SAVING OUR NATION'S HISTORICAL HERITAGE

The Clements Library celebrates its 75th birthday in 1998. Coincidentally, the year marks the 100th anniversary of the earliest, serious book and manuscript purchases by William L. Clements and the 50th anniversary of the Clements Library Associates. Although many other activities are planned to mark these milestones, nothing could be more in keeping with the Library's primary function than making several outstanding additions to our permanent collections.

Over the past year, the director and the Clements Library Associates Board of Governors have been keeping their eyes open for a few particularly outstanding items or collections to acquire as part of our 75th anniversary celebration. Found them we have, actually a few more than we had bargained for. The University has generously advanced us funds to secure the materials for the duration of the fund-raising campaign, but their permanent acquisition depends upon the generosity of our friends.

What does adding a few more collections do to enhance the Clements, which is already known as a great research institution? Why take on the aggravation of deficits and fund-raising campaigns? Why does the Clements Library, as it always has, devote 30 to 50 percent of its total income to acquisitions when it could use a few more employees (we have a staff of 10 people) or new computers?

A full answer would involve a lengthy history of the Library and the rare book trade, but three particular points should be made. First, despite the importance of public records, much of our history is documented only in private papers—letters, diaries, and non-governmental archives—materials which legally remain private property until owners and descendants wish to dispose of them by whatever method they choose. Second, increasingly "old things" are valued by owners as financial assets—as something which potentially might pay medical bills, college tuition, or car payments. There are willing purchasers at flea markets, antique shops, and local auction houses throughout the country. Third, the only way many historical materials of unique value and importance will ever be preserved in their entirety, and be made available to the public, is if institutions such as the Clements Library are willing to purchase them. And unfortunately for scholarship, ours is among the few rare book libraries still active in the market.

When the Clements Library buys a group of manuscript letters, it is rarely a question of coming to this institution or going to another one. It is usually a matter of saving the collection for research purposes or losing it altogether. If the Clements was not extremely active in the market, very important bits and pieces of our nation's historical heritage would be totally lost.

Every historical library or museum, in raising and expending funds, is faced with the dilemma of conflicting priorities. Beyond basic operating expenses, does the institution emphasize staff growth, conferences, outreach programs, and costly exhibits and social functions—activities that encourage the public to make greater use of existing collections? Or does it concentrate efforts on continued collection growth, maximizing available funds to preserve the unique documentation of our nation's history which remain at risk of being fragmented and lost?

There was never any question in the mind of William Clements. He devoted well over half of his earnings to acquir-
ing the collections placed in this institution in 1923, and in the decade thereafter, he spent more than twice as much again. At his death, in 1934, the Clements Library and its contents had a monetary value several times his own net worth. He simply felt that saving and making available the unique and priceless original source materials of our nation’s history was a responsibility that someone had to assume, whatever the cost. What could be a more fitting tribute to his memory, on the 75th anniversary of the Library’s founding, than for you to follow his example and insure the permanent preservation of outstanding historical material? Represented in our proposed 75th anniversary purchases are these fascinating items:

- Topographical drawings by an officer in the 90th Regiment of Foot, showing the fortifications on St. Lucia in 1780-1781, when French and British fleets battled for control of the West Indies. They are five of only a few dozen existing contemporary drawings that record the American Revolution.

- An 1820s sketchbook containing eighteen watercolors, arguably among the finest surviving pictures of the American landscape as it was being transformed from wilderness to cultivation, including particularly fine, detailed views of Staten Island and New York harbor.

- A collection of papers from a family who once occupied a log cabin in the Ohio River wilderness (architectural descriptions of the cabin are in the collection) that document a captivity during the War for Independence, as well as the trials of Indian warfare and frontier settlement.

- The letters and diaries of a fearless pro-Union Southern girl living at the center of the siege of Vicksburg, written while shells were exploding around her, along with the papers of her Union officer fiancé who was appointed by Lincoln to care for and educate the recently freed slaves of the Mississippi Valley.

- An extremely rare, nearly complete forty-five year run of Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper; one of the great news magazines and pictorial records of American history from the Civil War through World War I.

- An extraordinary cache of letters that survived from the eighteenth-century British Indian Department, that allows us to hear the thoughts and frustrations of Native Americans as they were caught in the middle of conflicts, first between the French and English, then the British and Americans, from the early 1750s to the 1790s.

- The letterbooks of William Henry Lyttelton, colonial governor of South Carolina, written in 1756-1759, critical years in the French and Indian War, when powerful Cherokee tribes threatened the colony. These letterbooks contain the governor’s outgoing correspondence. They are the missing half of the Lyttelton Papers purchased by the Clements four decades ago.

There was one other item on our list as well—the letterbook of a brilliant young Quaker Loyalist, forced by the American Revolution to leave his Philadelphia home to complete his legal education in New York City and London—but a generous donor has already pledged the funds necessary to purchase it. The permanent acquisition of the items described in this issue of The Quarto depends entirely on our ability to raise the necessary funds.

I hope you will enjoy reading the description of these collections on the following pages. All of you, as members of the Clements Library Associates, will soon be receiving the annual dues letter from CLA Chairman John Wheeler. The Library is appealing to foundations for support in its present campaign, but we have to depend largely upon individual members like you if we are going to be successful in making these exciting additions to the collections.

Elsewhere in this issue is information about how you can give an individual letter, picture, or volume in your own or someone else’s name. As a way of thanking you for your generosity, the Library is offering exclusively to donors of $100 or more a complimentary copy of One Hundred and One Treasures of the William L. Clements Library, an elegant and lively new publication on the Library’s collections.

Many charitable institutions conduct special fund-raising appeals the way car dealers and furniture stores run once-in-a-lifetime sales. They never end! We have not conducted a formal fund-raising campaign for fifteen years. We also do not, as an increasing number of organizations do, send out more than one solicitation letter a year. Our approach would not pass muster with most fund-raising strategists. But the Clements way, old fashioned as it may be, is to request special help only when there is a special reason for it.

This issue of The Quarto, and the dues letter that you will soon receive, explain our needs and our hopes for celebrating the Clements Library’s 75th birthday. All we ask is that you give our campaign serious consideration. If you feel as we do, that what we want to accomplish has real merit, that the preservation of our historical heritage is truly important in today’s world, please be as generous as possible.

— John C. Dann, Director
BEYOND THE PICTURESQUE

THOMAS SMITH'S AMERICAN SKETCHES, 1820-1826

Thomas Smith was a highly capable businessman, one of a generation whose expertise in manufacturing and marketing textiles made early nineteenth-century Britain the world’s premier industrial power. He was also a watercolorist of great ability. Smith’s talent, previously unknown, is now revealed in an album of American views that in their extraordinary beauty and fine detail combine the best qualities of traditional British topographical drawing and watercolor landscape painting. Smith’s American sketches, 1820-1826, an album of views in North America and Canada, including eighteen watercolors and four drawings, was acquired by the Clements Library in a successful bid at Christie’s London auction of topographical pictures in May 1997. The Clements Library Associates Board of Governors expressed strong interest in preserving this fine album for future generations, saving it from the fate that all too often awaits albums of this quality—being dismembered, the sketches removed and sold individually, and the context in which they were created forever lost. A successful fund-raising effort will keep the album intact.

From the few facts we know, the biography of Thomas Smith reads much like that of any prosperous English businessman active in the years between the Napoleonic Wars and the American Civil War. Born near Coventry in 1799, he joined his uncle’s Manchester firm, Joseph Smith & Brothers, and was soon spending much of each year in Charleston, South Carolina, with occasional trips to New York. He followed this pattern, buying cotton for English mills, from 1819 through 1827. Smith then joined a Liverpool cotton importing firm and remained in the business until his retirement in 1850. Along the way, he served as a managing director of the Bank of Liverpool and a director of the London and Birmingham Railway.

Having completed a successful, and presumably lucrative career, he settled on an estate in Kent. Thomas Smith died in 1864 and is buried in a local churchyard near Tunbridge Wells.

When Thomas Smith travelled from Charleston to Quebec in the early 1820s, he may have appeared to be one more among an ever-growing number of tourists—fellow Englishmen, Americans, and Europeans—who boarded stagecoach and steamboat to traverse the new United States in pursuit of picturesque scenery. An educated, affluent elite, these tourists had been captivated by the profusion of travel accounts published in the 1820s and inspired by finely engraved viewbooks glorifying the American landscape. When they arrived, many were armed with sketchbooks and journals, determined to record the natural wonders they had read about in their guidebooks. Romantics, they believed, as one contemporary wrote, that “a useful and pleasurable end of travel is the satisfaction and improvement which are received from the picturesque beauties of nature.” In their tastes, they reflected the aesthetic of “the Picturesque” popularized in England and America by the writings of the Reverend William Gilpin. Beginning in 1782, in a series of widely read travel books, Gilpin set the rules for looking at nature. First, travellers should seek “picturesque beauty of every kind,” in all “the ingredients of landscape, trees, rocks, broken-grounds, woods, rivers, lakes, plains, valleys, mountains and distances.” Second, these elements should be combined in varied scenes, with contrasts of “lights and shades, heights and depths, cultivated and wild.”

Thomas Smith’s view of New York Harbor from New Jersey
and viewed as if in a picture frame.

But Thomas Smith did more than follow the Picturesque crowd. Although his views focus on natural vistas of rivers, harbors, waterfalls, estuaries, escarpments, and on settings still largely pristine though no longer wilderness, there is a power and vitality in his watercolor landscapes that goes beyond the Picturesque. Smith offers much more than beautifully idealized natural scenes. When he paints Niagara Falls or Queenston Heights above the Niagara River, or traces the Hudson Highlands, he has an almost geological sense that allows him to capture the dynamic quality of these natural phenomena.

The difference begins with his watercolor technique. Smith, who may have been well known for his oil painting, applied his colors more boldly and opaquely than did traditional watercolorists, who added a thin wash of color to a drawing executed in pencil or pen and ink. (The delicate coloring of Lieutenant Charles Forrest’s views of St. Lucia, also seen in this issue of The Quarto, is typical of traditional watercolor style.)

University of Michigan Professor Emeritus of Art William Lewis, a specialist in watercolor painting, has noted that Smith’s stronger use of color “represents the artist’s knowledge of changes in watercolor practice taking place in England at that time,” innovations introduced by artists Thomas Girtin and J. M. W. Turner. Professor Lewis was impressed that Smith’s views are all “careful pieces,” like the best topographical drawings, rich in highly accurate detail. Commenting on the survival of four unfinished compositions in Smith’s album, Professor Lewis also noted, “This is particularly fortunate for students of the genre. There is sometimes more to be learned by a student of watercolor from an unfinished work.”

We can only speculate on Smith’s training as an artist and his motivation in creating his album. How did this young cotton merchant become a fine landscape watercolorist? When he completed his “American Views,” landscape painting was at the peak of its popularity in the Anglo-American art world, elevated by the genius of Constable and Turner. Provincial art academies, in imitation of London's Royal Academy, were being established on both sides of the Atlantic. In England, organizations like the Old Water-Colour Society and the Associated Artists promoted the art of landscape watercolor. In English and American bookshops Smith could have found drawing books and manuals dealing exclusively with this genre. Did he record his American experience so painstakingly because he intended to have his views engraved for publication, or were they done for his private pleasure?

What we do know is that Thomas Smith created a rare, unsurpassed visual record of the New Republic—at the moment the American landscape was being transformed from wilderness to cultivation, before it was forever altered by the relentless growth of population, industrialization, and the pollution that would inevitably follow.

LOOKING AT THE NEWS
FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

We live in an age when great events unfold before our eyes, often in “real time” through the technology of television and satellites. Americans of the first half of the nineteenth century had to wait months or years for anything more than a printed account of the news. In most cases, they never saw images of the people, places, or happenings that shaped their world. What an innovation, then, when the illustrated newspaper burst upon the popular market, offering pictures of events that were often only days old. For the first time, images could influence large numbers of people in a timely fashion and help mold their opinions of developments around their country and the world.

For more than 66 years, many Americans obtained their visual impressions of current events from the pages of Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper. It was one of the great popular publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From its inception, this weekly newspaper printed gripping images full of the drama and sensationalism of politics, war, scandal, sports, and disasters, natural or man-made, alongside tranquil scenes of domestic life or leisure activities.

Frank Leslie, founder and namesake of the paper, was an English immigrant who had learned the engraver’s trade and worked on the staff of the London Illustrated News. After arriving in the United States in 1848, he was employed by a number of early pictorial publications before producing the first issue of his own illustrated newspaper in December 1855. Leslie introduced innovative techniques in the preparation of engravings that, in some cases, permitted the publication of images within twenty-four hours of an event.
His market expanded greatly when the Civil War provided an opportunity to illustrate scenes of conflict that could not be captured or widely distributed through photography. Leslie’s fortunes declined in the 1870s, however, and he was driven into near-bankruptcy before his death in 1880.

Despite its shaky condition, the paper outlived its founder. It was revived by Leslie’s widow, Miriam, who, in an unique public relations move in 1882, legally changed her name to “Frank Leslie” and managed the paper for fifteen years. Leslie’s regularly incorporated new technologies and entered the twentieth century with its covers increasingly taking on the look of a magazine. During World War I, the publication boasted a weekly circulation of more than half a million readers. Leslie’s did not long survive the end of the war, however. Its quality declined dramatically after 1918, and it ceased publication in June 1922.

The Clements Library has long possessed a complete run of Leslie’s for the years of the Civil War, the period for which it is best known. But, aside from a few scattered runs from the 1850s, 1870s and 1890s, this visual chronicle of the growth and vibrancy of the last half of the nineteenth century and the astounding changes of the first two decades of the twentieth was missing from our collection. For some reason, while Harper’s Weekly, the magazine’s greatest rival, is relatively common, there are very few extensive runs of Leslie’s in American libraries. The Clements’ recent purchase comprised 45 years-worth of Leslie’s, from the end of the Civil War to 1922. If our campaign is successful, the Library will hold approximately 85% of the entire run of this important publication.

The great value of Leslie’s is its vast collection of pictures. It is also an accurate barometer of how popular publications changed during the later nineteenth century to both depict and incorporate rapidly developing new technologies. Photographic illustrations made their debut in the paper in 1890, followed within a year by photo covers. These gave way to full color artistic covers and changes in format and advertising to address the tastes of the new century. Leslie’s covers from World War I include striking illustrations by James Montgomery Flagg and Norman Rockwell, among many others. The paper reflects America’s fascination with the development of the automobile and the airplane, modern high-rise cities, and the tools of modern warfare. Leslie’s contains regular and supportive coverage of the late nineteenth-century renaissance of American naval power. It also has much to say about American politics and political campaigns and is particularly rich in political cartoons for the decades of the 1870s and 1880s.

LIEUTENANT FORREST’S ST. LUCIA

Lieutenant Charles Forrest, 90th Regiment of Foot, was just another junior officer in the British Army of the American Revolution. He probably considered himself less fortunate than many of his fellow subalterns. Not only did he serve in a high-numbered regiment, sure to be disbanded when peace came, but the 90th had been sent to the West Indies, known with much justification as “the graveyard of the British Army.” Fortunately for us, Forrest whiled away some of his time on the island of St. Lucia in 1780-1781 by drawing detailed watercolors depicting its most strategic sites.

Unlike Smith’s more artistic renderings of scenic America in the 1820s, also presented in this Quarto, Lieutenant Forrest’s views are very much in the tradition of military topographical drawing. While attractively showing the sweep of deep bays and rugged mountains along the northwest coast of St. Lucia, their purpose was primarily to convey information. All include annotations showing the locations and strengths of harbor batteries, and they are drawn from perspectives that allow important naval anchorages to be recognized from the sea. For historians of the American Revolution, Forrest’s drawings offer visual documentation for a region that, after 1778, became the primary theater of naval maneuvering between the French and the British.

Britain’s war in America began in 1775 as an attempt to pacify rebellious colonies. Three years later, with Continental troops still in the field, the conflict began to attract traditional European enemies: first France, soon followed by Spain and Holland. All had interests in the West Indies, and Britain shifted substantial naval and military assets there following the French declaration of war. The French struck the first blow, in September 1778, by seizing the British island of Dominica. Two months later, a British squadron sailed for the West Indies from New York, escorting ten regiments that had been serving against the rebellious
Forrest’s Jour­nal 1988

For­est’s Bat­tery; S t. Lu­cia, show­ing the Brit­ish defenses at Port Roy­al, Mar­tin­ique.

The is­sue was far from de­cid­ed. Mos­t of the Li­e­uten­t’s sta­tion and a rmed to the teeth to pro­tect the Brit­ish an­chor­age. The lie­uten­t was then aboard the frigate Lizard, per­haps serv­ing as a marine.

A month after For­rest sketched Gros Is­let Bay, Ad­miral De Grasse re­ceived or­ders to sail north to sup­port the cam­paign that culmi­nated in the de­ci­sive Fran­co­American vic­tory at Yor­k­town.

Lie­uten­t For­rest re­tired from the ser­vice after the Amer­i­can Rev­o­lu­tion and per­haps saw these draw­ings as a source of in­come. The five were ob­vi­ously one part of a sketch­book contain­ing add­i­tional wa­ter­col­ors. Twelve views, in­clud­ing the five rep­re­sented here, were en­graved and pub­lished in Lon­don be­tween 1783 and 1786. Ev­ery one of the prints is ex­trem­ly rare. The or­iginal wa­ter­col­ors, of course, bring us closer to reality it­self, and they pro­vide stu­dents of printmak­ing with a rare op­por­tu­nity to com­pare the or­i­ginal and printed ver­sions. Two of the prints were used to illus­trate John C. Dann’s 1988 ed­i­tion of The Nagogue Jour­nal (pages 62, 64).

Lee­vi­nius Van Sl yke, who was im­pressed into the Brit­ish naval ser­vice after be­ing cap­tured in an Amer­i­can pri­vat­ee, ser­ved on a Brit­ish slop­in the ex­act lo­ca­tions pic­tured by For­rest one year ear­lier.

It is prob­a­ble that if the Clems­ton Li­brary does not per­man­ently ac­quire this lot of five draw­ings they will be pur­chased by a deal­er and sold sepa­rately. At the Li­brary, For­rest’s de­tailed topograph­i­cal draw­ings com­plement both Nagogue’s jour­nal and the papers of Brit­ish Gen­eral John Vaugh­an, Lie­uten­t For­rest’s supe­rior of­fi­cer as com­man­der of Brit­ish troops in the Leeward Is­lands, 1780–1781.

As his­toria­rians have long known, and the pro­duc­ers and view­ers of tele­vi­sion doc­u­men­ta­ries are now aware, there is pre­cious lit­tle con­tem­po­rary art ex­tant for any theater of op­er­a­tion in the Amer­i­can Rev­o­lu­tion.

The Amer­i­cans. French Ad­miral d’Estaing’s fleet left Boston the same day. The two naval forces headed for the Leeward Islands in a race nar­rowly won by the Brit­ish, who gained con­trol of the main harbor of the French is­land of St. Lu­cia on De­cem­ber 12 and then, begin­ning only a day later, de­f­ly re­pelled a se­ries of land and naval attacks by d’Esta­ing.

The is­sue was far from de­cid­ed. Mos­t of the Leeward Islands changed hands at least once during the next four years before all this ac­tiv­ity climaxed in the Brit­ish naval vic­tory at the Battle of the Saintes in April 1782. Al­though the French again landed on St. Lu­cia in May 1781, they were re­pelled a sec­ond time, and the is­land re­mained Brit­ish for the du­ra­tion of the war.

Lie­uten­t Charles For­rest’s views of St. Lu­cia were drawn in 1780 and 1781 and may be di­vided into two groups re­lat­ing to ac­tiv­i­ties in those re­spective years. Three show the main harbor and naval fac­il­i­ties at Caren­age Bay on the is­land’s west coast and in­clude notes iden­ti­fy­ing lo­ca­tions of the fight­ing of De­cem­ber 1778. These were done in 1780, soon after the 90th Regiment ar­rived from Eng­land in March and be­fore a hur­ri­can­e de­vastat­ed St. Lu­cia in Oc­to­ber. The other two focus on the an­chor­age of Gros Is­let Bay seven miles north of Caren­age Bay. These were drawn in June 1781 at a time of in­tense maneu­ver­ing be­tween the fleets of Ad­mirals Rod­ney and De Grasse.

Gros Is­let Bay pro­vided con­ve­nient shelter for British war­ships as well as a com­mand­ing win­dow pos­i­tion with­in sight of the French base at Port Roy­al, Mar­tin­ique. For­rest’s draw­ings re­veal Pigeon Island at the mouth of the bay, crow­ned by a look­out station and ar­med to the teeth to pro­tect the British an­chor­age. The lie­uten­t was then aboard the frigate Lizard, per­haps serv­ing as a marine.

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In 1767, Governor Sharpe of Maryland tried to enlist the assistance of Sir William Johnson to convince the Nanticoke and Snow Hill Indians on the Eastern Shore to resettle with other members of the tribe who had already moved to the upper Susquehanna Valley. Johnson sent agents all the way from his headquarters on the Mohawk to meet with the Indians remaining on several thousand acres along the Nanticoke River. Maryland, in 1704, had legally reserved the tract for the Indians as long as they cared to remain.

Chief Choptank treated the visitors with the greatest courtesy, but respectfully declined their offers in a lengthy “talk” which he sent back to Johnson: “You see we are not rich, but we have some tenants [presumably white people], who pay us for the use of our lands; these lands you desire us to sell, and go with you, but we can’t tell that this would be so well, as we live comfortably upon the rents of our lands, but if we part with our lands and go with you, we shall have nobody to work for us, as our tenants do, and our old people cannot hunt nor make corn, and we are fearful that these old people would starve if they go into a strange land.”

By the summer of 1781, the American Revolution had been in progress for five years. The frontiers of western New York and Pennsylvania had witnessed continual and particularly brutal warfare, and much of the country had been rendered uninhabitable. Just as white settlers in outlying areas had retreated eastward to settlements of sufficient strength to fend off attacks by British and Indian raiding parties, the native population had moved westward, out of the range of combat.

On June 1, Guy Johnson, William Johnson’s nephew and successor as British Indian Commissioner, left his headquarters at Fort Niagara to visit the new Delaware, Onondaga, and Seneca Indian settlements at Kadaragaras Creek, west of present-day Buffalo, New York. He kept a detailed journal of the trip, which provides a fascinating, behind-the-scenes view of a staging area three volleys which was returned by the war party and after shaking hands with the chiefs . . . left them a keg of liquor . . . .” The diary provides unique descriptions of the settlements, meetings and conversations with various Indian chiefs. It lists the number of scalps and names of prisoners brought in, mostly taken in Pennsylvania. Two of the prisoners and two scalps were kept by the Delaware, with the intention of exchanging them at Fort Pitt and thereby gaining military intelligence about the post which they planned to attack later.

Among the prisoners delivered up to Johnson by the Seneca were four members of the Plummer family—a father, son, and two sisters. Most likely the mother and perhaps other children had been killed and were represented by one or more of the twelve scalps also given to the Indian agent. This family had been forced to march hundreds of miles from their home. Their release on the morning of June 10 must have been a moment of great joy—unfortunately a bit premature. One of Johnson’s primary missions for his trip had been to secure the release of a Miss Moore, who had been adopted by an old Seneca woman who refused to part with her. Much pressure was exerted on the Seneca woman to change her mind. On the afternoon the Plummer family was turned over to Johnson, “the prisoners all were paraded for the old woman to take her choice of one of them for Miss Moore, when she made choice of Sarah Plummer.” Imagine the horror felt by the Plummer family and the young hostage, who could only watch helplessly. One wonders what fate befell this nine-year-old girl!
The American Revolution ended in 1783. The Indian tribes of New York and Pennsylvania either allied themselves with the United States or moved toward Oswego, Fort Niagara, or into Canada, under British protection. For the tribes of Ohio—the Shawnee, Mingoese, and remnants of eastern tribes which had moved westward during the conflict, abandonment by the British seemed almost incomprehensible. On March 20, 1785, the “Shawenise and Mingoese,” writing from the Shawenise Towns, sent a desperate letter to the British at Fort Niagara: “You know the Windotts and Delawares went to Council at Beaver Creek, where they met with a man appointed by the American Congress to speak to them (he said) who told them he was glad to see them... that what was in his breast he would disclose to them directly, saying, what hands do you claim in this part? I ask you for a piece of ground, take pity on me and grant it. If you say you will, I shall give you a great many thousands of dollars, and not only that, but shall give your children what they may want and will always continue giving them. The Delawares agreed to their proposals and gave them a tract of land... the Windotts gave them from Little Beaver Creek the whole Shawenise Country... You now see Trouble is coming upon us fast, we think it nigh at hand. The Virginians are settling our country and building cabins in every place. We hope you will take Compassion upon us, acquit our younger brethren the Lake Indians and the Six Nations of our situation, that the Americans intend to pay us a visit early this Spring, when the grass is four inches high.”

When the dreaded meeting with the Americans took place at Wakanima, Ohio, on May 18, 1785, the Shawnee and Mingoese, along with representatives of portions of the Delaware and Cherokee tribes attempted to hide their fears by taking a defiant stance. Captain Johnny, of the Shawnee, delivered a remarkable speech, which fortunately was written down for transmission to Detroit by Simon Girty. After ridiculing the previous Indian councils and the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh, Captain Johnny said that the natives will not attend any further conferences unless they “kindle it at Detroit where our Forefathers did... we see your intention, you are drawing close to us, and so near our bedsides that we can almost hear the noise of your axes felling our trees and settling our country. According to the lines settled by our forefathers, the boundary is the Ohio River, but you are coming upon the ground given to us by the Great Spirit... but it is now clear to us your design is to take our country from us. We remind you that you will find all the people of our colour in this island strong, unanimous, and determined to act as one man in defense of it. Therefore be strong and keep your people within bounds, or we shall take up a rod and whip them back to your side of the Ohio. It is now incumbent on you to restrain your people and listen to us, otherwise the consequences of what may happen hereafter will be your fault.”

In June and July 1997, approximately 300 previously unknown letters and documents came up for sale in Montreal. They originally were part of the correspondence files of the British Indian Department, headed first by Sir William Johnson (from 1755 to 1774), then by Guy Johnson (1774-1782) and thereafter by Sir John Johnson (1782-1830). As was commonplace in the eighteenth century, archival records of this sort retained by former officeholders became private property after accounts had been settled with the government. In the nineteenth century, the New York State Library acquired several large groups of Johnson Papers by gift and purchase. Fortunately, this particular bundle of papers was not among them, because that collection was to a considerable degree lost in a disastrous fire at the turn of the century.

The monumental importance of the collection for Native American studies cannot be exaggerated. The Clements Library, having already committed itself to the other items described in this issue of The Quarto, had no money to spend, but these items simply had to be saved. The Library alerted, and worked with several other institutions to insure that most of the important documents in the first sale would be permanently preserved and available to scholars. This library successfully bid on 52 letters and documents, going particularly for items known to exist in no other copy. Fortunately, the National Archives of Canada was able to purchase the entire collection offered at the second sale, much of which related to present-day Canada.

The letters partially described and quoted above are representative of the quality and importance of the documents acquired by the Clements. Among the rest is a minute book of a previously unknown Committee of Indian Affairs in Albany, 1753-1755 which gives a marvelous picture of the effects of growing Anglo-French hostility in the Ohio Valley on the Iroquois Confederacy—full of captivities, spy reports, and even a visit by “Mr. Franklin” at the time of the Albany Conference. There are three letters by the very unloveable, two-faced Lieutenant Benjamin Roberts, 1766-68, including his full account of the trial of Robert Rogers. There is a fascinating, almost mystical letter of John Butler urging the Indians to smuggle the Council House and the sacred tree of the Iroquois Confederacy out of contested territory and re-establish it and the sacred fire in western New York. And there are a variety of “talks” by Indian leaders, letters of Indian agents, minutes of Indian councils, and treaties which shed a great deal of new light on Native American history in a particularly crucial period. It is very important that the Library secure these letters as a permanent part of the collection.
After the Revolutionary War, the Ohio Valley became host to an intense wave of emigration by veterans and their families, exacerbating the already tenuous relations with the Indians in the area. Among the earliest white settlers in the panhandle region of West Virginia were three Revolutionary veterans from Virginia, the brothers Captain Josiah and Colonel Thomas Van Swearingen and Major General Henry Bedinger, later to be their brother-in-law. Like many early settlers in the Ohio Valley, the Van Swearingens and Bedingers were as much involved in land speculation as they were in settlement. It seems, at times, that every settler was either a speculator or an agent for speculators, and the Van Swearingens and Bedingers were both. By the late 1780s, the families had established themselves as significant forces in the region politically, militarily, and economically.

The Van Swearingen-Bedinger collection contains an unusually large body of legal papers, receipts, and letters, from the period of the Revolution through the turn of the nineteenth century, documenting the early stages of American migration into the Ohio Valley. Letters from the Ohio-West Virginia frontier are exceptionally scarce, more so when they include correspondents as literate and widely experienced as the Van Swearingens and Bedingers. At first glance the collection appears to consist mainly of small scraps and receipts; in aggregate, these "scraps" provide detailed information on the frontier economy, information that is otherwise extremely elusive. The letters that have survived often contain extraordinary passages that help flesh out the lives of early settlers. Those written by Henry Bedinger while a soldier in the 5th Virginia Regiment and while a prisoner of war on Long Island are of particular historical importance. Equally significant are his letters relating to Indian-white tensions on the Ohio frontier. In one, he enclosed a hastily drawn map showing the battlefield where an American force, regulars and militia, under General Arthur St. Clair was routed by Indians of the Maumee and Wabash Rivers, on November 4, 1791, a disastrous defeat for the fledgling United States Army.

Together with the Clements' collections of the papers of Josiah Harmar, Anthony Wayne, the Forman family, Horace Holley, and the Woods family (a recent donation to the Library), the Van Swearingen-Bedinger Papers will help to consolidate the reputation of the Clements Library as one of the preeminent centers in the nation for study of this critical period in the Early Republic.

Major General Bedinger drew this eyewitness map showing General Arthur St. Clair's forces collapsing under the attack by Indians of the Maumee and Wabash Rivers, on November 4, 1791.
After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1854, John Eaton avidly pursued a career in education. As principal of the War School in Cleveland, Ohio, and superintendent of schools in Toledo (1856-1859), Eaton earned a reputation as an able and efficient administrator. Yet, despite all his success and his love for teaching, he abruptly shifted career course in 1859 to prepare for the ministry at Andover Seminary. Ordained in 1861, Eaton volunteered as chaplain of the 27th Ohio Infantry, but in November of the following year he was removed from that position by Ulysses Grant, who found that Eaton’s administrative experience made him an invaluable choice for supervisor of the “contraband” camps in the Mississippi Valley. Over the next three years, Eaton organized and oversaw the burgeoning numbers of former slaves who had escaped into Union lines, and his jurisdiction, which eventually encompassed the entire Department of the Tennessee and Arkansas, included responsibilities as diverse as maintaining the peace, setting up schools, and managing plantations, paving the way for the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. In 1864 he was rewarded for his efforts with a colonel’s commission in the 63rd U.S. Colored Infantry, raised near Vicksburg, and was brevetted brigadier general in March 1865. In that same month, he accepted a position with the Freedmen’s Bureau as Assistant Commissioner in charge of Maryland, the District of Columbia, and part of Virginia.

From 1866-67, Eaton remained in the south, editing a “radical” Unionist newspaper, the Memphis Post, and under the school law of 1867 won election as state superintendent of education. Although his educational policies were steadfastly opposed in Tennessee, his support for President Grant, as editor, educator, and political organizer, earned him a series of governmental appointments. Eaton proved to be a particularly effective lobbyist for public education. His experience and political savvy are credited with salvaging the Floundering Bureau of Education from congressional cutbacks, and he personally oversaw the development of the Bureau’s department of statistics. He remained at his post until ill health forced his resignation in 1866, but he never left education behind. Later in life he served as president of Marietta College in Ohio and Sheldon Jackson College in Salt Lake City. During the military occupation of Puerto Rico in 1899, he helped organize the island’s public school system.

The Eaton collection provides rich coverage of his activities during the Civil War years, including an important body of correspondence relating to the recruitment of the 63rd U.S. Colored Infantry, a nearly complete run of locally-printed orders issued on behalf of Freedmen’s relief, and important documentation on the establishment and early operation of the Freedmen’s Bureau. The collection also contains a sizable group of letters from John Eaton’s brother, Lucien, who was an officer in the 65th Ohio Infantry.

Of equal interest and historical importance are the papers of his wife’s family, also present in significant quantity. On September 29, 1864, Eaton married Alice Eugenia Shirley, the daughter of James Shirley, a native of New Hampshire and graduate of Dartmouth, who settled in Mississippi. He became a lawyer and prosperous planter in Vicksburg. Although a slave holder, he had been an ardent Whig and was a Union sympathizer during the war. As fate would have it, his plantation, “the Shirley House,” was at the center of the Vicksburg battlefield. It survived because Mrs. Shirley refused to leave, even when shells were occasionally hitting the roof. The papers include letters and diaries written in the home during the battle, even samples of the wallpaper which hung in the parlor at the time of the siege. Knowing the sympathies of the occupants, Union gunners avoided aiming at the house, and it was later restored and is the headquarters of the National Park Service there today.

John Eaton, a reformer in the mid-nineteenth-century mold, left his mark on American public education, race relations, journalism, and the military. His papers, augmented by over 200 photographs of family members and Civil War comrades, were preserved in a New England attic for more than a century before they were consigned to a local Vermont auction in 1996, and sold as several dozen “lots.” A dear friend of the Clements, book dealer Ken Leach, alerted the Library to the upcoming sale. We felt it would be a tragedy if we didn’t try to reassemble as much of the collection as possible. We were able to secure 80% of the collection at the sale, and an additional 10% was tracked down to other purchasers and acquired later. Ken Leach deserves a medal, and so will the donors to the Clements Library’s 75th Campaign if we successfully save this uniquely important manuscript collection. This is the type of rescue the Clements has frequently performed.
SOUTH CAROLINA DURING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR
THE LETTERBOOKS OF GOVERNOR WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON, 1756-1759

William Henry Lyttelton became governor of the colony of South Carolina during one of the most turbulent periods of the eighteenth century. Only three months after he assumed office in June 1756, official notification arrived in Charleston that war had been declared on France, providing the official stamp of approval for the hostilities that had torn at the colony’s borders for years. By all accounts, Lyttelton dealt admirably well with preparing the Carolinian defenses against foreign attack, and he was equally adept at managing the flood tide of Acadian refugees arriving in Charleston harbor.

The great test of Lyttelton’s governorship, however, came in his dealings with the powerful Cherokee Indians. Here he fared considerably less well. After rejecting an offer of peace from the Cherokee in 1759, Lyttelton rashly ordered a punitive expedition into the back country, over the strong protests of his more experienced subordinates, and broke off relations, detaining a Cherokee delegation as hostages. Simultaneously, his army was ravaged by smallpox, leaving him unable to deliver the force necessary to implement his plans and precipitating a brutal, bloody, and costly war.

Fortunately for Lyttelton, he was called to the governorship of Jamaica in April 1760, a post considered one of the plum appointments in the colonial service. Here, too, his career was marked by a mixture of great ability and stunning incompetence. Almost immediately upon his arrival in Kingston, Lyttelton became embroiled in conflict with the Jamaica Council and Assembly, and throughout his governorship he had his hands full with conflict, political spats, Spanish and French aggression abroad, and slave rebellions at home. In October 1766, he accepted an appointment as ambassador to Portugal, ending for good his American sojourn. Later in life, Lyttelton wrote several historical works on the West Indies and published a book of uninspired verse. He was eventually created baron in both the Irish and English peerages.

In the 1950s, the Clements Library purchased the bulk of the Lyttelton Papers, largely his incoming correspondence, from an heir. Unfortunately, the owner later sold Governor Lyttelton’s letterbooks—the retained copies of his outgoing correspondence—and the volumes were acquired as an investment by the British Rail Pension Fund. Wishing to divest themselves of this property, Railpen offered the three weighty volumes to the Library.

The importance of the Lyttelton letterbooks can hardly be overemphasized. Reunited with the manuscripts that have been in the Clements since 1954, the Lyttelton Papers are the single most important manuscript resource for South Carolina in the 1750s, containing a wealth of information on the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Catawba Indians, the French and Indian War in the south, the growth of slavery in the Carolinas and Jamaica, relations with Spanish Florida and the French, the governance of Jamaica, and the wave of Scotch Irish immigrants moving south from Virginia and North Carolina into the back country. The volumes are expensive, but it is one of those purchases which simply has to be made. It brings together the two halves of an exceedingly important historical record.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A MEMORABLE GIFT

You may choose one of these exciting acquisitions to make a contribution to the Clements Library’s 75th Anniversary Celebration in your own name or that of someone you wish to honor. Your generosity will be acknowledged with a handsome nameplate by the Library Director John Dann would welcome the opportunity to discuss any of these gift options with you.

$500: A complete volume of Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper.

$1,000: One of 16 more extensive British Indian Department Documents.

$1,500: One of five particularly significant British Indian Department Documents.

$2,000: One of Lieutenant Charles Forrest’s View of Lt. Lucia during the American Revolution.

$2,500: Guy Johnson’s Diary, June 1-13, 1781. An extremely important document by the Secretary to Sir William Johnson giving a history of the Indian Department and its archives.

$5,000: The Record Book of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, at Albany, New York, June 1733-April, 1755. Three 1766 letters by Lieutenant Benjamin Roberts and his Diary of a trip from Michilimackinac, through Detroit, to Montreal to attend Robert Rogers’ trial.

$10,000: One of Thomas Smith’s 14 exquisite views of America in the 1820s.

$30,000: The Van Swearingen-Bedinger Collection.

$50,000: The Eaton-Shirley Papers.

$75,000: Governor William Henry Lyttelton’s South Carolina Letterbooks, 1756-1759.
CALENDAR OF EVENTS


November-December, Exhibit, Solving the Mystery of HMS Bounty in the Context of Three Centuries of Pacific Exploration.

January 12 - February 27, Exhibit, Changing Perceptions of the American Landscape, presented in conjunction with the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts environmental theme semester.

January 19, Program, War, Race, and Citizenship. A showing of the 1989 film "Glory" followed by a panel discussion, a Martin Luther King, Jr. Symposium Event, co-sponsored by the Department of History and the Clements Library.

Angell Hall, Auditorium A, 1 pm.

March 15 - May 31, Exhibit, Manuscript Treasures of the Clements Library, presented in conjunction with The Manuscript Society's meeting on May 22, celebrating its first meeting fifty years ago at the Clements Library.


June 1 - August 28, Exhibit, The Lay of the Land: Topographical Drawings in America, 1700-1850.

JUNE 19

SAVE THIS DATE FOR THE Clements Library Associates' 75th Anniversary Celebration Banquet at the Michigan League!

Program details and ticket reservation information will be forthcoming early 1998.

ONE HUNDRED AND ONE TREASURES FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY

The Clements Library, in conjunction with its 75th Anniversary Celebration, is pleased to announce the publication of One Hundred and One Treasures from the Collections of the William L. Clements Library (Ann Arbor, 1998).

The book is aimed at meeting a long-perceived need for a publication which presents a sampling of the collections, telling a story about each item while giving the reader a sense of the importance, the purpose, and the nature of the Clements Library. We would hope that it is just as interesting to someone being introduced to the institution as it is amusing and instructive to our long-term friends.

It is a substantial volume, heavily illustrated and 180 pages in length. One Hundred and One Treasures was elegantly designed and printed by Stinehour Press, and its publication made possible by a generous grant from The Mosaic Foundation of Peter and Rita Heydon of Ann Arbor, Michigan, in the interest of supporting the Library's 75th Anniversary Campaign. Copies will be selectively distributed free of cost to institutions. Otherwise, it will be available in January 1998 exclusively to contributors of $100 or more to the Clements Library 75th Anniversary Campaign.


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