroit” from July 22 through October 28. It tells the story of Detroit’s architectural heritage from the 1850s onward. A stunning 1854 lithograph from the Library’s Print Collection presents a bird’s-eye view of the rapidly developing city of the mid-nineteenth century.

FRONTIER METROPOLIS—LIMITED EDITION

Clements Library Associates recently received a special mailing with information on how to order copies of Frontier Metropolis: Picturing Early Detroit, 1701–1838. Collectors and lovers of fine books should also be aware that, besides the standard edition, Wayne State University Press has produced a special limited run of 350 copies, each in a handsome slipcase with a numbered certificate of authenticity signed by the author.

The slipcase edition is priced at $300.00. The cost of the standard edition is $125.00. A shipping charge of $10.00 per book applies to all orders, which should be placed through Wayne State University Press (1-800-978-7323).

CURATOR OF AMERICAN MUSIC

The Clements Library’s collections run the gamut of primary source material relating to the history of the Americas. Among its lesser-known holdings are many samples of America’s musical heritage. Illustrated sheet music, colonial songsters, and popular publications add to what we know about our country’s cultural past. It is with great pleasure, then, that we announce the appointment of Joan C. Morris as Adjunct Curator of American Music. Joan, University of Michigan Professor of Music (Musical Theatre), has drawn on the Library’s rich music history resources to produce and present a number of lively programs over the years. She plans more for the future.

PRICE VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Each year, the Clements Library offers fellowships to promising graduate students and junior university faculty for the purpose of funding travel to conduct research in our rich collections of primary source material. The fellowships are given in honor of University of Michigan Emeritus Professor of History Jacob M. Price. The following scholars have been selected to receive Price Fellowship support during 2001:

The Michigan Exchange opened its doors at 62 Jefferson Avenue in 1835 and was the city's premier hotel when Detroit became a state capital in 1837. Orville B. Dibble purchased the building not long after that time and operated it until 1846. This rare lithograph, made from a drawing by William Asa Raymond (1819-54), was an advertising piece.
This spectacular bird’s-eye view of Detroit in 1854 follows Woodward Avenue through the Campus Martius to Grand Circus Park.

Daniel P. Barr, Kent State University, for his dissertation, “Divided Ground: The Contested Settlement of the Upper Ohio Frontier, 1748–1784.”

Benjamin L. Carp, University of Virginia, for his dissertation, “Cityscapes and Revolution: Urban Spaces and Revolutionary Mobilization in North America, 1740–1790.”

James W. Cook, Assistant Professor of History, Butler University, for his projected book, Cracks in the White Republic.

Patrick Griffin, Assistant Professor of History, Ohio University, for his projected book, The Thirty Years’ War: Frontier Ideology and Revolution, 1763–1795.

Paulette Hasier, University of Texas at Arlington, for her dissertation, “French Cartography in the Illinois Country.”

James B. Jeffries, University of California, Santa Barbara, for his dissertation, “Converting Guns, Blankets, and Crucifixes: The Circulation of Beliefs, Customs, and Crafts in Seventeenth-Century New France.”

Kate Clifford Larson, University of New Hampshire, for her dissertation, “Asante Daughter of Zion: The Life and Memory of Harriet Tubman.”


Applications for 2002 Price Fellowships will be accepted from October 1, 2001 through January 15, 2002. For further information, contact the Price Fellowship Coordinator by phone (734) 764-2347, fax (734) 647-0716, or e-mail briand@umich.edu. Additional information is also available on the Clements Library web site (www.clements.umich.edu).

LONG-AWAITED DUPLICATE SALE

Periodically, from its very beginnings, the Clements Library has occasionally sold duplicate or “out of scope” materials, using all proceeds to make possible further acquisitions. After several years’ delay, a Mail Auction catalog will finally be available by late-May. It will be sent automatically to anyone who had previously requested a copy, and it will be sent free of charge to any current member of the Clements Library Associates who requests it by mail, fax, or telephone, and whose dues are currently up-to-date. The catalog will also be available for viewing “on line” (www.clements.umich.edu).

Conditions of the sale and the closing date are spelled out in the catalog.
The Michigan Central Railroad roundhouse dominated the western end of Detroit's waterfront at the time of the Civil War. Good transportation was critical to the city's development as an industrial center. The complex stood at the foot of Fifth and Sixth streets.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

April 30 – June 22: Exhibit by guest curator Professor Richard W. Bailey, Dictionaries in Early America. Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.

May 9: Michigan Map Society Meeting, 7:30 p.m. Marion Jackson will speak on "Inuit Maps and Drawings of Canada."

May 12: "Detroit 300." In recognition of Detroit’s tercentennial, the Clements Library Associates’ annual spring field trip will highlight the nearly forgotten Detroit of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We will visit the Frontier Metropolis exhibit at the Dossin Great Lakes Museum, explore Judge Woodward’s imaginative city plan, tour the church of Ste. Anne de Detroit, and visit Amherstburg’s Fort Malden and eighteenth-century Park House.

May 20: Ann Arbor Antiquarian Book Fair. Michigan Union, 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Admission is $5.00 per person. Proceeds of the fair benefit the Clements Library.

July 2 – September 28: Exhibit, Detroit’s 300 Years—Four Landmarks in the Collections of the Clements Library. Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.

October 8 – December 21: Exhibit, Public Amusements. Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.