

THE QUARTO

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THE GOLDEN DOOR



Cartoonist Joseph Keppler skewered hypocritical, anti-immigrant Americans in this 1893 cartoon from *Puck*. Titled *Looking Backward*, it shows five prosperous, well-dressed Americans trying to prevent a working class immigrant from disembarking to a new life in the United States. They conveniently ignore the fact that they too came from immigrant stock, a secret revealed by their shadows.

Immigration is a timely subject for this issue of *The Quarto*. With angry debates raging in Washington and nationwide over whether to restrict entry to certain nationalities and religions, looking at the history of immigration to America might shed useful light on the subject. Here at the Clements Library we believe in “applied history,” the Progressive Era perspective that a knowledge of the past can help us chart a path to a better future on most modern challenges and problems, and

immigration definitely stands out as an aspect of our national heritage on which many of today’s leaders seem uninformed. This is regrettable, given the stakes involved. No doubt it’s idealistic to hope that politicians and pundits will suddenly develop an interest in the historical antecedents of immigration policy in our country, but in the unlikely event that history does secure a voice in the immigration conversations then institutions like the Clements will have much to offer.

The articles here offer an interesting

look at the Library’s primary sources on pre-1900 American immigration. Clayton Lewis offers a revealing look at German immigrant Joseph Keppler and the influence of his cartoons in *Puck* magazine, as well as the impact of the work of Danish immigrant Jacob Riis on the ethnic neighborhoods of America’s largest cities. For as long as newcomers have journeyed to our shores, writers and publishers have produced guides for travelers, as Emi Hastings details in her article on the Shamrock Society’s 1816 *Hints to Emigrants from Europe* and its



several successors over the next 10-20 years. Advice on how to become a good American was a central feature of these nineteenth-century guidebooks, as directions on how to assimilate into American society complemented practical details on where to settle depending on an immigrant's profession, suggestions (often utterly without factual basis) on the best and cheapest farm land, and unreliable estimates of the cost of getting to and settling down in different parts of the country. As successive waves of European immigrants crossed the Atlantic between 1800 and 1900 publications aimed at them came out in a dozen languages, and the Clements shelves feature examples in most of the European languages. In a pre-electronic age these

publications and the non-English newspapers and magazines that sprang up in many American locales were important factors both in bringing immigrants to the United States and in helping them develop a new life here.

Of course, many immigrants have struggled to find acceptance in our country. This is no modern development, as the family traditions of antebellum Irish, Gilded Age Italians, 1880s-1900 Eastern European Jews, and African Americans of any generation bear witness. Nativist fears of "others" becoming too numerous, taking away jobs, and threatening "American values" go back at least to the eighteenth century, when Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson worried that an influx of unassimilated Germans would prove

detrimental to American society. Jakob Dopp's fine article on the restrictions, indignities, and cruelties inflicted on Chinese immigrants from 1850 to 1900 is a sobering reminder that prejudice and oppression are constant dangers any time the majority chooses to identify and segregate minorities by color, religion, ethnic origin, or other points of difference. In "True Americans," Jayne Ptolemy takes a broader look at the ways that nineteenth-century American immigrants sought balance between regard for their origins and the hope of fellowship in a new home, and at the barriers that nativist groups placed in the way of their progress towards becoming American. It doesn't take extraordinary insight to draw parallels between the violent 1830s-40s persecution of Catholics, now one of the largest religious groups in this country, and today's calls for the exclusion of Muslims as actively working to undermine America.

Given the vehemence of today's debates, it's unlikely we'll see a speedy or conclusive resolution to our immigration concerns. If history is any guide, however, we can predict that future generations will look back in astonishment and disapproval at the characterization of groups who are "different" from the majority as dangerous and threatening. As the primary sources at the Clements make clear for pre-1900 America and those at the Bentley Library across campus detail for the twentieth century, there are far more examples—Franklin's and Jefferson's Germans, the Irish driven across the Atlantic by the Great Hunger, the Chinese in the American West between 1870 and 1900, Native Americans from New England to California, African Americans under slavery and segregation, Japanese-American internment camps during World War II—of peoples who have suffered here as a result of unfounded cultural bias than there are of those who truly threatened the American way of life. As with all issues of *The Quarto*, space constraints limit us to the tip of the proverbial iceberg, so readers who find their interest piqued by the materials here will have to come see us to discover the rich resources these examples represent.

— J. Kevin Graffagnino
Director



An 1848 map for German immigrants identifies Lutheran congregations and missions in the Midwestern region of the United States. The names of heavily German cities are underlined with color. Detail from: *Kirchliche mittheilungen aus und ber Nord-America*, Supplement to issue no. 8, 1848.

IMMIGRANTS SEE IMMIGRATION

The story of American immigration as told through prints and photographs varies with the format. Popular print media, mass produced for large audiences, tended towards commentary on the waves of immigration. Satirical prints and cartoons amplified social stresses through stereotypes and caricatures. Photographs told a different story. Formal portraits from urban studios and snapshot cameras in the hands of new arrivals have given us a historical record of immigrant life on a personal level. Cameras in the hands of journalists and social scientists called attention to the extreme challenges faced by many immigrants. In some cases, the most provocative commentary on immigration came from the perspective of recent immigrants themselves.

In 1867, German immigrant Joseph Keppler (1838-1894), with his wife and brother-in-law, settled among family and fellow Germans in St. Louis, Missouri. With advanced art training in the neoclassical style from Viennese schools, confidence with professional experience as a stage performer, and acute awareness of the despotic power of corrupt rulers, Keppler was a unique talent. Like so many before and after, he came to America to find work. In Europe, Keppler had been a retoucher of tintypes, painter of theater backdrops, restorer of artwork, and a stage performer and theater manager. He found modest success onstage, as a portrait

painter, and as a cartoonist for the Vienna magazine *Kikeriki!* (*Cock-a-doodle-do!*). Behind all this was an unfulfilled ambition to study medicine.

Keppler fell in with a social sphere of hard-drinking St. Louis expat-Germans, many of whom were fleeing Bismarck's militaristic German state. Among the bar-room political debates, Keppler befriended Hungarian immigrant publisher Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911) and German-American publisher Heinrich Binder. Biographer and chronicler Richard West comments in his *Satire on*

and insuring that each issue of *Puck* was a visual feast. *Puck's* humor, always relatively mild, was unfortunately peppered with racial and ethnic slurs that were not atypical for the time but nonetheless disappointing during a period of social progress. *Puck's* demise as a German-language magazine occurred in 1872, brought on by a series of problems common in publishing, including staff turnover, rising production costs, plus the death of an influential editor.

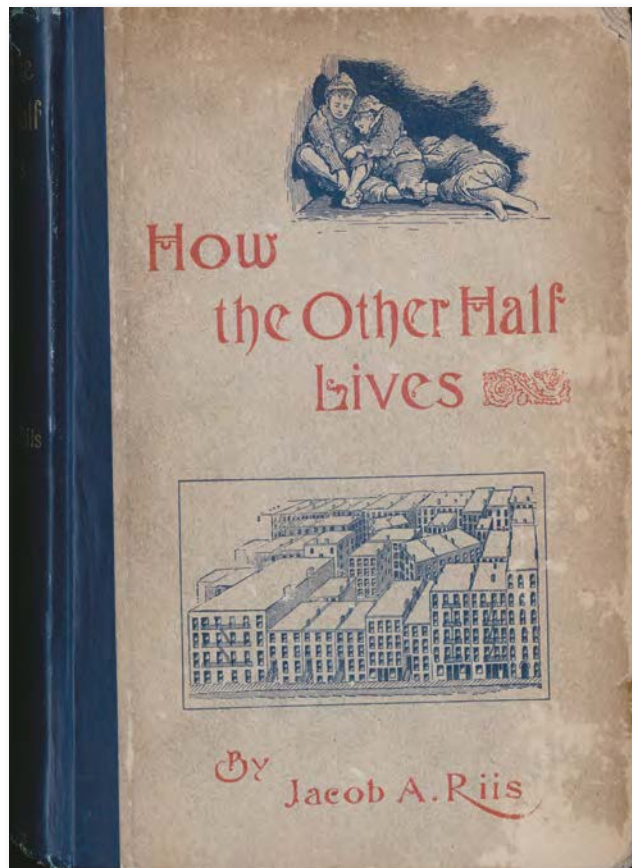
Five years later, Keppler, now relocated to New York City, resurrected *Puck* as

Stone: *The Political Cartoons of Joseph Keppler* (1988) that Keppler was "at thirty, a fully formed cynic, ready to believe the worst about anyone in power."

Binder recognized publishing sales potential in the massive German audience in the United States. Keppler had the talent to produce compelling and entertaining visuals. Together they launched the German language weekly *Die Vehme, Illustriertes Wochenblatt für Scherz und Ernst* (*The Star Chamber: An Illustrated Weekly Paper in Fun and Earnest*) and followed that with *Puck*, also in German. *Puck* focused on European politics and religious debates but shifted over time to American issues during the notoriously corrupt Grant administration (1869-1877). Always a deft artist, Keppler exploited the immediate and expressive possibilities of crayon lithography, achieving consummate mastery



Charles Taylor's *The Mortar of Assimilation* has Columbia stirring the melting pot with its rich stew of immigrants from many cultures. The only newcomer who defies mixing is a stereotyped militant Irishman who does not want to simply become part of the broth. The cartoon appeared in *Puck*.



Jacob Riis's disturbing but poignant images of life in the immigrant slums of New York City were reproduced as halftone illustrations in his famous *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (New York, 1890).

an English-language publication. *Puck* became pointedly anti-corruption, anti-Catholic, and anti-Tammany Hall, with Keppler's brilliant political and social satires leading the attack. The expanding readership lapped it up, making *Puck* the most successful American satirical publication of the nineteenth century and inspiring a host of other weekly pictorial satire magazines.

Despite *Puck*'s immigrant origins, and the location of its New York offices immediately adjacent to the immigrant-dense Lower East Side, the magazine rarely tackled immigration issues. As it blasted away at American political pretense and graft, however, there were some notable exceptions by Keppler and other *Puck* staff artists.

Joseph Keppler's 1893 cartoon *Looking Backward* points to the hypocrisy of anti-immigration movements in America. The working-class immigrant shown coming down the gangway is refused entry by a wall of wealthy, well-dressed men—the established descen-

dants of earlier immigrants, as revealed by their shadows. Keppler may have often resorted to ethnic stereotypes that are somewhat offensive today, but his underlying message was largely one of inclusiveness.

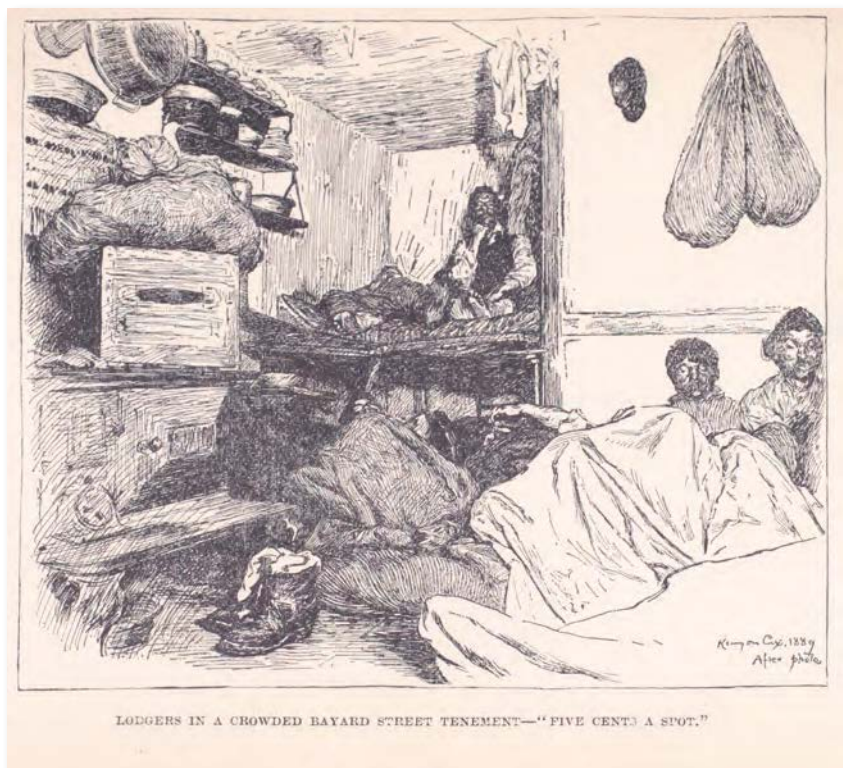
Drawn by another talented *Puck* artist, Charles Jay Taylor (1855-1929), *The Mortar of Assimilation—and The One Element That Won't Mix* presents a pestle-pot of multi-ethnic immigration. Although many nationalities are shown contributing to the American medley, one group is singled out—the Irish. Brandishing a bloody dagger, a simian caricature waves a banner identifying himself with the Irish Nationalist organization *Clan na Gael*. His sash indicates alignment with the “Blaine Irishmen,” former Democrats wooed over to the Republican Party by James Blaine (1830–1893) during his presidential run of 1884.

This cartoon broadcasts several messages, including the allegation that American political parties were willing to overlook violence from Irish nationalist organizations in exchange for votes; that the Irish are inherently

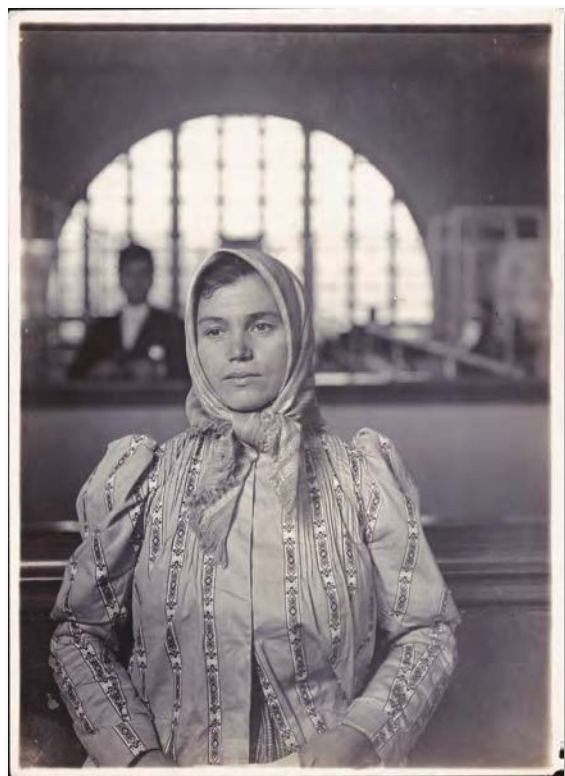
uncivilized and incapable of assimilation into American society; and that all others are welcome. The figure of Columbia, often a beacon of destiny, a god-like image of power and hope, and the frequent star of immigration allegories, appears here vigorously stirring the Melting Pot. However, her usual radiating crown or Liberty Cap has been replaced with a simple spangled head wrap, and her flag skirt appears more in the style of a kitchen maid than a goddess. Although the pestle she stirs is labeled “Equal Rights,” we can't ignore that this was printed in the era when women were still denied the right to vote and Jim Crow was on the rise.

Joseph Keppler died in 1894. He is now credited with expanding and shaping American political awareness at all levels of society with his brilliantly direct, emotionally charged visual allegories. His legacy extended through his son, Udo J. Keppler (1872-1956), aka Joseph Keppler, Jr., who followed his father's career as a satiric illustrator for *Puck* as well as for rival news magazines *Judge* and *Leslie's Weekly*. Although his style was derived directly from that of his father, Udo also created wonderful examples of American political satire.

Joseph Keppler's remarkable talents and vision enlivened and made palatable the mire of nineteenth-century American



Riis identified this grim image as “Lodgers in a Crowded Bayard Street Tenement.” From: *How the Other Half Lives* (New York, 1890).



An immigrant woman of unknown ethnic origin in the great hall on New York's Ellis Island. Photograph by Lewis Hine (1874–1940).

politics, much the way late-night television comedy does today. Additionally, through *Puck*, the immigrant Keppler with his European art training elevated American satire to a level rarely matched since.

Immediately adjacent to *Puck*'s New York offices on Houston and Mulberry streets was the most densely packed residential area in the world, the Lower East Side (peaking in 1910 at approximately half a million people inside an area of 1.5 square miles). Mostly comprised of immigrants who landed just a few miles away at Ellis Island, these throngs competed for meager jobs and advancement against the restraints of poverty, unfamiliar language, and alien social customs. Among the newly arrived and desperate for work was Danish immigrant Jacob Riis (1849-1914), who arrived in New York in 1870. With a talent for writing, a charitable outlook shaped by his religious upbringing, and a drive to succeed to earn the hand of his beloved back home in Denmark, Riis eventually found work as a “muckraking” police reporter for the *New York Tribune*.

Armed with a compact “detective” camera and hand-held magnesium flash device, Riis worked the slums and side

streets of New York at all hours, but particularly deep in the night when the stresses and dangers of poverty were most evident. Never an artistic photographer, Riis's viewfinder looked straight into the face of crime, tenement labor, the filth of slum housing, and the plight of children in immigrant neighborhoods. Through Riis's harsh but compassionate photos, the dark squalor of those trapped in tenement housing was vividly exposed, as was the daily undercurrent of corrupt landlords and police. Presented together as a lecture and slide show, Riis enthralled and horrified audiences at New York churches and public halls with his stories and images from the streets.

A break in Riis's career came when two editors from *Scribner's Magazine* attended one of his lectures and offered to publish a feature article with engraved illustrations based on Riis's photos. “How the Other Half Lives and Dies in New York” jolted readers of *Scribner's* 1889 Christmas issue, becoming the talk of the town. *Scribner's* subsequently agreed to publish an expanded version in book form, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York, 1890), reproducing Riis's photos directly as halftones.

Jacob Riis's new-found celebrity as a champion of the impoverished would link him to a new and powerful ally: “[H]e came to my office one day when I was out and left his card with the simple words written in pencil upon it:

‘I have read your book, and I have come to help.’” The card was from the then-New York City Police Commissioner, Theodore Roosevelt, who was establishing his reputation as an anti-corruption reformer. Riis famously took Roosevelt on a series of midnight walks through the brothels and saloons of New York's slums, triggering firings and reprimands throughout the police force.

Riis empathetically blamed much of the waywardness of the poor on living conditions and corrupt civic government, but he was not without his own bigotry and presumptiveness. He believed in an ethnic hierarchy that is very troubling today. The solutions proposed in his publications included humane improvements in tenement design, but this was coupled with heavy-handed Protestant Christian values, applied regardless of the religious heritage of his subjects. Nonetheless, Jacob Riis built a durable legacy as a pioneer of modern journalism, linking written narratives to hard truths in visual form. His photos, difficult to face even today, made a passive response to poverty unacceptable and demonstrated that the appalling living conditions of new immigrants were often the cause of behavior rather than the result. Together Keppler and Riis have given us a perspective on immigration that has contributed to the shape and definition of modern America.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials



New York City tenements late in the nineteenth century.

HINTS TO EMIGRANTS FROM EUROPE

As increasing numbers of immigrants flocked to North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they needed information about what to expect when they arrived. Emigrant guides became an increasingly popular genre of publication. Often thin, cheaply printed pamphlets or pocket-sized books in plain boards, these guides offered information about transatlantic travel, the climate and natural resources of their destinations, population and character of its inhabitants, the current prices of land, goods, and wages, directions for traveling, and other useful facts.

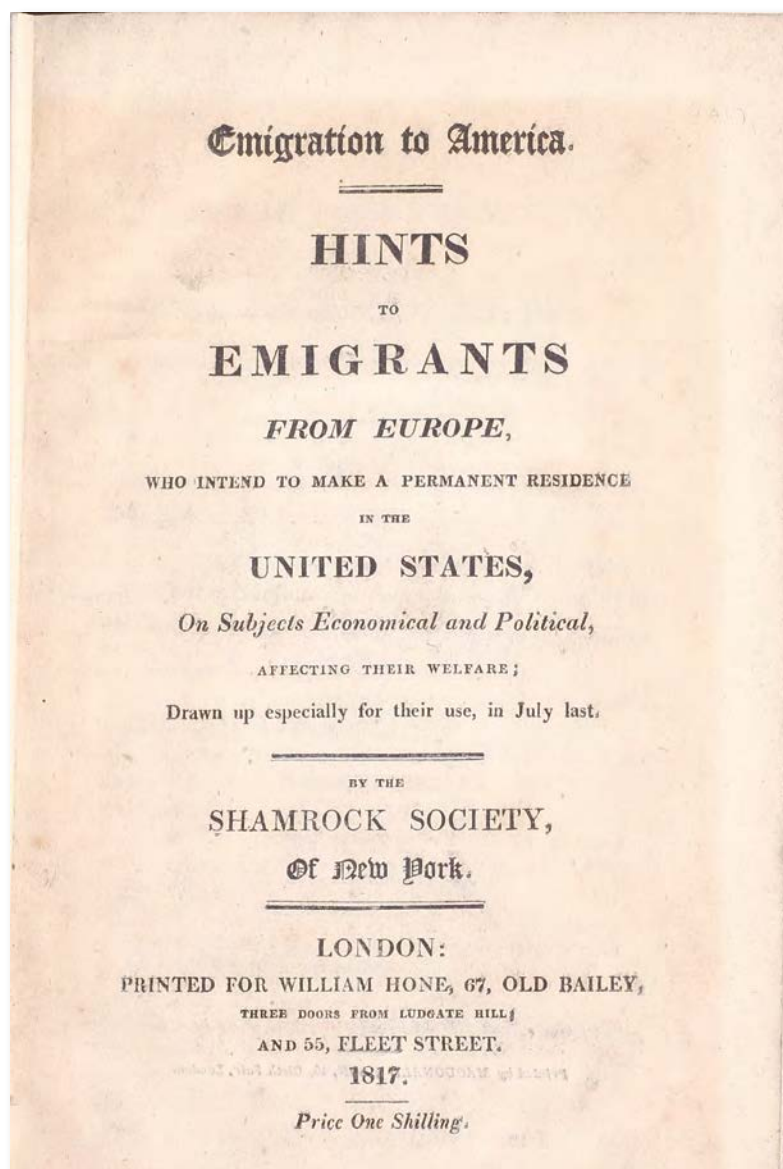
Some guides, designed to encourage immigration, provided an optimistic view of prospects in America, while more realistic or cynical guides attempted to dissuade the ill-prepared. C. H. Wilson, in *The Wanderer in America, or, Truth at Home* (Northallerton, 1820), wrote “To emigrate, or not to emigrate—that is the question.” He concluded that, while certain skilled tradesmen might find employment, most people had better stay home. According to Wilson, America had a terrible climate, a shrewd, knavish people, and an economy as poor as any in Europe. “I am convinced no change for the better can take place in America, unless a famine should desolate Europe, and America should be blessed with abundance, or a war for twenty-five years should again ravage Europe, and America again become a profiting spectator and common carrier to half the globe!”

One notable example of the genre is a small pamphlet published by the Shamrock Society of New York, directed to emigrants from Europe. The Shamrock Society, also known as the Shamrock Friendly Association, had formed around 1816 to provide assistance to a growing number of Irish immigrants in New York. At a meeting on June 18, 1816, the Shamrock Society appointed a committee to draw up “a brief address to Europe, on subjects economical and political, affecting their welfare.” The members of the committee included Dr. McNeven, Mr. Emmet, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Humbert, and Mr. O’Connor.

The results of the committee’s work were first published in New York in 1816 as *Hints to Emigrants from Europe, Who Intend to Make a Permanent Residence in the United States* (New York, 1816). The Clements Library holds a copy of the London edition published the following year, under the title *Emigration to America: Hints to Emigrants from Europe, Who Intend to Make a Permanent Residence in the United States, on Subjects Economical and Political, Affecting Their Welfare; Drawn up Especially for Their Use, in July Last* (London, 1817). The London publisher, William Hone (1780-1842), was an English writer and bookseller known for his political satire and reform efforts on behalf of freedom of the press. The London edition was priced at one shilling.

Another edition appeared in Dublin as *Hints to Irishmen; Who Intend, with Their Families to Make a Permanent Residence in America* (Dublin, 1817). According to Alexander Clarence Flick’s *History of the State of New York*, vol. 7 (New York, 1933), the pamphlet was also reprinted in Belfast and “quoted in all British papers interested in immigration.”

Hints to Emigrants bills itself as a guidebook, but it also attempts to influence and mold the selected immigrant into the ideal of a hard-working American citizen. It begins by addressing the prospective audience of emigrants from Europe: “We bid you welcome to a land of freedom; we applaud your resolution; we commend your judgment in asserting the right of expatriation.” It goes on to provide information regarding three key areas of interest: how



The influential pamphlet, Emigration to America: Hints to Emigrants (London, 1817).

to adjust to a new climate, interests as a probationary resident, and future rights and duties as a citizen of the United States.

According to the Shamrock Society, the best time to arrive was during the summer, for fuel was expensive and work scarce in the winter. To acclimate to the extreme summer heat of the middle states, a northern European was counselled to adapt his diet to the American style: small meals and little strong drink. The European diet, containing too much animal protein, will cause overindulgence and fever in the summer heat. He should avoid drinking cold water while heated or perspiring, lest it cause severe stomach pains or even death. Laborers should wear loose flannel shirts while working, and change to ordinary clothing when done.

Hints to Emigrants paints a sunny picture of prospects in the New World, at least for those who are prepared to work hard. America “is the best country on earth for those who will labour. By industry they can earn more wages here than elsewhere in the world. Our governments are frugal, they demand few taxes; so that the earnings of the poor man are left to enrich himself; they are nearly all his own, and not expended on kings and their satellites.” However, a caution to idlers and noblemen: the man “who has no quality to recommend him but his birth” is not welcome in America.

Concerned that poor immigrants might flock to the United States and linger in the cities, succumbing to drink and other vices, the pamphlet’s writers advise that “It would be very prudent for new comers, especially labourers or farmers, to go into the country without delay, as they will save both money and time by it, and avoid several inconveniences of a seaport town.” In the countryside, they will learn American methods of farming and be ready to begin their own farms, soon entering the prosperous middle class. Independent landownership is the ultimate goal to which all American citizens should aspire.

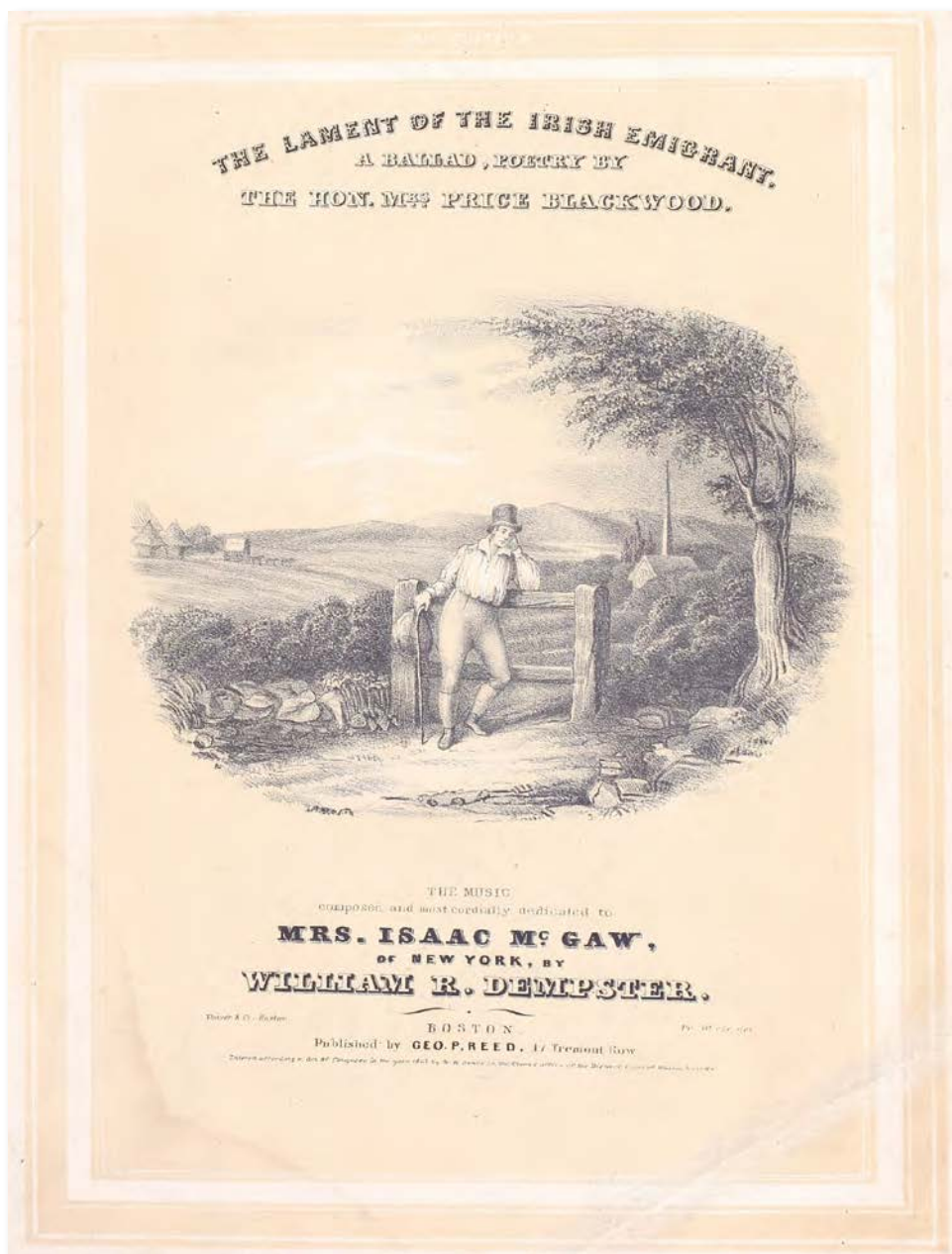
For skilled laborers and mechanics in the cities, the employment prospects are good. “Industrious men need never lack employment in America.” The pamphlet provides a listing of current wages for stonecutters (two dollars per day), carpenters (one dollar and 87 ½

cents), bricklayers (two dollars), and laborers (from one dollar to one and a quarter). However, those in the cities should take great care not to be tempted by drink, for “the drunkard is viewed as a person socially dead, shut out from decent intercourse, shunned, despised, or abhorred.”

Practical men of science might find good work, but “mere literary scholars” will find little employment unless they are willing to teach children. The pamphlet reassures such persons that “It does not detract from a man’s personal

respectability or future prospects to have been thus engaged . . . Many gentlemen, who begin their career as schoolmaster . . . have as good prospects as others of attaining the Presidency.”

In terms of climate, the guide advises that northern and western Europeans will find the states between the 35th and 43rd degree of latitude most congenial to their constitutions. These include New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and the Illinois and Missouri Territories. Europeans are likely to prefer the middle and western



Ireland, with its political, agricultural, and economic troubles, was a prime source of immigrants, especially in the decades before the Civil War. Songs and tales of migration from the “Emerald Isle” were sure to draw a tear of genuine nostalgia or provide a fertile source of material for “Stage Irish” performers. William R. Dempster’s *The Lament of the Irish Emigrant* (Boston, 1840) provides an example.

states to the southern, being more tolerant of cold than heat. Another factor to consider is American slavery and its impact on society: "Farther to the south, where negro slaves are the only, or principal labourers, some white men think it disreputable to follow the plough. Far be it from us to cast censure on our southern neighbours; yet, in choosing a settlement, we would have emigrants take slavery, with all other circumstances, into their consideration."

Immigrants are advised to put their money in a bank and focus on acquiring a knowledge of American commerce before they attempt to start their own farms or businesses. "It has been often seen, that persons arriving in America with some property lose it all before they prosper in the world." The pamphlet finally advises immigrants on the steps to become a naturalized citizen, and the benefits of doing so. It concludes with a summary of the American political system, and the importance of emigrants integrating themselves into this system.

In *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, 1996), Paul A. Gilje suggests that the Shamrock Society's true motivation in publishing *Hints to Emigrants* was a middle-class effort to shape the Irish American community, discouraging poor Irish and encouraging only skilled workers to emigrate. They feared that the growing number of poor urban immigrants would drag down the Irish American community. If so, the pamphlet hardly achieved its goals, as poor Irish immigrants continued to flock to the United States even before the Great Famine of the 1840s.

As the original Shamrock Society pamphlet circulated in America, Great Britain, and Ireland, it continued to be excerpted and reprinted by other publications. A number of these versions can be found in the Clements Library book collection. Perhaps first to appear was Thomas Smith's *Hints to Emigrants, Addressed Chiefly to Persons Contemplating an Emigration to the United States of America, with Copious Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Hulme, Esq. Written during a Tour through Several of the Principal Cities and Manufacturing Districts of Those States, in the Summer and Autumn of 1816, with Instructions Respecting the Terms, and Necessary Preparations for*

the Voyage, and an Abstract of the Laws of England, Relating to Emigration, &c. &c. (Liverpool, 1817). Also priced at one shilling, this work was "written chiefly with a view to furnish information to persons contemplating an emigration to those States." Of thirty-seven pages total, thirteen consist of extracts from "a pamphlet, drawn up in July last, published by the Shamrock Society, of New York."

The following year, Robert Holditch wrote *The Emigrant's Guide to the United States of America; Containing the Best Advice and Directions Respecting the Voyage, - Preservation of Health, - Choice of Settlement, &c. Also the Latest Information Concerning the Climate, Productions, Population, Manners, Prices of Land, Labour, and Provisions, and Other Subjects, Economical and Political, Affecting the*



Emigration from Ireland was steady for much of the nineteenth century with a spike in the 1840s during the "Great Famine." Most arrivals did, in fact, remain to become part of the American "Melting Pot." A few made their fortunes and returned to the "old sod." This print from the 1850s shows one such fellow contemplating a voyage back "home." Continued attachment to their countries of origin was a criticism leveled against immigrants by nativists.

Welfare of Persons about to Emigrate to the United States, and British America (London, 1818). Like the original London edition of *Hints to Emigrants*, Holditch's book was published by William Hone, but priced at four shillings and sixpence instead of the original one shilling. This more substantial work of 124 pages compiles information from a number of other sources and contains excerpts from six different sources of advice to emigrants, including the Shamrock Society pamphlet. Along with information on climate, population, prices of land, and other useful pieces of information, it contains helpful sketches of "the American character." Readers may be interested to know that "American ladies make virtuous and affectionate wives, kind and indulgent mothers, and are, in general, easy, affable, intelligent, and well bred; their manners presenting a happy medium between the too distant reserve and coldness of the English and the too obvious, too obtrusive behavior of the French women."

John Melish (1771-1822), a Scottish mapmaker and publisher based in Philadelphia, first reprinted the Shamrock Society's *Hints to Emigrants* in a later edition of his *Travels through the United States of America, in the years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810, & 1811*. Beginning with the 1818 edition of this work (first published in 1812), he included an appendix, containing "Hints, by the Shamroc [sic] Society, New York, to Emigrants from Europe." Melish excerpted it again when he produced his own emigrant guide in 1819, *Information and Advice to Emigrants to the United States: and from the Eastern to the Western States: Illustrated by a Map of the United States and a Chart of the Atlantic Ocean* (Philadelphia, 1819). Being a mapmaker by trade, as well as an emigrant who had crossed the Atlantic several times and traveled extensively throughout the United States, Melish felt himself to be well-placed to provide useful information to emigrants to the United States. The book also served as an advertisement for his other works. In addition to the foldout map of the United States and chart of the Atlantic Ocean, it included a six-page catalogue of his other maps, charts, and geographical works. In addition to his own words, Melish supplemented the text with a two-page extract from "Hints to Emigrants," published "some time ago at New-York."

Other writers of emigrant guides continued to borrow from the Shamrock Society's *Hints to Emigrants*, although like

Melish they did not always credit the Society by name. As late as 1830, the text can be found excerpted in the fourth edition of S. H. Collins's *The Emigrant's Guide to and Description of the United States of America; Including Several Authentic and Highly Important Letters from English Emigrants Now in America, to Their Friends in England* (Hull, 1830). Collins cites it as "the report of a committee appointed by a society established at New York, for the purpose of giving useful information to emigrants." Other borrowers include the English topographer Eneas Mackenzie (1778-1832), *An Historical, Topographical and Descriptive View of the United States of America, and of Upper and Lower Canada* (Newcastle upon Tyne, ca. 1820) and William Kingdom, *America and the British Colonies: An Abstract of All the Most Useful Information Relative to the United States of America and the British Colonies of Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Island* (London, 1820).

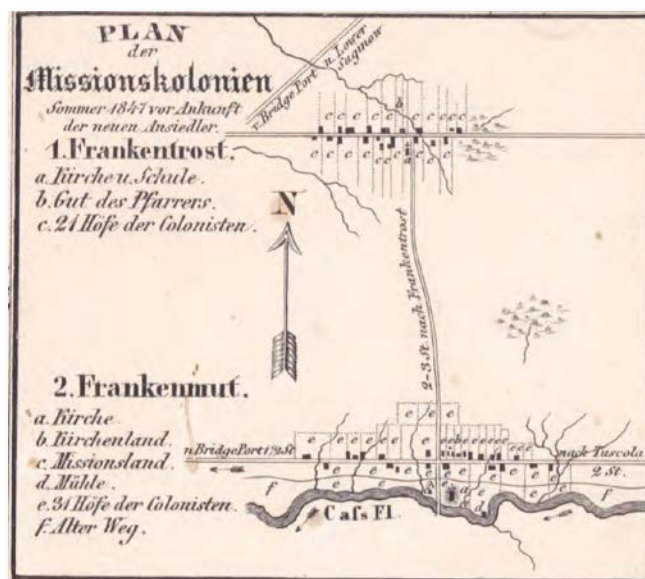
Despite the enduring popularity of *Hints to Emigrants*, the Shamrock Society might have overstated their own knowledge and ability to advise newcomers to the United States. One visitor to America, following up on the promise of the pamphlet, found their information lacking. In June 1817, Henry Bradshaw Fearon (b. ca. 1770) traveled to America on behalf of a group of English families who had asked him for help in deciding whether and where to immigrate. The results of his travels were published as *Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America; Contained in Eight Reports Addressed to the Thirty-Nine English Families by Whom the Author Was Deputed, in June 1817, to Ascertain Whether Any, and What Part of the United States Would Be Suitable for Their Residence; with Remarks on Mr. Birkbeck's "Notes" and "Letters"* (London, 1818). The Clements Library has the third edition (London, 1819).

While in New York, Fearon reported, "Agreeably

to your wishes I waited upon the gentlemen of the 'Shamrock Society,' who lately published a pamphlet, entitled, 'Hints to Emigrants.'" His conclusion was that the gentlemen he met, being city dwellers, knew little of the country beyond New York. They could not provide such reliable information as their pamphlet had led people to expect. After speaking to the society's secretary, Fearon concluded, "little faith can be placed in his answers to our queries: not that he designs to deceive but he affects to give intelligence" on costs found to be "about 50 per cent. too low—the fact is, he resides in boarding houses and is not informed upon these subjects."

Like later books that guided settlers to the gold regions of California, this publication was likely written by those with little real-world knowledge of the matters on which they so confidently wrote. But whether or not the Shamrock Society was a reliable source of advice for Irish immigrants in 1817, their words continued to be read by would-be European emigrants for years afterwards. *Hints to Emigrants* provides an example of the way in which nineteenth-century texts were frequently copied and excerpted in different publications, from newspapers to books, sometimes entirely separated from their original context. While attempting to shape the choices of Irish emigrants and mold them into ideal American citizens, *Hints to Emigrants* was itself reshaped to fit other books and different audiences.

— Emiko Hastings
Curator of Books



German Lutheran mission villages founded in the Saginaw valley of Michigan in the 1840s.

THE CHINESE MUST GO!

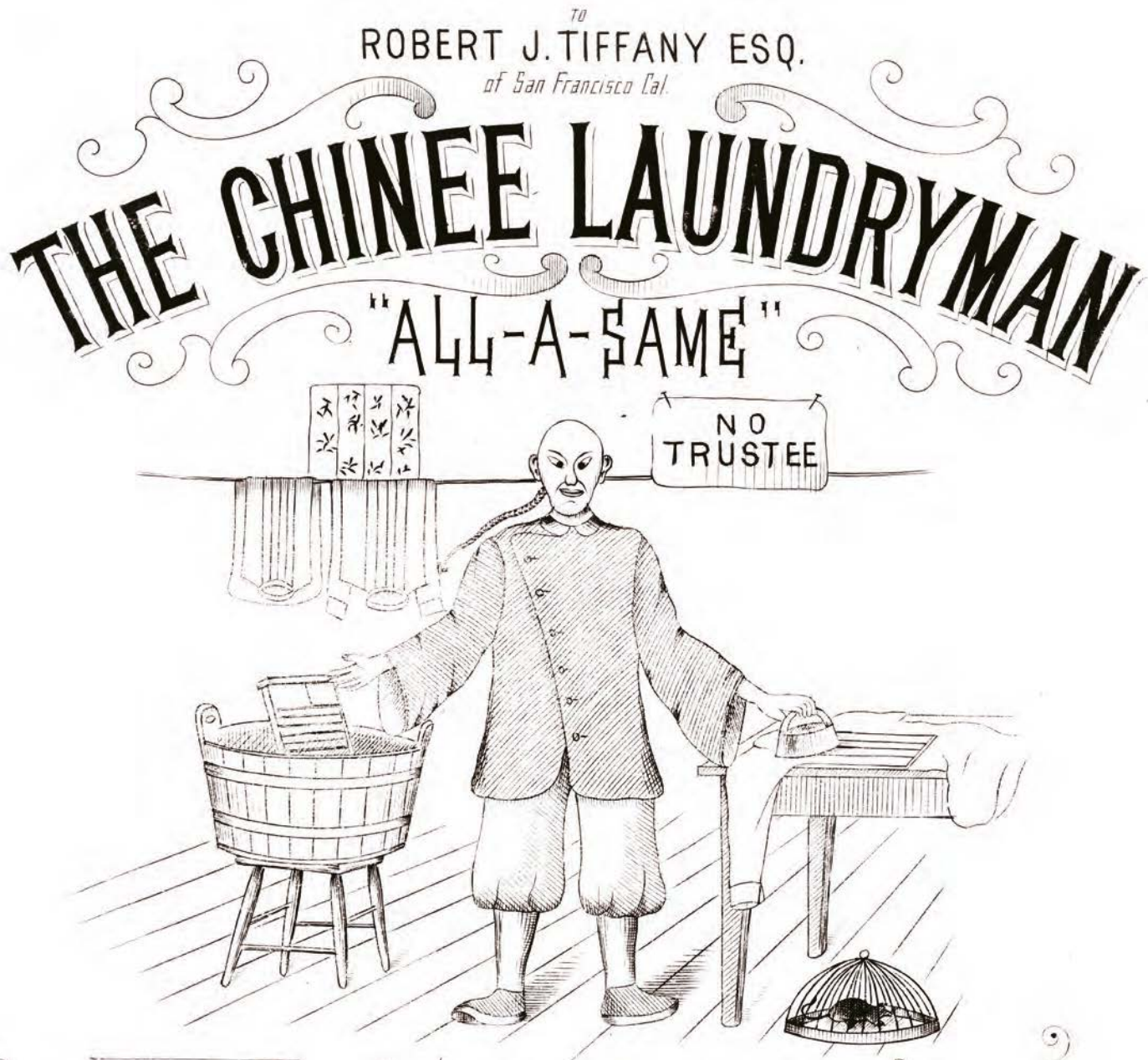
Over the course of American history, many immigrant groups have received a chilly welcome to the United States. Perhaps none can claim to have experienced a more hostile greeting than the Chinese. Indeed, after having already experienced four decades of persecution and discrimination in the United States, the immigration of additional Chinese was abruptly suspended outright on May 6, 1882, by the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

By this legislation Congress determined that the unabated influx of Chinese into the country posed enough of a threat to "the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof" that it warranted suspending immigration of both skilled and unskilled Chinese laborers for a period of at least ten years. The Exclusion Act also required Chinese Americans living in the country to carry reentry certificates allowing them to return to the United States should they temporarily leave the

country for any reason. At the same time, Chinese or part-Chinese were denied the right to obtain American citizenship.

The first Chinese immigrants to the United States arrived shortly after the American Revolution. They were relatively few in number and consisted chiefly of students, merchants, and sailors who settled in New England for short periods of time before returning to China. Large-scale Chinese immigration resulting in more permanent settle-

The Chinee Laundryman (Philadelphia, 1880) is one of many pieces of illustrated sheet music shot full of racial stereotypes. Many of those for Chinese workers originated in the California goldfields: Chinese as laundrymen, the ubiquitous queue, the use of pidgin English, unfamiliar culinary habits, and the retention of traditional Qing-era garb.

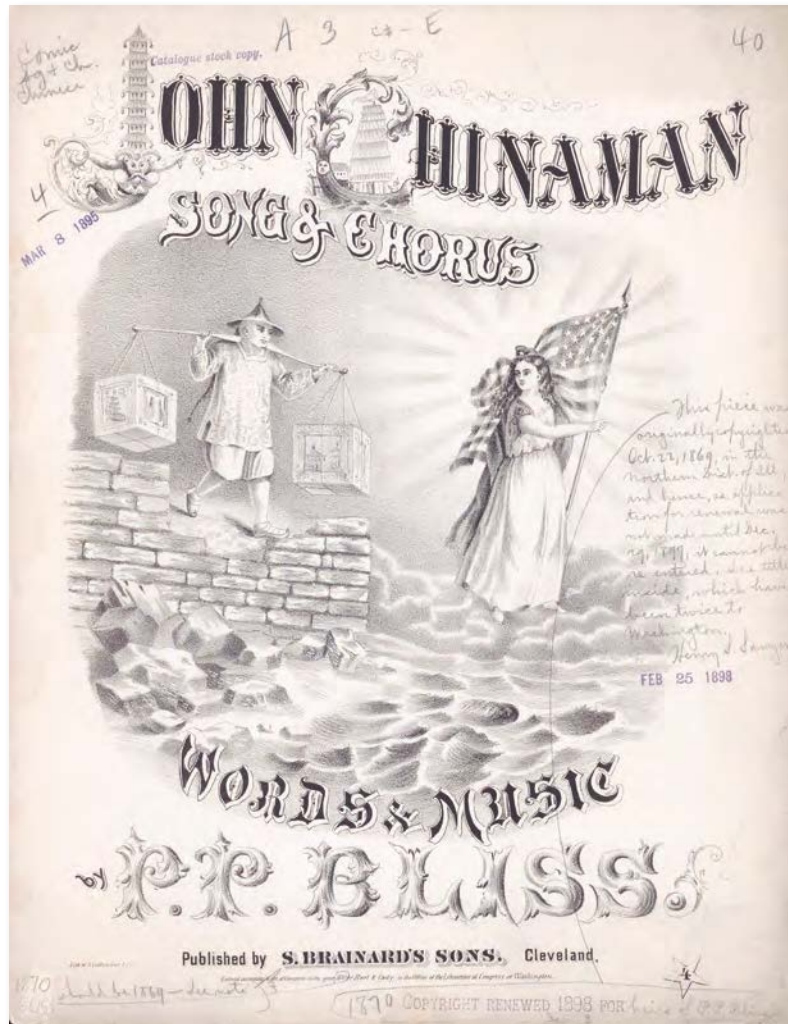


ment did not begin until the onset of the California Gold Rush in 1848. Most of these immigrants were poor men from Canton Province hoping to find work in the mines of California, although there were also wealthy merchants and scholars among their ranks. Communities of Chinese immigrants began forming into "Chinatowns," the oldest and largest of which is in San Francisco.

Chinese workers soon developed a reputation for thrift and industry due to their ability to survive on meager wages earned from performing difficult manual labor. Their peculiar styles of dress, their unfamiliar dialects, the long braided pony-tails or "queues" of the men, the ornate Joss Houses, theaters, and restaurants, the festivities surrounding the celebration of Chinese New Year, and many other aspects of their culture initially were sources of fascination for many

Americans. However, Chinese people eventually became objects of derision in the eyes of white working class citizens and immigrants from Europe who found themselves in direct competition with them for limited low-wage employment opportunities.

The letter book of Charles S. Watkins provides some insight into the hardships endured by both Chinese and white miners towards the tail end of the Gold Rush. Watkins, a young man from a relatively wealthy Yankee family in New Jersey, travelled to California in 1854 in search of adventure. Writing home from San Francisco on July 26, 1854, Watkins noted, "Now the population of San F is 60,000 Sacramento 10,000 Stockton and Marysville each 5,000 and Placerville 2,500 . . . The whole population is about 400,000 of



Although the song John Chinaman (Cleveland, 1869 or 1870) includes stereotypes common to most sheet-music illustrations, the lyrics are unexpectedly welcoming. The tea carrier is dressed as a traditional laborer but Columbia invites him to "leap o'er the crumbling wall" and "Bring along your tea." Even more accommodating is her message to John Chinaman, "For don't you see. We've room enough to welcome all."

whom about 50,000 are Chinamen." Of the Chinese, Watkins remarked that, "a Chinaman can save money where a white man could not support himself and as fast as the white miners abandon diggings [sic] which are unprofitable the Chinaman takes possession and makes good wages . . . The state imposes a tax of \$3 per month on all Chinamen and other foreigners who work in the mines. . . . None of the Asiatic race are allowed to become citizens of the United States, they are placed on the same footing as blacks." Many of Watkins's letters also describe his experiences working on different mining crews, including one in which he was "the only Yankee in the party, the rest were Dutch, Prussian, Danish & English, all hardy, resolute and I might almost say desperate men." Watkins repeatedly expressed sympathy

for such men as these, stating in another letter that he frequently encountered "Old '49ers searching every ravine and precipice in the vain hope of finding some spot which has escaped the search of others . . . These disappointed and unsuccessful 49ers are the most pitiable objects imaginable . . . like the flying dutchman they seem compelled to maintain a ceaseless search for an object never to be found, they live in hope and die in despair."

Throughout the late 1840s and early 1850s upwards of 300,000 people relocated to California to seek their fortunes. Yet as California's gold grew scarcer, Chinese immigrants were systematically excluded from certain mining districts and wound up performing other manual tasks such as cobbling, cooking, drayage, housecleaning, and railroad construction. They were often employed at the expense of white laborers on account of their willingness to

work for reduced wages. Many "desperate" white miners like the ones encountered by Charles Watkins, were left jobless and hopeless, and they soon began to blame the Chinese community for all of their misfortunes.

Anti-Chinese rhetoric began to gain traction over the course of the 1850s, although there were still a select few Americans willing to defend them. A pamphlet published by the Reverend William Speer in 1856 titled *An Humble Plea, Addressed to the Legislature of California, in Behalf of the Immigrants from the Empire of China to this State* (San Francisco, 1856) refuted many of the prevailing accusations leveled against the Chinese, including that they were unhygienic, unassimilable, heathen, prone to crime, and an economic

burden. Contrary to popular belief, Speer wrote, Chinese immigrants supplied a vital economic boost to California through payment of a special Foreign Miner's Tax (the three dollars monthly alluded to in the Watkins letter book), a fifty dollar capitation tax upon entry into the United States, property taxes, tolls for public transportation, the purchase of mining equipment, and food from American merchants. Especially critical of the unjust manner in which the Foreign Miner's Tax was sometimes extracted, Speer wrote "How often do you read of Chinamen shot, or stabbed, or whipped, or stripped and searched, or maltreated and insulted in some other way, by the collectors?" Instances of extortion and robbery committed against Chinese individuals were frequent, aided in part by the fact that Chinese were

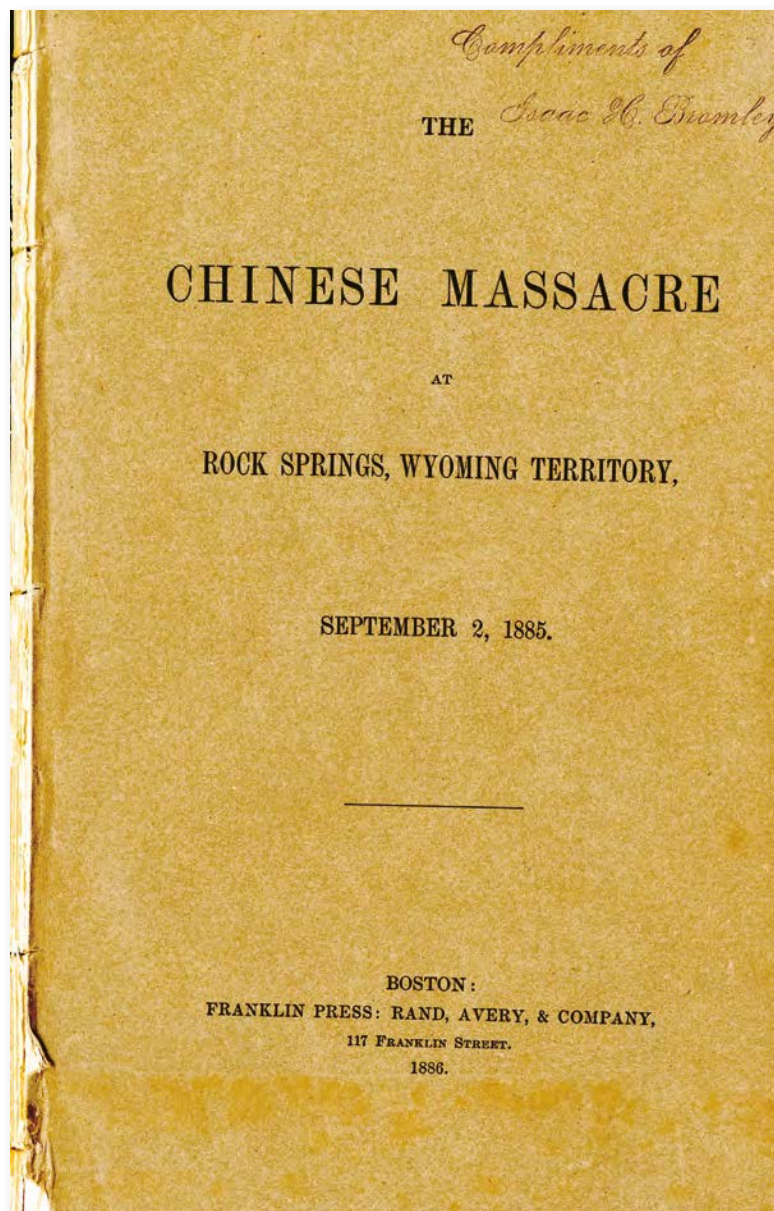
barred from obtaining American citizenship and were required by law to have at least one white witness to any alleged crimes they wished to report. One truly horrifying story relayed by Speer involved a group of Chinese miners attacked and robbed by four Americans. This resulted in one of the Chinese men being "mangled in a most horrible manner—one wound in the breast reaching nearly to the navel, through which the entrails protruded, and when found, the wretched creature was holding them in his hands!" Despite the best efforts of Americans like William Speer, however, little could be done to stem the rising tide of increasingly violent anti-Chinese sentiment.

A riot in San Francisco in the early 1860s is recorded in the letter book of renowned spirit photographer James V.

Mansfield (1859-1933). "In the South part of this city they are grading a rail road track and being short of keep or of labourers the Irishmen struck for high wages—some three \$ per day this enraged the Contractors & they resorted to the Chinese for a substitute . . . the Irish being provoked at this move of the Chinese gathered together in a mob attitude—and made for the Chinese in a rush—and in ten minutes not a Chinaman to be seen for ½ a mile from the place where the grading was going on."

The economic depression precipitated by post-Civil War inflation and the Panic of 1873 threatened to exacerbate a tense situation. Thousands of American businesses (including over eighty different railroad companies) went bankrupt, and unemployment reached historic levels. The western railroad companies that survived the recession, such as the Union Pacific, relied in large part on the availability of cheap Chinese labor. Opportunistic demagogues and radical labor organizations, such as the Knights of Labor and the Workingman's Party, capitalized on the discontent of white workers who felt betrayed by corporations that had chosen to replace them with less expensive Chinese substitutes. Denis Kearney (1847-1907), an Irish American labor activist and leader of the California chapter of the Workingman's Party who was fiercely critical of Chinese immigration, became well known for ending his speeches with, "and whatever happens the Chinese must go!" Rising tensions between whites and Chinese resulted in anti-Chinese riots breaking out across the western United States. At least seventeen Chinese people were tortured and hanged by a white mob in the 1871 Los Angeles riot in the largest instance of mass lynching in American history.

In 1885, three years after the Chinese Exclusion Act went into effect, anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States reached its zenith in the small mining town of Rock Springs,



The Chinese Massacre at Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, September 2, 1885 by Isaac H. Bromley (1886). Most of the rioters were members of the local chapter of the Knights of Labor. In 1885 their Wyoming members refused to work longer hours for the Union Pacific. The railroad then hired Chinese laborers to replace them, inflaming the workers' resentment toward "foreign miners."

and obey the commandments For I am
 sure, after having felt the presence of
 our Saviour, they would cherish and
 love him forever. I now wish to thank
 you in behalf of our little society
 (Chinese Young Men's Christian Society)
 for the many kindnesses you have
 shown towards them in feeding them
 now to sing the praises of our Lord and
 also for the valuable presents you
 have presented to them, and for the
 interest you have taken in their welfare.
 I am happy to say, that our
 Society is increasing in size, as are our
 Library, thanks to kind friends,
 who are trying to merit the reward
 they will soon get, for their labors here
 on earth. The Society meets every
 Wednesday and Sunday evenings to
 listen to and sing the praises of our
 Saviour. Hoping I have warmed you
 by this short letter I am your friend
 and, friend

梅振文
 Gin Bon
 Secretary Chinese Young Men's
 Christian Society.



Portrait of Moy Gin Bon by Lai Yong (right) with accompanying letter (above), in a virtually flawless hand. It was directed to Reverend Alexander R. Thompson.

Wyoming. On the morning of September 2, 1885, a fight between Chinese and whites working in coal mines owned by the Union Pacific Railroad escalated into a massacre when a vengeful mob descended upon the Chinese quarter of the town later that day. Over seventy buildings were set on fire and as many as fifty Chinese were murdered before Federal troops were called in to restore order. An examination of the incident published by Isaac H. Bromley in 1886 analyzed the shockingly defensive responses of several leading newspapers, with one passage from the *Laramie Boomerang* reading, "The massacre of the Chinamen was the inevitable result of the competition between the whites and the foreign race . . . It is sure that the whites will not yield precedence to the Chinese dogs. They will be compelled to leave this country, peace will be restored, even at the cost of bloodshed, and the trouble that may come will be chargeable to a monopoly that has wrung the country of its life-blood, that is now trying to enforce a tyrannical rule, which is to starve white men to support Chinamen."

One of the tens of thousands

impacted by anti-Chinese furor was a portrait artist by the name of Lai Yong. Lai's name appears in San Francisco city directories as early as 1867, making him one of the earliest known Chinese American photographers in the United States. A portrait of a Chinese man named Gin Bon (alternately rendered Moy Jin Bon) produced in Lai's studio can be found in the Reverend Alexander R. Thompson subseries of the Thompson Family Papers at the Clements Library. In a letter addressed to Reverend Thompson on September 23, 1871, Gin expressed his thanks in perfect English for the reverend's generous support of the Chinese Young Men's Christian Society of San Francisco. He included a portrait of himself along with three other members of the organization.

Regardless of their best attempts to assimilate into American society, even the most "Westernized" English-speaking Chinese Americans such as Lai Yong and Gin Bon encountered racism on a daily basis. A *San Francisco Chronicle* article published in 1877 explicitly mocked Lai's accent, stating that "Lai Yung [sic], our only Mongolian artist, is painting 'heep picture Melican

man," and charging "Melican man's price for the same. His principal success is in portraits." Anti-Chinese newspaper articles, repressive local ordinances targeting Chinese, heightened police presence in Chinatowns, caustic public speeches, and even racist musical numbers became commonplace in cities with large Chinese populations. Cognizant of this outrageous treatment, Lai co-authored a pamphlet in 1873 titled *The Chinese Question from a Chinese Standpoint* which vociferously condemned the treatment that Chinese people received in San Francisco and elsewhere in the United States. However, like many fellow Chinese Americans Lai Yong appears to have become so discouraged by the state of affairs that he ultimately chose to depart the land he had called home for nearly twenty years and is thought to have returned to his native China.

—Jakob Dopp
 Curatorial Assistant

“TRUE AMERICANS”

In 1784, Scottish bookdealer William Young immigrated to America with his wife and young son. The decision to begin life anew in a country across an ocean was not an easy one, with financial and personal risk looming heavy, intensified by the emotional upheaval of leaving one's kith and kin. William Young's father made sure to underscore this point in a withering letter he sent shortly after William's departure. The Lord, he writes, “has either permitted, or commissioned, you to double my trials; you are my first born, and the first that gave me such weighty trials, as to crush my spirits and bring down my body in the decline of my life.” While offended by William's failure to consult him about his choice to emigrate, perhaps

ultimately it was fear and sadness that provoked this father's scathing critique. “Weep not for the dead, neither bemoan him,” he quotes from the Bible, “but weep some for him that goeth away, for he shall return no more, nor see his native country [sic].” William Young never did return to Scotland.

The concept of the “native land” figures heavily in the manuscript records of immigration here at the Clements Library. People's reasons for leaving the country of their birth are as varied as the circumstances that shaped their lives—sheer economic desperation, religious or political persecution, violent coercion, personal character, and the desire for adventure—but many of these disparate stories are connected by a shared longing for the familiar, for the

customs, comforts, and people left behind. When John Peterkin emigrated from Scotland in 1817, he penned a long list of “all my acquaintances in Scotland at the time when I bade it a long, perhaps a last adieu,” filling sixteen pages of his journal. “No young man ever felt a greater struggle on leaving his native land than I,” he wrote in a letter the following year.

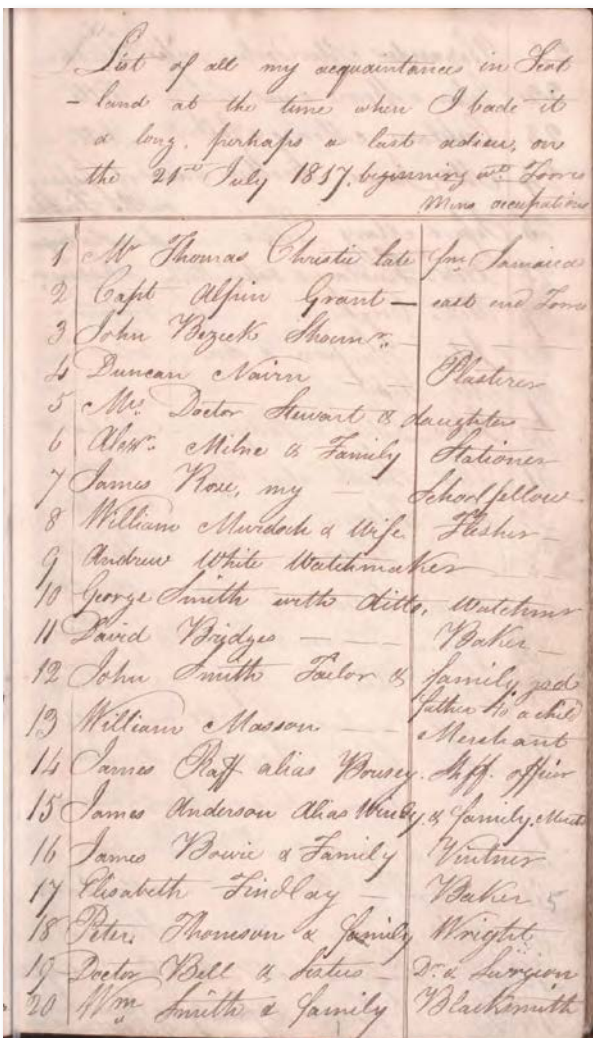
“Ambition and the fear of having my hopes of advancement at home blasted, impelled me to take my leave, while the gentler ties of friendship & other local attachments, whispered in low but intelligible accents advised me to stay, my mind was tortured by these opposite feelings.”

Whether pushed or pulled to American shores, many emigrants' complex ties to the places they had lived made the act of leaving an agonizing one. For some, that homeward pull was ever-present. William Peterkin, who had immigrated to America decades before his relative John, still felt himself anchored to Scotland. “Though it is near thirty six years since I left the North of Scotland, yet believe me Sir my attachments to the spot where I was born, and the companions of my youth, can never be alienated,” he wrote to a friend in 1815. “Time cannot

obliterate the remembrance while my memory remains. Every thing which concerns the country of my birth is to me interesting.” These “attachments” bound immigrants to those they left behind, encouraged cooperation and fellowship with those that arrived after them, and caused no small amount of fear among the Americans they joined.

There was never, of course, homogeneity in the racial or ethnic makeup of the American population, and xenophobic reactions to non-English immigrants can be traced back into the colonial period. An unprecedented wave of immigration beginning in the 1820s, however, elevated the issue to urgent, volatile levels. Sparked by the displacements of the Industrial Revolution, population booms, and devastating agricultural shortages, the numbers of European immigrants rose exponentially in the nineteenth century. Not until 1819 did the federal government require the compilation of immigration statistics, and the first reports submitted in 1820 documented some 8,000 arriving by steerage. By 1854 the number of recorded immigrants entering annually surpassed 400,000. In the face of such change, American anxieties about foreign-born populations escalated to new heights.

By the 1830s politicians were organizing on nativist principles, and in 1845 the Native American Party, openly centered on such ideals, hosted its first national convention. Such official nativism rode a rising surge of popular feeling that pitted “native” American rights and self-determination against an unprincipled foreign influence that, it was claimed, manipulated and abused the right to vote. Attachments to one's “native land” factored heavily in arguments for limiting naturalization and the franchise, an easy way to underscore the supposed inherent, insurmountable divide between American- and foreign-born. Americans' love for their native land was imagined as engendering an innate patriotism and devotion to liberty, while immigrants' ties to the places of their birth marked them as unmoored to and thus unconcerned about the American republic. Nativist ire was particularly directed at Irish immigrants. With nearly half of all immigrants coming to America in the 1840s originating in Ireland, nativists envisioned a



John Peterkin drew up a sixteen-page list of his acquaintances in Scotland to better remember those left behind. He sailed for America in 1817.

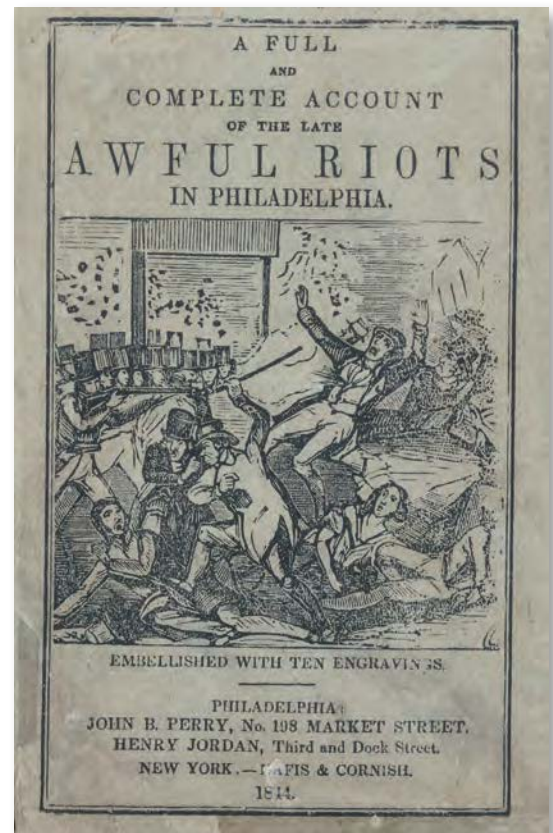
Catholic horde beholden more to priests, bishops, and the Pope than to their adopted country. Irish immigrants' political motives and votes were thus painted as threats to American democracy itself. Such nativist ideas appealed to a wide audience of Americans anxious about demographic change, economic competition, and religious diversity. In October 1836, George Albert Thomas, a young man of Portland, Maine, not yet eighteen years old, wrote a letter to the President outlining why he believed "Emigration to this country ought not to be tolerated." Immigrants' poverty, rivalry for Americans' jobs, and religion ranked high on his list of inexcusable traits. "They are landed on our shores—Monthly & Weekly—aye—even daily by thousands . . . They bring with them their national prejudices—and they retain them—We cannot suppose that a foreign emigrant feels that interest in our institutions—that patriotism & love towards our country—which a true American feels." That difficult, thorny concept of a "true American" was, and is, a dangerous one. If someone is different enough, if they harbor love for another country

or commitment to another faith, if they speak a foreign language, can they be truly American? Who decides?

This question, and the social tension that underlay it, had real consequences. In Philadelphia, Catholic objections to Protestant Bible readings in public schools incited local nativist rallies in May of 1844. The conflict between the robust Irish community, constituting ten percent of Philadelphia's population, and the vocal nativist majority quickly devolved into violence and rioting that simmered through July. An epic poem, *Six Months Ago*, inspired by that summer's events, distinguishes between the two opposing groups through the use of geographical language. "They knew themselves the owners of the soil," the anonymous poet writes of the nativists. "Entailed by those who bought it with their blood, / And they were not afraid." Anti-immigrant prejudice is portrayed as something natural, driven by patriotism born of the land, rather than a complicated social construct. In

contrast to the "owners of the soil," immigrants are described as "those / Near them, but not of them, in whose vile hearts / The fellest passions reign." This conviction that Irish Catholics would be innately separate, living in

Incendiary engravings of incidents of the 1844 Philadelphia riots capture the nativist violence that engulfed the city that spring and summer. The cover of a pamphlet (right) depicts soldiers intervening to prevent further harm to an "American" couple. The other (below) depicts the burning of St. Augustine Catholic Church, set afire during the disorder.





George Shifler died early in Philadelphia's riots of 1844. Nativists promptly claimed him as a martyr who died protecting the American flag from Irish rioters. In this contemporary chromolithograph (Philadelphia, 1844), the mortally wounded Shifler clutches "Old Glory" to the very end.

close proximity with Americans but never "of them," intensified nativist reactions. The poem continues, "Americans will not stand by and see / The untamed renegades of other climes / Do murder on the natives of the soil." Characterizing American-born citizens as those whose every pulse of their "expansive hearts is for the land / Beneath whose sunny skies they first drew breath," powerful symbolism of the "native land" was used to inspire nativist passion. By the time the 1844 riots settled the homes of approximately thirty Catholic Philadelphians, a Catholic seminary and several Catholic churches had been ransacked or burned, and over a dozen people had been killed. The fear and antagonism spurred by anti-immigrant organizations had real, mortal consequences, and as the 1850s dawned they showed no sign of abating.

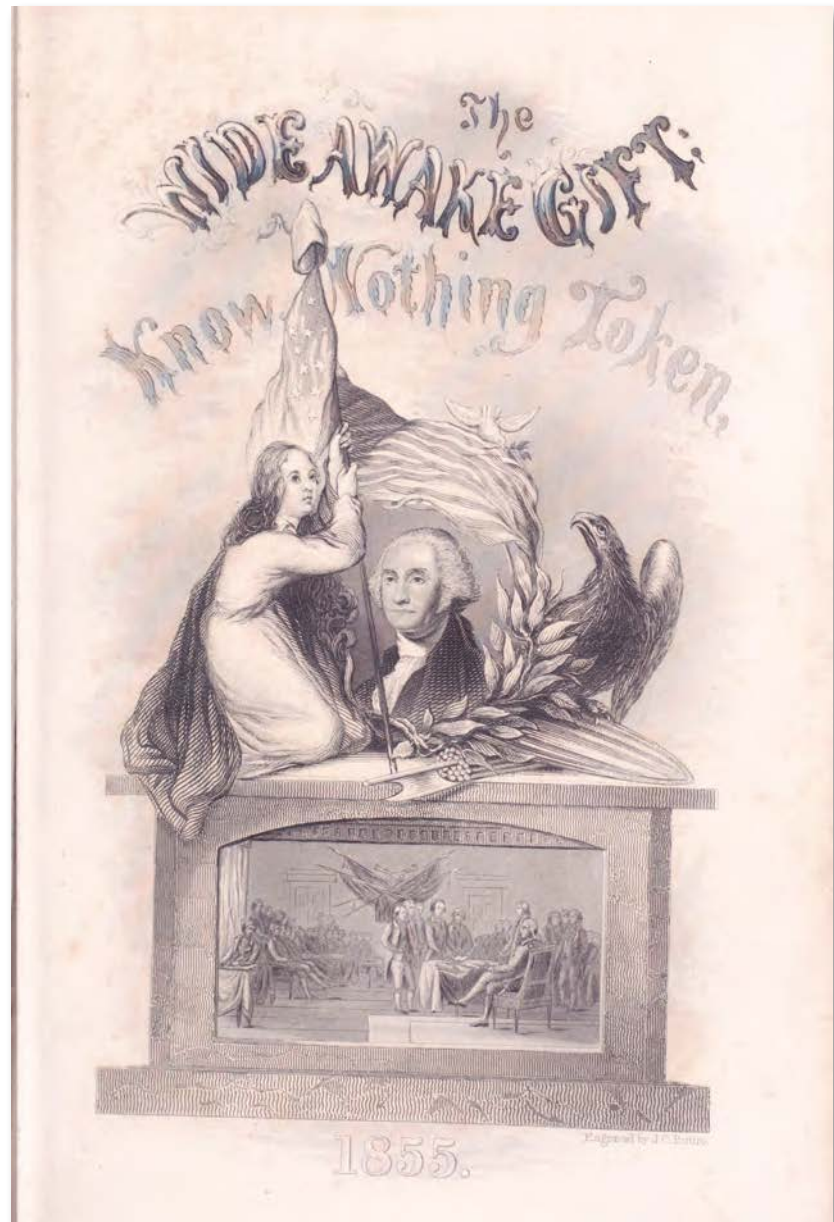
Amidst all the drama and vitriol inspired by the nativist movement, it can be difficult to remember that most—no matter where they were born—did not endorse violence. "The city is now at peace, although you can not walk a square without meeting soldiers," one correspondent from our McClintock Family Papers proclaimed in mid-July 1844, as Philadelphia's riots were quieting. "Mr. Street is better and is improving as fast as could be expected," the writer continues, describing a man injured in the turmoil, "it is not known yet whether his legs will have to be amputated, he only went to see what was going on." Not all who were present at nativist rallies, riots, and debates were crazed and ardent supporters. Some were bystanders like Mr. Street who looked on but didn't participate. Others, like young George Albert Thomas, who had written to the President opposing immigration, were non-violent and respectable people. George went on to support the anti-slavery movement and Maine's Underground Railroad, served as a choirmaster, and directed his local Aged Brotherhood and Citizens' Mutual Relief Associations. In many ways, he was an upstanding citizen; but he was also prejudiced, and that prejudice was shared and expressed and acted upon by enough others that it resulted in violence, persecution, and organized political ire that targeted immigrants.

Not everyone rioted over immigra-

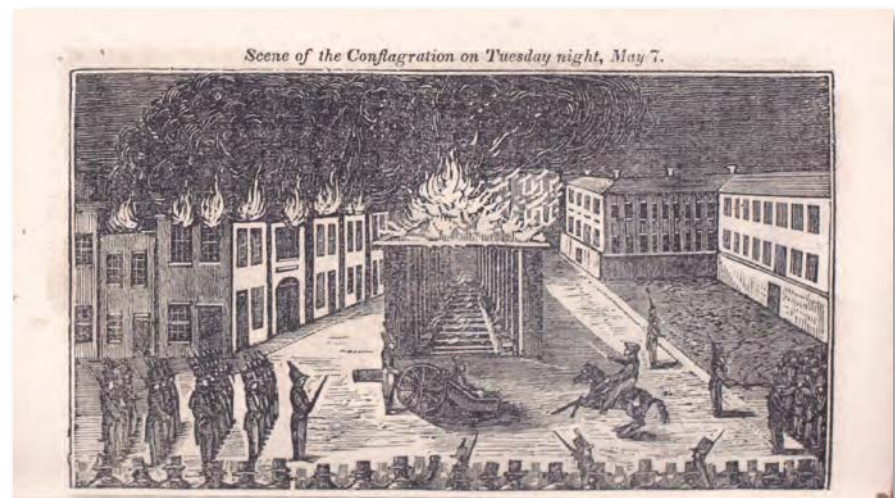
tion, but enough people were willing to vote about it to birth a powerful political party based on nativist ideals—the Know-Nothing Party. Secret fraternal societies that developed in the 1840s as exclusionary places for nativists to gather evolved into a national political movement. Know-Nothings reached the height of their power in 1855 when the American electorate voted in 43 Congressional representatives from the party. Clearly tapping into a widespread xenophobic impulse among the American public, nativists' influence spanned the political sphere to popular culture. An 1855 compendium of essays, *The Wide Awake Gift: A Know-Nothing Token*, includes a prefatory note claiming, “we lay the Patriotic Offering upon the altar of American Liberty, believing that the incense thereof will prove a ‘sweet-smelling savor’ in the nostrils of all who love the aroma of their NATIVE LAND.” The Know-Nothing moment was short-lived, despite its heavy-handed appeals to patriotism. While their 1856 presidential candidate, Millard Fillmore, garnered some 870,000 votes, he finished a distant third, and the party soon succumbed to the sectional controversies over slavery. Its underlying principles that lionized Americans' nativity, however, point towards the ideological significance of birthplaces and homes as the nation struggled with new population dynamics. Affection for a “native land” weaves its way through the history of nineteenth-century American immigration. For many immigrants it served as a unifying force, creating bonds of community in a new place and connecting people to those they left behind. The same ideals, however, were also highly divisive when deployed as a political platform.

“The Utopia of the imagination, is not the United States of our experience,” the *Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States* warned in 1851. America could be harsh and unwelcoming. It could also be wondrous and abundant and new. If not one's *native* land, America could yet be a vibrant one worth making into a home.

— Jayne Ptolemy
Curatorial Assistant



Published at the peak of Know-Nothing political power in 1855, this anthology of nativist essays (above) is laden with patriotic symbolism.



Troops were called out to suppress the 1844 Philadelphia nativist riots and to control fires set in various parts of the city.

IMMIGRANT – SOLDIER – ARTIST – BARBER?

It goes without saying that nineteenth-century immigrants brought vast amounts of fresh talent to the United States. In the three decades before the Civil War, the flow of people was heaviest from northern Europe, especially Ireland, Britain, and the German states. The newcomers included individuals and families with experience in many different trades. Not all of them put their skills to work in the same occupation once they were in America, however. One fascinating item in the Clements Library collection might be the work of one such immigrant. William G. Brenschutz's "General Prospect of Fort Mackinaw" (1845) is

one of the most detailed and intricate drawings in the Map Division. It depicts Fort Mackinac on Michigan's Mackinac Island but from the perspective of a bird or a balloonist floating hundreds of feet in the air.

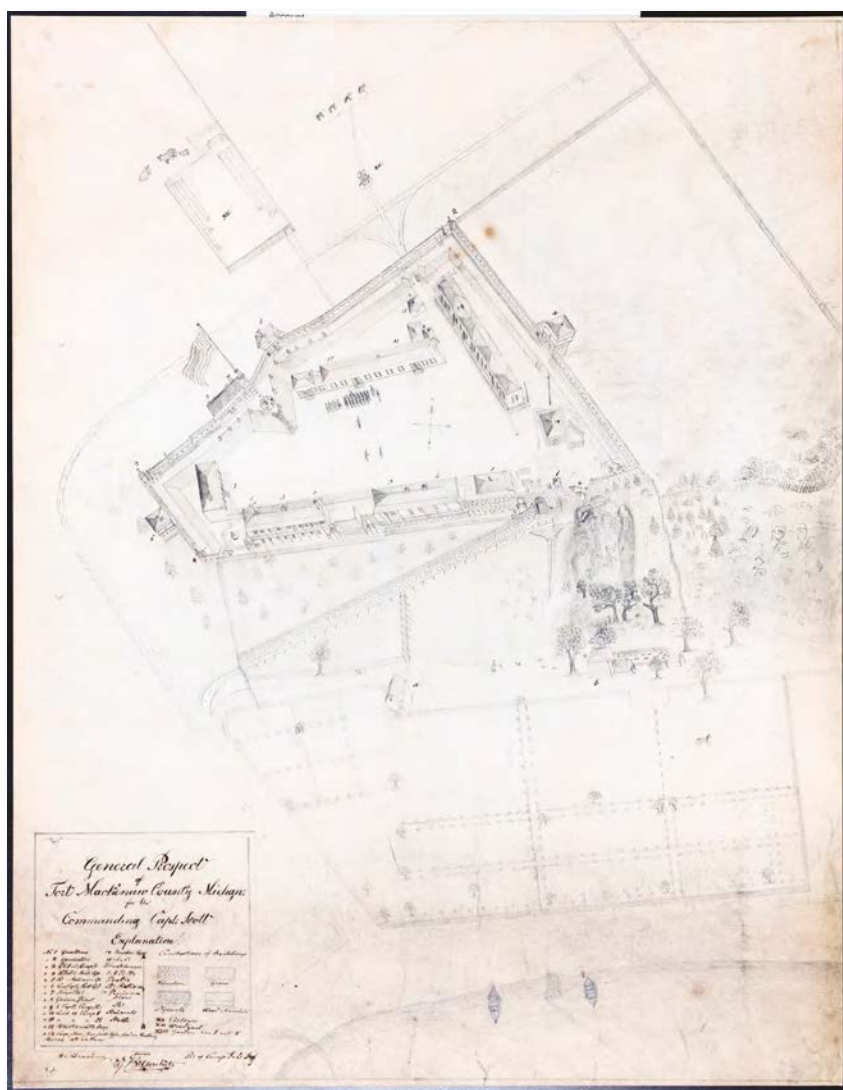
Brenschutz's story (what we know of it) says something about the U. S. Army as a place where an individual male immigrant might go for food, drink, shelter, and pay. For a non-English-speaker, the army also offered a place to learn the language. Plagued by desertion and the unwillingness of many citizens to serve, the army needed a regular flow of recruits. Many officers complained about the recruiting of not-

yet-naturalized men, but the practice continued. In the 1820s-1850s the army functioned with about a quarter of its enlisted personnel composed of foreign-born. An 1838 inspection of Fort Brady in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, for example, revealed 32 "foreigners" in one company of 52 men.

William Brenschutz probably followed a similar path to military service. Exactly when the twenty-five-year-old native of Berlin arrived in America is unknown. Was he a brand-new immigrant or had he been in the country for a time? Had he been involved in the Philadelphia nativist riots in May and July? Brenschutz enlisted in the U. S. Army at Philadelphia on August 1, 1844. When asked the nature of his occupation in civilian life he answered, "barber." Not a word about any talent for drafting, engraving, or other graphic arts. Private Brenschutz reported for duty at Fort Mackinac on October 25.

The new soldier was assigned to Company I of the 5th U.S. Infantry then commanded by Captain Martin Scott and stationed at Fort Mackinac, Michigan. Scott was a one-of-a-kind officer, acknowledged to be the best shot in the army. He and his wife, Lavinia, were both avid hunters, and they kept a pack of hounds. The walls of their quarters were covered with trophy animal heads. And, over the two years prior to Brenschutz's arrival, Captain Scott had supervised a complete renovation of 63-year-old Fort Mackinac. The results were apparent to all who saw the place. "It is kept with extraordinary neatness" one visitor remarked of the post in 1844.

After all his effort to improve the old fort it is not unlikely that Captain Scott was looking for a trophy of his own sort. The full title of the "General Prospect" makes it clear that it was drawn for Scott and referenced the improvements made to the walls and buildings. We do not know how the captain learned of Private Brenschutz's talent. The artist had the challenging job of drawing an overview of the fort to show what his commandant had accomplished. This the private did by laying out a bird's eye perspective view



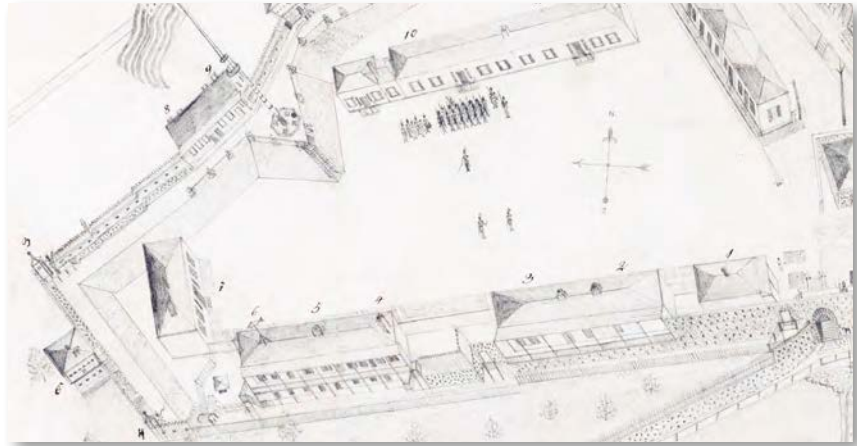
Private Brenschutz's "General Prospect of Fort Mackinaw" is painstakingly detailed, from firewood in the post woodyard (top) to fish-shaped weather vanes on two of the buildings.

that scoops up tremendous detail, from individual buildings to the military gardens and even troops drilling on the parade ground under the steady eye of Captain Scott himself. Barber indeed! Brenschutz even included the captain's black horse, Dandy, and what might be his pack of hounds as well. He visually coded which areas of the complex were built of stone, wood, or earth.

It seems likely that the Scotts were pleased with the finished product. Unfortunately, the artist appears to have been less charmed by army life. On July 22, 1845, the immigrant—soldier—artist—barber took to his heels and deserted! This practice was another concern of many officers, who asserted that frequent desertion was one more reason to avoid recruiting recent immigrants.

Brenschutz's "General Prospect" remained a treasured possession of the Scott family. The captain was killed in the Battle of Molino del Rey in 1847 during the war with Mexico. Lavinia preserved the drawing until her own death in the tragic collision and sinking of the steamship *Arctic* near the Grand Banks of Newfoundland in 1854. It then passed to her cousin and remained in the family until presented to the William L. Clements Library in 1941.

— Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Associate Director & Curator of
Maps



The Brenschutz drawing includes vignettes of activities around the fort. One of the most interesting is the scene (below) of a woman (left) with an enthusiastic pack of dogs near the garrison kennels and stable below the fort (today Marquette Park). Is she feeding them? Are they the Scotts' hounds? Is the woman Lavinia Scott? The addition of such personal details must have been requested of the artist by the Scotts.



DEVELOPMENTS

I have overheard our interns joke that one of the perks of their job is reading other people's mail! Recently, I cleaned out a closet and found a box of letters from my grandmother. As I looked through them and had a snapshot of my relationship with her, I had a renewed appreciation for the meaning of letters to the people who write and receive them. Our connections with each other are important. It is a sense of community that has influenced recent decisions to establish new endowment funds.

U-M President Emeritus Harold Shapiro was inspired to create a fund for manuscripts acquisition after participating in the President's Bicentennial Colloquium on campus this past sum-

mer. When Jim Laramy set up a fund to "buy cool old stuff," he told me about his delight, as a student, in receiving permission from former Director Howard Peckham to use materials for a research project. Meeting Peckham and having the opportunity to read eighteenth-century newspapers gave Jim an appreciation for the stories contained within the walls of the Clements. He hopes that by providing acquisition support, the Library will have the means to continue to find and preserve the documentation that brings the past to life.

At the Clements Library Associates Board of Governors meeting in October we discussed the success of our summer Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) internships in making collections more

accessible and in giving students experience in archival work. The Board's members decided that they would enjoy having a connection with future students, and they have funded two new internships to nurture and support those working with historical materials at the Clements. Not only will these students benefit from their internships, they will also have the opportunity to meet our CLA board members.

Endowed funds help us link the past and present and make an enduring legacy. Thank you for adding to our Clements community through your participation at events, your financial support, and your advocacy.

— Angela Oonk
Director of Development

ANNOUNCEMENTS

STAFF NEWS

We say many thanks and best wishes to Janet Bloom who retired from the Library in January. Janet began as a volunteer but came on staff in 2002 as our Research Specialist. As such, she responded each year to hundreds of inquiries relating to manuscript collections.

Never before has the Clements Library had such a reinforcement of temporary staff as over the last few months. We welcome Corey Schmidt, our new Joyce Bonk Fellow (2-year appointment); Sophia McFadden-Keesling, assistant in Books; Allison Schneider in Conservation; Caroline He and Garrett Morton in Manuscripts; Lindsay Barnett and Isabella Jabra in Development; and Lauren Seroka and Ann Stoner in Reader Services.

We are also delighted to welcome Emily Hanka on a two-year appointment as Marketing and Communications Assistant and Kelly Powers for two years as a Digitization Technician.

TWO JOIN CLA BOARD

It is a great pleasure to welcome two new members of the CLA Board of Governors. Neither is a stranger to the Library, and both have long personal connections with the place. The first is a long-time friend and champion of the Clements, a self-described “archives rat,” who has never been able to find enough time to more than dent the primary sources held by the Library. Martha S. Jones from 2001 to 2017 held U-M faculty appointments in History, Afroamerican and African Studies, and Law. She has collaborated with Clements staff on exhibits and publications and has served as a member of the Committee of Management. To our deep regret, Martha has accepted an appointment to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. At least we can look forward to seeing her on CLA meeting days.

Our other new governor joins the CLA board at an earlier point of her career. Catherine Dann Roeber currently serves as Assistant Professor of Decorative Arts and Material Culture at the Winterthur Museum in Winterthur, Delaware. Catherine has considerable experience as an archaeologist and appreciates how important archival collections can be in supporting that discipline. Her memories of the Clements Library go back to her childhood. She literally grew up in the stacks and in the Avenir Foundation Room. Catherine, as many of you already know, is the daughter of John Dann, the Library’s third Director, and his wife Orelia.

CHRISTIAN M. F. BRUN (1920-2017)

Resting on a Map Division shelf is a well-used, ragged, cloth-covered book with hundreds of penciled notes in its margins. *A Guide to the Manuscript Maps in the William L. Clements Library* by Christian M. F. Brun has been in use since 1959, when the author identified and described 806 maps, including many of the most beautiful and important in the Clements collection. The number of manuscript maps has nearly doubled since 1959, but Chris Brun’s organization is still in use. He also co-authored the influential reference book *Maps and Charts Published in America Before 1800: A Bibliography*.

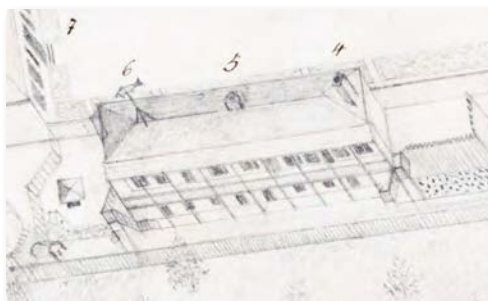
It is our sad duty to report the passing of Christian Brun in Santa Barbara, California, at the age of 97. He was Curator of Maps at the Clements from 1952 to 1963. Most of his professional life was spent in academic research libraries. A native of Norway, Chris immigrated to the western United States in 1923, the year the Clements Library opened. Trained as a ski-trooper in a largely Norwegian American infantry unit when he enlisted in 1942, he fought in Europe. Following his time at the Clements, Chris was Head of Special Collections and University Archivist at UC Santa Barbara Library. He retired in 1990. At the time of his passing we believe Chris Brun to have been the oldest living former staff member of the Clements Library.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

November 3, 2017 – May 18, 2018: Exhibit: “The Pioneer Americanists: Early Collectors, Dealers, and Bibliographers.” Fridays, 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

May 1, 2018: Clements Library Associates Board of Governors Meeting, 10:00 a.m.

May 25, 2018 – October 26, 2018: Exhibit: “D.N. Diedrich, Collector,” Fridays, 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.



The Scotts resided in the western apartment of the Officers' Stone Quarters. The fish-shaped wind vane (6) is mounted atop their rooms.



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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. Funds received from Associate memberships are used to purchase historical materials. Annual Membership Contributions: Student \$5, Donor \$50, Associate \$75, Patron \$100, Fellow \$250, Benefactor \$500, Contributor \$1000 and above. Contributions are tax deductible in accordance with current federal and state law and may be made by check or credit card.

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