

THE QUARTO

NO. 30

THE CLEMENTS LIBRARY ASSOCIATES

FALL-WINTER 2008

SOMETHING SPECIAL

The fall-winter *Quarto* goes to press just as the Clements Library is experiencing a very significant transition. For the first time in thirty-one years—and for only the fourth time since it opened its doors in 1923—this distinguished institution is welcoming a new director. In recognition of an event of such importance, this issue of the *Quarto* features a tiny sampling of the many special items that he will find within the Library's walls.

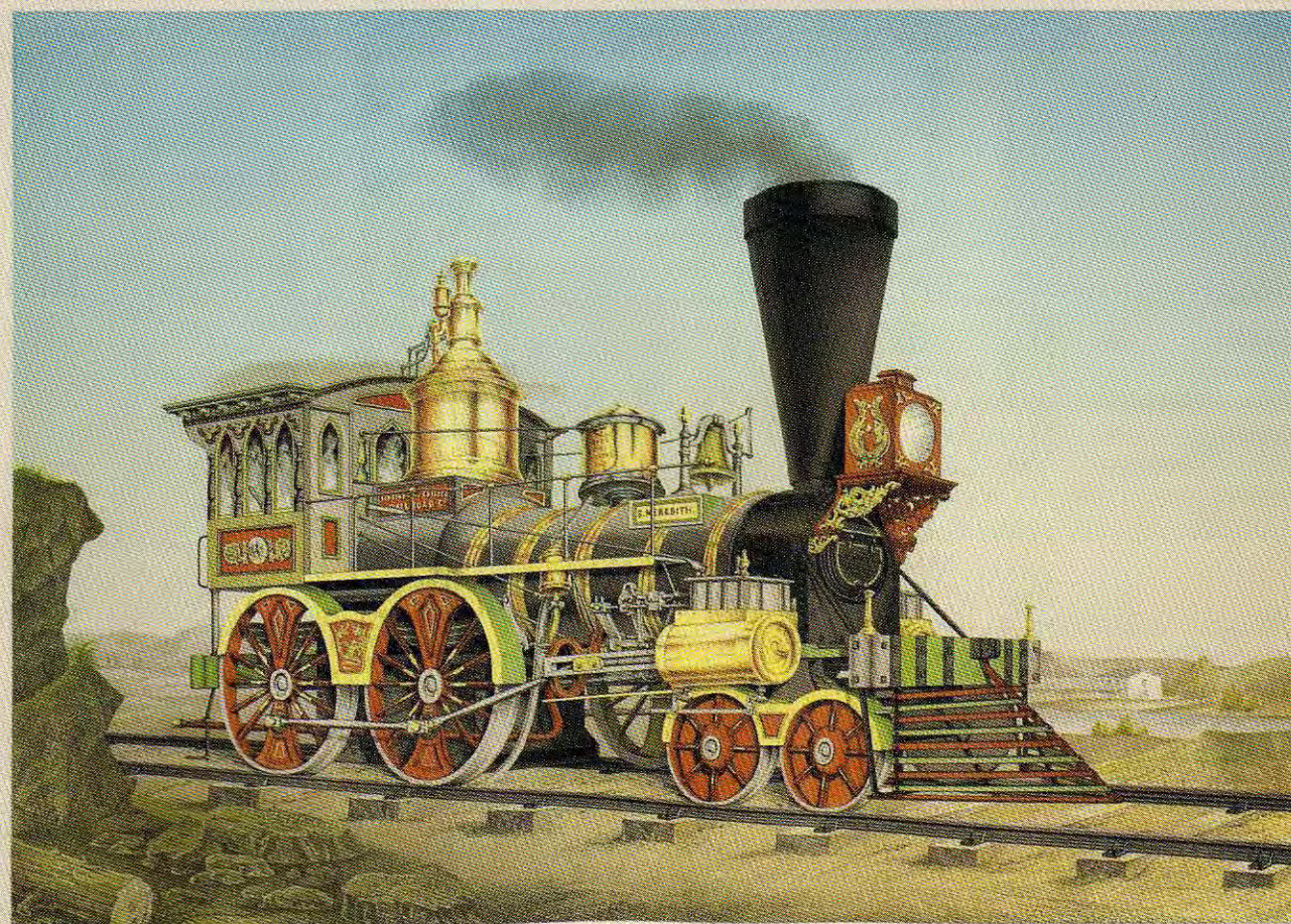
But, first, it is my pleasure to introduce Dr. J. Kevin Graffagnino, who is poised to lead the Clements Library into the future. Kevin brings a wealth of solid experience with the kinds of institutions that preserve and present historical source material, as well as an enthusiastic love and appreciation for antiquarian books, the heart and original focus of the Clements Library collection. Kevin's fascination with rare books began early in his life, and by the age

of seventeen, he had commenced a career as an antiquarian book dealer. In the years since, he has been a curator of Americana, an auctioneer, a scholar, teacher, publisher, administrator, and successful fundraiser. He has served as the chief executive of two state historical organizations and a prestigious state historical society library.

Kevin Graffagnino comes to the Clements Library from the Vermont Historical Society, where he has served

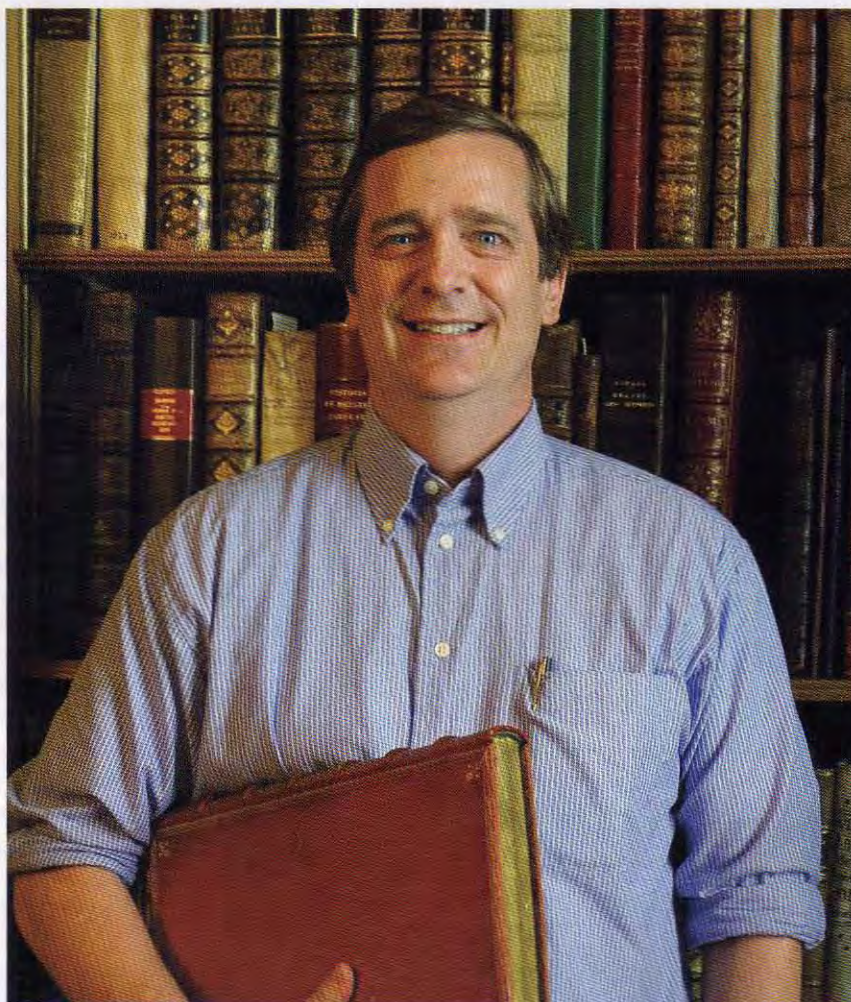
This color-printed lithograph of an ornate passenger locomotive advertised the Philadelphia firm of Richard Norris & Son. It is one of the extra illustrations that distinguish the extremely rare Philadelphia commercial edition of Colton's Atlas of America (New York, 1856), recently purchased for the collection by the Clements Library Associates.

EXPRESS PASSENGER LOCOMOTIVE.



as director since 2003. As head of that award-winning state history organization, Kevin has coordinated a variety of programs, including the society's library and archives, its museum, publications, education activities, outreach, and development. Kevin was director of the Kentucky Historical Society from 1999 to 2003. Earlier professional experience includes four years as director of the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which has one of the best-known history collections in the country. He went to Wisconsin after seventeen years as a curator of special collections at the University of Vermont.

Kevin holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Massachusetts, an M.A. in history from the University of Vermont, and B.A. degrees in history and English from the same institution. He is a prolific author, who has contributed numerous books and articles on such subjects as Ethan Allen, Vermont history and cartography, and the history of books. Kevin has taught at the univer-



sity level and has delivered more than six hundred lectures and public presentations on a variety of historical topics. He has publishing experience as well, having co-founded Vermont Heritage Press to produce books, maps, and prints relating to northern New England history.

Kevin Graffagnino has been a supporter of the Clements Library for many years. He is a long-time Associate

and was a guest at the Library's 75th anniversary celebration and related map curators' conference in 1998. He has kept up with developments here through the *Quarto* and has spent several weeks at the Library this summer and fall, becoming more familiar with the institution. I know you will all join me in welcoming Kevin Graffagnino and his spouse, Leslie A. Hasker. I hope you have an opportunity to meet them in the months ahead.

For this issue of the *Quarto*, the Library's contributing staff members were asked to identify something in the collections that each considered particularly special. Their choices include manuscripts, maps, and

graphics that are all just a bit out of the ordinary but illustrate the scope and quality of what is to be found in the holdings of the Clements Library.

*Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Curator of Maps and Head of
Research & Publications*

MAP WITH A MESSAGE

The Clements Library collections include roughly 40,000 maps of the Americas, of which over ninety percent are printed. The printed map offers a curator many challenges, not least of which is determining its origins. Very few printed maps are completely original. Most have been compiled from a variety of sources: manuscript maps, written documents, and other printed maps. As a result, many printed maps look just like other printed maps, differing only in style of engraving, a publisher's name, a date or place of publication, or some decorative feature. One of the most interesting discoveries a map curator can make is that a copy is not just a copy.

Copying was a cheap and reliable publication technique, but few printed maps are ever really mere copies. The alterations, additions, and deletions

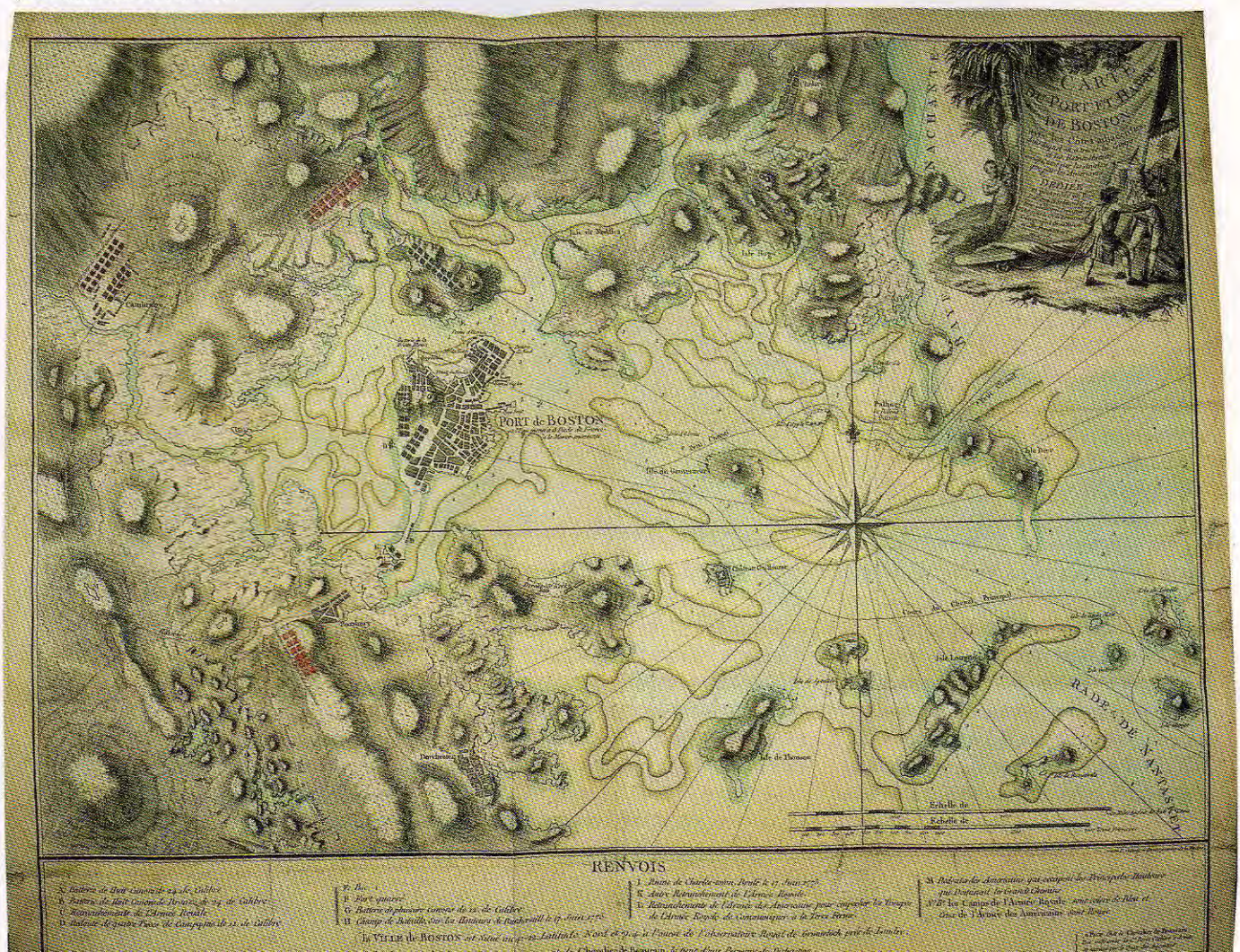
made from the original tell us about a new map's intended audience and the power of its graphic design. What seems to be a copy may be a map with an entirely different message. The theme of revolution lends itself particularly well to this cartographic process, especially when social upheaval is preceded by the contest over appropriated space. Maps of America made during the Revolution fill many drawers of the Map Division, and one of those depicting Boston and its environs carried a special message for its intended audience.

The volatile situation in Boston in 1775 was of particular interest to the French. France was only twelve years away from having abandoned her possessions in North America to the British by the Treaty of Paris (1763), which ended the Seven Years' War. That conflict had also left France with enormous

debt, a shattered navy, and an uncertain future as a power on the global stage. In addition, the Treaty of Paris had placed a Francophone, Roman Catholic population in Canada under British administration. France still held two sugar-producing islands in the West Indies (Guadeloupe and Martinique) and two cod-fishing islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (St. Pierre and Miquelon). Thus, she was keenly alert to the events of 1775 and their implications for restoration of a French presence in her former colonies. In this context of bitter loss and renewed conflict in North America the *Carte du Port et Havre de Boston* was published in Paris in 1776 by the French military cartographer, Le Chevalier Jean de Beaurain.

At first glance, the *Carte du Port et Havre de Boston* seems to be a straightforward copy of a portion of the chart published in London in 1775 by

Jean-Baptiste de Beaurain's Carte du Port et Havre de Boston depicts the town, its environs, and military positions as they were in the summer of 1775. British troops (shown in blue) occupy the Charlestown peninsula, captured from the American rebels in the costly battle of Bunker Hill on June 17.



Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres (1722-1824), British hydrographer and surveyor. Beaurain's map skillfully reproduces the topography and hydrography of the western half of the Des Barres chart, exhibiting similar renderings of the coastline, hills, and rivers of the mainland. Beaurain also marks the artillery and fortifications on the Boston peninsula with a system of letter references similar to that of Des Barres. However, Beaurain added two new features to his map: a decorative cartouche in the top right corner and the notation of three corps of American troops (shown in red) encircling the beleaguered British (blue) in Boston. Although these military positions create a vivid impression that the Americans have outnumbered and outmaneuvered the British, their placement greatly exaggerates the true situation around Boston in 1775.

Beaurain credits his sources in vague but intriguing terms at the bottom of the map: "Cette carte a été copiée sur du Plan Original apporté à la cour d'Angleterre et levé par ordre du Gouvernement. Le Chevalier de Beaurain la tient d'une personne de Distinction." ["This map has been copied from an original plan brought to the Court of England and surveyed by order of the government. The Chevalier de Beaurain got it from a person of distinction."] The phrase "surveyed by order

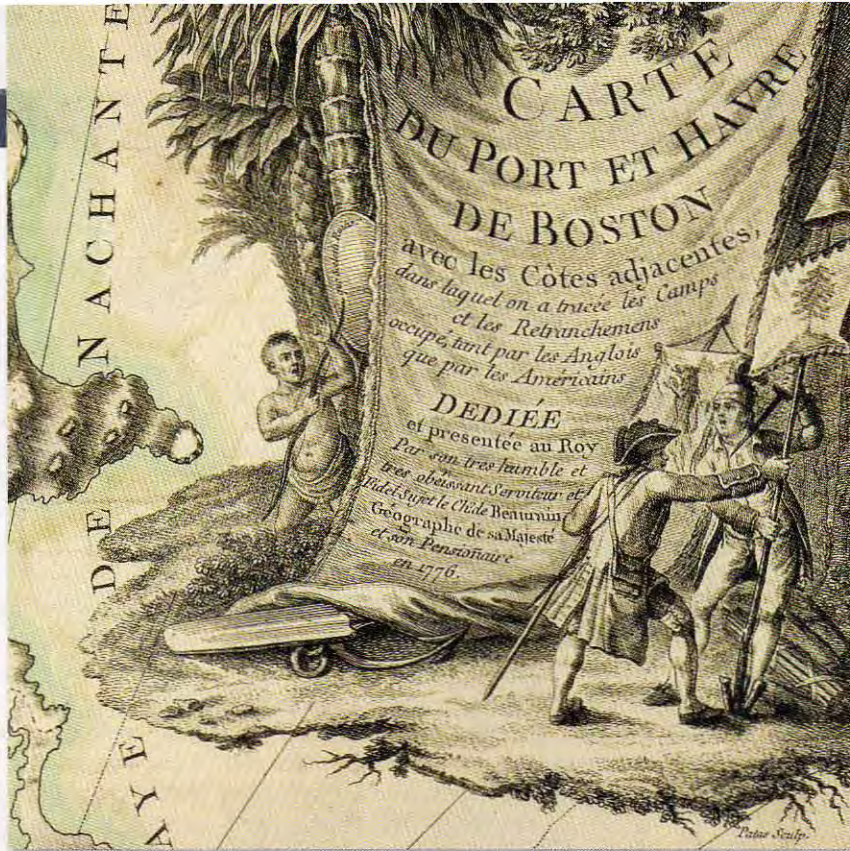
of the government" suggests Des Barres, who was under orders of the British Admiralty to make his surveys of the American coastline. But the identity of the "person of distinction" remains a mystery.

Even more intriguing is why a French cartographer known for maps of

of Louis XIV's military campaigns of the 1670s and republishing some of his father's work.

In spite of the Beaurain reputation, Jean-Baptiste was struggling with debt in 1776. His father's creditors had been pursuing him since 1773, and, in 1785, he declared bankruptcy. His map of the

military history would be interested in current events in Boston. Who was the Chevalier de Beaurain? Jean-Baptiste Jacques de Beaurain was born in 1728, the son of Jean de Beaurain (1696-1771). His father had arrived in Paris in 1715, at age nineteen, to study geography with Pierre Moulart-Sanson, grandson of the eminent seventeenth-century geographer and mapmaker, Nicolas Sanson. Beaurain became one of the tutors in geography to the very young King Louis XV (1710-74), a service he also performed for the king's son, the Duc de Bourgogne, father of Louis XVI. The senior Jean de Beaurain was well known for military histories illustrated by detailed plans; one of them, *Histoire Militaire de Flandre, depuis l'année 1690 jusqu'en 1694* (Paris, 1756), contained over one hundred maps of the battles and sieges of Louis XIV's campaign against the Dutch coalition. His son, Jean-Baptiste, became *géographe du roi* in 1765 and in 1771 received an annual pension for a map of the theater of the "last war" (i.e., the Seven Years' War) presented to King Louis XV. Beaurain followed in his father's cartographic footsteps by publishing histories



Beaurain's Native American warrior recites Horace.

port and harbor of Boston may have been an attempt to recoup losses by capitalizing on an event of interest not only to the French public but also to the king and his ministers. Both the engraving of the map and the design of the cartouche link Beaurain to those ministries most involved with plans for France's involvement in the War of American Independence.

The cartouche exhibits a strong narrative quality, beginning with the map's title, dedication, and author, which are written in *trompe l'oeil* fashion on a draped cloth hanging from trees native to North America. The palm, though out of place in New England, was a consistent symbol for the New World. To the right, a colonial volunteer soldier grips the banner of Massachusetts in his right hand, thrusting it firmly into the ground. The colony's symbol is on the banner—the mighty white pine, native tree of America, abundant source of wood for ships' masts and of resin for their waterproofing. Atop the banner's staff is the liberty cap, the *pilleus*, an ancient symbol of freedom, as it was the hat worn by emancipated Roman slaves. (One of its earliest appearances was on the coin minted by Brutus in celebration of the assassination of Julius Caesar.)

With his left hand, the colonist points a dagger at the British soldier who attempts to wrest the banner of Massachusetts from him. In the soldier's left hand is a British banner displaying the English lion rampant. At their feet lie the *fascies*, the bundle of rods around an axe, another ancient symbol designating the authority of Rome or the state. This authority, like the *fascies* in the struggle, lay at the core of the contest between the colonies and the mother country.

To the left, watching the fracas from afar, stands a horrified Native American. His thoughts are expressed in the line of Latin that runs like a cartoon balloon from the bow in his right hand onto the shield hung on the tree behind him: "QUO SCELESTI RUITIS?" The noble savage has chosen the first line of Epode VII by the Roman poet Horace to express his thoughts on the civil war breaking out in Massachusetts: "Where are you running to, you criminals?" His literary instinct is unerring.

The poem, written in the first century B.C., concerns civil war in ancient Rome. The chaos in 44 B.C. following the assassination of Julius Caesar, whose

dictatorship had itself ended nearly one hundred years of civil strife, engendered civil war once again between the factions led by Caesar's old friend, Marc Antony and his great-nephew and successor, Octavian. In his poem, Horace expresses

his horror at the renewed conflict. Jean de Beaurain (or his unnamed cartouche designer) seems to suggest that the events of post-Republican Rome parallel the troubles brewing for England in her colonies.

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS, EPODE VII

*Quo quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
aptantur enses conditi?
parumne campis atque Neptuno super
fusum est Latini sanguinis?
non ut superbas invidae Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret
intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus Via,
sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
urbs haec periret dextera,
neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus,
numquam nisi in dispar feris.
furorne caecus an rapit vis acrior
an culpa? Responsum date!
tacent et ora pallor albus inficit
mentesque percussae stupent.
sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt
scelusque fraternae necis,
ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
sacer nepotibus cruor.*

Where o where are you running to, you criminals? Or rather, why
do you brandish your once-sheathed swords?

Has too little Roman blood been spilt
over land and sea?

Not so that the Roman might burn
the haughty towers of hated Carthage?

Nor so that the undefeated Briton might walk down
the Sacred Way in chains?

But rather so that this city might perish by its own hand,
answering the prayer of the Parthians?

Not even wolves or lions commit violence
against their own kind!

Does a blind furor or some more bitter force
or guilt overcome you? Give answer!

They are silent. A ghostly pallor dyes their faces
and their shattered senses are stunned.

So it is. Bitter fates drive the Romans,
and the crime of fratricide

Ever since the holy blood of blameless Remus flowed onto the land,
a curse for his posterity.

Several elements of Horace's Epode may be found in the scene of the cartouche and on the map. The colonist brandishes the "once-sheathed sword," a weapon put away at the close of the Seven Years' War. Roman blood "spilt over land and sea" is recalled in the map's rendering of both battlefield and sea. The mast (from the white pine), oar, and anchor in the cartouche further evoke maritime activities. Why was this blood spilt? Surely not to "burn the haughty towers of hated Carthage" as the English had burnt the nearby village of Charlestown, noted in Beaurain's key.

to the East to fight the Parthians that Julius Caesar was assassinated. He knew the danger of this strong empire on Rome's weak eastern flank. Located in the area now occupied by Iran and Iraq, the expansionist Parthians were a constant threat to the Romans. Indeed, after the deaths of Caesar's assassins in the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C., the Parthians took advantage of the civil distractions in Rome to attack the eastern frontier. Thus, the dearest wish of the Parthians of Horace's poem paralleled the deep desire of France to see her enemy, England, defeated and humiliated by

civil strife. As Horace evoked the fratricide of Remus at the hands of Romulus Beaurain shows us the fratricide of the colonists by their British brothers.

These Horatian sentiments emanate from the Indian's head; the line of his bow draws our eye upwards toward the quoted verse. The Indian does not participate in the conflict but serves as observer and commentator. This is in marked contrast to the Seven Years' War in which

Amerindians played an important role by allying themselves with the warring nations of Britain and France. The Indian may be encouraging his old French allies to take advantage of this moment in which the British could easily lose their empire. And, in particular, he is encouraging the French king.

While the author's address in the lower right-hand corner makes it clear that this map was intended for sale, the title cartouche tells us that it was also a royal presentation piece. Louis XVI was only twenty-two years old in 1776 and had been on the throne barely two years. Like his grandfather, Louis XV, the young king loved geography, history, science, and maps. He had conducted

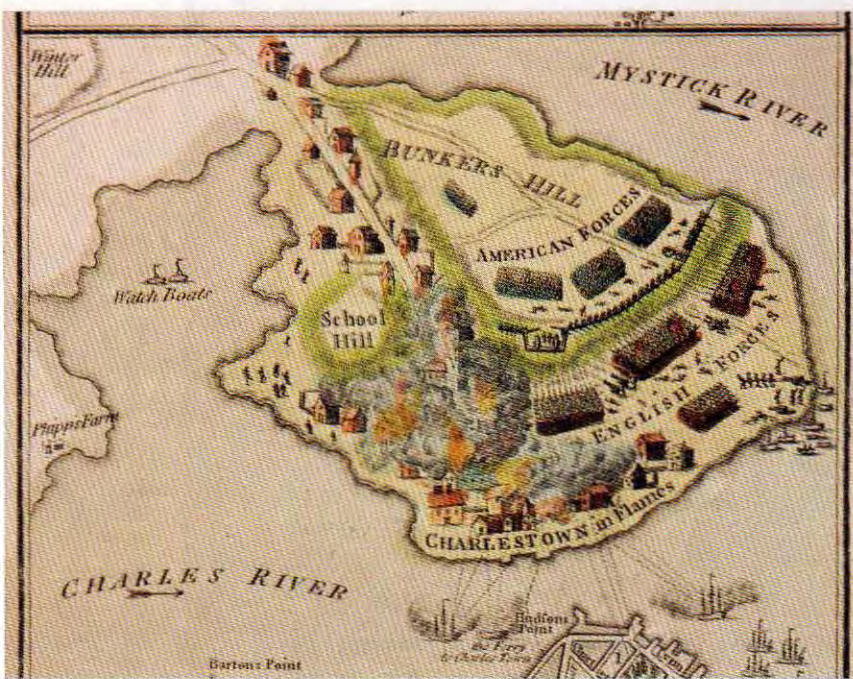
his own surveys of the hunting forest of Compiègne and the grounds of Versailles and even presented his own map of Italy to the Académie des Sciences by age sixteen.

Louis was enamored of English life and politics, reading articles from *The Spectator* to keep abreast of parliamentary debates. His correspondence demonstrates that he tracked the events in North America closely and understood the implications of every battle. We can imagine that he perfectly understood the political message in the geography of Beaurain's map. And, like all well-educated young men of his day, he knew his Latin.

The map, its cartouche, and its Latin tag all reflect the growing support found by the rebelling colonists in the French court. Still smarting from the loss of Canada, the French saw in the deepening colonial crisis the opportunity to deprive Britain of her power in Europe. Even before the vaunted Declaration of Independence, the French government was secretly mobilizing support for the Americans. On May 2, 1776, the minister of foreign affairs, Vergennes, placed before the king the authorization of one million *livres* "for the service of the English colonies." The French king wrote to his cousin, Charles II of Spain, on June 19, 1776: "I think the time has now come to concentrate exclusively on taking the measures most appropriate to humiliating this Power [England] which is our national enemy and the rival of our House [i.e. the Bourbons]."

By the end of 1776, emissaries of the American Continental Congress, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee, had all arrived in Paris to seek further French intervention and aid in their struggle against their English brothers. Their work culminated in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, signed in February 1778, after which French warships and soldiers traveled to North America, helping the colonists deliver the *coup de grace* to the British at Yorktown in 1781. Beaurain's Indian would have smiled.

Mary Sponberg Pedley
Assistant Curator of Maps

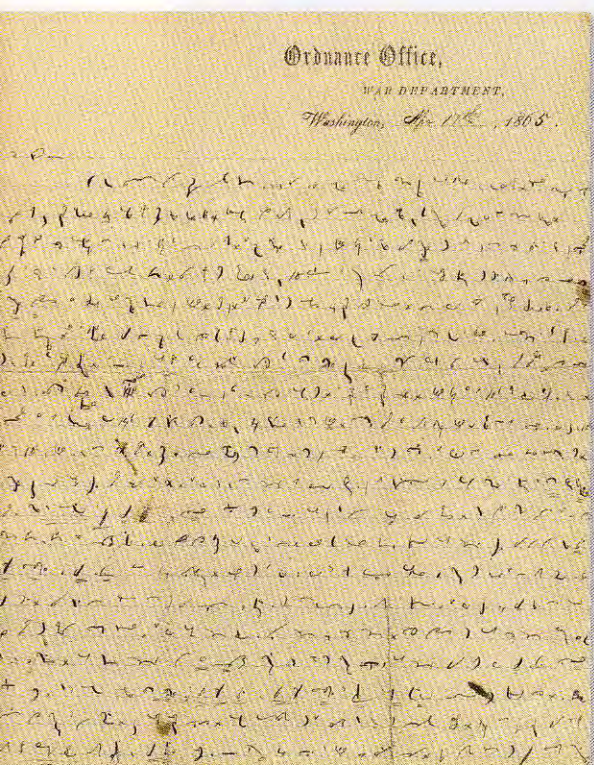


Charlestown burns during the fighting at Bunker Hill. This pictorial map is the upper portion of Plan of the Town of Boston with the Attack on Bunkers-Hill in the Peninsula of Charlestown the 17th of June 1775, which is inset on *The Seat of War in New England...* (London, 1775).

Civil war, Horace tells us, is not the custom of "even wolves or lions." Wolves evoke the brothers Romulus and Remus, as the colonists are brothers with their English counterparts, the latter represented by the lion on the banner of the British soldier. "A ghostly pallor... the shattered senses" may be seen on these dumbstruck faces, their mouths agape. The "crime of fratricide" is what is driving the Romans and the English alike. Civil war would only answer the "prayer of the Parthians," the superpower of the ancient Near East and the enemy who would benefit from chaos in Rome just as the French would profit from rebellion in Massachusetts.

It was on the eve of his departure

A MOST SOLEMN NIGHT



James Tanner's shorthand letter was written on Ordnance Office stationery.

The Clements Library has a very small collection of Abraham Lincoln items, one of which stands out as truly exceptional. It is a letter, written in Pitman shorthand by James Tanner to Henry F. Walch on April 17, 1865, regarding his eyewitness account of the death of Abraham Lincoln. As we approach the bicentennial of Lincoln's birth, this seems an appropriate time to feature some of the Clements Library's Lincoln materials. We received this letter in 1936, a gift from Nellie Strawhecker and Paul O. Strawhecker. Nellie was the wife of Charles Strawhecker, a friend of Henry F. Walch, and Paul was Nellie and Charles's son. The letter describes James Tanner's experiences the night Lincoln was shot and during the early morning hours when the President lay mortally wounded in William Petersen's house, across the street from Ford's Theatre.

On April 21, the *New York Times* ran a long article entitled "Last Hours of President Lincoln," which was written in Washington on Saturday, April 15. James Tanner was mentioned, briefly, as the "short-hand reporter...who was

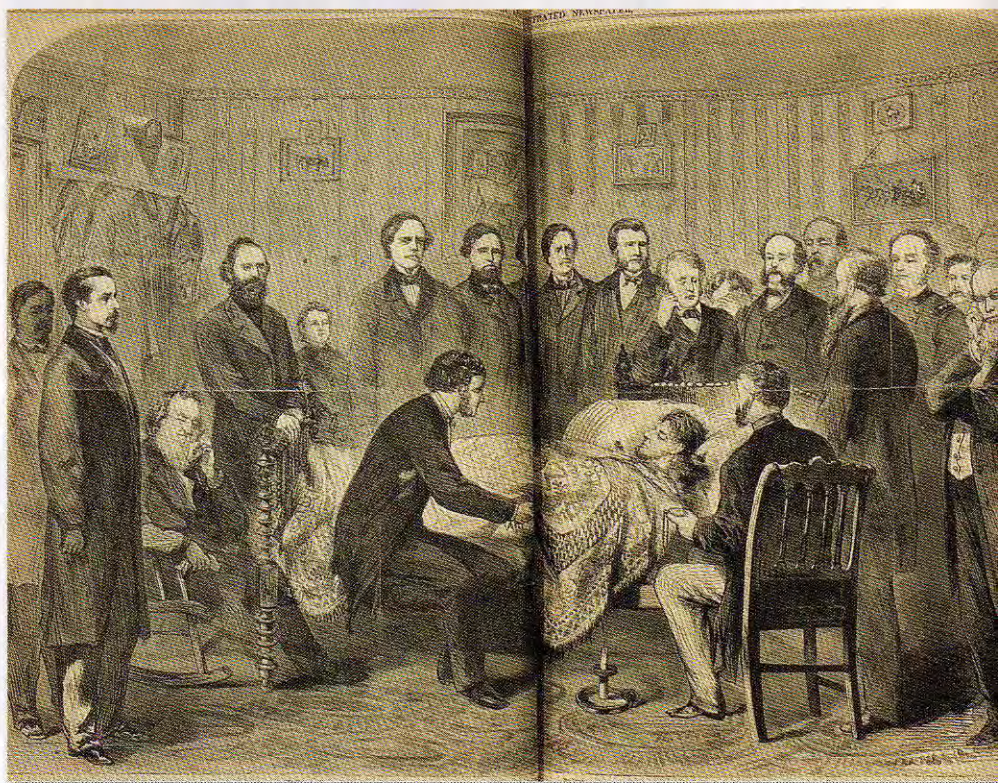
engaged...in taking the evidence of the fearful crime." Much attention was given to a description of the house and the bedchamber where Lincoln was taken, and, of course, to the eyewitness accounts of Lincoln's last hours, but no one interviewed James Tanner for this article. This seems odd, given the fact that Tanner had one of the most important responsibilities of the night—that of taking shorthand notes of witness testimonies.

As a corporal in the 87th New York Volunteer Infantry, James Tanner had fought in at least seven battles before being critically wounded at second Bull Run, where his left foot was almost severed and his lower right leg crushed. Both legs were amputated below the knee by the field surgeon. Tanner's artificial legs limited his mobility, but he was able to attend Ames's Business College in Syracuse, New York, where he enrolled in a course on shorthand, at which he became proficient. Tanner moved to Washington, D.C., in 1864, where he

worked as a clerk for the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department.

On the night of April 14, 1865, while Lincoln was watching the play *Our American Cousin* at Ford's Theatre, Tanner and a friend were at Grover's Theatre for a performance of *Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp*, attended also by Tad Lincoln and his tutor. The play was interrupted by news of the shooting of Lincoln, and the audience scattered. Tanner went back to his boarding house, which happened to be next door to the Petersen house. The curious Tanner went out on his balcony, which overlooked the entrance to Petersen's residence, and saw the crowd and the arrival of the members of the Cabinet, Chief Justices Chase and Carter, Generals Halleck, Meigs, and Augur, and others, "looking anxious and sorrow stricken."

When General Christopher Augur called for someone who knew shorthand to take witness testimonies, Tanner's name was mentioned, and he was immediately summoned. He was led down



Leslie's special artist, Albert Berghaus, reconstructed the scene as President Lincoln lay dying in a bedroom of the Petersen house. James Tanner noted that he stood to the left of General Henry W. Halleck, the military officer visible at right.

the hall on the first floor, past the front parlor occupied by Mrs. Lincoln and her supporters, to the back parlor, close to the bedroom where Lincoln lay. There, he was met by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, the witnesses, and others. Tanner took his seat opposite Stanton, who was giving orders and writing dispatches at a small round parlor table.

While Chief Justice David Kellogg Carter presided, lawyer Britton A. Hill interrogated the witnesses—six in all—as Tanner took shorthand notes of their testimonies. Five of the men were able to connect John Wilkes Booth directly to the shooting of the President, among whom was Harry Hawk, an actor on stage when the assassin jumped from Lincoln's box. "In fifteen minutes," wrote Tanner to Walch, "I had testimony enough down to hang Wilkes Booth, the assassin, higher than ever Haman hung."

The interrogation was over at 1:30 a.m., and Tanner started transcribing his notes, finishing at 6:45, when he went to the President's room and waited until Lincoln "breathed his last." Stanton, assuming the role of acting President, did not send his first dispatch about the shooting until 1:30 a.m., and it was not telegraphed until 2:15. It did not mention Booth, who was named as the possible assassin in Stanton's second dispatch at 3:00. Since the testimonies provided sufficient evidence to find and arrest Booth, Stanton was criticized for his delay in sending the dispatches. The newspapers had already named Booth as the assassin.

Tanner returned to his boarding house, made another, neater copy of the transcription, and kept the original and the Pitman notes for himself. He took the second copy to Secretary Stanton, and, since Stanton was resting, gave it to the attendant with his card. Nothing seems to have been done with that copy; the transcribed testimonies were not

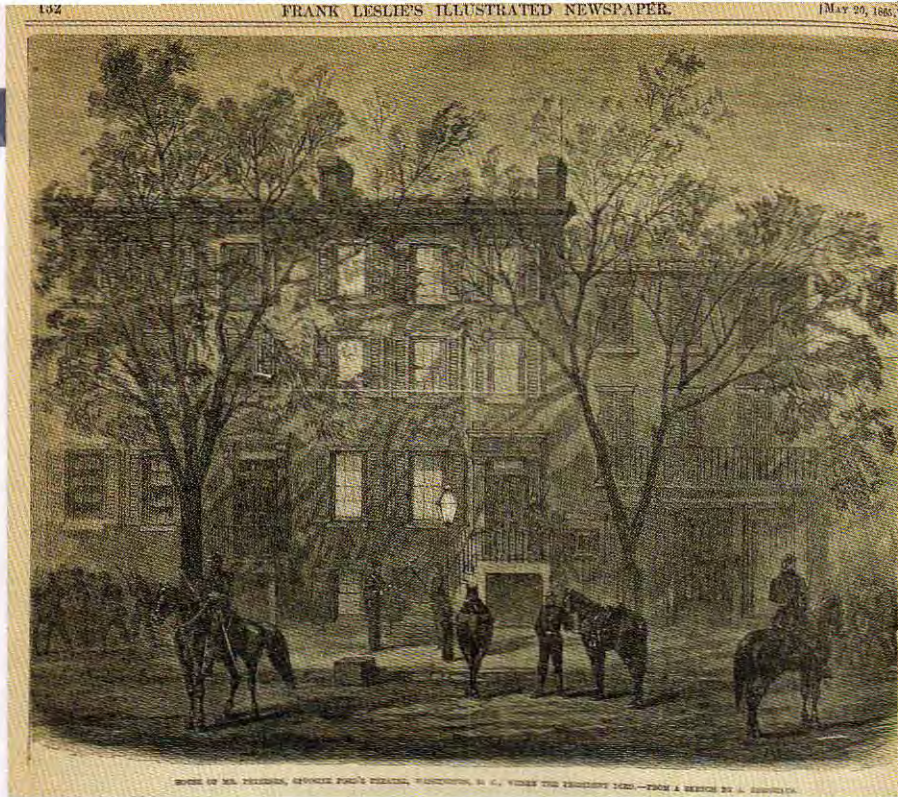
mentioned at the trial of the conspirators, and only one of these witnesses, James P. Ferguson, testified in court.

In all of his post-war activities—Tanner was U.S. Commissioner of Pensions and active in the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.)—he spoke often about the Civil War and the Republicans but never mentioned his role in the early hours of April 15, 1865. In 1905, prompted by an article in the *Washington Post* about the assassination and his role in taking notes, Tanner brought out his original transcription and swore to its authenticity. This and Tanner's original shorthand notes are today housed in the Union League Club in Philadelphia. A facsimile reprint of the testimonies was published by the Union League in 1968: Maxwell Whiteman's *While Lincoln Lay Dying*.

While the transcriptions are important, enough evidence existed to convict Booth without the testimonies. The Walch letter is perhaps a more significant document, for several reasons: 1) It is one of the best eyewitness accounts, and probably one of the most accurate, because Tanner was present in the house from midnight until 7:22 a.m., when Lincoln died. Tanner witnessed his passing, though no subsequent illustration of the death scene includes the stenographer. 2) Tanner identifies people at the Petersen House, including Vice-President Johnson, who remained only briefly because Mary Todd Lincoln despised him, and Charles Sumner asked him to leave. 3) Tanner states that, by 12:15

a.m.—that is, within fifteen minutes of testimony—the evidence against John Wilkes Booth was irrefutable.

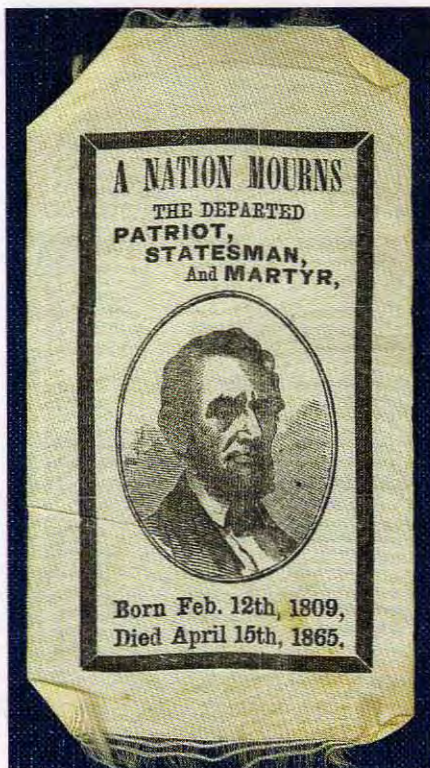
4) Tanner took the transcriptions to the attendant at Secretary Stanton's house, but not to the hands of Stanton. 5) The provenance, or chain of custody, of the letter is reliable. 6) And, finally, Tanner verifies the accuracy of the sketches of Albert Berghaus (who is



Lights burn in the Petersen house across the street from Ford's Theatre. James Tanner's balcony is visible on the house at right in another Albert Berghaus drawing for Leslie's.



Artist Albert Berghaus pictured the dramatic moment when John Wilkes Booth, having shot Lincoln, leapt from the presidential box, catching his spur on a flag. Booth's leg was fractured in his fall to the stage. The image appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper of May 6, 1865.



A white silk mourning badge, bearing a portrait of the martyred President, is part of the Clements Library's Lincoln Collection.

not mentioned by name in the letter), which appeared in the April 29 and May 20, 1865, issues of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Tanner noted three of the artist's drawings, which Berghaus showed him. These were of Ford's Theatre, the room where the President died, and the outside of Petersen's house. The last sketch includes the building where Tanner lived on the second floor (with its balcony overlooking the front door of the Petersen house). The *New York Times* April 15 description of the interior of the room where Lincoln died also corroborates Berghaus's sketch in *Leslie's*.

Although space does not allow a printing of the entire Tanner letter in this issue of the *Quarto*, an excerpt provides a sense of the solemn and tragic atmosphere of this pivotal event. At 6:45 a.m., when Tanner finished his transcription, he went to the "back room where the President lay."

"There was," Tanner wrote, "quite a crowd in the room, which was small, but I approached quite near the bed on which so much greatness lay, fast losing its hold on this world. The head of the bed was towards the door. At the head stood Captain Robert

Lincoln, weeping on the shoulder of Senator Sumner. General Halleck stood just behind Robert Lincoln and I stood just to the left of General Halleck and between him and General Meigs. Stanton was there, trying every way to be calm and yet he was very much moved. The utmost silence pervaded, broken only by the sounds of strong men's tears. It was a solemn time, I assure you. The President breathed heavily until a few minutes before he breathed his last, then his breath came easily, and he passed off very quietly. As soon as he was dead, Rev. Dr. Gurley, who has been the President's Pastor since his sojourn in this city, offered up a very impressive prayer... The friends dispersed, Mrs. Lincoln and some going to the White House, which she had left the night before to attend the Theatre with him who never returned to it except in his coffin." Tanner was then given the order by Stanton to take charge of the testimony, so he went back to his rooms next door, where he made the second copy—the one he took to Stanton's house.

The Walch letter is a little-known document. It was published in the

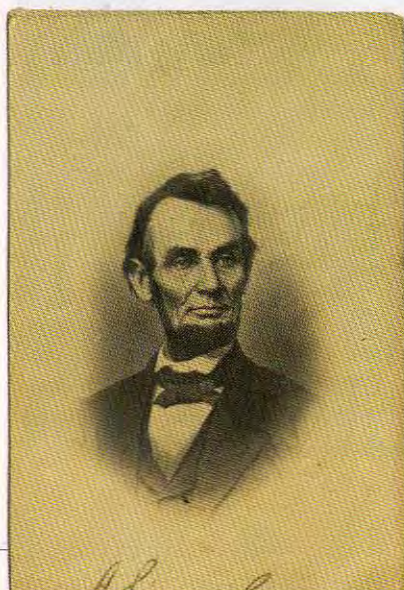
American Historical Review in 1924 by editor J. Franklin Jamison after Jamison interviewed Tanner about that historic night. Howard Peckham, past director of the Clements Library, published the translation done in 1936 by Gertrude Maginn in the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* in 1942. But modern historians, if they use this document at all, cite excerpts of the letter from the introduction to Maxwell Whiteman's *While Lincoln Lay Dying* (1968), which is a facsimile reproduction of the six testimonies recorded by James Tanner, or the *American Historical Review* edition. Tanner has received comparatively little press, in light of his important role as witness and recorder. One modern historian even refers to him as "Charles" Tanner.

The Tanner-Walch letter should probably be studied again by someone knowledgeable about Pitman shorthand, as the published transcriptions have some variations. In any case, the Clements Library will preserve this treasure, and hope that future generations will give it the attention it deserves.

Barbara DeWolfe
Curator of Manuscripts

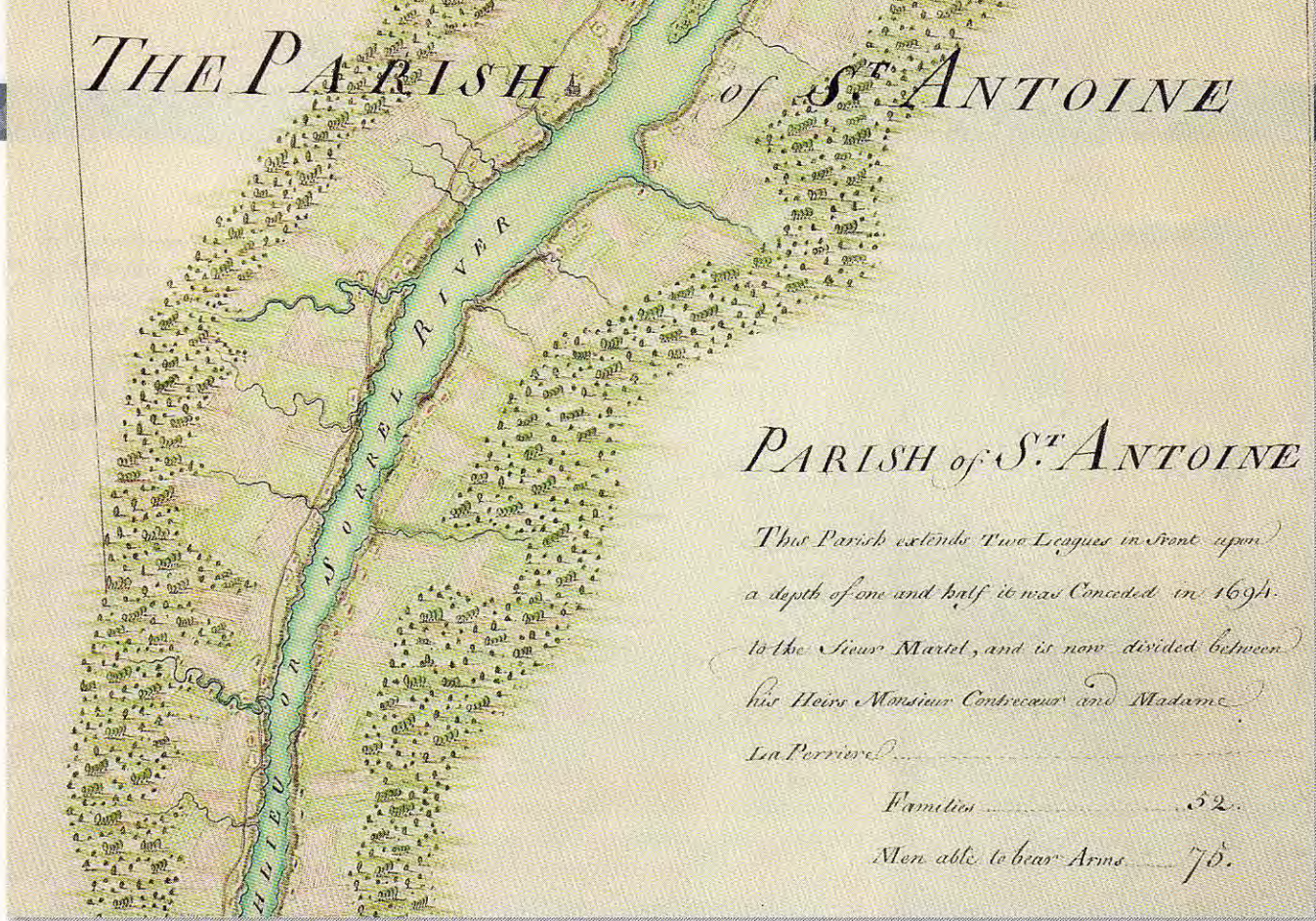


Autographed carte de visite of President Abraham Lincoln.



The Lincoln Collection includes this printed card admitting the bearer to the White House to view President Lincoln as he lay in state.

THE PARISH of ST ANTOINE



Lieutenant Lewis Fusier surveyed the parish of St. Antoine on the Richelieu River. Farmhouses, rendered in red, line the riverbanks, and information about the parish and its population appears in a block of text.

GOVERNOR MURRAY'S CANADA

Imagine a colored, manuscript map so large that the space to assemble it from its component sheets would require nearly one-half the floor area of the Clements Library's Main Room. The finished product would not be a neat rectangle of cartography, tucked within ornate borders, but a sprawling, attenuated representation of both banks of the St. Lawrence River and some of its most important tributaries. An observer perched on the Library's balcony could overlook the extent of the settled area of the Canadian colony of New France, represented as it was in 1760 in a gigantic strip map. Closer examination would reveal exquisite details of topography, vegetation, architecture, roads, cultivated areas, and the margin of forest that hemmed in the colony on all sides. It is the single most impressive piece of cartography in the Clements Library, a composition that has come to be known to us as the "Murray Map of Canada."

This imposing work takes its informal title from James Murray (1721-94), the British general and military governor whose foresight sent engineers into the field to survey the colony surrendered by

the French to General Jeffery Amherst at Montréal on September 8, 1760. As the first British governor of Québec, Murray had the responsibility of administering a 150-year-old colony with a Francophone population that had been in arms for generations against its conquerors. Nor was it by any means certain that Canada would be a permanent addition to Britain's empire. The Seven Years' War was still in progress in 1760, and it was understood that future peace negotiations might well return Canada to France.

This possibility motivated Governor Murray to order the commencement of a survey by his most talented engineers. They began their work around Montréal in the fall of 1760, and the colony had been surveyed by November 1761. "Happen what will," Murray wrote Prime Minister William Pitt of the strategic potential for his map, "we never again can be at a loss how to attack and conquer this country in one campaign." On the other hand, should Canada remain British, a careful survey would be a useful tool for governing the colony. Murray's engineers had mapped the course of the St. Lawrence and its settlements from Les Cedres above

Montréal to Cap Tourmente and the Isle d'Orleans below Québec, including the banks of the tributary Sorel (Richelieu), Chaudière, and smaller rivers. They had identified and described each seigneurial parish and collected demographic information on the numbers of families and men able to bear arms.

That the parishes of Canada clung to the riverbanks is no surprise. Natural waterways formed the backbone of the eighteenth-century Canadian colony. In that sparsely populated and lightly developed land, rivers and lakes provided a universal means of transportation by which farms and the few towns could be linked in a continuous chain. The banks of the major rivers—the St. Lawrence, the Richelieu, and the Chaudière—and some of the lesser streams were lined with houses, farm buildings, and cleared agricultural land in a narrow band extending back only a few acres to the margin of the forest. This dependence on the rivers influenced settlement patterns by encouraging the use of long, narrow lots that provided water frontage for all and concentrated rural habitations along the riverbanks in relatively close proximity to each other. The same land-

use pattern was exported to inland places, such as Detroit, where “ribbon farms” or “long lots” are a well-known feature of the historical record and still influence the lay of the land.

The size and complexity of Murray’s map ensured that it would not be engraved and printed for general distribution. Rather, this document was reproduced in manuscript for a very select audience. Seven copies were produced, five of which were directed to King George III, Prime Minister Pitt, General Jeffery Amherst, General Thomas Gage, and the Board of Ordnance in London. It is assumed that the sixth copy was for Murray himself. As Amherst was commander-in-chief in America and Murray and Gage were then governors of Québec and Montréal, respectively, it is possible that the seventh copy was intended for the governor of Trois Rivières, the third major jurisdiction in the colony. This, however, is only speculation.

Five examples of the full-size Murray map are known to survive. Two are in the British Library, and two are in the collection of Library and Archives Canada (formerly the National Archives of Canada). The fifth is held by the Clements, acquired without provenance from Detroit collector Otto Fischer in 1957. It has been suggested, though without any evidence, that this was Gage’s copy. It was not with the general’s papers when William L. Clements acquired them, and it seems plausible that Gage left his map for his successor as governor of Montréal when he relieved Amherst as commander-in-chief in 1763.

The surviving copies all differ somewhat, though they share a similar organization. Each is divided into four geographical segments: Les Cedres above Montréal to Varennes; below Varennes to Lake St. Peter and up the Richelieu River to Isle aux Noix; Lake St. Peter to Lotbinière; and Lotbinière to Cap Tourmente below Québec. Two different formats are represented among the five copies. Three are preserved as sets of four very large sheets based on the geographical divisions, while two are made up of a large number of smaller sheets that could theoretically be assembled into one huge map. The example at the Clements is of the latter type.

The Clements copy comprises five sheets of manuscript text and sixty-three

of manuscript maps, most of which are drawn to a scale of two thousand feet to the inch. The Clements example also includes a fifth geographical section—the route from Québec via the Chaudière River and over the highlands of Maine to Fort Halifax, as surveyed by Lieutenant John Montrésor in 1761. A title page introduces each of the geographical divisions and identifies the area depicted and the officers who conducted the surveys. Each title page is followed by an index map done to a larger scale, numbered to correspond to the maps of that section. Québec and its immediate environs are represented by a trio of “repetition” plans containing similar topographical and architectural information but overlaid with troop movements and other details specific to three important military events: the battle on the Plains of Abraham of September 13, 1759, the battle of St. Foy fought in the same area on April 28, 1760, and the subsequent unsuccessful French siege of the British-held fortress city. Fully assembled on the Main Room floor, the Murray Map would have outside dimensions of approximately forty-five by thirty-six feet.

Packed into the grand sweep of this map are marvelous details that permit a viewer to follow the rivers and roads of Canada on a virtual tour of the colony. Houses line the riverbanks, and stylized fields indicate the extent of agricultural land and the points at which cultivated areas encountered the forest. Towns are presented in detail by their street plans, blocks of buildings, and even individual structures. Nor did the surveyors neglect landmarks of the recent war. Besides the battle movements shown on the repetition plans of Québec, they included many fortifications that had figured in the late conflict and even the encampments of the British troops who closed the net around the French defenders of Montréal in September 1760. The maps of individual parishes also include blocks of text describing each locale, its population, and the number of men able to bear arms against an enemy.

Altogether, the Murray Map of Canada comprises the most ambitious project undertaken up to that time by British military cartographers. It has its flaws, of course. The brief time available did not permit the survey to be entirely accurate, and many details of



Murray’s engineers included Native American as well as Canadian habitations in their renderings of the countryside. This detail depicts the Iroquois mission village of Kanawaké or St. Louis at the St. Louis rapids of the St. Lawrence River, a short distance above Montréal. The Iroquoian longhouses are enclosed by European-style fortifications.



The third of the “repetition plans” of Québec maps the siege lines dug by French troops following their victory at nearby St. Foy on April 28, 1760. Governor James Murray successfully defended the fortress town for two weeks until the arrival of British warships forced the French to withdraw.



Trois Rivières, at the mouth of the St. Maurice River, was the third town of the colony.

topography are approximations. Nor, oddly enough, did the cartographers present a realistic impression of the long, narrow farm plots that lined the river and gave the French colony its distinctive form. But the courses of the rivers and lakes were surveyed with accuracy, and the routes through the colony are clear.

The Murray Map of Canada usually resides in its storage box in the Atlas Room, its individual sheets neatly fold-



General James Murray (1721-94) as portrayed for the *Universal Magazine* in 1783.

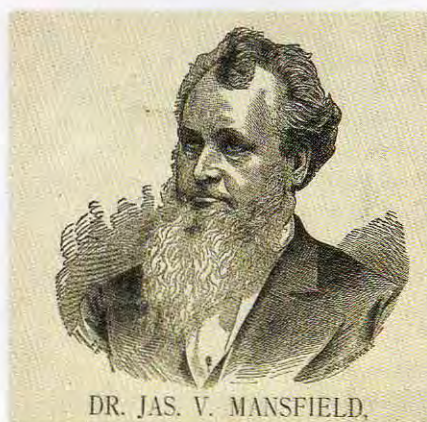
ed. Open it up, however, and one embarks on a trip through the countryside for which French, Canadian, Native American, and British troops contended during the Seven Years' War and which, by the 1763 Treaty of Paris, entered the British Empire as its colony of Canada.

Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Curator of Maps and Head of
Research & Publications

THE SPIRIT(S) OF SAN FRANCISCO



In April 26, 1862, James V. Mansfield arrived in San Francisco. Having endured life aboard a steamboat for nearly two months, in what he considered to be exceedingly unpleasant conditions, he was relieved to be on land once again. Like many others in the mid-nineteenth century, Mansfield had been lured to California by stories of wealth and success. Some came to work in the gold mines, others to find employment reputed to be in abundance. James Mansfield, however, was different from most enterprising individuals who came to California, as he was among what would be considered the "self-employed." In an 1860 census, Mansfield is listed as a "writing medium" by profession. Thus, when he set foot in San Francisco, he brought with him his renowned talents as a clairvoyant with the intent to reap all the financial gain California had to offer. Such was the potential of one who could promise to reconnect the living

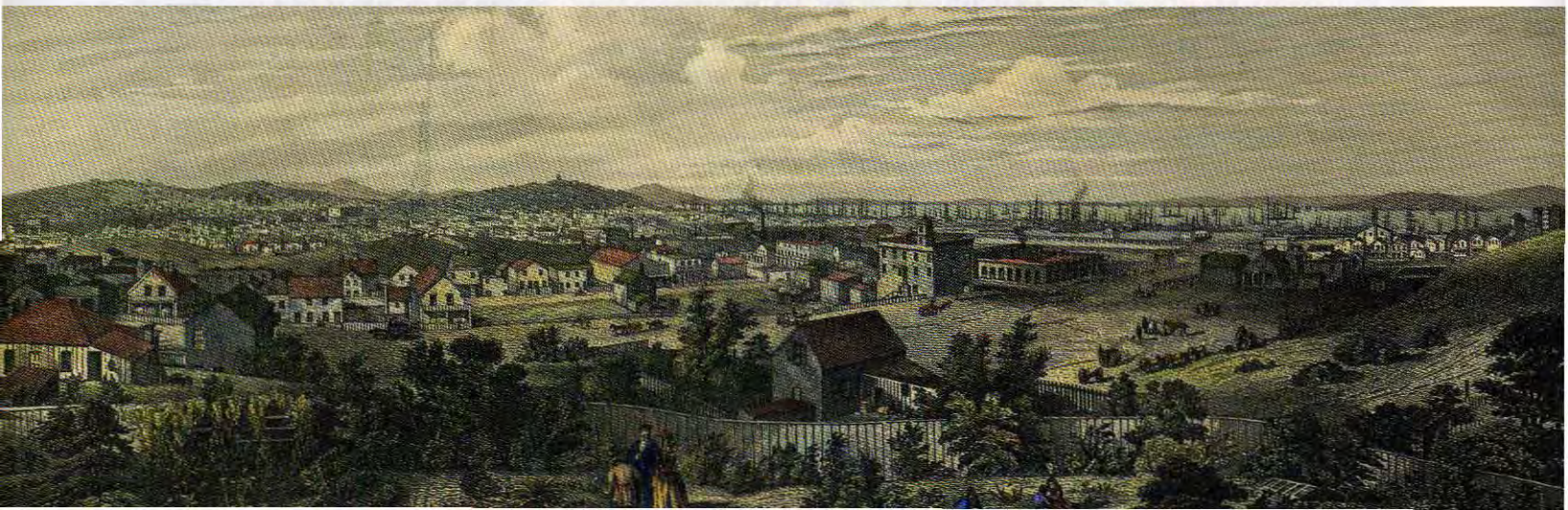


with their departed loved ones in a period when spiritualism was increasingly gaining momentum and believers.

Each manuscript collection in the William L. Clements Library possesses its own importance and historical significance. There are many, however, that are exceptionally impressive in terms of their breadth and versatility. They can

be utilized for a wide array of research. The James V. Mansfield papers, which the Clements acquired in 1993 and 1996, is one such collection. The papers consist of twenty-nine volumes, twenty-seven of which are bound letters written by Mansfield to his wife and children in Chelsea, Massachusetts, while he lived in California between 1862 and 1864. The nearly 10,000 pages of correspondence serve as a vivid account of Civil War-era San Francisco, as Mansfield was an apt observer of his social and cultural milieu. His letters provide commentary on everything from gender relations to the ethnic diversity of San Francisco, political views, and even the abundance of "exotic" foods available in the markets. Because he was a prominent member of the spiritualist movement in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Mansfield's papers also shed considerable light on spiritualism and the lives of other mediums with whom he was acquainted. Though geographically removed from the

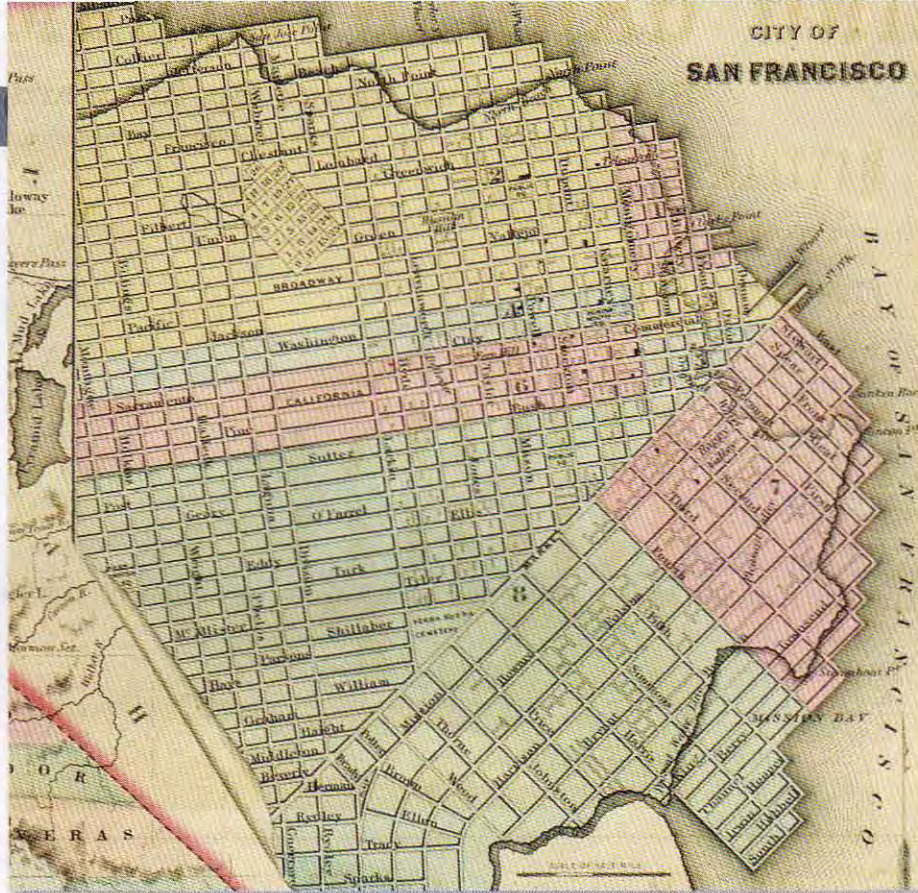
San Francisco, drawn from Rincon Point by Fessenden N. Otis (1825-1900). William Wellstood's engraving was published in 1856.



battles of the Civil War, he reveals San Francisco's conflicting Confederate and Union sentiments. Thus, Mansfield describes a thriving multicultural and multiethnic city where he encountered people who seemed a world apart from those of New England.

James Valentine Mansfield was born about 1817 in Dudley, Massachusetts, to Jera Mansfield (b. ca. 1790) and Lucretia Corbin Mansfield (b. ca. 1795). Little is known about his early life, especially how he became involved in the spiritualist movement. He and his wife, Mary Hopkinson Mansfield (b. ca. 1827), lived in Chelsea, Massachusetts, with their two children—John Worthington Mansfield (1849–1933) and Mary Gertrude “Gertie” Mansfield (b. ca. 1854). John grew up to become a successful landscape painter, and studied art in Paris in the 1870s. His papers are currently in the Archives of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution.

Although the family mainly resided in Chelsea, James V. Mansfield was often compelled to provide his spirit communications on an itinerant basis, traveling to cities like Baltimore and New York for short periods of time. Indeed, as his business in the Boston area increasingly waned in 1862, Mansfield turned his attention toward California. He left New York aboard the overcrowded ship *North Star* destined for Panama, where he crossed to the Pacific side and re-embarked on the *Sonora*. The journey proved quite arduous, as the conditions on the *Sonora* were unsanitary to say the least. The water the passengers had to drink, which Mansfield describes as “greasy” and verging on the color of vinegar, had been passed through the engine’s boilers. In addition to shortages of food and sweltering weather, the ship was infested with fleas and bedbugs. Mansfield trav-



San Francisco was a sizeable place by the time of Mansfield's arrival in 1862. This plan of the city was published in Colton's Atlas of America (New York, 1856).

eled incognito, preferring to be left alone in his misery, though, as soon as he arrived, San Francisco quickly learned of the presence of the notorious “letter writing medium.”

Once in San Francisco, Mansfield sought to establish himself in the city. He immediately found lodging and made himself available for séances, charging five dollars for one hour and three dollars for half an hour. He attracted many clients through either word of mouth or advertisements in local newspapers. Though he was not the only medium in San Francisco, as a “writing medium” he was unique. Mansfield offered spirit communications exclusively through written letters. Remaining lucid throughout a séance, Mansfield’s hand would become “possessed” by a spirit wishing to write a message. He claimed to have no knowledge of what he wrote during these sessions and even asserted to have written communications in several different languages with which he was unfamiliar. Those who wished to communicate with the dead could also mail a letter to the spirit in care of Mansfield. Even while in far-off San Francisco, he received such spirit inquiries from clients as famous as Mary Todd Lincoln.

Despite his reputation, business was at times sluggish. It was during these periods of inactivity that Mansfield wrote extremely long letters to his wife, which, by the time he was finished, amounted to

several hundred pages. Although his correspondence often contains details about the spirit communications, his letters are predominately filled with illuminating observations of San Francisco and the various people he encountered there. To him, the people of California were harsh, coarse, and uncouth—a “dog eat dog” society, as he writes. It was also a place of great ethnic diversity. In the twilight of the

Gold Rush, California continued to attract people in search not only of gold, but also of gainful employment. Though many were migrants from other parts of the United States, Mansfield was also exposed to the large numbers of immigrants who came to California from foreign countries. The ethnic groups mentioned in his letters came from China, Ireland, France, and Germany. Most of these immigrants found work as manual laborers or as servants. The latter were largely Irish and German women, who endured a great deal of hardship and strenuous labor.

Mansfield discusses Chinese immigrants in the greatest detail. He was fascinated by their vastly different cultural practices. He remarks on their mannerisms and dress, noting, for example, the various curiosities they sold in the markets and the distinct hairstyle worn by men. Above all, he vividly describes Chinese gender roles, specifically the treatment of women. Chinese women were rarely seen in the streets of San Francisco, especially those who were considered “respectable.” Those women he did see walked several feet behind their husbands in public or had feet that had been bound. He writes, “a true Chinese Lady is never allowed to go into the street without being covered...and again they never walk but are carried in a close carriage to the House they are destined for and then carried into the



STEAMER DAY IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Steamer Day in San Francisco, by Edward Jump (ca. 1831-1870s), captures the hustle and bustle of the increasingly cosmopolitan and sophisticated city of the 1860s.

House or store—the only one that this city can boast of is a daughter of a very wealthy Chinese merchant...her ankle [sic] was seemingly as large as any person of her size—but her foot was less than 2 ½ inches long—it had been kept in a box which would not allow it to grow.”

There were, of course, many more male immigrants during this period than female immigrants. The vast majority of Chinese women whom Mansfield encountered were prostitutes, many of whom, he speculated, had been forcibly taken to the United States.

Culinary history aficionados might also find Mansfield’s descriptions of the local food and markets of San Francisco to be worthy of note. The food available in California was unlike anything he had ever seen in New England. Depending upon the time of the year, Mansfield was struck by the multiplicity of fruits available, such as coconuts, mangoes, figs, and grapes. He marveled at the exceptionally large strawberries, as well as the prevalence of wine drinking in the region. Mansfield ate mostly in restaurants and generally paid no more than \$0.25 for a substantial meal. It is not surprising that he frequently complained to his wife of his expanding waistline, since he was exposed to such a variety of food.

Mansfield’s letters lend insight not only into spiritualism, but also into the religious life of San Francisco. While in California, he became acquainted with the famed Unitarian preacher, Thomas Starr King, who was known for his strong Unionist views and support for Abraham Lincoln. King was a very influential man, and is credited with preserving California as part of the



James Mansfield found that Chinese immigrants formed a large part of San Francisco’s population. This well-dressed woman, photographed in the city about 1875, appears to have had her feet bound in the traditional manner.

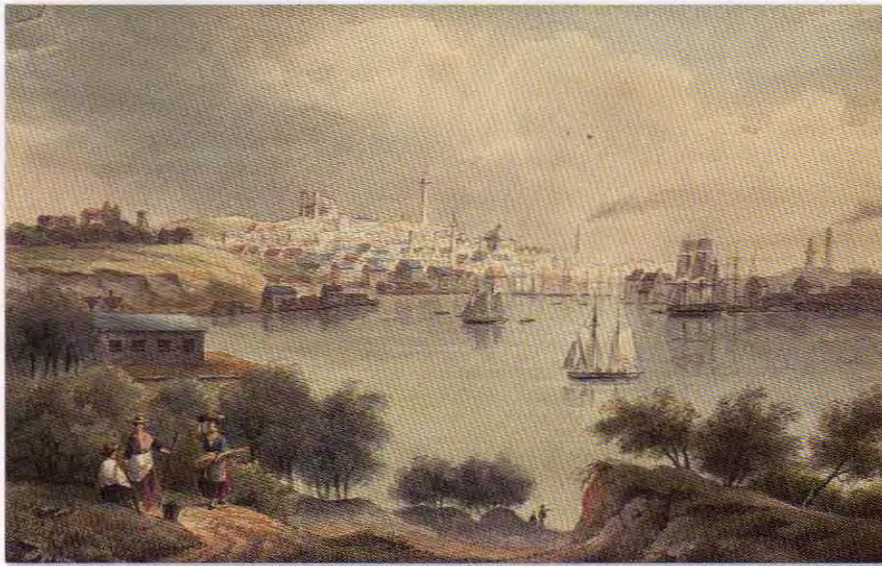
Union. Mansfield regularly attended his sermons on Sundays, and writes about him profusely. Without a doubt, there was no other person in the state of California whom Mansfield regarded as highly, believing him to be the greatest mind of the era. He even jokingly tells his wife that he would marry King if at all possible. When King died on March 4, 1864, Mansfield lamented, “The Bell Tolls now for church service but it has lost its charm for me. It seems like tolling for the funeral requiem of the great good man rather than an invitation to

listen to his heavenly soul stirring thoughts.” When Mansfield departed San Francisco several months after King’s death, he noted that he left a city that had fundamentally changed from when he arrived in 1862.

The Mansfield papers are historically breathtaking, so much so that this article barely suffices to do them justice. Nor can all the details of his letters be explored here. What can be said, however, is that his writing skills have served him as well after death as they did in life. While living, Mansfield’s ability to write managed to “resurrect” the departed for their loved ones. In a similar vein, his letters in the Clements can resurrect 1860s-San Francisco for modern researchers. Thus, whether one is interested in ethnicity, gender relations, or food, his papers provide details. Likewise, early accounts of earthquakes, commentary on the wine culture, and even insight into spiritualism are all part of the story Mansfield tells to his loved ones in the East. Perhaps his most significant observation is of the hardships most endured upon their arrival at the West Coast. Many traveled to California expecting to find employment and wealth. The reality, however, was quite different. Jobs were not as plentiful as many thought, and much of the work that could be acquired was laborious and grueling. Yet, with the aid of his pen, paper, and reputation, James V. Mansfield managed to thrive and leave a vivid record of his experiences.

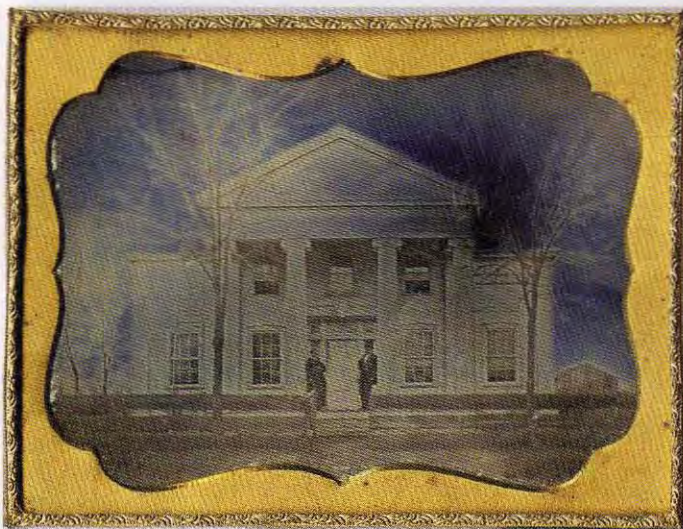
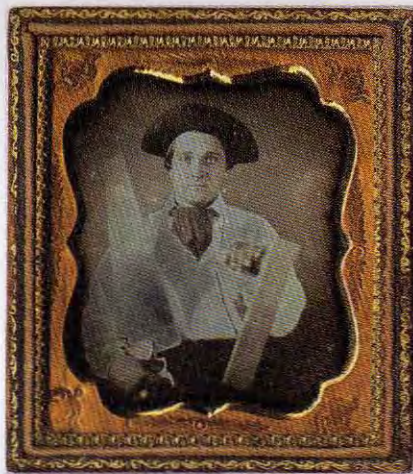
Bethany Anderson

Information Resources Assistant



This watercolor view of the city of Baltimore, as seen from the vicinity of Fort McHenry about 1848, is a recent addition to the Library's graphics collection.

A pair of daguerreotypes depicts John D. Appleton (d. 1860) and a Greek-Revival-style house that he constructed in Brighton, Michigan. The building stands today. These photographs were a gift of David V. Tinder and will be incorporated into the stunning Tinder Collection of Michigan Photographs that is coming to the Clements in stages largely through the generosity of David B. Walters and others.



OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Over the past year, the Clements Library has received three generous donations from Dr. David P. Harris of Washington, D.C.: the 1813-14 journal of Lieutenant Thomas Turner, the Alvan Boyden Papers (1806-28), and three additional War of 1812-era manuscripts.

Thomas Turner's journal is a unique, twenty-one-page account of wartime service, dating from his appointment to the U.S. Army's 29th Infantry Regiment on April 27, 1813, to his attendance at General James Wilkinson's court martial (and acquittal) for neglect of duty in the early months of 1815. The journal reflects Turner's service at Burlington, Vermont, and Plattsburgh, New York, on Lake Champlain in the fall of 1813, the Battle of Chateaugay (1813), and the second Battle of La Colle Mills (1814). Major General Wilkinson's last address to his troops in April 1814, recruiting duty, and other aspects of Turner's military life are also represented.

The nineteen documents of the Alvan Boyden papers pertain to his service in the Massachusetts militia (as early as 1806), duty as an officer of the 45th U.S. Infantry Regiment in 1814-15, and postwar civilian life. Boyden's papers have much to say about recruitment around the conclusion of the War of 1812 and his assignment to inventory surplus military clothing and equipage.

The additional patriotic War of 1812-era manuscripts from Dr. Harris comprise two poems and an unsigned exhortatory letter.

These gifts augment Dr. Harris's earlier donations of extraordinary War of 1812 and nineteenth-century military and naval materials, eighteenth-century collegiate papers, and a variety of historical manuscripts by notable figures such as Captain Isaac Chauncey, U.S. Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert, and Lieutenant General Winfield Scott. The Library is also very grateful for the exemplary research done by Dr. Harris, which accompanies each of his donations. His annotated transcriptions and biographical histories are immensely valuable for the context they provide and for the light they cast on the lives of relatively obscure persons.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

MASON RECEIVES AWARD OF MERIT

Professor Philip P. Mason has been a leading light on the Michigan history scene for more than half a century. The former president of the Clements Library Associates is well known as an author, teacher, speaker, and one of the founders of the annual Local History Conference held in Detroit each spring for the past fifty years. It is a great pleasure to announce that the American Association for State and Local History has named Dr. Mason as recipient of one of its 2008 Awards of Merit. The AASLH Leadership in History Award recognizes his achievements in championing the preservation and interpretation of Michigan history.

TOM ADAMS

This issue of the *Quarto* was just about to go to press when we learned that Tom Adams passed away on November 30. Tom was well known to many members of the Clements Library Associates and was director of the John Carter Brown Library from 1957 to 1983. Son of Randolph G. Adams, first director of the Clements, Tom grew up in the Library.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

October 16, 2008–February 6, 2009:

Exhibit: "Idealized America in the Illustrated County Atlas." Weekdays, 1:00-4:45 p.m.

January 15, 2009: Application deadline for 2009 Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowships.

February 16–May 29, 2008: Exhibit: "500 Years of American Grapes and Wine: A Remarkable Journey." Weekdays, 1:00-4:45 p.m.

May 5, 2009: Clements Library Associates Board of Governors' meeting.

May 10, 2009: Lecture by Prof. Daniel T. Longone and Jan Longone: "500 Years of American Grapes and Wines: A Remarkable Journey." Time to be announced.

May 17, 2009: Ann Arbor Antiquarian Book Fair. Michigan Union ballroom, 11:00 a.m.–5:00 p.m.



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Clements Library Associates share an interest in American history and a desire to ensure the continued growth of the Library's collections.

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