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CONTENTS

The Princeton Collections of Western Americana
by Alfred L. Bush
1

The Sam Houston Letters: A Corner of Texas
in Princeton
by Joe B. Frantz
18

The First New Mexico Imprint
by E. Boyd
30

"Ho! For Oregon and California": An Annotated
Bibliography of Published Advice to the
Emigrant, 1841-1847
by Thomas P. Andrews
41

Library Notes
American Indian Periodicals in the
Princeton University Library
65

New & Notable
A Letter from the Camp of Israel, 1846, by
Fawn M. Brodie
67

Friends of the Princeton University Library
Financial Report
71
ILLUSTRATIONS

A selection of Western Americana
An 1838 Houston broadside
The first New Mexico imprint
Letter of Brigham Young, 1846

BETWEEN PAGES
6-7
28-29
28-29
66-67

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The Princeton Collections of Western Americana

BY ALFRED L. BUSH

Of the many collections which make up the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, the collection most used by undergraduates at Princeton—as distinct from the ordinary use of the holdings of the department by faculty, graduate students and visiting scholars—is the Princeton Collections of Western Americana. Fitzgerald's papers draw scholars from such unexpected distances as Japan and Yugoslavia; the scholarly traffic to the Dulles papers must be skillfully directed to prevent research jams; and Near Eastern and African VIPs en route to Washington still make their stops at the Princeton University Library to have pertinent treasure laid before them. But when undergraduates are in the reading room of the department, a majority are at work in the collection they affectionately refer to as "Cowboys and Indians."

Such an interest in the American West by Princeton undergraduates should not be surprising. The distance between things east of Stony Brook and those west of the Mississippi promotes a perspective that enables the student to see beyond local history to the fascination of the theoretical questions raised by the study of the frontier. To a generation emotionally fastened upon the preservation, if not the recreation, of the simpler ecological and social constructs of our past, the western landscape, the western myth, the erroneously simplistic vision of frontier man, and, most of all, the Rousseauian Indian, all contribute to the original attraction. But beyond these initial concerns, the serious advantages of the field as a laboratory for the study of history, politics, literature and anthropology, are soon apparent and rewarding.
The frontier provides situations in which fundamental concepts of the social and historical process may be examined in detail and with some sense of comprehension, in the stricter sense of that term. The definable areas are encompassable enough to suggest the possibility, in the limited time available to a student, of an examination of some thoroughness. The simplicity of the human outlines makes more dramatic the complexities which soon emerge. A Senior may choose to work on the organization of mining-claim clubs on the Colorado frontier, where few influences beyond those immediately apparent seem likely. The isolation of the anonymous individuals who are responsible seem the ideal controlled situation for examining the origin and evolution of a political institution. The basic questions, the sparse cast, and the small stage, make the complexities which evolve in the study all the more memorable. The fascination of origins—of people, of institutions, of social directions—and what these beginnings may suggest about the development of society and the unpredictable directions of history, has always been a central attraction of the frontier for the scholar. The Lockeian speculations of what happens when people are transplanted to a new context, when they are given the opportunity to begin again, when social contacts and contracts, institutions and instincts, are given a new chance to form a society, however small and haphazard, are endlessly suggestive and the frontier always seems to offer the impelling possibility of answers to some of these questions. Given a new world, however small and insignificant, what will people create, socially, physically, institutionally, intellectually? The question never ceases to have a new appeal to the young student.

The lessons in historical method and precepts of research which the frontier provides are equally basic and unusually unavoidable. Students accustomed to leaning on the reputations of historians, instead of the manifest quality of their history, find themselves in a context without such easy touchstones. Instead of relying on the familiar name or the unquestionable reputation, offering up reliable secondary analysis, they find themselves confronted by a field where the materials they must deal with are primary. A careful evaluation of sources is unavoidable where the secondary works are sparse and amateur. And in dealing with personages who are for the most part anonymous, the student is forced to find sig-

ificance in the historical situation. In digging for such means of evaluation he is required to reconsider the primary purposes of his discipline and to begin in the most fundamental way, the task of propounding it. The pedagogical advantages are obvious. And happily, such primary work with primary materials makes almost inevitable a paper that is an original contribution. The student discovers in the end that he has not simply reconsidered a question reconsidered endlessly by students before him, in which the justification is the information he has acquired, like students before him, and a sense of the historical method. So many questions have yet to be asked by the trained student of the frontier, that it is unusual to produce a paper on the American West that is not a publishable contribution to our knowledge of an area or a concept of the frontier. It is not only the talent and training of the student but these special advantages of work on the American frontier which have brought publication to a number of Senior theses written in the field at Princeton. Chapters from John Messing's thesis were published as a long paper titled "Public Lands, Politics, and Progressives: The Oregon Land Fraud Trials, 1903-1910" in the February 1966 issue of the Pacific Historical Review. David N. Pierce's 1967 thesis on government in Deseret was issued as a monograph. James Julian Coleman, Jr.'s thesis on the Spanish-Frenchman of Fur Trade St. Louis and New Orleans—Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent, was published as a book in 1968. It is a rare thesis, in fact, that is without chapters worthy of publication in the journals of state historical societies and local historical organizations. They are invariably distinguished by original research in a field which their perspective has elevated to an importance beyond the antiquarian interests of the area it represents.

In 1962 Professor Malcolm Rohrbough began initiating a succession of Juniors into the complexities and fascination of the frontier in a series of seminars that prepared them for independent research into problems of their own choosing. Many of these papers on the American West were challenging enough to the students to lead directly into further questions and a wider focus for a Senior thesis. Not only the theses mentioned above that reached publication, but also some three dozen other theses on

aspects of the American West have been the direct or indirect result of this initial orientation.

The study of the frontier is not the monopoly of the historians, of course. Last year while some two dozen students from James Banner’s history seminar wrote junior papers out of the collections, Gary Orfield’s students in the Woodrow Wilson School and the Politics Department were searching western materials to unscramble the intermeshings of politics and the American Indian. Professor Leone’s graduate students in anthropology were calling heavily on the holdings for use in structural analysis, using Mormons as anthropological subjects. Professor Alfonso Ortiz’s undergraduates in anthropology used the Indian materials frequently for papers for his course on the American Indian and for the anthropological study of a range of discrete cultures in the American West, from the Penitentes of the high valleys of Southern Colorado through the polygamous remnant of the fundamentalist Mormons hugging the Arizona border, to the myriad distinct peoples of the native tribal groups that survive so close to their aboriginal state only in the West. Last spring four Senior theses were based on materials in the collection and one Ph.D. dissertation continues to be written from them.

But the Princeton Collections of Western Americana have by no means been used exclusively by students. Visiting scholars, popular writers, alumni and tourists, continue to call upon them. The University’s Writer-in-Residence in a recent year came to the collection, found works on an obscure western bandit and promptly produced a film from the materials. The result is William Goldman’s “Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid.” Mr. John I. White appears regularly to check points for the papers he publishes so frequently on aspects of frontier folklore. Scholars have come from California pursuing the Princeton origins of the conqueror of their state, Commodore Robert Field Stockton; and from Iowa to consult an overland narrative crucial to a reconstruction of the state’s early history. American Indian undergraduates call persistently for the volumes of Edward Curtis’ *The North American Indian* and search the portfolios for photographs of grandparents and views in their villages at the turn of the century. Mormons pay homage occasionally to printed and manuscript milestones of their history; iconographers examine the pictorial sources incidentally present in the collection. Western alumni are pleased, “coming back,” to pause over a token from home that happens also to be able to tell them something about their origins. And the tourist is satisfied with a momentary glance at a rarity. The collections that attract these various pilgrims, scholarly and sentimental, is an accumulation, both accidental and purposeful, of two centuries.

Midst the Latin and Piety, the Dryden and the Defoe in the Nassau Hall Library which President Samuel Davies set down in the College’s first library catalogue in 1759, there were a handful of books which were American in interest. Charters and laws of Connecticut and Massachusetts and the “American Plantations”; histories of Virginia, of the “puritans of New England” and the Moravians; exhortations to the people of Carolina; accounts of Indian King Philip’s War; Mather; Mayhews’ *Indian Converts* and the Eliot Indian Bible were all products or examinations of the American frontier. A century and a half after they were catalogued by Davies, Frederick Jackson Turner was to give the literature they foreshadowed an interpretation imaginative and challenging enough to turn the interests of a large company of students and scholars to the West with questions so suggestive that they continue to be asked.

The Nassau Hall books were victims of the Revolution. The forces which destroyed them, created not only a new nation, but a new national consciousness. And the most persistent of the explanations of this character was to be found in Turner’s frontier hypothesis.

The natural accretion of a university library of the size and antiquity of Princeton makes it natural that collections on many subjects—particularly American ones—would, even without direction, grow over the centuries into an almost accidental distinction. There are surprises and puzzles to the collecting of the early 19th century. The library was then far more dependent upon gifts than it is now. The curriculum and the use of the library by the students and faculty of that era bear almost no resemblance to contemporary Princeton. Although one would expect such Western classics by Jesupmen as Pike’s *Account of Expeditions* and James Marshall’s pamphlets to have come to the library immediately on publication, the copies in the library, and other classics of the early years of the West, were acquired late in the century, or early in this one. The first printing of Pike’s narrative dates to 1810, but
the copy of the book now in the library that has been here since the 19th century was presented in 1878. It was not until late in the century that the gifts which added significantly to the collection began to come to the library.

When the library of the American Whig Society left its original halls to be incorporated in the University Library, it considerably enriched the collections of American books. And in the subsequent years the collections grew with gifts of single books and of collections and purchases by librarians and faculty. Governor Charles S. Olden, a Princeton trustee, early in the century presented the 1814 printing of Paul Allen's compilation of the Lewis and Clark expedition. David Patton, of the Class of 1874, was presenting such classics as Keating's Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnipeeke, Lake of the Woods, etc., etc., Under the Command of Stephen H. Long, Philadelphia, 1844, and the first edition of Washington Irving's The Rocky Mountains.

Charles Scribner of the Class of 1875 enabled a number of choice books to be added to the collection. The Honorable George B. McClellan, of the Class of 1886, made such interesting gifts as a first edition of the 1850 Garrard classic Wab-To-Yah, and the Taos Trail; or, Prairie Travel and Scalp Dances, with a Look at Los Rancherias from Muleback and the Rocky Mountain Campfire, Cincinnati, 1850, with an inscription that reads "Major Marcy U.S.A. with the author's respects Feb 1900." In 1899 Dr. William B. Greene, Jr. gave J. Quinn Thornton's Oregon and California in 1849, New York, 1849. With the collection of David Aiken Reed, Class of 1900, came such items as Cuming's Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country... , Pittsburgh, 1810. The Pitney Collection of International Law and Diplomacy contained books like Twiss' The Oregon Question Examined, London, 1846. The Grenville Kane Collection brought to Princeton not only the great works of the early voyagers and travelers, but also such items as J. C. Adams, The Hair-Breadth Escapes and Adventures of "Grizzly Adams," in Catching and Conquering the Wild Animals Included in his California Menagerie, 1860. And from Cyrus McCormick came such famous rarities as the Narrative of Zenas Leonard, Clearfield, Pennsylvania, 1839.

But these accidental and circumstantial gifts and purchases, which for two centuries slowly swell the Americans on the shelves of the library, were not to be given proper focus until well
NOTICE

TO all whom it may Concern,

WHEREAS the Premises known as Fort Russell, located in what is now Colorado Territory, and now owned by the United States, have been abandoned by the Army and are now occupied by the United States Army, do hereby issue the following notice:

Now, therefore, I, Lewis Robison, the Jailer and Jailor of this County, do hereby issue the following notice:

In the name of the United States of America, I command all persons to desist from interfering with the said premises and their contents.

Given under my hand and seal this 24th day of July A.D. 1861.

LEWIS ROBISON, Jailer and Jailor

This notice is to inform all persons of the above actions and to ensure that no further interference occurs.

Signed at the office of the Jailer and Jailor.

COLORADO
into the second quarter of this century. About the time of the exposition of Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis, Philip Ashton Rollins, of Princeton’s Class of 1889, was set in a path which ultimately resulted in a collection that was to be the lodestone needed for the reevaluation of the library’s older holdings. The gift of the Rollins Collection, presented in 1947 by Mr. Rollins and his wife, Beulah (Pack) Rollins, was not only to reorient all previous gifts in the subject but it was to remain the core of the collections of Western Americana, determining in many ways the direction of future collecting. It was inevitably to attract supplementary gifts: collections that would build on its strengths and gifts that would begin to remedy its weaknesses.²

It has been traditional for collections of Western Americana to assume responsibility for everything west of the Mississippi and north of the Rio Grande. Thus it has become typical for collections of Western Americana to encompass all of North America west of the Mississippi, north of the Sonoran barrier and south of the Arctic one. The first of all collectors of Western Americana, Hubert Howe Bancroft, chose to include most of Mexico in his North American West and each of the succeeding collectors of distinction have set boundaries with their own peculiarities within this similar outline of the trans-Mississippi West.

The acquisition of the Rollins Collection focused Princeton’s collecting in the field with considerable precision. Mr. Rollins took on the entire trans-Mississippi West and the earliest book in his collection, Bernal-Diaz, indicates that Mexico was not to be excluded. But while the boundaries were expansive, his interests were more wisely concentrated. The collection was richer as one’s interest moved farther West, was at its richest in the Rocky Mountain states and then grew sparse again once one reached the states of the Pacific Coast.

Those states between the 100th meridian—that demarcation of rainfall which scholars have demonstrated has such a cultural reality in separating the arid West from its lushier East—and the Sierras were the locale of Rollins’ real concern. Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, though they fronted the Mississippi on the appropriate bank, were peripheral to the west of Rollins’

² Philip Ashton Rollins and the collection which he and his wife built is the subject of the June, 1948, issue of The Princeton University Library Chronicle (Volume IX, Number 4).
most steady vision. Except as outfitting points for the overland journeys west, they were represented in his collection by but a handful of books to give the sparsest outline of their histories. The next range of states—those crossed by the 100th meridian: Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas, held a special interest for Rollins as lying centrally in the trails of the cattle trade which so persistently fascinated him. These states received more sustained attention in the collection. But his full efforts were reserved for the next range of states west: the Rocky Mountain states of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Idaho. It was here that Rollins' personal experience of the west had been concentrated; it was in these states that the frontier clearly persisted the longest, and here that the variety of the frontier experience was most obviously apparent and clearly differentiated. The Pacific Coast states, California and its extension, Nevada, Alaska and the American Pacific (Hawaii and American Samoa), were to Rollins a separate world. The immigrations which so explosively filled these areas with population with such suddenness in the mid-19th century accelerated the demise of the frontier there. The farthest west was all too soon aproximation of the farthest east of America. Rollins' interest in these states was as a terminus for overland narratives and their histories were present in his collection only in outline. The only exception was the Oregon country in its colonization and missionary phase which was a special interest of Rollins.

Of the four ranges of trans-Mississippi states, then, the most eastern and western were collected with restraint, the high plains with increasing interest and the Rocky Mountain states with zeal. Libraries are generally impelled to build on strength and so purchases have continued to concentrate on the Rocky Mountain states where Rollins' original holdings were strongest, where the isolated nature of the territory enabled the frontier institutions to linger longest and where the variety of the frontier experience was most exaggerated.

Besides this focusing on areas, there are themes that transcend geography which fascinated Rollins and which continue to receive special attention. First in Rollins' affection were the works on the cattle trade. His personal experience with ranch life in his earliest years was unmistakably one of the motivations not only of his scholarly contributions, but of the collecting of his library.

The books on the cattle trade which he presented with his collection make up one of the earliest such gatherings to receive concentrated attention from a collector and it is one of the priorities to which additions, when the rare opportunities present themselves, are made. One of these recent efforts is the expansion of the collection of brand books. Mr. Rollins had given with his collection two handsome morocco cases filled with a dozen of these ephemeral products of the cattle trade. They record the heraldry of the frontier, the official marks of each of the cattlemen. Since their use was purely functional and a current book made the older one immediately obsolete, many copies quickly reached the fire. By the time collectors recognized their interest and value for historians—they are "Who's Whos" for their eras and areas—few were left. Rollins' gathering of them was impressive, early and late, if they came to his attention, they were gathered in. In 1966, at the Parke-Bernet Galleries a slight gathering of pages of brands—a List of Brands and Marks—appeared for sale. Its place and date of publication were unknown. The contents were early and unusually interesting—they recorded, among others, the brands of Brigham Young and Jim Bridger—but, fortunately, their exact nature was unknown to enough of the bidders to enable Princeton to purchase it and, with a little research, place on its shelves the only surviving copy of the earliest brand book printed in America—in Great Salt Lake City in 1850.

Overland narratives were another special interest of Mr. Rollins. Henry R. Wagner's bibliography of original narratives of overland travel from Mackenzie through the Civil War appeared at the proper point in time to direct Rollins to some of the great rarities of western travel. But Rollins was far from a slavish collector of a list someone else had compiled. He not only purposely avoided the purchase of works which did not appeal or which were outside his immediate interests, but he also immediately began what Thomas Streeter found to be one of the most distinguished parts of the collection: a collection of overland narratives for the period after the Civil War and Wagner's work. It brought to the collection one of the most used sources for objective comment on the settlements in the roads west.

The concentration of overland journals of travelers to California during the years of the Gold Rush led quite naturally to a collection of sources for the Gold Rush era of California history—
as unusually rich in the collection as the works on other eras of
California history are poor. This is a part of the collection that has
received special attention in the years since Mr. Rollins’ gift.

Both in the cattle trade and in the Gold Rush Rollins saw
themes transcending geography. He found cattle items from the
Argentine frequently as germane as those from Kansas; and Gold
Rush material from Australia and the Yukon as pertinent as those
from California and Colorado.

The American Indian is, of course, pan-Continental; but since,
in the United States in our own time, the conspicuous survivals of
these cultures are to be found in the West they are usually associated
with collections of Western Americana. The Rollins Collection
is rich in sources recording the encounter between the two
cultures—or, more accurately, between the Whites and the many
differing cultures of the native Americans—in the 19th century.
In the context of the riches of the Kane Collection’s offerings of
the earliest confrontations of the European and the native American
from the 15th to the 18th century and of the Library’s holdings
of such classics as Catlin and McKenney and Hall, the Rollins
books acquire even greater importance. It is a splendid demonstra-
tion of how scattered collections in the Library receive a special
orientation and meaning with the addition of still another collection
and form, together, a collection of distinction. The Library
has added to this aspect of its collection a modern dimension, the
viewpoint of the natives themselves to counterbalance the Euro-
pean perspective. The many autobiographies of American Indians,
mainly of the 20th century, have been a special desiderata and,
more recently, the Library has taken on responsibility for all the
Indian newsletters, newspapers and other periodical efforts of the
Indian to articulate his own view during the current efforts at a
new tribal consciousness.

Besides these writings of the native American set down in Euro-
pean languages, still another endeavor offers the possibility of
coming closer to native American thought: the collecting of books
and manuscripts in the native languages themselves. The Scheide
Library, by making accessible in Princeton the earliest books
printed in native American tongues (and incidentally, the ear-
est books printed in the New World) has provided the inspira-
tion for this direction in our collecting. The University Library
has for some time had many of the monuments of Indian languages
printed in the 17th and 18th centuries to supplement the 16th-
century imprints belonging to Mr. Scheide. The recent acquisi-
tions of the Library have, therefore, been directed toward adding
to these the 19th-century imprints, most of them from the West,
which may offer us a glimpse at the unique world view of a people
which any language so accurately reflects.

The temporal boundaries of the Rollins Collection were more
restrictive than the spatial ones. It was overwhelmingly a 19th-
century collection—from Lewis and Clark to that magic year of
1890 which Frederick Jackson Turner chose to pronounce as the
year which officially saw the closing of the frontier. While the
Library was willing to accept the areas of Rollins’ specialization as
areas where our efforts could most wisely be concentrated, experi-
ence with student needs made it apparent that the temporal dimen-
sions of the Rollins Collection should be expanded.

Recent acquisitions have pushed at the time limits on both ends
of the collection. It seems particularly important to expand the
coverage from the 19th century back in time to include sources for
the 16th, 17th and 18th century American West. The Spanish
entradas and settlements in New Mexico, Arizona and Texas—
beginning more than a half-century before the English presence
at Jamestown and Plymouth—are aspects of the West which the
student now finds of considerable fascination. Too familiar with
the outline of his English origins, these more diverse sources of
our history seem refreshing to the student and promise questions
particularly pertinent today. Fortunately the earliest narrative of
a European entrance into the American West—that of Cabeza de
Vaca in 1538—is in the Library in the Valladolid 1555 edition.

While extending the Western Americana Collection some three
centuries farther into the past, we also wish to extend it by almost
a half-century into the twentieth century from the 1890 terminus.
The Rocky Mountain West where the collection’s great strengths
lie, is the very area where the frontier lingered, fragmentarily and
precariously, until World War II when mobility of population
and television took their toll, gathering the most remote corners of
mountain and desert to the larger sameness that the whole coun-
try was so rapidly assuming. It was indefensable to stop collecting
sources for the history of southern Utah and northern Arizona at
1890 when efforts like the Hole-in-the-Rock colonization into the
Colorado Plateau was in every respect an exaggerated replay of the
frontier efforts of a half-century earlier. The colonists were even confronted by an Indian war as late as 1915. It was also indefensible to stop one’s interest in Wyoming with 1890 when one of the more interesting phenomena of the cattle trade was the Johnson County War of 1892. Mr. Rollins found this, in fact, one of his favorite eras in Wyoming. By adding fifty years to the frontier in the Rocky Mountain states, we maintain our interest until atomic energy explodes across and under the range and television aerials bristle atop pueblos, eroding regional accents and concepts. The frontier vanishes when the typical Idahoan starts thinking and talking and living like the typical Pennsylvanian. Still at the center of the Western Americana collections at Princeton, the Rollins Collection is now joined by an ever expanding series of complementary collections.

Dr. J. Monroe Thorington of the Class of 1915 has long been a friend of the Princeton University Library. Since World War II his activities as Alpinist and Alpine historian have been generously reflected in a continuing series of gifts to the Library which range from 16th-century editions of Gesner to the most current publications of Alpine clubs in North America and Europe. The most knowledgeable American scholar of mountaineering today, his collection is focused on the history of climbing in the Alps; but Dr. Thorington’s interest is by no means so limited. All aspects of the mountain worlds where he, and later, he and his wife, have spent summers since 1909—human and natural history, literature, costumes and folklore—are represented with discriminating thoroughness. With the books, the Library received also an extraordinary iconographic collection—primarily engravings and watercolors from the 17th through 19th centuries, preserving a visual record of the Alps. An occasional manuscript came also among these gifts, as did a collection of early American maps and English county atlases together with such cartographic monuments as the four-volume Blaeu Atlas of 1643-46. Mrs. Thorington’s interest in England extended the coverage of the Thorington books across the Channel. More recently Dr. Thorington’s bibliophilic interests were to re-cross the Atlantic to return to the mountains of his own continent.

After World War I his attention was shifted from the European Alps to the Canadian Rockies where he systematically explored watersheds, pioneered the ascents of numerous peaks, and pro-

duced a wealth of scholarly literature which brought to the American mountains the same scrutiny that had long been lavished on their European equivalents. As with his European interests, his American attentions soon expanded beyond the mountaineering annals of the continent. Beginning with the fur-traders on the upper Missouri and Columbia Rivers in the great age of the mountain men of the 1890’s, Dr. Thorington’s family were persistently involved in the American West. Dr. Thorington’s ancestors were Forty-niners in California and Fifty-niners in the Colorado mines. A Thorington served as Mayor of Davenport, Iowa, in the years when its importance as an outfitting center for westward immigration was crucial; as a representative to territorial legislatures and of a western state to Congress. A Thorington was Consul at Aspinwall, in the path of the western immigration by the Panama route, just as traffic was diminished by the completion of the transcontinental railway. Members of the family ran surveys for western railroads and were friends of Kit Carson, and lived in Taos and Santa Fe in the heyday of the Sante Fe Trail. So it is understandable that Dr. Thorington, once he had enriched Princeton’s Alpine materials, would wish to begin building a collection of Western Americana. And it was equally comprehensible that one of the purposes of his collecting would be to expand Princeton’s holdings on the American West to include more of Canada. During the frontier period the Canadian border had no reality in historical terms. It is far from the equivalent of the Sonoran desert as a demarcation of cultural geography. Dr. Thorington is eager to see that Princeton’s collections of Western Americana encompass all of western North America. The J. Monroe Thorington Collection of Western Americana thus was soon to provide this Canadian dimension to the collections with such acquisitions as Alexander Mackenzie’s *Voyages d’Alex’dre Mackenzie*, Paris, 1803, James Tow’s *A Trip to Manitoba*, Quebec, 1875 (both from the Streeter Collection), and the *Chinook and Shorland Rudiments*, Kamloops, B.C., 1898.

New Mexico, where Dr. Thorington’s grandfather died while visiting his daughter in Santa Fe, where his great uncle, a friend of Kit Carson, was killed by Mexican outlaws on the Sante Fe Trail, where Dr. Thorington and his wife recently visited Pueblos and *Penitente* villages and scrutinized Shiprock, is represented in the collection by many spectacular pieces. These include the first im-

12
print of the New Mexican press, the broadside _Lista de los Ciudados_ . . ., Santa Fe, 1834; broadside proclamations of territorial governors for the last three decades of the 19th century—in both English and Spanish texts, the first printing of the earliest poetry written and printed in the state and more than 200 manuscript letters and documents relating to the period from its cession in 1847 through the 1880’s.

Both Colorado and Gold Rush California, where Thorington ancestors were at key moments, are represented in the collection. In fact, no part of the Rocky Mountain West has been ignored. Montana, the Dakotas, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona and Utah have all been accorded more attention because of Thorington's benefactions. He has not only expanded the dimensions of the focus of the collection, but generously added to its strengths. His gifts of Utah territorial imprints, especially, have been extraordinarily frequent and one of the principal reasons for Princeton's preeminence in that field.

In 1964 J. Lionberger Davis of the Class of 1900 began a series of gifts which have built a collection of territorial imprints from the Rocky Mountain states. The collection is dominated by Utah, where the press had so early a start and produced so prodigious a literature. His gift happily reaches back to the beginning: the first four imprints of the press in the Great Basin, paper currency printed in script type and validated by Brigham Young and others, constituting the first official money of the State of Deseret. It proceeds forward through such fundamental documents as the acts of the territorial legislature in the 1850’s, broadside printings of their deliberations in the 1860’s, to such fascinating rarities as D. B. Huntington's _Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-Sho-Ne or Snake Dialects_, printed in Salt Lake City in 1872. Providing the contemporary on-the-spot commentary of what was said and thought, the territorial imprint is in effect the autobiography of an area during the formulation of its government and society. A series of exchanges with Utah libraries of duplicates have supplemented Mr. Davis' collection and the result is one of the areas of comprehensive excellence in the Princeton Collections. The capstone of this collection was added in 1968 when Mr. Davis was joined by William Scheide '36 and Donnelly Erdman '60 to acquire at auction the only complete copy of the first textual publication in the territory—preceded only by the paper currency—the _Second General Epistle_ issued by Brigham Young to his scattered saints from the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains in 1849. Its acquisition enabled Princeton to complete a gathering of the entire production of the press in Utah in its first year—a splendid opening for a collection that now numbers several hundred separate imprints.

Of the dozens of Seniors who have mined the collections in the past decade for Senior theses, no one emanated so memorably the good cheer of happy scholarship as did John Charles Amesse of the Class of 1964, at work on his “History of Montana Territorial Politics.” Propelled by the excitement of original discovery, he uncovered important gaps in the collection as his research became more meticulous and informed, and he was always quick to assure the curator that they would be filled someday by himself. Unhappily the Amesse Collection came to Princeton far too soon and as a memorial. But one cannot have known John without instantly projecting his vigorous approval for the gathering of books from his home state of Colorado. These have been given as one of John's memorials by his family and friends. The 1879 _Draft of a Constitution_ and the 1876 Denver printing of the _Constitution_; Central City imprints of the _Colorado Statutes and Election Laws of 1874_; a Spanish printing of Governor Pitkin's _Menseje Bional_ of 1881; the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1874 publication of _The Pueblo Colony of Southern Colorado_ are typical of the collection and an indication of a contribution to Princeton solidly worthy of his memory.

Texas and Colorado sent two generations of Lasater brothers to Princeton and now a good portion of those Lasaters are sending Texas and Colorado back to Princeton. In 1968 when the Lasater presence was interrupted, at least briefly, by Lane's graduation, he initiated a collection to strengthen the Library's holdings of materials on the two states most closely associated with the family. Since then such works as the _Biennial Message of Governor E. M. McCook, to the Legislature of Colorado_, Central City, 1879, and _Annexation of Texas, Opinions of Messrs. Clay, Polk, Benton and Van Buren_, Washington, 1844, have been received by the Library to bear bookplates identifying them as part of the Lasater Collection of Western Americana and the gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas M. Lasater '33, Mr. and Mrs. Laurence M. Lasater '63, Dale Lasater '65 and Lane Lasater '68.
Thomas P. Baird, of the Class of 1945, was not only born on the 100th meridian, but continues to explore the lands to the west of that birthplace both in person and in his fiction. His novels have settings that have successively moved farther west and progressively involved more of western history. The collection of Western Americana he has begun at Princeton—like his fiction—reflects his wry fascination with human anomalies in the western setting: such exaggerations as the tourist in the Yellowstone, poetry of the border, the Nebraska territorial legislature at work and a French presentation of Mormon polygamy.

The newest of our collections, by the youngest of our collectors, is that being built by Lieutenant David N. Pierce of the Class of 1967. With mysterious bibliophilic sleight-of-hand he keeps discovering 19th-century Utah and Mormon imprints while piloting U.S. Air Force transports between California and the Orient. His collection is an extension of the subject he pursued in a Senior thesis written for the faculty of the Department of Politics, titled “Theocracy to Democracy, Some Transitions of Government in Territorial Utah.” Edward W. Tullidge’s The Women of Mormondom, New York, 1877; H. S. Foote’s Speech ... on Establishing Governments for California, Deseret, New Mexico, and Jacinto, Washington, 1850; The Prophet Joseph Smith’s Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States, Salt Lake City, 1886; Julian Moses’ A few Remarks in Reply to an Anonymous Scribbler, Styling Himself “One Who Hates Imposture,” but Found to be an Impostor Himself, and Ashamed to Tell his Name, Philadelphia, 1841; and John S. Lindsay’s prompt copy of Edward W. Tullidge’s Ben Israel, or, From Under the Curse, A Jewish Play in Five Acts, Salt Lake City, 1887, suggest the kinds of works which catch his eye and add inestimably to the distinction of the Mormon holdings at Princeton.

A high percentage of the benefactors of Princeton’s collections of Western Americana are producers of books of Western Americana themselves: from Rollins’ scholarly presentation of the cowboy, through Thorington’s books on the mountains of Western Canada, to a seance on the site of Custer’s Last Stand in Tom Baird’s latest novel. To this list we can happily add William Goldman. Not only did he begin his research for the film “Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid” in the Princeton Collections of Western Americana, and his work on the script as a Writer-in-Resi-
The Sam Houston Letters
A Corner of Texas in Princeton

BY JOE B. FRANTZ

The bit about bread cast upon the waters is a tired truism that causes selfish children to look upon their preaching elders with disdain, but at the same time it continues in the currency of our language because so many examples abound. Decades ago grandparents of Princeton's President Robert F. Goheen housed a young man named Robert Granville Caldwell in their Indian home in Lahore, which is a long way from New Jersey. But young Caldwell spent two happy years there, and contrary to that other cliché, he never joined the ranks of ungrateful youth. He remembered kindly, and after the generations passed he repaid Goheen's grandparents by a gift to Princeton that equalizes any favors by that other generation.

The result is that Princeton now owns a number of important letters of Sam Houston, that Texan from Tennessee who could have been one of the truly great names in American history but through a combination of personal circumstances settled for the role of regional hero. And how did Houston come to Princeton? The trip started when Robert G. Caldwell, Princeton Ph.D. 1912, a retired Foreign Service officer, wrote President Goheen on November 5, 1967, to inquire whether Houston letters in his possession, plus eighteen more from Henry Clay, would interest the Princeton Library. You don't have to research the files to guess what both President Goheen and Librarian William S. Dix replied. The Houston letters are now at Princeton, and they are good.

Presumably the Houston letters had been consulted only by the donor for his article on Houston in the Dictionary of American Biography, and by the late Marquis James for his Pulitzer prize-winning biography of Houston, The Raven. The other good biography of Houston, by Llerena Friend, shows no evidence of having used the Caldwell holdings.

Briefly, the material runs from 1838 through 1861, a period which touches a lot of history. The earliest item is social. Sam Houston was President of a struggling Republic of Texas when the Velasco Association there sent out an invitation on May 28, 1858, for a Fourth of July "DINNER AND BALL, to be given at the Archer House, in the city of Velasco ... in commemoration of the Independence of our Motherland." The invitation, which is listed in Streeter, is ornate, Victorian in concept, and Graeco-everything in execution. Its text is squeezed between a lavishly decorated urn with twin columns supporting a sort of Arc de Triomphe. Resting just under the arch is the American eagle. About the only things missing are twin portraits of Martha and George Washington and Ben Franklin's kite. By contrast another invitation to an inaugural ball for the Texas state government to be held in Austin on December 3, 1859, looks downright tailored, with only a spread-eagled eagle, his head and beak doing a sharp left-face, with a couple of curlicues to relieve the plainness of the period. Since the first invitation was issued in a wispy republic that could not meet its debts, while the latter appeared in a viable state of the United States, draw whatever morals you wish from the differing approaches.

But these two pieces are of little significance alongside the personal letters bearing that Hancockian signature of Sam Houston, decorated by his florid paraph that invariably fills whatever space remains at the bottom of the page (see p. 20).

The first major item is a letter from Houston to Isaac Van Zandt and James Pinckney Henderson on April 16, 1844. Van Zandt, another displaced Tennessean and descendant from American Revolution patriots, was representing the Republic of Texas as its chargé d'affaires to the United States after 1842. He worked hard and successfully for the annexation of Texas to the United States before dying from yellow fever in his 34th year.

Henderson is even more notable. A former student of the University of North Carolina, he had been a non-fighting brigadier general of the Texas army, the Republic's first attorney general and second secretary of state, minister to England and France (in which latter country he took a bride from Philadelphia), and finally a negotiator with Van Zandt in Washington. Later he would become the first governor of the State of Texas, a field leader in the Mexican War, a major general in the United States Army, and a United States Senator.

In 1844 annexation was the issue and it is with annexation that
two of the major letters deal. Texas was behaving, in Houston’s later words, in a manner “more coy than forward.” To this date diplomatic historians concerned with 19th-century America argue Houston’s motives, and these letters more nearly fan the flame than cool it. What did General-President Houston want? In explanation Houston quotes the Texas chargé in Paris regarding the French and British protest to the United States against its contemplated annexation of Texas. Then Houston goes on:

Never has the situation of Texas been so interesting since the 21st of April, 36, as at this moment. You may rely upon it if the Govt. of the U. States does not act, immediately and consummate the work of annexation, Texas is forever lost to them. In my opinion England & France, will say, to Texas, “if you will agree to remain separate forever from the U. States, we will forthwith prevent all further molestation, to you from Mexico, and Guarantee you Independence agreeably to your institutions, now established, & avowed.” . . . Texas has done all that she could do, to obtain annexation, and you may rely upon this fact, in the event of a failure; that Texas will do all, that it should do; If a Treaty is made, it will of course have been done, after the pledges given by the U. S. charge d’affaires were recognized by his Government; and then we are secure. If a Treaty has been made and those pledges exacted by you, and it should be rejected, it will be proper to ascertain, if annexation can take place by congressional action, and this done, promptly. Should all fail you will forthwith call upon Mr. Pakenham as well as the French Minister, also the Govt. of the U. States, and after suitable conversations, and explanations, present to them, the subject of a Triple guarantee for our Independence, and the prevention of all further molestation, or at least an unlimited truce with Mexico. . . . Texas, ought not, cannot, and will not, remain in its present situation.

Continuing in the same letter, Houston points out that “the subject of annexation has already embarrassed our relations with Mexico . . .

“Mexico was well disposed to settle matters very amicably when our Commissioners arrived, at Sabine; but one of the Mexican Commissioners was too unwell, to proceed in business. When he recovered, the subject of annexation was mooted in the U. States, and the Texian Congress—all of which [news] had reached Mexico.”

But what to do? Houston suggests that the United States is “prepared and willing” to accept all the advantages of Texas while incurring no responsibility. Washington seems “selfish in the extreme.” President Houston suggests further that a strict bargain be driven in which the United States could be held to account: “Pitiable would our situation, be; if we were not annexed and had required no pledges. Fortunately,” he continues, “this, is not our situation.”

However, before telling his two agents how to make the United States accountable, Houston diverts his attention to observations on the status of freedom in Mexico and on how to be a proper diplomatic agent. Here is what he says about Mexico:

It is a palpable scandal to the 19th century that statesmen should be prating about the emancipation of persons born, and their race held in slavery by the custom, and consent of
nations for centuries while they permit Santa Anna, to forge, and rivet, chains, upon eight millions of people who were born free. Thus will the horrors of slavery be increased, with design to render his success; subservient to the subversion of the liberties of Texas; and form a new era in history; by degrading to slavery a portion of the Anglo Saxon race! This ought not and cannot be! It argues, on the part of statesmen a want of perception, as well as self respect!!

As for the advice, it could be directed to diplomats in training or to a convention of wine salesmen looking for a sales pitch to a new market:

A diplomatic agent, may eat, and sleep, enough for health, and may drink generously with the Diplomatic agents of other countries provided he can induce them to take two glasses to his one. Men are fond to be thought Knowing, as well as wise, and when listened to with attention, frequently impart Knowledge, at a wine table, which they would not dream of in the forenoon of the day! You can instruct yourselves much, by the course intimated.

Finally, in this blanket letter he advises Pinckney and Van Zandt “Not . . . to be trifled with, and duped by the U. States . . . . This letter does not cancel former instructions from the Department, but is designed to meet emergencies which may, arise, or remedy those which have already arisen!! . . . take such actions as our situation may require, and be prepared for contingencies.” Characteristically his signature and paraph require almost four inches.

Three weeks later annexation remained on Houston’s mind as he wrote to William Sumter Murphy, chargé d’affaires from the United States to the Republic of Texas. Murphy was a South Carolinian who defected to Ohio, where he became a brigadier general of militia. In 1843 President John Tyler had appointed him Minister Extraordinary to Central America, as well as chargé d’affaires to Texas. Like Van Zandt, he died of yellow fever in Texas after forty-eight years on this earth. In the interim Houston had written his sometime private secretary, Washington D. Miller, that “There is less union in Texas on the subject of annexation than when you left us,” and that if the United States did not move soon, “the subject of annexation [will] lose many of its charms.”

On April 28 Houston received a copy of the treaty of annexation which had gone to the United States Senate six days earlier. He felt that although the treaty was all right, Texas was left with no place to go should the treaty fail. He was urging resolution and all eyes ahead, regardless of how the vote should come out. As any textbook on United States territorial expansion will point out, Houston’s fears were justified, for on June 8, 1844, the treaty was trounced by a vote of 35 to 16. Not at all incidentally, regarding the continuing periodic charge that the addition of Texas to the Union was part of an attempt to spread the slavocracy of the South, 15 of those 35 negative votes were cast by Whig senators from slave states.

But that is anticipating the story, and when Houston wrote his long letter (he never heard of brevity) to General Murphy on the preceding May 6, he could still hope that Texas would be taken in by a treaty of annexation. Accordingly, he wrote as follows:

The times are big, with events, of coming circumstances, to Texas, and the world. I feel that matters now transacting, are if carried out to perpetuate the Union of the States, by the annexation of Texas at least three centuries. If it is not done; by annexation, the union, will be endangered, their revenue diminished, and a European influence grow up in Texas, from our necessities, and interests, that will most effectually pretermit the interests of the U States, so far as they are to look for the sale of their fabrics, in the Southern Section of this continent, and a forfeiture of our sympathies. . . . the superior energy, activity, and the employment of well directed capital, which will flow into [Texas] from Europe, [can] render us the beneficiaries of a most important and extensive trade. All our ports will soon become great commercial marts, and places, now scarcely noticed upon our maps, will be built up, & grow into splendid cities . . . . The present moment is the only one that the U States will ever enjoy to annex Texas . . . . "Tis true that we are not to be great gainers, when compared to the U States, in what they derive. . . . We surrender every thing and in reality we get nothing, only protection, and that, at the hazard of being
invaded, or annoyed, by Mexico, before any aid, could be rendered by the U States.

Houston viewed Texas as an overgrown North American Switzerland or Sweden. He continues:

The fact that the U. States is one of the Rival powers of the world, will render that nation more liable to war, than we would be as a minor power. There are a thousand reasons, which I could urge, why Texas would be more secure from troubles, if she could have present peace, which she can obtain readily, if she is not annexed. When we once become a part, and parcel of the U. States, we are subject to all their vicissitudes.

Their commercial relations are extensive which subjects them to jealousy, and the rivalry of other powers, who will seek to over reach them, and cramp them by restrictions or annoy them by interferences. They will not be willing to submit to these things, and the consequence will be war. Nor will this danger arise, from any one power, of the earth, but from various nations. The wealth of European nations depends, more upon their labor, than the people of this continent. We look to the soil, they look to their manufacturing capacity: for the means of life, as well as wealth. . . . The political relations of the U States will increase, and become more complicated and expensive with their increase of power. Not only this, but they too, will grow arrogant, and it will not be a half century, if the Union should last, until they will, feel a strong inclination to possess by force, that which they at the present would be willing to make a subject of negotiation and treaty. . . . Alone and Independent, Texas, would be enabled to stand aloof. . . . War could grow up with no power and the U States but what Texas would be the beneficiary. The value of our staples would be enhanced, and that arising from the influences of war upon the U States. Texas enjoying as she does, a situation on the Gulf, and a neutral attitude, would derive the greatest possible benefits. Calamity to other nations would be wealth, and power to Texas. . . . The fleets of belligerents, would be supplied, with meats from our natural pastures, and the sale of our super abundant herds, would, when added to the sale of our other commodities, give us more wealth, than any other nation in comparison to our population.

A part from this if we should not be annexed, all the European nations will introduce, with alacrity, vast numbers of immigrants, because, it will enable them to extend their commerce. . . . That France, as well as England will pour in to our country vast numbers of industrious citizens, there can be no doubt. Belgium, Holland, other countries will not be remiss. . . . All these countries have an excess of population, and the common policy and economy of nations is such, that they will have a care to the location of those who, leave their native countries. Never to my apprehension have all nations evinced the same disposition, to commerce, as that which is now exercised, and entertained. Hence no time has ever been so propitious for the up building of a nation possessed of our advantages, as that which Texas at this moment enjoys. . . . [If] annexation should fail . . . you may depend upon one thing, and that is that the Glory of the United States, has already culminated. A rival power will soon be built up, and the Pacific, as well as the Atlantic, will be component parts of Texas, in thirty years from this date.

Perhaps dreaming a bit and certainly looking on the affirmative side, Houston envisaged Texas as a great western republic of the future because of its present size plus its possibilities for expansion. After all, Texas was already almost as large as France, which less than a third of a century before had scared the daylight out of the western world from Madrid to Moscow. Within late 20th-century musical terms, Texas could sing “By the time I get to Phoenix . . .” with some hope of getting there, and perhaps beyond, finding “the way to San José.” Territorially Texas might turn out to be larger than the United States, and the prospect was undoubtedly exhilarating to those Texans such as Houston who were weary of the erratic progress of the United States toward annexation. Thus Houston mused:

The Oregon region, in Geographical affinity will attach to Texas. By this coalition or Union, the barrier of the Rocky Mountains will be dispensed with, or obviated.

England and France in anticipation of such, an event, would not be so tenacious, on the subject of Oregon as if the
U States were to be the sole possessors of it. . . . all the powers, which either envy, or fear the U States, would use all reasonable exertions, to build us up, as the only rival power which can ever exist on this continent, to that of the U States. Considering our origin, these speculations may seem chimerical, and that such things can not take place. A common origin has its influence, so long as a common interest exists, and no longer.

Sentiment tells well in love matters, or in a speech, but in the affairs, and transactions of nations, there is no sentiment, or feeling, but one and that is essentially selfish. I regard nations, as corporations on a large and sometimes magnificent scale, but no more than this. Consequently they have no soul, and recognize no mentor but interest. Texas once set apart and rejected by the U States would, feel, that she was of humble origin, and if a prospect was once presented to her of becoming a rival to the U States, it would only stimulate her, to feelings, of emulation, and it would, be her least consideration, that by her growth to power, she would overcome the humility of her early condition. So the very causes which now operate with Texas, and incline her to annexation, may at some future period, be the cause of most active and powerful animosity, between the two countries. . . . Whenever difficulties arise between the U. States, & Texas, if they are to remain two distinct nations, the powers of Europe will not look upon our affairs with indifference, and no matter what their professions may be of neutrality, they can always find means of evasion. The Union of the Oregon, & Texas, will be much more natural and convenient, than for either separately to belong to the U States. . . .

What about Mexico in all of this? To Houston, including Chihuahua, Sonora, California Baja and Alta, and Santa Fe would represent a natural progression for the new republic. Would the Mexicans resist? Hardly, for they "only require, kind, and humane masters to make them a happy people, and secure them, against the savage hordes who harrass them constantly, and bear, their women, and children into bondage. Secure them from these calamities, and they would bless any power, that would grant them such a boon." Had Houston never pondered the rise of nineteenth-century nationalism?

Besides, asked Houston, does the presence of an alien population between the 29th and 46th parallels pose any more problems than the Indians had to the east of Texas? The native people were bound to yield also. Certainly "Statesmen are intended by their forecast to regulate, and arrange matters in such sort as will give direction to events, of which the future, is to be benefited or prejudiced. . . . They must come."

Admittedly, "Men may laugh at these suggestions but when we are withdrawn from all the petty influences that now exist, these matters, will be those of the most grave, and solemn national import." Then Houston put in his disclaimer, "I do not care to be in any way identified with them. They are the results of destiny over which I have no control." At last he closes his 12-page letter to Murphy with a completely inaccurate statement. After apologizing for the length, he says, "it seems to me, that I have run into a prosaic strain." If a letter with that much excitement and promise threading through it is prosaic, then what would it take for Houston to brand a communication as compelling!

After these two long effusions, the correspondence does tend toward the more prosaic for awhile. One comes, on July 25, 1844, from a group of citizens to President Houston asking whether he believes Vice President Edward Burleson really has "a high personal regard" for his chief. Houston did not, and was instrumental in defeating Burleson's candidacy for president in 1844. As the President stated in another extended letter (August 5, 1844) notable for its irony, he too held the highest personal regard for Burleson. For several pages he details Burleson's sins of commission, and opines that "On almost every question affecting the policy of the present administration, which required the casting vote of the Vice President, he gave it against the Executive." Nonetheless, he says with almost cloying sweetness, "all these facts have never induced me to denounce Genr. Burleson." As to Anson Jones, Burleson's rival for the presidency, "I am not opposed to his election." The voters should have been able to understand Houston's message.

On December 11 of the same year a group of petitioners ask General Houston to intervene with the Mexican despot, General
Santa Anna, to procure release of José Antonio Navarro, a Mexican national who had signed the Texas Declaration of Independence a decade earlier. "Your magnanimity towards" Santa Anna, the petition read, "in his own final restoration to liberty [has] given you claims upon his gratitude, which even his heart cannot resist." But Navarro had to find his own way home, jumping parole to the Vera Cruz vicinity to escape aboard a British vessel bound for Cuba.

After that Caldwell's collection skips fifteen years to the spring of 1860 to include three letters from Governor Sam Houston recommending, first, a friend to a Colonel William E. Lawrence of New York, another to William Alexander of Baltimore, and a third to Santiago Vidaurre, governor of Nuevo Léon, Mexico.

The last to Vidaurre was written on February 7, 1861, barely a month before he was forced from office by a secessionist citizenry hell-bent on destroying the Union the old governor believed in. A scant two years before he had been cheered as he had exhorted his followers in his single campaign speech "to stand by the Constitution and the Union. . . . Rely upon yourselves when demagogues would mislead you." On learning of Lincoln's election and contemplating the probable results, he could only warn that "The Demons of anarchy must be put down and destroyed. The miserable Demagogues & traitors of the land must be silenced, and set at naught." But instead the "jack-leg lawyers and half handed under strikers" made him seem a traitor, and in mid-March an old governor sat whistling in the basement of the Texas capitol while upstairs an officer of the new Confederate state summoned the relic of more glorious days to "come forward and take the oath of allegiance." "I remember," wrote one observer twenty years later, "as yesterday the call thrice repeated—'Sam Houston! Sam Houston! Sam Houston!' but the man sat silent, immovable, in his chair below, whistling steadily on."

This is the man that the Caldwell letters throw further light on. The important letters are those of 1844. Copies have appeared elsewhere, usually more polished than those in the Princeton Library. The supposition must be that these are first drafts. Paragraphs which appear elsewhere are missing, interlineations abound and don't show in duplicate letters, different words are capitalized, and the punctuation, which in Caldwell's collection makes reading and understanding a questionable pleasure, has
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**Paisajismo. c. Jose Rafael Benavides**  
**Ed. c. Apolonio Mondragon.**  
**Santa Fé Agosto 14 de 1894.**  
**—Juan Gallego, presidente.—Domingo Fernandez, secretario.**

Santa Fe 1894, Imprenta de Ramírez  
Abra de cargo de José María Baca.
The First New Mexico Imprint

BY E. BOYD

Dr. J. Monroe Thorington, of the Princeton Class of 1915, has given the Library a copy of the earliest product of the press in New Mexico, a broadside entitled “List of the Citizens Who May Serve As Jurors on Trials of the Press, Made for the Council of This Capital.” Two columns of ninety names follow; then come the date line of “Santa Fe, August 14, 1834,” the names of two clerks, the president and the secretary, Domingo Fernandez, whose name is the only one to appear twice on the broadside. The last line reads “Press of Ramon Abrú in charge of Jesus Maria Baca.”

In October, 1828, the Republic of Mexico had passed a law intended to protect the freedom of the press and citizens against libel. Lawsuits concerning the press were to be heard by jurors chosen by the municipal council of every town that supported a newspaper. Qualifications for jurors were that they must be Mexican citizens, able to read and write, must own property worth 4,000 pesos or have an annual income of 400 pesos from a legitimate trade or profession. Priests, the military and public officials, as well as those over seventy, were not eligible. The Ayuntamiento, or Council, was obliged to notify each juror that he had been deemed eligible to serve on press trials.*

New Mexico, the northern frontier of the Spanish Empire, had had a largely illiterate society since the first settlement in 1598. Many colonists were younger sons, adventurers, landless laborers and soldiers. Some of these had become well-to-do by the acquisi-

* The principal manuscript sources called upon for this paper were the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe (microfilm in the New Mexico State Records Center) and the Ortiz Family Papers, Archives Division of the New Mexico State Records Center. Among the publications consulted were: Angelico Chavez, Origins of New Mexico Families (Santa Fe, 1954); Francisco Atanacio Dominguez, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, translated and annotated by Eleanor B. Adams and Angelico Chávez (Albuquerque, 1956); Floyd W. Lee, Barialome Fernandez . . . Pioneer Shepherd on the Hills in New Mexico (New York, 1954); Susan Shelby Magoffin, Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico (New Haven, 1966); Douglas C. McMurtie, “History of Early Printing in New Mexico,” New Mexico Historical Review, IV:1 (1929); and Henry R. Wagner, “The New Mexico Spanish Press,” New Mexico Historical Review, XII:1 (1927).
Local citizens who had been in the mercantile business with Chihuahua before found Yankee competition brisk, not always honest and often involving short-term notes. Their sons began to be taught to read, write and cipher by priests or tutors from Mexico.

The first proposal to bring a printing press to Santa Fe was made to the Ayuntamiento in 1821 by Juan Estéban Pino, whose name is in the 1824 juror’s list, “when they could afford to do so.” The suggestion was attached to a proposed reorganization of the Territory of New Mexico into the “State of Hidalgo.” The entire package was tabled by Governor José Antonio Chaves.

Historians disagree as to just when the first press did arrive in New Mexico. Henry R. Wagner quotes the trader, Josiah Gregg, who says in his Commerce of the Prairies that a small press was brought over the Trail in 1833. Wagner identified the typeface as one made by the Boston Stereotype and Foundry Company, thus dispelling folklore that the press came from Mexico. The font included the letters k and w which were not part of the Spanish alphabet. Simultaneously the same typeface was sent by sea from Boston to California where it was used by the better known first printer, Augusto Zamorano.

In any case Ramón Abrú of Santa Fe bought the press and was making use of it in August of 1834. He was Territorial Secretary of New Mexico from 1827 to 1835. His printer, Jesús María Baca, came from Durango, Mexico, where a newspaper had been published since 1825. Abrú’s first printed work, in compliance with the Mexican law of 1828, provided freedom of the press and defended citizens against libel by listing jurors for such trials and notifying each of his possible future service. In the light of press ethics in the United States at the same time this enlightened procedure is all the more remarkable. Our sometimes libellous editors were still called out to duel or were horsewhipped by an irate victim or political opponent but there was then no legal restraint of the press and its statements—perhaps then considered freedom. While the Mexican law required fifty names, the 1834 list of New Mexico jurors contained ninety, for whom Baca had to make ninety copies, most of which disappeared. Baca’s alphabetical listing by Christian rather than by surnames is confusing to us but it was customary in handwritten documents such as a census or voting list at the time. The first New Mexico newspaper

made its appearance on November 29, 1835, under the name of El Crepúsculo de la Libertad. It was apparently a vehicle for political ends and had only fifty subscribers. After four issues it ceased publication.

In 1834 New Mexico enjoyed relative prosperity; raids by nomadic Indians were no worse than usual and business was good. Bishop Zubiría of the diocese of Durango had made, in the previous year, a rare visitation which was an occasion for extra festivities. When local political affairs were dormant the yearly calendar of feast days to be celebrated provided frequent social gatherings. After Mass came a procession, races, a Corriida de Gallo, or chicken pull, cock fights, dining and all-night dancing accompanied by the same musicians who served in church. Meals of many courses, although of the same chicken, mutton, chile and frijoles, stewed, roasted or fried, with fine white bread, corn tortillas, empanadas (dumplings stuffed with minced chicken or venison and raisins), boiled or fried eggs, barbecued beef, preserved quinces and fruits, floating island, sweet cookies and sponge cakes washed down with whipped hot chocolate, country wines and Pass brandy, were served in the early afternoon and mid-evening. By this time the ricos, or well-to-do landlords and merchants of New Mexico, had acquired silver dishes and tableware, conspicuously absent during the Spanish colonial period for any but Governors’ households, or as furniture of the Mass.

Interior decoration had progressed, or been infiltrated, as the viewpoint may be, by addition to whitewashed or jaspe walls of bolts of printed calico strung along them in order to keep the friable whitewash from rubbing off on contact. The Trail cottons, at first British and later from the United States, were quaint and gaudy, but did protect clothing from the whitened gypsum wall coverings. “Yankee looking-glasses” were also popular, whether in simple wooden frames from Missouri or locally-made tin frames devised from cast off tin cans of the Trail trade. These have been described by contemporary diarists as always hung so high that no one could look into them but they served other purposes such as lightening the dark walls when windows were few and small. Some had sconces so that the mirrors doubled the candlelight.

Native jerga, or wool twilled carpet yardage, laid on the packed dirt floors contrasted with the fine sarapes, or blankets, from Saltillo and other Mexican weaving centers that were worn in lieu
of overcoats, or served as wall hangings, couch covers and proces-
sional adornments. In the 1830's one from Mexico was valued at
$100.00 U.S. currency in Santa Fe or Taos. For lack of research
this class of 19th-century textile from south of the Rio Grande
is lumped today as "Saltillo sarape" though they were woven in
several Mexican cities.

Artistic adornment of homes, like churches, in devoutly Catho-
lit New Mexico, consisted of santos, religious images in the round
and on wood panels, mostly the creations of the untutored but
beguilingly original santeros of the Territory. These folk artists,
using available materials and the archaic process of painting with
water-soluble pigments on gesso-covered wood, were in their
golden age in 1834. A few ricos owned gilded statues or canvases
from Mexico and more New Mexicans had acquired the laminas
or popular styled oil paintings of religious subjects on tinned sheet
metal. Engravings and woodcuts, likewise of religious import, also
had come from the south. Even on the frontier the Spanish temper
was oriented to religious imagery rather than to realism, although
the holy images might look down on nightly gambling and card
games.

There were, to be sure, some books in New Mexico. Most of
them were religious, such as those Fray Atanasio Dominguez listed
in the Franciscan library in 1776. Remnants of this library after
many vicissitudes are now in the Museum of New Mexico. They
range from books in gothic type to those of the later 18th century.
A missal from the Plantin Press in Antwerp, printed in 1607, was
found in the hands of Pueblo Indians after the reconquest in 1693
and the fact noted by the Franciscan priest who returned it to the
library.

La Suma de Casos de Conciencia y Obras Morales is one of a
two-volume, quarto edition printed at Valladolid in 1621. It deals
with lay matters such as inheritance, simony, usage of coinage,
land sales and magistrates' duties as well as religious laws. A mar-
ginal note apropos of municipal price support of wheat crops
reads: "Presa para la Agua del Río en Santa Fe de la Nueva
Mexico, muy comieniente." Vicar Santiago Roybal built the first
grist mill in Santa Fe in 1747. Perhaps the comment referred to
the then new mill.

A large three-volume set of commentaries on the works of St.
Thomas Aquinas, Venice, 1768, bears the name of Juan Felipe
Ortiz, Vicar of Santa Fe at intervals between 1825 and 1853. He
was a member of the Ortiz family whose names are conspicuous
in the 1834 list.

Families owned such books as novenas, as we learn from wills
like that of Christobal Martín, 28 March, 1899, who left to his
wife half of a ranch, an ax, chisel, copper pot, griddle, loom, spin-
ning wheel and, more, seven new books of novenas. Books were
valued; homemade covers were made for them, like the four tiny
books on phases of the life of Christ (printed in Mexico in 1754
and 1757) that are bound together in hand-stitched leather with
embossed wallpaper linings. Other family books in the Museum
of New Mexico, printed in Mexico in 1785 and 1824, have covers
of Trail trade calico and rawhide. Calendars came from Mexico;
one of 1835 states that the author, Galván, had predicted in 1812
the arrival of Halley's comet in 1835. Woodcuts show the "ape-
rición" of the comet. There are also tables showing equation of
time during the year. Galván noted that public clocks of cathedrals
of the Republic were regulated daily by a quadrant and therefore
gave the correct time. This was not the case in Santa Fe where the
only timepiece was a rock sundial in the plaza, the official clock
of the early Republican years. Many other books owned by New
Mexicans were worn out before Jesús María Baca first began to
print broadsides, papers and books in the territory.

In 1834 future events were, fortunately, undreamed of. In 1837
incumbent Governor Albino Pérez was brutally murdered along
with Ramon Abrú and his brother Santiago. The short-lived
rebellion was sparked by new tax laws from Mexico which Pérez
had tried to enforce. Malcontents from Taos and outlying villages
gathered a raggltaggle force and marched to Santa Fe. Pérez with
the Presidial militia met them at Santa Cruz and upon their defeat
Pérez and other officials tried to escape to El Paso but were turned
back by another, mostly Indian, group to Santa Fe where the mur-
ders took place.

By the end of the year 1837 Ramon Abrú's widow had sold the
printing press to the priest, Cura Antonio José Martinez, who had
a series of small text books printed on it for his Taos boys' school.
Martinez was a descendant of the historically prominent family of
Martín Serranos, who came to Mexico in 1598, escaped the revolt
of 1680 and returned with the reconquest of 1693. Their land-
holdings were enormous in northern New Mexico and descendants
were intermarried with every other prominent family. Padre Martínez, in whose lifetime the family changed the name from Martín to Martínez, had married young, lost his wife at the birth of their first child and then gone to Durango to study for the priesthood. After being ordained he returned to New Mexico imbued with ideas of progress, the need for education in the Territory, the advantages of communication, and foreign contacts. Martínez has been a controversial figure for over a century, as much maligned as he has been idealized by differing factions. He served as a Territorial delegate from Taos in the Mexican period and seems to have acquiesced to annexation by the United States, in a political sense, although he has been suspected of having been secretly behind the 1847 rebellion in Taos when the first United States Territorial Governor, Charles Bent, was murdered in his Taos home. There are strong reasons for disbelief of Martínez’ implication in that episode because of the intermarriage of Bent and other Americans with women of Taos families, and because Bent and other appointed officials of the newly annexed New Mexico were traders involved with the Martínez family and their relatives in business.

Padre Martínez pursued his plan for the education of New Mexican youths with his Taos school and printed books. In 1844 the press was returned to Santa Fe in order to print an official periodical called La Verdad which ended in 1845. This would have appeared under the auspices of the notorious last Governor of Mexican New Mexico, Manuel Armijo, and it is doubtful if freedom of the press or truth were conspicuous in La Verdad. After Annexation in 1846, the press was returned to Taos and Martínez since a new press had been brought west by Hovey and Davies, who started the first English language newspaper in New Mexico, the Santa Fe Republican, whose first issue was dated September 10, 1847. Throughout these changes of location and ownership Jesús María Baca continued to be the printer, perhaps because no one else was competent. Baca worked for Martínez until 1861 or later when he retired due to failing eyesight. His obituary in the Daily New Mexican, April 21, 1876, stated that Baca had been brought from Durango by Martínez, and that he was related to the Pino and Delgado families, both originally founded by traders from Mexico.

Cura Martínez, acquiescent to United States rule, locked horns with French-born Bishop Lamy who founded the Archdiocese of Santa Fe in 1851. Their controversy became so heated that Lamy eventually “unfrocked” Martínez, leaving him without a parish. Martínez countered by pointing out that he still had credentials from the Bishop of Durango in whose diocese New Mexico had been until 1851. He continued to say Mass and perform religious rites for a strong following in the Taos area for the rest of his lifetime, indifferent to Lamy’s pronouncements in Santa Fe.

Willa Cather in Death Comes For The Archbishop chose to simplify history by making Lamy a pure hero and Martínez a total villain, inciting resistance among Spanish New Mexicans to the new, enlightened form of Catholicism. Hindsight gives credit to Cura Martínez for his resistance against the foreign Catholicism that condemned regional architecture, art and religious observances, and substituted Rue Saint Sulpice gimcrackery in their place. Martínez has been accused of supporting the Penitentes or Brothers of Light. Undoubtedly he did; they had developed as an independent group in his lifetime after expulsion from the Franciscan Third Order by Mexican secular priests early in the 19th century. Martínez recognized the strength of this existing organization as a Resistance group against foreign culture, economy and religious incursions on traditional New Mexico patterns. His purpose in promoting education among his people was to arm them against foreign influences so that they might retain their identity. Paradoxically, after Lincoln’s Proclamation of Emancipation, Martínez reminded New Mexicans that they too should release their slaves to free status.

Many of the names in the 1834 list of jurors are connected with New Mexico history. Seledon Archebeque and Manuel Alarid were descended from two European Frenchmen who came to Santa Fe in 1720 and 1739. Their surnames had been Alarie and l’Archevêque but they were altered to suit Spanish ears and tongues. Jean l’Archevêque was a deserter from de la Salle’s expedition who made his way over the plains with the help of Indians. The most recently prominent member of this family was Miguel de Archebeque who died in 1970 after being hermano mayor or chief brother of all chapters of the Penitentes in New Mexico and Colorado for more than thirty years. Miguel succeeded in reconciling the Brotherhoods with the Catholic church after a schism of over a century.
The Ortiz name is most numerous in the 1834 list. It was a large family, prominent and wealthy. Descended from Nicolas Ortiz who had come to New Mexico with de Vargas in 1609, many of them made their places in local history. Nicolas III was killed by Indians while he was on a punitive expedition up the Chama River in 1769. While the Governor of Mexico was making a visit of condolence to Ortiz’ widow she said that such things happened because the province had no patron saint. The upshot was the revival of the de Vargas procession and fiesta vowed by the reconquistador, which he intended to be perpetuated in thankfulness for his victory in retaking New Mexico. The observance had long been forgotten but in 1770 it was revived with the still existing 17th-century statue of La Conquistadora, originally an image of Our Lady of the Assumption, later converted to Our Lady of the Rosary, that de Vargas had returned with his colonists to New Mexico as the patroness. The 1770 affair included a procession to the parish church, Mass, fireworks, bullfights and other events. This was the real beginning of the Santa Fe fiesta held today. General de Vargas conquered Santa Fe late in December of 1699, and the Marian novena and procession of the Conquistadora is now observed in May, but the Santa Fe fiesta is still held over the weekend of modern Labor Day—coinciding with the death of Nicolas Ortiz III late in August, 1769.

Antonio José Ortiz, son of Nicolas III, was the grandfather and great grandfather of Antonio Ortiz, 2d and Antonio Ortiz, 3rd on the 1834 list. In his will of 1806 Antonio José said that he had paid for repairs to the Santa Fe parish church and to San Miguel chapel, and for two new chapels and also had built his two private oratories in Santa Fe and Pojuaque. More, he had an eighteen-room house in town with a bakery, stables and a coach, thirty place settings of silver and a tautalus case. He owned ranches in northern New Mexico and large herds of livestock and had a twelve-room house in El Paso del Norte and sums of money left on deposit in Durango and Zacatecas for business investments.

Gaspar Ortiz, a cousin, and his wife entertained Samuel and Susan Shelby Magoffin when they were in Santa Fe in 1846. One of the principal streets of the capital is named Don Gaspar as it passes his former Santa Fe home. Francisco de Paula Ortiz, another grandson of Antonio José, married a step-daughter of Antonio de Arce, whose son, Mauricio de Arce, is also among the 1834 list of jurors.

Diego Beita belonged to the family whose name was spelled de Veitia, de Beyta, Abeyta and, today, Abeyta. The best known was Bernardo Abeyta who built the Santuario de Esquipulas at Chimayo, New Mexico, between 1813-16 at his own expense. Like its prototype in Guatemala the chapel is placed over a “miraculous” earth deposit, once a volcanic hot spring that was visited by prehistoric Indians for curative purposes. Abeyta made a trip to Mexico to buy ornaments for the chapel; the only remaining one is a carved and gilded arch incorporated into the high altarscreen. The first inventory of the chapel, made in 1817, records thirty-two large statues; not counting the small ones, and an ivory Christ Child, which undoubtedly had come from the Philippines by a Manila galleon, but the ivory Child and most of the santos have long ago vanished. The chapel is still a pilgrimage goal and the now dry, miraculous mud well must be continually refilled with earth from outside since handfuls of it are carried away in such quantities that the little room in which it is situated would long ago have caved in without new support.

The Baca family is also conspicuous on the jurors list; they came to New Mexico in 1600 and have been notable ever since, allied by marriage with other landowning families. Francisco Baca y Terrus was owner of a ranch at Cienega, south of Santa Fe, which is still remarkably rich in natural springs and marshes, hence the name Cienega or swamp. Early in the 19th century a brother of Governor Manuel Armijo, Salvador, was killed by Apaches on Francisco Baca y Terrus’ rancho. Although the Spanish name of Cabeza de Vaca and its legend goes back to the 12th century in Spain, no New Mexico Bacas were of that name in colonial times until one of them, in 1800, began signing himself Luis Maria Cabeza de Baca. Direct relationship is undermined between the Cabeza de Bacas and plain Bacas.

Domingo Fernandez, listed as a potential juror and as secretary of the Ayuntamiento, was a son of Bartolomé Fernandez, an Alcalde, Indian fighter and founder of the Fernandez Ranch which he received by royal grant. Lying on the slopes of Mount Taylor in Valencia County, New Mexico, it was on the western frontier of Spanish expansion in the 18th century because of Navajo hos-
tility. The ranch is still in operation under modern management. Bartolomé Fernandez was one of two Spanish officers sent to arrest Lt. Zebulon Pike in 1807 for incursion on Spanish soil. The Museum of New Mexico owns a rawhide shield, laced with the Celtic knot pattern and painted with the arms of Leon and Castille, lettered “Don Alredez Bartolomé Fernandez,” which he may well have carried with him on the expedition to arrest Pike and bring him to Santa Fe. When Pedro Bautista Piño was elected as Deputy from New Mexico to attend the Spanish Cortes in 1812, the only New Mexican ever to be thus distinguished, Bartolomé Fernandez was chosen to go with him but he died during the Atlantic crossing.

Dionicio Larrañaga was a son or grandson of Cristobal Larrañaga who had been assigned to New Mexico as a military surgeon during the late Spanish era with instructions to enforce the unpopular vaccinations against small pox, which periodically devastated the province. Cristobal’s last service record was dated in 1809.

The Pino and Sarracino families were founded by traders who came from New Spain in the 18th century. Rafael and Clemente Sarracino of the 1894 list were noted but not named in the Santa Fe census of 1790 as male children of three years and one year of age. Rafael was later postmaster and was sent to explore a new route to California which he abandoned at the Colorado River above Yuma, finding it then impossible to cross.

Exclusion of military, political and priestly names accounts for the absence of other prominent persons of the day with the exception of Agustín Duran who filled several offices including that of Chief Customs Inspector at one time or another. The most surprising fact about Jesús Maria Baca’s unpretentious broadside is that there were ninety men in northern New Mexico who could read and write after so long a colonial period of illiteracy.

“Ho! For Oregon and California!”
An Annotated Bibliography of Published Advice to the Emigrant, 1841-47
BY THOMAS F. ANDREWS

To scholar and buff alike, the phrase “emigrant guidebook” is linked inseparably to the epic covered-wagon exodus of the eighteen-forties and fifties to the rich farmlands of Oregon and the even richer gold fields of California. But the Emigrants’ Guide is unique to neither the Trans-Mississippi West nor the period of the Oregon and California migrations. Throughout the nineteenth century, from John Filson’s The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke (1784) to James Clemens’ The Klondyke . . . A Complete Guide to the Gold Fields (1897), guidebooks were an important part of the American frontier experience. They were published in response to the lure of western lands, whether in Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri, Texas, Oregon, California, the Great Plains, or the Klondike. They were the true heralds of expansion—“the books that won the West”—from the first crossings of the Blue Ridge to the last climbs over Chilkoot Pass. Yet the influence of these guides in helping to shape and direct the course of western migration and settlement is a study that still awaits investigation.

For the present, therefore, the historian must be content to concentrate his efforts on the guidebooks that have received scholarly consideration, the Oregon and California guides of mid-century, for even they have not been studied in an interrelated fashion. The particular focus of this bibliography will be upon the earliest of the publications offering practical advice to overland travelers—the pre-Gold Rush guidebooks of the 1840’s. Written by emigrants themselves, they tended to faithfully reflect the experiences of their trail-wise authors. Notes were scribbled in pocket diaries or on scraps of paper along the Oregon-California Trail for a variety of reasons, but more than a few diaries were kept because the pioneer noticed either the inadequacy of his outfit or the need for an “accurate” trail guide soon after departing the Missouri frontier. In this way, many an overland diary of personal experiences, such as Joel
Palmer's *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains* (1847), later served directly as a guidebook. Sometimes, as is the case of Lansford Hastings' *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (1845), the overland journal served indirectly as the basis for a guidebook. Other emigrants, realizing long before they had reached their destination that they had miscalculated in terms of food and equipment, sent back letters from various points along the trail. Often, as in the case of Chester Ingerson in 1847, the letters were published in the hometown press as an aid to future travelers. A few emigrants, such as Overton Johnson and William Winter, computed the mileage with an odometer of sorts and transcribed the results into a fairly detailed table of distances which was included with their *Route Across the Rocky Mountains* (1846). Thus the pre-Gold Rush guidebooks, the more important of which may be found in the Princeton Collections of Western Americana, evolved quite naturally as a by-product of the scores of diaries kept by the Oregon and California emigrants of the 1840's.

A basis for the proper evaluation of the overland guidebook to Oregon and California has long been needed to complement the editorial work that has been accomplished by a number of scholars in the closely related area of the overland diary. Even a cursory search among the guidebooks of the forties reveals the existence of two essential ingredients: a section of practical advice on the proper outfit for the overland journey—including comments on food, clothing, equipment, wagon, team, size of company, and place of departure—and, second, a detailed description of the route to be followed. The better guidebooks contained both, but before the pre-Gold Rush advice to emigrants can be properly evaluated, the relative merits of these instructions must be established.

According to the testimony of emigrants in 1846 and 1847, a general description of the route west ceased to be a necessary requirement of an overland guide sometime before the Gold Rush, as years of use had churned the unsure path of the early 1840's into a clearly marked wagon road. Similar testimony also indicates that the need for sound advice on outfitting remained imperative throughout the 1840's, indeed, throughout the Gold Rush period. In the light of this evidence, it would seem that advice on preparation might be considered a more significant ingredient of an overland guidebook than a general description of the route west, and certainly no less important than a detailed way-bill of the trail. Together, however, they form the basic criteria used in the selection of overland guides for inclusion in this bibliography.

Equally important to an understanding of the present work are the limitations imposed upon the dates of publication, 1841-47. The selection of 1841 is fairly obvious; it marks the opening of the California Trail (and, in a sense, the opening of the overland trail to pioneer traffic). The selection of 1847 is more arbitrary. It is chosen as the terminal date because the 1848 publications, especially Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California* and William Clayton's *Latter Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* were used almost exclusively by goldseekers of the fifties. Preliminary investigation suggests that the guidebook literature of the two decades prior to the Civil War falls naturally into three time periods—1841-47, 1848-51, and 1852-59—with each period having its distinct characteristics. It is a mistake to assume, as one recent study has, that the guidebooks of the overland trail can be lumped together indiscriminately for the purpose of analysis.

Within the context of these limitations, the historian, having sifted through the publications between 1841 and 1847 relating to the Oregon-California Trail, and having pulled out the newspaper articles, tracts, way-bills, and books that offer practical advice to the emigrant, notices two characteristics of the pre-Gold Rush guides. The guides of this period were aimed primarily at Oregon, the first complete California guide was not published until 1849. Although the advice varied with the individual authors, there was a consensus of opinion on such topics as the size of the company, the quantity and selection of provisions, the mode of transportation, and the types of equipment and supplies to be taken along. The guides of the forties had two major weaknesses: their lack of sufficient instruction on possible diseases and necessary medical supplies, and their inability to keep abreast of the new routes continually being opened by the innovating pioneers and promoters—the Barlow Road, the Applegate Trail, and the Hastings Cutoff, for example. The reprinting of some of these guidebooks during the Gold Rush did little to meet the particular needs of the California-bound goldseekers.

After the historian has completed his study of the practical advice available in published form to the overland traveler of the
1840's, and after he has evaluated the relevance of that advice to the ever-changing needs of the emigrant on the trail, there remain opportunities for fresh research into the guidebook literature of the period that are particularly suited to the training of American Studies scholars. A study has long been needed that would utilize the overland diary and guidebook as the basis for an analysis of the "Emigrant Mind" or the "Pioneer Impulse" on the Far Western Frontier. The opportunity awaits the interested scholar to do for the Oregon- and California-bound pioneers of the 1840's what Arthur K. Moore, for example, attempted for the earlier Kentucky frontiersman. Studies such as these hopefully would shed important light on the nature of the overland exodus to the Pacific Slope. The following bibliography is offered as a contribution towards that goal.

1840-41

Marsh, John. [A letter to Michael Nye published in the Missouri press during the winter of 1840-41].

The California letters of John Marsh coupled with the Missouri speeches of Antoine Robidoux helped to stimulate a widespread interest along the Missouri frontier in the topic of California migration. Of the two, Marsh appears to have supplied the most accurate information on how to get to California. One of Marsh's letters, written to Michael Nye and printed in the Missouri newspapers, described a "plausible route" to take across the plains to California. Prospective emigrants that winter resolved that Marsh's route was the "best by which to cross the mountains." The letter, which has not survived, doubtless contained in reverse order the same directions Marsh gave to members of the Wilkes expedition later in 1841. They may be found in Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition . . . (5 vols., atlas, Philadelphia, 1845), V, 181. See also Doyle B. Nunis, Jr., ed., Josiah Belden 1841 California Overland Pioneer (Georgetown, Calif., 1962), p. 15.

1842

[A letter concerning the best route for taking wagons into California], printed in the St. Louis Missouri Republican on November 12, 1842, and reprinted in the Sangamo Journal, Springfield, Illinois, on November 25, 1842.

The author of this letter outlines in general terms what became known as the California Trail, placing particular stress upon the Nevada desert portion of the route. Here he warns the prospective emigrant about the long stretches of sand and sagebrush west of Soda Springs, but maintains in the same breath that wagons could best be taken across the Sierra Nevada near the southern tip by way of today's Walker Pass. The experiences of a portion of the Joseph B. Chiles 1843 overland party, led by Joseph R. Walker, demonstrated that for loaded wagons the potential ease of the pass was more than offset by the "infinite hardships" of traversing the desert region along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada. Dale Morgan suggests Chiles as the possible author of the letter. There remains some question, however, whether Chiles had such a southern crossing of the mountains in mind in the late fall of 1842. See Helen S. Giffen, Trail-Blazing Pioneer (San Francisco, 1969), pp. 39-40.


This thin guide is in the form of a letter dated September 15, 1842, and addressed to Dr. T. M. Bacon of Liberty, Missouri. The author had traveled overland to Oregon in 1834 in company with Nathaniel Wyeth and the Methodist missionaries, Jason and Daniel Lee. Four years later he returned to Richmond, Missouri. Edwards compiled the guide to answer the many questions directed his way almost daily about Oregon, the overland route, and the proper outfit for travel. His instructions to the emigrant are found on pages 4-6. To pioneer families and individuals taking wagons, the advice was of limited value. He favored pack animals to the "encumbrance" of wagons and urged the necessity of starting with only enough provisions to reach the buffalo country. His description of the route to Oregon also was of little help—too brief and general. He prefaced his comments with the statement, "I can recommend no other route than that usually taken by traders and trappers, with occasional deviations which it would be useless to endeavor to point out on paper" (p. 4). A discussion of Edwards' impact upon overland migration may be found in Charles L. Camp, "Colonel Philip Leget Edwards and His Influence Upon Early Immigration to the Far West," California Historical Society Quarterly, III (April, 1924), 73-83.
"ADVICE TO PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANTS TO OREGON." A letter published in the Iowa City Iowa Capitol Reporter on March 25, 1843. Reprinted in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, XV (December, 1914), 295-299.

The author, who signed the letter "ONE WHO INTENDS TO EMBRACE," gives extensive advice on the proper outfit for an overland party to Oregon. Food, wagons, team, arms, equipment, and size of company are among the topics treated in a precise and knowledgeable manner. As to practical advice, then, the author provided more information of a useful nature to the 1843 emigrants than did the Edwards pamphlet of the previous year. He slipped more than a little, however, in his estimate of 1400 miles as the total distance to the Willamette River.

"OREGON MEETING." An article copied from the Bloomington [Iowa] Herald and published in the Columbus Ohio Statesman on April 26, 1848. Reprinted in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, III (December, 1902), 399-393.

This article reports the proceedings of two meetings (March 19 and April 1) held in Bloomington for the purpose of organizing a company of emigrants to Oregon. Although the article's description of the route again leaves much to be desired, one paragraph does list the provisions and equipment thought to be necessary for the overland journey.

1843-44

Bidwell, John. [A Journey to California] (n.p., n.d.). 32 pp. Wrappers and title page are missing from the only copy extant. Dale Morgan suggests the possibility that the narrative was published at Weston, Missouri, in 1844 rather than at Liberty in 1842 as had formerly been assumed. The Bidwell Journal was reprinted in 1907, 1937, and 1964. The first was part of a compilation by Charles C. Royce, published in Chico, California, and the second was printed in San Francisco by John Henry Nash with an introduction by Herbert I. Priestley. The latest reprinting is the work by the Friends of the Bancroft Library with an introduction by Francis P. Farquhar.

Bidwell came overland to California in 1844, arriving at the Marsh ranch early in November. The published narrative is an abridgment of the journal kept by the author during the six-month jour-

1845

Burnett, Peter H. "Oregon Territory." A letter to James G. Bennett, dated Linnton, Oregon Territory, 1844. Published along with a second Burnett letter in the New York Herald on January 6, 1845. One of a series of five Burnett letters published in the Herald on December 28, 1844, and January 5, 6 (two letters), and 18, 1845. The letters are reprinted in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, III (December, 1902), 398-426.

Burnett, who had kept a journal of his 1843 crossing as far as Walla Walla, spent the winter of 1843-44 at Linnton writing, as he termed it, "some hundred and twenty-five foolscap pages of manuscript," which he sent back to the Herald. Bennett's paper printed about half of the Burnett manuscript in the above-mentioned five letters. The January 6 letter contains a set of extensive practical instructions to the emigrant. Indeed, Burnett offered the most substantial advice yet published on the proper selection of food, clothing, equipment, wagons, and team for the overland trek. This information, together with the table of distances in the letter published by the Herald on January 5, transformed the Burnett letters into an extremely useful guide for the prospective Oregon emigrants of 1845. According to the author's own testimony, his letters were "extensively read, especially in the western states." The five letters, and perhaps the remainder of the manuscript as well, were copied with a number of changes into George Wilkes' pamphlet, The History of Oregon (New York, 1845). See Peter H. Burnett, Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer (New York, 1880), p. 177.


Gilmore commenced his letter by describing in general terms the overland route to Oregon, but, what is more important, concluded with specific instructions on the necessary outfit for emigrants to that westerly climb. Although not matching the quantity and

detail of Burnett's information, the author, also a pioneer of '43, answered many of the questions of greatest concern to the Oregon emigrant. His answers, based upon his own recently acquired experience, were printed in time to be of help to the overlanders of 1845.

Hackleman, Abner. [A letter concerning the best route west from the Missouri frontier], dated "In the Prairie," May 20, 1845, and published in the Burlington Iowa Territorial Gazette and Advertiser on June 7, 1845.

The author confines his remarks to the advantages of the northern route out of Council Bluffs over the one leading from St. Joseph. The primary advantage, according to Hackleman, was that the north side of the Platte River contained fewer streams, a better road, and equally as good feed for the teams. He lists no specific instructions on outfitting.

Ford, Nathaniel. [A letter containing advice to Oregon emigrants], written to Dr. John J. Lowry of Fayette, Missouri, dated Oregon, April 6, 1845. Published in the Jefferson Inquirer, Jefferson City, Missouri, on September 25, 1845, as extracted from the Fayette [Missouri] Democrat.

Ford mentions the possibility that a new and shorter road into Oregon (the Barlow Road) will be ready for the 1846 emigrants. He emphasizes the need for light wagons, small companies, an early start, and enough cattle to change the team periodically. He also advises the prospective traveler to take "plenty of provisions ... plenty of clothing, shoes, boots, &c., as such articles are hard to get" in Oregon. See Dale L. Morgan, ed., Overland in 1846 (2 vols., Georgetown, Calif., 1963), II, 493-494, for a reprinting of Ford's advertisement about the contemplated new wagon route which appeared in the Oregon City Oregon Spectator on April 2, 16, and 30, 1846.

Burns, Hugh. [A letter containing advice to the Oregon emigrant], written to Allen McLane and dated Multnomah, Oregon. Published in the Jefferson Inquirer, Jefferson City, Missouri, on October 9, 1845, as extracted from the Platte Argus, Platte City, Missouri.

In his letter, Burns points up the importance of both an early start from Missouri (April) and an early arrival in Oregon (Sep-
tember). The former would enable the emigrants "to cross all rivers East of the Mountains, before the melting snow swells the streams," and the latter would give ample opportunity to "build their houses and sow their wheat before the bad weather sets in." He also mentions the advantages of forming small companies and discusses the best route in from The Dalles.

[A letter from an Oregon emigrant of 1845 concerning trail conditions], dated "50 miles east from South Pass," July 14, 1845. Published in the St. Louis Missouri Reporter on October 25, 1845, as extracted from the Hennepin [Illinois] Herald.

The author, who apparently started from Independence, points out the advantages of starting from St. Joseph instead. He mentions that with respect to the roads and the Indians most of the difficulties were encountered early in the journey. He concluded that "emigrants to Oregon need a pilot from Independence to St. Joseph."

Hastings, Lansford W. The Emigrants' Guide, to Oregon and California. Cincinnati: Published by George Conclin, 1845. 152 pp. Published in 1847 and 1849 with the title, A New History of Oregon and California, and again reissued in 1852 and 1857 with the title, A New Description of Oregon and California. The 1847 printing had 160 pages; the remaining editions, 168 pages. The 1857 edition was published by H. M. Rulison of Cincinnati; all the others were by George Conclin. The additional contents in the 1847 edition include a sketch of California by Robert Semple, and a copy of the 1846 Oregon Treaty. Added to this in the other editions was Richard B. Mason's report on the California gold regions. Three oddities, however, should be noted: a few copies of the guide have been found with an 1848 imprint; some of the 1849 issues were entitled A New Description of Oregon and California; and a number of the 1857 edition contain 160 instead of 168 pages—Mason's report being omitted. The guide has been reprinted twice in a facsimile of the 1845 edition, in 1932 by Princeton University Press (with an historical note and bibliography by Charles H. Carey), and in 1969 by Da Capo Press (with an introduction and bibliographical note by Mary N. Spence).

The Hastings guide was not published in time to exercise any influence upon the overland migrations of 1845, but it was a decided factor the following year. Pages 134-152 describe the vari-

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THE

EMIGRANTS' GUIDE,

TO

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,

CONTAINING SCENES AND INCIDENTS OF A PARTY OF OREGON EMIGRANTS;

A DESCRIPTION OF OREGON;

SCENES AND INCIDENTS OF A PARTY OF CALIFORNIA EMIGRANTS;

AND

A DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA;

WITH

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT ROUTES TO THOSE COUNTRIES;

AND

ALL NECESSARY INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE EQUIPMENT, SUPPLIES, AND THE METHOD OF TRAVELING.

BY LANSFORD W. HASTINGS,
Leader of the Oregon and California Emigrants of 1845.

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE CONCLIN,
STEREOGRAPH BY BLIZARD & CO.
1845.
ous routes to California and explain the type of equipment and supplies best suited for the two thousand mile journey. Hastings' comments about the overland trail, especially the reference on page 137 to a more direct route via Salt Lake, certainly were of questionable value to the emigrant; however, his instructions on food, equipment, and general outfit proved as substantial as any published prior to the Gold Rush. His advice to the emigrant echoes that of Burnett. Hastings and Burnett were among the earliest of the guidebook authors to direct their advice to those taking wagon. For an analysis of the Hastings guidebook in the light of other pre-Gold Rush advice to emigrants, see Thomas F. Andrews, "The Controversial Hastings Overland Guide: A Reassessment," Pacific Historical Review, XXXVII (February, 1968), 21-34.

Wilkes, George. The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political. . . Examination of the Project of a National Rail Road from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. New York: William H. Colyer, 1845. 127 pp. [Page 8 is unnumbered], map. An 1846 edition was issued in London by William Lott with the title, An Account and History of the Oregon Territory; together with a Journal of an Emigrating Party across the Western Prairies of America, and to the mouth of the Columbia River. 160, viii pp. [Page 160 is marked 169.] The entire 1845 Wilkes pamphlet is reprinted in the Washington Historical Quarterly, I (October, 1906), 91-96; (January, 1907), 99-102; (April, 1907), 176-180, and (July, 1907), 285-286; II (October, 1907), 54-56; (January, 1908), 184-192; (April, 1908), 277-282, and (July, 1908), 372-382; III (April, 1912), 166-176; (July, 1912), 250-256, and (October, 1912), 314-330; IV (January, 1913), 60-80; (April, 1913), 139-160; (July, 1913), 207-224, and (October, 1913), 300-312, and V (January, 1914), 72-80.

Pages 63-90 in the 1845 edition, and pages 59-110 in that of 1846 comprise an account of the 1843 overland migration to Oregon taken from the narrative of Peter H. Burnett. Burnett's narrative of the Oregon journey was first published in the form of five letters printed in the New York Herald between December 28, 1844, and January 18, 1845. Of considerable interest and value to the emigrant were Burnett's useful instructions found in the Herald letter of January 6, 1845, and copied by Wilkes, with various changes, into his pamphlet. Burnett's sound and substantial advice on outfitting is found on pages 67-69, and 111-113 of the 1845 edition, and on pages 66-70, and 150-154 of the 1846 edition. From the Missouri frontier to the Platte River, the Burnett narrative is fairly
detailed, but from there to Fort Walla Walla it is a general descriptive account with the daily details omitted. See Joseph Schafer’s critical editorial remarks on the Burnett letters and the Wilkes pamphlet in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, III (December, 1902), 398-404.

1846


In his letter, Martin provided the emigrant of 1846 with more than the usual amount of information found in the newspaper columns of the day. Martin urged the use of falling tongues and double covers for the wagon, and offered a list of recommended quantities of provisions—flour, coffee, bacon, etc. After discussing some of the equipment (tents, arms and ammunition) necessary for the overland trek, and proclaiming the advantages of an early start (by April 10), Martin endorsed St. Joseph as the best point at which to cross the Missouri River.


Grayson, who figured prominently in the 1846 migration, advised an early starting date (April 15) from Independence, but spoke only briefly about the necessary outfit. He did, however, emphasize that “it is better not to be burdened with any heavy and unnecessary articles of house furniture.”

“Oregon.” An article published in the Lexington [Missouri] Express on March 3, 1846, as extracted from the St. Louis Missouri Republican of an earlier date. A similar extract appeared in the Sangamo Journal, Springfield, Illinois, on March 5. The March 5 article is reprinted in Morgan, ed., Overland in 1846, II, 481-482.

In addition to summarizing the contents of William Martin’s letter of January 23, 1846, the compiler of this extract, probably the editor of the paper, warned the emigrant not to take extra stock to Oregon for purposes of speculation. The article mentions that the instructions came from a meeting of prospective Oregon emigrants who planned to rendezvous at Elizabethtown, opposite St. Joseph, on April 15.


The author championed Council Bluffs as the ideal point of departure from the Missouri frontier. After suggesting its advantages, he concluded by portraying the route west of the bluffs as “one cut off by nature for the benefit of all who may think proper to emigrate to California and Oregon.” He said very little about outfitting except that his company would have along a first rate blacksmith.


In addition to his claim that Westport was a better place to rendezvous than Independence, the author commented only briefly on wagons, guns and ammunition, and provisions, but did stress the point that “no dependence is to be placed upon the procuring of food on the route by hunting.”

[Letter containing advice to the Oregon emigrant], dated Oregon City, March 2, 1846, and published in the Burlington Iowa Territorial Gazette and Advertiser on July 25, 1846.

The author, an Oregon emigrant of 1845, urged those interested “to leave Iowa immediately, and come to a country where life and health can be enjoyed.” He admitted that the journey to Oregon was more difficult than he had expected—he had lost half of his team in the process. Thus he advised the emigrants of 1846 to have four to five yoke of oxen to each two-horse wagon, to work three yokes at a time, to change them every few days, and to employ an experienced driver. He also warned against taking anything except the necessary provisions and clothing, and, because of the high prices in Oregon, “enough of the latter to last you two or three years.”

Johnson, Overton, and Winter, William H. Route across the Rocky Mountains, with a Description of Oregon and California; their Geographical Features, their Resources, Soil, Climate, Productions,
ROUTE

ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS,

WITH A

DESCRIPTION OF OREGON AND CALIFORNIA;

THER

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES, THEIR RESOURCES, SOIL,
CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, &c., &c.

DE GVERTON JOHNSON AND W. H. WINTER,
OF THE EMIGRATION OF '43.

LAFAYETTE, IND:;
JOHN B. SEMANS, PRINTER.
1846.

&c., &c. Lafayette, Indiana: John B. Semans, Printer, 1846. viii,
152 pp. The first six chapters of the book (106 pages) are reprinted
in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, VII (March,
1906), 82-104; (June, 1906), 163-210, and (September, 1906), 291-
327. The author's instructions to emigrants and the table of dis-
tances are not included in this reprinting. The entire work, how-
ever, was reprinted in 1932 by Princeton University Press, with a
preface and notes by Carl L. Cannon.

The two authors collaborated to produce what was perhaps the
best of the pre-Gold Rush overland guides. It was the first of the
guidebooks to contain a detailed way-bill of the Oregon trail. Cer-
tainly as of 1846 it was the most complete and valuable guide in
print for prospective Oregon emigrants. Pages 141-152 contain
specific instructions on supplies, provisions, equipment, and man-
ner of traveling; and a table of distances with rather elaborate
information about camping spots, water holes, and other data.
Johnson and Winter, pioneers of '43, measured the distance on the
return trip in 1845. The information on California, including the
journey from Oregon and the return to Fort Hall, is taken from
Winter's notes as Johnson did not visit California.

Preuss, Charles. Topographical Map of the Road from Missouri to
Oregon commencing at the mouth of the Kansas in the Missouri
River and ending at the mouth of the Wallah-Wallah in the
Columbia. Lithographed by E. Weber & Company, Baltimore,
Maryland. In seven sections, each section 26 by 16 inches. Section
I: from Westport Landing to start of crossing to Platte River (275
miles); Section II: from Grand Island to a point on the North
Fork of the Platte (500 miles, total); Section III: from this point
to the confluence of Deer Creek and the Platte (734 miles, total);
Section IV: from Deer Creek to the crossing of Green River (966
miles, total); Section V: from Green River to Fort Hall on Snake
River (1180 miles, total); Section VI: from Fort Hall to Fort
Boisie (1460 miles, total), and Section VII: from Fort Boisie to
Fort Wallah-Wallah on the Columbia (1670 miles, total). Repro-
duced by Nolie Mumey (Denver, 1952) and reprinted in Carl I.
Wheat, Mapping the Transmississippi West, 1540-1861 (5 vols.,

Published as an intended guide for those undertaking the overland
trip to Oregon, this excellent map unfortunately has remained in
the background of the more widely distributed 1845 Preuss-
Frémont map. Its value to the pre-Gold Rush emigrant is readily apparent. Carl Wheat has termed it "a road guide for Oregon emigrants such as has never previously existed." Contemporaries as well referred to it as "an excellent map for travelers." The map's major drawback was that it reflected only the conditions of 1843 and none of the changes that had occurred after that date. To Preuss' credit, however, the segment of the trail from Soda Springs to Fort Hall, which was missing from the 1845 map, was filled in conjecturally on the 1846 map. For more information on Preuss as a cartographer for John C. Frémont, see Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde, eds., Exploring with Frémont (Norman, Okla., 1958).


This book is a graphic portrayal of the young author's adventure-laden three year excursion into the Rocky Mountain region. On pages 65-66, 188-189, and 226-227 of the first edition, Sage paused in his narrative long enough to "present a few hints" to prospective travelers. He listed briefly the necessary equipment, discussed the advantages of pack-mules (or horses) over wagon travel, and commented on "the best land routes for wagons" in very general terms. Considering the small amount of practical advice given by the author, his book—though accurate and highly entertaining—was far too bulky to be of any real practical value as a guide to emigrants. Furthermore, like Frémont, Sage wandered circuitously across the mountainous West, more frequently off than on the main emigrant road.

SCENES
IN THE
ROCKY MOUNTAINS;
AND IN
OREGON, CALIFORNIA, NEW MEXICO, TEXAS, AND
THE GRAND PRAIRIES;
OR,
NOTES BY THE WAY,
DURING AN EXCURSION OF THREE YEARS,
WITH A
DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRIES PASSED THROUGH,
INCLUDING THEIR
GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, RESOURCES, PRESENT CONDITION, AND
THE DIFFERENT NATIONS INHABITING THEM.

BY A NEW ENGLANDER.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY CAREY & HART.
1846.

Shively had made the long trek to Oregon in 1843. After less than two years at Astoria, Shively returned to Independence in early August of 1845 before continuing on to Washington, D.C. The year following the publication of his guidebook found him back in Oregon with a commission as postmaster. The first half of his guidebook includes the usual information to overland travelers. The author was chiefly concerned with the route to Oregon; the California section appears to have been tacked on as an afterthought, filling only a page and a half. The first four pages (3-6) contain instructions on outfitting; the next six pages (7-12) describe the route in as much detail as possible without being a waybill; the last two pages of text (13-14) sketch the California trail from the vicinity of Fort Hall to Sacramento, and page 15 gives a summary of the distances between Independence and Astoria. The Shively pamphlet, though more compact than the Johnson and Winter publication, was not as valuable as a guidebook.

1847


Buchanan, the Independence postmaster, wrote the circular to encourage emigration to Oregon and California, to promote the advantages of Independence as an outfitting town, and to instruct the prospective emigrant briefly on the equipment and supplies necessary for the overland journey. Among other things, Buchanan urged the emigrant to start out with “no furniture whatever,” but with “a large supply of both sugar and coffee,” the surplus of which could be sold at a profit at the forts along the way. To illustrate his point that “all necessary outfit for emigrants” could best
be purchased in Independence, he concluded the circular by listing the various business establishments of that “Great Emporium of the West.”

Palmer, Joel. *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains, to the Mouth of the Columbia River; made during the Years 1845 and 1846.* Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P. James, 1847. iv, 9-189 pp. A later 1847 edition, although possibly issued in the spring of 1848, has viii, 9-189 pp. A second and third edition appeared in 1851 and 1852 with the same pagination as the later 1847 edition. The earliest printing of the narrative lacks a dedication leaf to “Pioneers of the West” and an Index. Reprinted in 1906 by Arthur H. Clark Co., and edited by Reuben G. Thwaites as volume xxx of the *Early Western Travel Series.* The section of advice to the emigrant and the table of distances have been extracted in a small privately printed pamphlet of 25 pages, edited by Joseph Arnold Foster of Scripps College, 1955.

A native of Laurel, Indiana, Palmer made the journey to Oregon in 1845, in what was a rather safe, quiet trip without much recorded sickness or difficulty. He spent the winter of 1845-46 in Oregon making notations for his future book. Palmer arrived back in Laurel on July 29, 1846, and that winter was taken up with attempts to publish his narrative. Using his recently published guide—only about a dozen copies of which were ready in April, 1847—Palmer led a group of 99 wagons to Oregon that year. There is evidence of some delay in the book’s publication, and the remaining “1847” copies quite possibly did not come off the press until the spring of 1848. Palmer’s narrative is more than a masterful account of the Oregon trail; it is also a useful guide to overland emigrants, with its careful notations on camping spots, watering and feeding places, and mileage along the trail. Pages 141-145 instruct the emigrants on the necessary outfit, and pages 158-161 list a detailed table of distances. Palmer’s *Journal* is straightforward and concise with little ornamentation, and his advice to the emigrant is detailed, accurate, and substantial.

1847-48

Ingersoll, Chester. [A series of nine letters published in the *Joliet* (Illinois) *Signal* between May 18, 1847, and August 29, 1848]. The letter dated Independence, May 1, 1847, was published on May 18, 1847; the letter dated Platte River, June 6, 1847, was published on
August 24, 1847; the letter dated [west of Ft. Laramie], June 13, 1847, was published on August 31, 1847; the letter dated Sweet Water, July 9, 1847, was published on September 7, 1847; the letter dated Green Springs, July 15, 1847, was published on September 14, 1847; the letter dated Fort Hall, August 8, 1847, was published on March 7, 1848; the letter dated [Hot Spring Valley], August 19, 1847, was published on November 16, 1847; the letter dated [Humboldt Sink], September 10, 1847, was published on February 1, 1848, and the letter started at Boiling Springs, Mary's Valley on September 11, 1847, and finished at Purbalo [sic] Valley, California on November 20, 1847, was published on August 29, 1848. Ingersoll's letters have been reprinted as Overland to California in 1847 (Chicago, 1937), with introduction and notes by Douglas C. McMurtrie.

The letters of May 1, June 6, July 9, and 15, are crowded with detailed information valuable to intending emigrants. The author systematically treated most of the various aspects of outfitting, commenting on food, equipment, team, and wagons, etc. His instructions deserve to rank with the best of the pre-Gold Rush advice to emigrants.

Library Notes

AMERICAN INDIAN PERIODICALS IN THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

In January of 1971 the Library published a compilation of 78 pages titled American Indian Periodicals in the Princeton University Library: a Preliminary List by Alfred L. Bush and Robert S. Fraser. The collection it describes includes only periodicals produced by or for the American Indian, and ranges from newspapers published by a tribe to scholarly journals produced primarily for a non-Indian audience but whose content is of interest and value to the larger Indian community. Everyone who is aware of the recent struggles of the native people of America should also be conscious of the fact that frequently these events have been chronicled from the Indian perspective in mimeographed newsheets, offset journals and full-fledged newspapers. And while in format, content and periodicity the variety of these publications is considerable, they all share an ephemeral existence. The constituencies of most are small and geographically remote; the lives of many end after the first or second issue; editorial files and library copies are rare. In 1967 when Princeton initiated a conscious effort to collect them, no library could be found which had taken upon itself the responsibility for preserving the entire range of these publications. Letters to the publishers and editors revealed that a significant portion of these works had been printed, served their immediate purpose and vanished.

The Princeton University Library was, then, understandably eager to announce with this listing that its efforts and, more especially the efforts of its Indian friends, had in so brief a period produced an archive of the runs of 271 periodicals, the majority of them known in no other library and noted in no other printed source. But this first list of the contents of the collection has elicited an even more gratifying response from Princeton's Indian friends. Largely through their efforts complete runs or partial files of 108 additional titles have been added to the collection in the six
months since the publication of the preliminary listing. Numerous additions have been made to the runs whose representation had been only fragmentary. The collection will certainly grow far beyond the 379 periodicals now in the archive. Each addition is a step toward making permanently accessible in as complete a form as possible this unusual record of the natives of America. The preliminary list is available from the library at $2.50 per copy.
A LETTER FROM THE CAMP OF ISRAEL, 1846

An unpublished letter from Brigham Young, especially one written in his own hand instead of dictated to his secretaries, is always news to students of the American West. A letter bequeathed to Princeton University Library by Young's granddaughter, Edith Young Booth, dated June 23, 1846, is unusual news on several counts. It is a letter written to a polygamous wife during the period when the practice of polygamy was being publicly denied by all Mormon leaders. It is highly personal, communicating something of the flavor of his intimate personality. And it is written to a wife who later became notorious as "Harriet the Neglected" and "The Devil of the Household." Moreover, it was written in a period of great crisis for the Mormon Church leadership and its people.

The letter is penned on a sheet 7½ x 6¾ inches, folded to a rectangle 9½ x 2 inches where Brigham Young addressed it to "Mrs. Hariott Cook/ in care of Mr. Ashby/ on Parley St/ Nauvoo." The origin of the letter, noted above the address, is "Camp. Mo. River. June 23/ WRichards. P.M. Free." "Snow House," written vertically to the right of the address, is presumably an afterthought to direct the letter more immediately to its recipient residing with the family of Nathaniel Ashby in the Erastus Snow house on Parley Street of the Mormon capital on the Illinois bank of the Mississippi.³

¹ Edith Young Booth to Alfred Bush, May 26, 1868, Princeton University Library.
² New York World, Nov. 17, 1869, and New York Herald, Nov. 21, 1871, as quoted in Stanley Hirshon, The Lion of the Lord (New York, 1969), 151. Polygamy was not publicly admitted as official church practice until 1892.
³ Snow's household was among the first to leave Nauvoo for the West and the family of Nathaniel Ashby may have moved briefly into the abandoned house with Harriet Cook and, perhaps, others before following the pioneer companies of the exodus to Winter Quarters on the Missouri River at a point now known as Florence, a suburb of Omaha, Nebraska. "Willard" Richards held myriad offices of responsibility in Mormon affairs, including those of private secretary to Joseph Smith, recorder in the Nauvoo temple and member of the Quorum of the Twelve. At Winter Quarters the year this letter was written he was appointed Second Counselor to his cousin Brigham Young. Among his many responsibilities was that of

Brigham Young writes to his second "plural" wife during the Mormon exodus, 1846
The bequest of Edith Young Booth
On the obverse of the address page the letter itself reads:

Camp of Israel Council Bluffs
June 23d—1846

My Dear Harriot. I have just herd you talked going East. Now I pray you harcon to my counsel and come to the West, if you have no way to come with the Bretherin Where I have made provision wright to me the first opetunity and I will send a team after you or come my Self. Edman might bring you or you come with sister Janey. I cannot have the thought of your going East. you will not enjoy yourself if you goe. Come here your friends are here we enjoy our selves first rate. I long to see you safe to camp with your bab. May the Lord Bles you and yours. give my best love to Br Ashby famely and all of my friends Br Bickford the barer of this is now wating and I must stop wrighting

Mis Harriott Cook

Brigham Young

“Mis Harriott Cook,” to whom the letter is addressed, was Brigham Young’s fourth wife, and the second of his seventy-odd “plural” wives.¹ She is said to have been tall, blue-eyed, fair and slender, with a long sharp nose and determined mouth. Her grandmother writes that she was a second cousin of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Born November 7, 1824, in Whitesboro, New York, the daughter of shipbuilder Archibald Cook and Elizabeth M. Campbell, she was given considerable formal education and also trained as a seamstress and tailor. She was converted by Mormon missionaries and promptly disowned by her parents. She made her way to Nauvoo, Illinois, where at the urging of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith she was married secretly to Brigham Young on November 2, 1843, aged nineteen.

After Joseph Smith was murdered in 1844, Young took over the church leadership, and as persecution of the Mormons increased, he decided to take his people west. Before leaving Nauvoo he again

⁴This is Professor Hirshon’s count, based in large part on the voluminous research of the late Stanley Iiams, whose files on Mormon polygamy were recently bequeathed to the Utah Historical Society. See The Lion of the Lord, Chapter X, pp. 184-223.

⁵The Nauvoo Temple Record, one of the great curiosities of American social history, is in the library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Salt Lake City.

⁶According to her granddaughter, Edith Young Booth, in her letter to Alfred Bush, May 26, 1968, Princeton University Library.
"I will yet play Queen Elizabeth to this church," and "I will go through the gates of the kingdom of heaven side by side with Brigham Young or not go with him at all; I will not follow at his back." But there is also the melancholy record that she said, "Where am I to go? There is no place for me but hell. All my womanly character is gone—my family would not acknowledge me—my acquaintances would despise me—I am an outcast in the world."  

Among other reports in the usually unfriendly and anti-Mormon New York press is the important story that Brigham Young caught Harriet beating her son Oscar as a boy and demanded that she stop. When she refused he swore that he would give her no more children, and never did. Oscar grew up as one of at least fifty-six children of Brigham Young. The New York Times in an article describing the heirs of the great colonizer after his death, said that Young had disowned Oscar as "a reprobate." It also reported that Oscar "called the Prophet 'Dad,' and 'the old man,' and often expressed a belief that he was 'an old humbug.'" So the family drama played itself out. Harriet lived on to November 1898.

—Fawn M. Brodie

7 These quotations were printed in Hirshon, The Lion of the Lord, p. 192.

Friends of the Princeton University Library

FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account for the year 1970-71:

RECEIPTS

<table>
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<th>Item</th>
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<td>Cash balance July 1, 1970</td>
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<td>Dues for 1970-71</td>
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<td>Chronicle subscriptions and sales</td>
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<td>Chronicle index sales</td>
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EXPENDITURES

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<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XXXI, No. 3</td>
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Cash balance June 30, 1971                      | $ 5,583  |

Contributions received from Friends during the year 1970-71 for current acquisitions totaled $44,060.
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**EXPENDITURES**

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FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1905, is an association of individuals interested in book-collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other materials which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

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