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THE HARMONY SOCIETY AND *THOUGHTS ON THE DESTINY OF MAN*

By CECIL K. BYRD

AMONG the many sectarian communal experiments that began in nineteenth-century America, one of the most successful economically and in years of duration was the Harmony Society. The antecedents of this Society were to be found in the activities of Johann George Rapp, vine-grower and weaver, and other humble men and women of Iptingen, Wuerttemberg, Germany. Rapp and his followers were religious radicals who came to disbelieve in some of the doctrines and practices of the established Lutheran Church, and in the last decade of the eighteenth century formed a separatist congregation, meeting in homes for a form of worship and fellowship. The activities of this religious conventicle were closely scrutinized by local civil and religious authorities. Irreverent activity and flouting of local laws by some members of the congregation led to fines and even imprisonment, but hostility toward clerical and secular authority grew rather than decreased as a result of these clashes. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, group restiveness culminated in a decision to migrate to the United States where complete religious activity was assured and better economic opportunities existed. Rapp came in 1803 to seek land on which the congregation could settle. After much scouting, he finally selected a tract in western Pennsylvania. Most of his congregation followed him in 1804. Some 3,000 acres of land were purchased in

Butler County and the winter of 1804 was spent in constructing homes and other buildings in their village which was named Harmony.

A belief that was apparently basic with the group from its beginnings was that true Christians shared their possessions. It is likely that money for the migration from Germany was put in a common fund, in order that all who desired to come to the United States, irrespective of their finances, could do so. In February, 1805, the group organized formally, embracing written articles of agreement which stipulated a complete communal life for the Society: "We, the subscribers, on our part and on the part of our heirs and descendants, deliver up, renounce and remit all our estate and property consisting of cash, land and chattels, or whatever it may be, to George Rapp and his associates, in Harmony, Butler County, Pennsylvania, as a free gift or donation, for the benefit and use of the community there, and bind ourselves on our part, as well as on the part of our heirs and descendants, to make free renunciation thereof, and to leave the same at the disposal of the superintendents of the community, as if we never had nor possessed it." (Article 1. The original manuscript, in German, is in the Society archives in the Great House at Ambridge, Pa.)

The membership included enough artisans of diversified skills to enable the Society to engage in brewing, distilling, the making of leather products, ropemaking, wine making, the production of textiles, and other small manufacturing. A sufficient number of knowledgeable agriculturalists made farming possible on a large scale. As a result of these agricultural, commercial, and industrial activities, the Society prospered. In a few years Harmony

Society whiskey, beer, wines, textiles, hats, shoes, and agricultural commodities were sold throughout the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and in many eastern commercial centers. As wealth was accumulated, the Society invested its surplus capital in diversified industries, became large stockholders of railroads, and purchased lands in western Pennsylvania which yielded good returns from timber and oil resources.

The Society lasted from 1805 to 1905. During this period, three towns containing permanent, attractive, and spacious buildings were erected in three different localities. From 1805 to 1815, Harmony, Butler County, Pennsylvania, was the center of settlement. From 1815 to 1825, the Society owned extensive acreage in the Wabash Valley, and Harmony (the present New Harmony), Indiana, was home. In 1824-25 lands were purchased on the Ohio River below Pittsburgh, in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, and the town of Economy (now Ambridge) became the final home of the Society. Due in part to the practice of celibacy and in part to the rigid requirements for admittance, membership in the Society was never large. Total membership for the one hundred years was just over 1,000. The peak year was 1820 when 741 members were recorded. (John A. Bole, *The Harmony Society, a chapter in German American culture history*, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 34.) With but few exceptions, there was a decline in membership each year thereafter. Death and disenchantment gradually thinned the ranks. In 1905, with but three members remaining, the Society was dissolved by mutual consent.

While living at Harmony, Indiana, the Society purchased a printing press. It is not known when or from what source the press was obtained. The earliest piece of

surviving print is a small broadside. The Indiana University Library copy measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 inches. The information contained on the broadside would suggest that the press was of recent purchase when it was printed. It reads:

Probe stück

Weñ das Gesetz dereinst aus Zion ausgeht, wird ohne
Zweifel die Presse ein wichtiges und schätzbores Hülfs mittel seyn.

HARMONIE, den 9 Januar

1824

The extant publications from the press of the Harmony Society consist of broadsides, broadsheets, leaflets, hymnals, collections of essays in praise of nature and God, and school texts. All, excepting one booklet, were printed in the German language. These publications were intended for the use of the membership, and there is no evidence that they circulated outside the Society. One possible exception to this established procedure was the publication of a German and English edition of a small booklet containing the religious, philosophical, and social ideals and principles that governed the founding and operation of the Society. The title page of the German edition of this treatise reads: *Gedanken/ über die/ Bestimung des Menschen,/ besonders in/ Hinsicht der gegenwärtigen Zeit; von der/ Harmonie Gesellschaft/ in Indiana. 1824./* ([1]-85 pp.) The title page of the English edition reads: *Thoughts/ on the/ Destiny of Man,/ particularly/ with Reference to the present times;/ by the Harmony Society/ in Indiana./ A.D. 1824./* ([1]-96 pp.)

Copies of both editions are in the Indiana University Library. *Gedanken* measures $4\frac{13}{16}$ x $7\frac{5}{16}$ inches. *Thoughts* measures $4\frac{5}{16}$ x $7\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The paper used in both editions is a rag wove stock. That used in *Thoughts*

is muddy or light coffee tone in appearance and the presence on many of the pages of fine blue threads would indicate that the rags which went into the making were unbleached. Some of the paper used in the printing of *Gedanken* is whiter in appearance, though some of the pages were printed on the same paper stock used in *Thoughts*. All of the paper used in both editions was probably made in the same mill. Ledger books in the Society archives record purchases of printing paper in 1824 and 1825 from the firms of A. Way in Pittsburgh and Wallace and Pope in Louisville. The first paper mill in Indiana was constructed at Madison in 1826. The paper used for these two editions could have been made in mills in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, or Kentucky.

A scholar has recently reported that George Rapp was the author of *Gedanken*, and that he borrowed some of his philosophical ideas from the German philosopher Herder. (Karl J. Arndt, "Herder and the Harmony Society," *Germanic Review*, April, 1941.) *Thoughts* is the English translation of *Gedanken*. The translation, while free, reproduces the German original faithfully. The translator has rearranged and paraphrased sentences and has broken up the long paragraphs of the original German into a series of short paragraphs in the translation. Frequently the translator has felt free to amplify the original statements by qualifying clauses and minor elaborations and illustrations of his own. Where the ideas and reflections of the German are often general and sometimes vague, the translation tends to render them precise and pointed. The English equivalent of the German text ends with line six on page 89. The remaining seven pages of *Thoughts* were probably composed by the translator.

The treatise contains many ideas and reiterations or rephrasing of those basic ideas. The theological, political, social, and educational philosophy that motivated George Rapp and his associates to form the Harmony Society are discussed repetitively and at length. Rapp and many of his followers strongly believed that they had been chosen of God to lead the world from error to truth: "Nature always begins her reformation with a few, and as soon as these have removed the evil, and regulated their own propensities, others, become gradually united to them, and are brought at length to the enjoyment of social happiness." (*Thoughts*, p. 80. The same idea is expressed on pp. 11, 27, 49, 65, 79.) Rapp accepted the doctrine of the Second Advent. Indeed he believed that Christ's return to earth was imminent and a literal kingdom would be established in Palestine. During Rapp's life he held himself financially and spiritually ready to move the Society there. Many members of the Society similarly regarded this life as but a brief preparation for the establishment of an actual kingdom of Christ on earth. "The cloud has gathered itself and is waiting for the coming of the lord [*sic*] in a visible body. This is the godly Kingdom which Jesus of Nazareth announced & exerted himself to promote" (*Thoughts*, p. 17. See also p. 42.)

A strong feeling against secular authority was one of the factors which led to the migration from Germany, and though the Society co-operated with state and federal authorities in the United States in most matters, male members did refuse militia service in Indiana, and the Society regularly paid fines for their refusal. This feeling against "government" is reflected in the treatise: "Christianity however ought never to have had any other but the best

& most upright men, in its communities, and ought to have been governed by superintendents and fathers, without the aid of secular power. Religion ought to have settled all disputes among christians [*sic*] and not the judiciary tribunals." (*Thoughts*, pp. 18-19. See also p. 26.)

The most distinctive practice of the Harmony Society was that of holding all possessions in common ownership. Both Rapp and most of the trustees who followed him were firm believers in Christian communism in which all lands, goods, and wealth were shared equally by all members of the Society. Rapp found confirmation for this doctrine in the Bible and defended it in *Thoughts*: "A person will find the inward felicity of his life nowhere, excepting in an active industrious unity, where all is divided and shared in brotherly love, in defiance of the infinite differences of minds." (*Thoughts*, p. 44.) Nor did the Society permit drones: "If any member does not live for the promotion of the common interest, and does not contribute by his exertions to the general welfare of the society, he will gradually die away and be excluded altogether." (*Thoughts*, p. 74.)

During the entire existence of the Society, though there was an elective process, it was ruled by trustees. Indeed, the trustees exercised almost absolute authority over the membership, decreeing the standard of personal conduct even to the style of dress and the hour of retiring and arising. In most respects it was a theocracy, and George Rapp was a firm believer in that form of government: "The reigning system ought to have been a true and pure theocracy." (*Thoughts*, p. 19.)

The motives which led the Harmony Society to publish *Gedanken* and its English translation *Thoughts* were, we

believe, accurately described by Bole more than fifty years ago: "No doubt the Society received many requests for a statement of its principles. It had also been maligned by persons who had lived in it for a time, and who had withdrawn or been expelled These reasons led in 1824 to the publication of a statement of the principles upon which the Society was founded and of its aspirations." (Bole, p. 45.) If Bole's undocumented analysis was correct, then it follows quite logically that the published treatise was intended for circulation outside the Society.

Statements made by trustees of the Society, before and after Bole summarized his conclusions, deny that anything was ever printed for outside circulation. Trustees R. L. Baker and Jacob Henrici, replying to a correspondent in 1867, wrote: ". . . but until now we never felt ourselves competent or called upon to publish anything for anybody outside of our Society . . . being convinced that the impending final judgment will under the Lord's direction, make a more effectual impression in one day than all the printing presses could do in a century without it." (Bole, pp. 57-59.) John S. Duss, the last male trustee of the Society, was sure "The booklet was not printed for dissemination—indeed the numerous repetitions in the subject matter lend color to the story 'that the printer, for practice on the new 1824 printing press, compiled the Rapp philosophical jottings.'" (John S. Duss, *The Harmonists, a personal history*, Harrisburg, 1943, p. 54.)

A letter recently found by the writer in the Society archives should be fit proof that the translated treatise was intended for circulation beyond the confines of the Society. In addition, this letter contains hitherto unsuspected facts relating to the publication of *Thoughts*. Written by Isaac Blackford, lawyer, jurist, and friend of the Society, it was

addressed to Frederick Rapp at Harmony, dated Vincennes, 16 March, 1825:

Your letter of the 14th inst. is recd. with the enclosure. The writings you allude to shall be ready in a few days.

The papers for Doc. Miller are finished, & he takes them with him.

I have examined that part of your father's composition which has been printed. There are a great many errors, and the style is very imperfect. My advice is that it be carefully corrected, and printed over again. The Doctr. thinks so too.

I should regret to see it put in circulation, in the defective form it now has. The only way to do justice to the work, will be to transcribe the greater part of it anew. If you wish, I will go on with it as fast as possible. I have the printed part here & will require no other assistance.

There is no evidence that Isaac Blackford had any facility with the German language. It is fairly clear that he was working with printed sheets in the English language. *Thoughts* was the only English language publication the Society ever printed. It then can be concluded that the Blackford letter referred to the unfinished *Thoughts*. Blackford was assisting the translators of *Gedanken* with a crude or less than perfect English translation. Possibly Frederick Rapp, adopted son of George Rapp, J. C. Muller, Society doctor and printer, and Gertrude Rapp, granddaughter of George, all of whom had some ability with the English language at this time, had done the initial translation of *Gedanken*. Before *Thoughts* was completely printed, apprehension developed about the quality of the translation and Blackford was asked for editorial advice.

No one has questioned the date 1824 as the year in which *Gedanken* and *Thoughts* were printed. No evidence

to the contrary for *Gedanken* has yet been offered. The Blackford letter, however, reveals that printing on *Thoughts* was not completed by March, 1825. It is not known whether the advice of Blackford was followed and *Thoughts* corrected and reprinted. A receipted invoice in the Society archives of Eichbaum and Johnston, printers, publishers, and booksellers of Pittsburgh, dated August 25, 1825, would indicate the approximate completion date of *Thoughts*. Two entries on the invoice are enlightening:

6 qr. Blue paper	1.50
Printing 300 "Thought & c	3.00

The six quires of blue paper invoiced could have been the paper used as a cover for *Thoughts*. All copies ever examined by the writer have been uniformly bound in blue paper of the same stock. It is unlikely that Eichbaum and Johnston printed 300 copies of a 96-page booklet for the price of \$3. It is believed that the entry "Printing 300 "Thought & c . . ." on the invoice represented the price paid the Pittsburgh firm for printing the title page of *Thoughts*. The title page was printed separately and does not form part of the first signature of *Thoughts*. It was printed on a single sheet which was folded so that the first blank leaf is an end sheet glued to the blue paper cover. Then follows the title page with the verso blank. The type used in printing the title page appears to be from the same type family used to print the main body of *Thoughts*, but it is not from the same font. It is possible that the Society did not possess English type of the size desired for the title page and resorted to Eichbaum and Johnston for the printing.

From the available documentary evidence, it can be concluded that *Thoughts* was printed solely to be spread abroad. Since only a very few members of the Society

could read English, it would seem highly improbable that the English translation was printed for the edification and instruction of the membership. Circumstantial evidence drawn from the booklet itself leads to the conclusion that *Gedanken* was also printed primarily for outside circulation. Passages found scattered throughout the treatise (see especially pp. 66, 70, 72, 75, 76) were obviously attempts to explain the Society to persons unfamiliar with its internal organization and operation. Such explanations would have been unnecessary for the membership. Frederick Rapp, business agent, was the person responsible for having the two booklets printed. It is logical to believe that he wanted the publications to send out in response to the many requests for information on the Society. He may have felt that, by circulating copies of the booklet in appropriate places, some of the prevalent misapprehension concerning the Society and its aims could be corrected.

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THE JOSEPH LANE PAPERS IN THE ROBERT S. ELLISON COLLECTION

By OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

Few men are so illustrative of the American tradition of self-made frontiersmen as is Joseph Lane—Southerner, “Marion of Indiana,” and one-time first citizen of Oregon Territory. Lane’s home had been southern Indiana, and like so many of his neighbors, his antecedents were from below the River. Born in North Carolina in 1801, at three he was taken by his parents to Kentucky; and then at fourteen, young Joseph moved across the Ohio to Indiana. There Lane married Mary Hart who bore him ten children—six sons and four daughters.

Lane began life in Indiana as a store clerk. He subsequently served as an Indiana state legislator, rose from private to major general in the Mexican War, was first Governor of Oregon Territory, four times Oregon’s territorial delegate, one of Oregon’s first two United States senators, and vice-presidential candidate on the Breckinridge ticket in the national election of 1860. The remaining twenty years of Lane’s life were spent, not unhappily, in almost complete retirement on his land claim, “Mountain Ranch,” twelve miles from Roseburg, Oregon.

On the basis of material at her disposal, Sister M. Margaret Jean Kelly, in 1942, had published by the Catholic University of America Press what remains the latest and most ably written political biography of Lane, entitled *The Career of Joseph Lane, Frontier Politician*. This book,

however, has one serious drawback, one readily admitted by Sister Jean, who wrote in the preface: "It was not possible to see a collection of Lane letters now in the possession of Mr. Robert S. Ellison, which might have contributed some new facts concerning Lane's career." As a memorial to the now deceased Robert S. Ellison, his widow donated to Indiana University the valuable Ellison Collection of Western Americana which includes the aforementioned Lane papers. The manuscripts exceed three thousand items and possibly equal the combined number of Lane manuscripts known to exist in the Oregon Historical Society Library and elsewhere.

The papers do not alter to any appreciable extent Sister Jean's account of Lane's ancestry and early youth. Lane remains descended from a long line of industrious, capable, Indian-fighting frontiersmen, some of whom held official positions. There is, however, one 1847 letter from Lane's cousin, W. D. Suckie, revealing family relationships that may not have been known even to Lane himself. Suckie extolled the Lanes as brave fighters, especially an uncle, Captain Charles Lane, who, during the thick of an Indian battle, lived to receive the news of his own death. As for himself, Cousin Suckie apologizes for "never having filled any office higher than that of a representative in the Legislature."

There is no new evidence that Lane's formal education exceeded that of his fellow one-time Kentuckian and Hoosier, Abraham Lincoln. One item credits young Joseph with four months' attendance at a country school four miles from home, to and from which the future politician walked barefooted. With the exception of Joseph Lane, who through self-education achieved above-average literacy, it

is probably not incorrect to say that the Kentucky and Indiana Lanes were either illiterate or semiliterate. In spite of J. Quinn Thornton's charge of insobriety against Lane, there is evidence that the General not only was abstemious but that he never ceased urging his sons to be sober, honest, substantial citizens. To Lafayette he would write: "Now my good Son be steady sober and industrious, keep good company, converse with sensible men . . . , be moral upright and just" Of his daughters, Lane likewise expected good character, and he seemingly exercised the paternal prerogative of passing upon prospective sons-in-law. The crumpled condition of the following letter from one seeking the hand of his daughter, Winifred, betrays, for example, a negative answer to one ardent suitor who had written the General: "I seek you for my Father. I own towards your Miss Winnie, a most deep, and irrepressible affection. Nature through my most lonely and yearning heart, compels me to make known to you my intentions."

Missing in the collection is a single item in the handwriting of Lane's obscure wife, Mary Hart. Moreover, there is but one solitary letter from Lane to his spouse, and the subject of this letter is confined to the General's horse named, significantly enough, Joseph. During Lane's stay in Washington, D.C., the horse had been left on the farm at Roseburg in care of Son Simon, and to Mrs. Lane the General wrote: "Simon must see him, feed him well and let him run out in the pasture as much as he can his shoes must be taken off, and run barefooted all winter

Your husband

Joseph Lane"

For all his homespun virtues, blocking the road to personal promotion was not among them. The accident

of war made Lane a national hero, and the General did nothing to stifle the praise that came his way. For instance, as he sat in Camp Taylor, March 7, 1847, nursing a hole in his arm made by a 14-mm. ball, and grieving the loss of his black horse in the Battle of Buena Vista on the preceding February 22nd, Lane wrote his son Ratliffe in Indiana that he so feared the loss of War Correspondent Morrison's report on the great battle that he, Lane, had prepared a copy of it which he was enclosing for release in the event of such loss. The reason is apparent when one reads Lane's version of Morrison's report, namely:

"Nexe [*sic*] came Gen Joseph Lane of the Indiana Brigade He was on the field, from the onset to the close of the action and never did any man devote himself [so much] to his duty. The thickest of the fight had no terrors for him, and to an observer it would seem he was Heaven defended, for he was continually passing in all directions amidst a cloud of bullets. He is however severely wounded through the right arm, the ball passing about midway between his shoulder and elbow through the centre of the arm yet not breaking the bone."

The chief interest in Lane is in the field of politics. It was politics and the conduct of public life (never the quest for financial success) that made almost full call upon the General's time following his appointment as territorial governor. The manuscripts bulk for the years 1848-1861, and his correspondence was largely with political figures. Lane had the friendly ear of President Pierce, and he won a battle in Washington to have most federal appointees for Oregon Territory appointed from among Oregon residents. In this respect, Oregon fared better than neighboring territories. As one might expect, the Delegate was

constantly besieged by office seekers. Here is one example: "Mr Lane I want to ask a favor of you . . . what I want is this I want you to gite me apintment of Light House keeper . . . it is an office I can fill as well as Eney boddy . . ."

By 1855, national politics began to take precedence over Oregon's political affairs so far as Lane was concerned. The rise of the Republican Party ("Nigger Republicans" to Lane) and the growing schism in the Democratic Party during the fifties compelled Lane to reformulate his political ideology.

Lane was a Southern Democrat living in the North. Until passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, his position appears clear and unchanging; he was a hard-shelled Democrat who fervently upheld the Constitution which to his way of thinking safeguarded states' rights. Throughout the Pierce administration and well into that of Buchanan, Lane adhered strictly to the party line. When factionalism began to emerge within Oregon's Democratic ranks or elsewhere, Lane first refused either to recognize differences or to take sides. He wrote to Asahel Bush, as late as 1858: "I could part with my wife and all my children as easy as I could do anything to weaken the Democratic party, or disturb its organization, and I assure you that I shall do neither the one nor the other."

The election of Buchanan in 1856 was a great triumph for Lane and his cohorts in Oregon. Reminiscent of a recent election, one good Democrat at Astoria, upon receiving the unexpected news of Buchanan's victory, wrote to Lane: "Old Skinner has been organising his black Republican gang below, for a grand demonstration, for the last month. They are confounded with the news . . ."

With the approach of the election of 1860, however, one finds Lane still ardently supporting the Union but

fearful of its disintegration. Lane, who respected Douglas, had nothing but contempt for squatter sovereignty. He believed that slavery could not and should not, under any circumstances, be prohibited in the territories. To L. F. Mosher, a son-in-law, he wrote, February 4, 1858: “. . . I think that it is safe to say that should the Lecompton Constitution be rejected that we will not have a union three months from that day.”

It was this avowed dual support of both the Union and states' rights that caused Lane, the Senator, to become widely considered as a logical and available compromise choice for the number-one place on the Democratic ticket in 1860. The following letter from A. F. Hedges to Lane is fairly representative of literally scores addressed to the Senator: “We regard your nomination for the Presidency as allmost certain, in fact I believe that you are the only man in the party that can be Elected.”

From Connecticut, February 4, 1860, Lafayette Lane wrote his brother, Simon: “. . . I should judge that Father stood [stands] the best chance to be the nominee of the Charleston convention in as much as all of the conservative papers of [the] north have his name at the heads of their columns for president and in the South if he is not their first choice he is invariably their choice for vice.”

Also in February, the astute Whig, Jesse Applegate, viewed Lane's candidacy as follows in a letter addressed to Lane: “. . . Douglas' pop[ularity] in the north is unavailable as he will be rejected by the South.” Next to Douglas, added Applegate, “. . . you are the most popular man in the free States and as acceptable to the South as a native. For these reasons I feel almost certain that I shall cast my vote against you next November, and in my opinion there

is but one man in the Union that can beat you for President—Edward Bates of Missouri.”

When the time came for the Charleston Convention to meet (April 23, 1860), Lane, for once in his life, did very little to further his own cause. He remained in Washington. While the convention was in progress he wrote this to his son, Lafayette: “I am the only person that I am acquainted with that remains cool and unconcerned. I cannot to save my life want or desire the no[mi]nation, the only wish that I have on the subject is that a good sound trustworthy man may be selected such a one as can be elected.”

The then fifty-nine-year-old Senator was confident, though, that Douglas could not possibly become the Party’s choice. Then again, at Richmond and Baltimore (following the recess), he reaffirmed a desire not to be considered a candidate: “I don’t wish to be nominated and I would be very reluctant to accept if nominated.” At another time he wrote: “I would rather be right, than to be President by yielding to any wrong.”

The outcome of the convention is generally known; the delegates who withdrew from the main convention nominated John C. Breckinridge and accorded Senator Joseph Lane second place on the ticket—and Lane accepted.

Regarding Lane’s career from this point on, Sister Jean has stated the problem thus: “There is an unexplained gap in Lane’s correspondence for the period preceding and immediately following the election so that his exact opinion and feeling as to the result of the election are not easily determinable.” One might add that this situation has contributed to the oft-stated belief that Lane supported a move to establish a Pacific Republic.

The presence in the Ellison Collection of 200 letters to and from Lane for the period June, 1860, to March,

1861, and an additional 400 letters for the period 1861 to 1869 will remedy this situation. During the campaign of 1860, Lane worked vigorously in behalf of his ticket, and supporters from many parts of the country wrote him letters of encouragement: "I am a little one horse politician unknown to the public," wrote one from Ripley, Mississippi, and added that he was the "best *Lane* man you ever saw." Another in Milwaukee wrote he would do battle against the abolitionists whether they were "under the black flag of Republicans or the dark flag [of] Squatter Sovereignty." The *New York Herald* supported the ticket and James Gordon Bennett became a great admirer of Senator Lane.

Lane plunged into the campaign because, as he said, "I can see no way that our country can be saved from misrule and trouble but by the Election of the Breckinridge ticket." But as the campaign progressed, disillusionment set in: "Well, I am at my post again and am inclined to think that I will remain and work for the people that I represent," Lane wrote Lafayette, October 18. By then defeat of the ticket seemed very likely, although the possibility of the election going to Congress was recognized. In this event, the Senate might have chosen Lane for the vice-presidency.

With the news of Lincoln's election, Lane hastened preparations to leave for Roseburg immediately after the adjournment of Congress on March 4, 1861, and the termination of his senatorial term. "I will be at home next Spring," he wrote, November 11, 1860, "and go to work and try to enjoy life without public care." "Now I am willing and anxious to quit," he wrote a month later.

Between election day and Lincoln's inauguration, Lane became increasingly convinced that he was taking part in the last "National Congress" and that the states would

“go out.” He believed the “revolution” would “be a bloodless one” and accordingly urged his sons to be calm and continue their customary work.

Son John at West Point was not so easily persuaded. On December 4th he wrote his father: “What ever arrangements you may make for me be sure they are of a military character. I am bound to be in some army. If I fail in getting a Commission in the Army of the *Southern Confederacy*, I shall offer my services to Garabaldi”

Lane remained in Washington to witness the inauguration of Lincoln, and by then he had become convinced that war and not a bloodless revolution would ensue. “May the curses of God follow them [the Republicans] to their grave,” he wrote.

On about March 20, 1861, Lane left the East for Oregon. Moreover, the papers under discussion give no support whatever to the contention often made that Lane connived with Senator Gwin of California to establish a Pacific Republic. Gwin is mentioned by name but once in the entire correspondence and then in an innocuous connection.

Son John, who became a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate Army, wrote letters to his father throughout the war. In one he urged his father to “Move to Texas, do not stay in any country that is opposed to the equality of the states.” But Lane did not move from his “Mountain Ranch.” The only important temptation to which he succumbed during the war years was to intimate to Governor John Whiteaker, of Oregon, that he was available for appointment to the United States Senate to succeed Edward D. Baker, who was killed in action in October, 1861. Lane was not appointed. Throughout the Civil War years, though, Lane steadfastly refused to support the northern

cause. Every man owes a duty to posterity, he wrote in an article, October 7, 1862, not to submit "to a measure violative and subversive of our Constitution nor support a war waged for Conquest and abolition. Let not the curses of future generations rest upon our heads."

The years in retirement were interrupted by an occasional flash from Lane's retreat. Chief Joseph's war, for instance, aroused Lane's fighting spirit, and the seventy-eight-year-old General made an offer to the Governor of Oregon to lead troops in this Indian war.

Correspondence for the closing years of life indicates a drift toward reconciliation with former enemies. He had broken with Asahel Bush over the issues of 1860, but in 1880 Lane asked Bush for his picture to hang in his gallery of friends. Lane and Jesse Applegate forgot politics and wrote warm friendly letters to each other.

Lane remained in fair health until near the end. At the age of seventy-nine he spent the summer prospecting for gold in southern Oregon and wrote that for many weeks he slept nights on the ground. But the following November he wrote Bush that the end was near, that cramps and swollen tendons had drawn his head "down on my shoulders."

Shortly before his death, Lane made the only reference to his religion found in the correspondence. He wrote: "Our family are Catholics Good kind and liberal to all. Entertain all Denominations alike." On April 19, 1881, Lane died, but was buried without religious ceremony.

As for Lane's place in history, I think he is without doubt the dominant, and one of the ablest, figures in Oregon politics for the period 1848 to 1861. An element of luck made Lane a national hero during the Mexican War. A slight reshuffling of the cards of fortune might

well have made General Lane President of the United States in 1861. But be that as it may, Lane's role in national politics was not inconsiderable. Taken as a whole, he must be regarded as a rather unimaginative, practical politician. He had a political philosophy, one based on the states' rights theory, and he believed devoutly in the inseparableness of Democracy (capital D) and party patronage. His was a lovable personality, and now, a full century after his arrival in Oregon, he remains one of the West's more respected men of public life.

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JAMES BATEMAN AND HIS
ORCHIDACEAE OF MEXICO
& *GUATEMALA*

By DORIS M. REED

The 1830's and '40's have been called a time of "orchidomania" in England and on the continent of Europe. Though the orchid had been known to European botanists for many years prior to these decades, misconceptions as to its culture had delayed other than sporadic ventures at its cultivation. In the early years of the nineteenth century, however, systematic attempts to discover the secret of orchid culture began to bear fruit, and the period of "orchidomania," when an epiphyte house became "an almost indispensable adjunct to a place of any consideration," can be said to date in England from the reading of a paper, "Upon the Cultivation of Epiphytes of the Orchis Tribe," by John Lindley, first professor of botany at the University of London, before the Horticultural Society on May 18, 1830, and its publication in Series 2, Volume I of the *Transactions* of the Society in 1835.

Among the early collectors and cultivators of orchids in England there was none more enthusiastic than James Bateman. The only son of a landed family, he was relieved of the necessity of making his way in the world and was indulged in his chosen interests by his father, John Bateman of Knypersley Hall in Staffordshire and Tolson Hall in Westmoreland. Horticulture early claimed the attention of James Bateman, and, while yet a very young man, he

experimented with the cultivation of tropical fruits and succeeded in bringing to maturity for the first time in England the *Averrhoa carambola*, an East Indian tree, cultivated for its very acid fruit, which, according to Bateman, "possessed qualities of the first order when made into a preserve." As a gentleman commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he had matriculated on April 2, 1829, at the age of seventeen, orchids aroused his interest, and he embarked upon his career as a collector by the purchase of a plant of the species *Renanthera coccinea*, which laid the foundation of the fine collection which he was to assemble at one of the paternal estates, Knypersley Hall. The story is told that in making this purchase he was detained at the nursery beyond the time permitted for absence from the college and as a penalty was required to copy half "The Book of Psalms."

Though orchid plants were for sale in England and in other parts of Europe at this time, the more enthusiastic collectors were not satisfied to acquire only such species as were available there and were stirred by tempting visions of the vast number of species yet unknown to their epiphyte houses.

The orchid tribe is one of the largest in the vegetable kingdom, and the habits of growth of the numerous species are so varied that they are found disseminated over practically the whole of the earth's surface, with the exception of the Arctic regions and the arid portions of the continents. However, the principal genera sought by collectors and commercial growers are those native to tropical regions, including in the Western Hemisphere, Mexico, Central America, the northern part of South America, and the neighboring islands, and in the Eastern Hemisphere,

tropical Asia, particularly parts of China, India, and adjacent islands.

In order to add to his collection species then unknown in Europe, Bateman, who, according to his own words, was "impatient of the tardy rate at which new species crossed the seas," followed the example of other collectors of his day, who sent agents to those parts of the world particularly rich in orchid species to collect plants for them. In 1833, a year before he received his bachelor's degree from Magdalen College, he sent to British Guiana a nurseryman by the name of Colley to search for orchids. Though Colley's "success fell short of [Bateman's] expectation," through his efforts sixty species reached England alive, of which a third were then unknown there.

In 1834, a fortunate chance provided Bateman with a collector, whose enthusiasm and persistence in the pursuit of the orchid were to add immeasurably to the contents of his epiphyte houses. In that year he heard accidentally that some insects had been received in Manchester from G. Ure Skinner, a Scotchman, "owner of extensive estates in Guatemala, and the partner in a flourishing mercantile firm in the same country." At that time, Guatemala was still a *terra incognita* to European orchid collectors, who, nevertheless, believed that it must be a rich storehouse of the plants, in view of the known wealth of species in Mexico and Panama. In the hope that it might be possible to interest Skinner in the search for orchids, Bateman wrote to him. The response he received is recounted in these words:

From the moment he received our letter, he has laboured almost incessantly to drag from their hiding places the forest treasures of Guatemala,

and transfer them to the stoves of his native land. In pursuit of this object, there is scarcely a sacrifice which he has not made, or a danger or hardship which he has not braved. In sickness or in health, amid the calls of business or the perils of war, whether detained in quarantine on the shores of the Atlantic, or shipwrecked on the rocks of the Pacific, he has never suffered an opportunity to escape him of adding to the long array of his botanical discoveries! And, assuredly, he has not laboured in vain, for he may truly be said to have been the means of introducing a greater number of new and beautiful Orchidaceae into Europe, than any one individual of his own or any other nation.

In less than ten years, through Skinner's efforts, the finest of the Guatemalan orchids were in cultivation in England, having first flowered at Knypersley.

Bateman was not content only to introduce and grow orchids. In addition, he wrote a number of books and articles on the orchid and its cultivation. During the years in which new species were coming to him in a steady stream from Skinner, Bateman was issuing (1837-1843) his *opus magnum*, *The Orchidaceae of Mexico & Guatemala*, a handsomely illustrated work in eight parts of elephant folio size, which has been described as "the most remarkable series of coloured plates which had up to that time appeared, each of the plates costing over £200." Only 125 copies were printed and sold by subscription at £2 2s. for each of the eight parts. A fine set of this work in its original parts has recently been presented to the Indiana University Library by Mrs. Perry O'Neal of Indianapolis.

In view of the complexities of arrangement of this copy, a somewhat detailed description of it may be of interest. The title page reads: THE/ ORCHIDACEAE/

OF/ MEXICO & GUATEMALA/ BY/ JA.^s BATEMAN,
ESQ.^{RE}/ “———— LIKE RESTLESS SERPENTS,
CLOTHED/ IN RAINBOW AND IN FIRE, THE
PARASITES,/ STARRED WITH TEN THOUSAND
BLOSSOMS FLOW AROUND/ THE GREY TRUNKS
————”/ SHELLEY./ LONDON, FOR THE AU-
THOR ACKERMANN AND C.^O EXCT. JA.^s RIDG-
WAY & SONS/ J. Brandard Delt. et Lith. Printed
by J. Graf. 1. G.^t Castle S.^t/. This is surrounded by an
ornamental border with the arms of Mexico at the top
and those of Guatemala at the foot, the rest of the design
being based largely upon Mexican monuments in the British
Museum.

The contents may be listed as follows:

Eight parts in seven, Parts 7 and 8 being issued
together.

Part 1. Title page; pp. [1]-4 of “Introductory
Remarks”; Plates I-V.

Part 2. Pp. 5-6 of “Introductory Remarks”;
Plates VI-X.

Part 3. Plates XI-XV.

Part 4. Plates XVI-XX.

Part 5. Plates XXI-XXV.

Part 6. [1] p., Dedication (verso blank); Plates
XXVI-XXX.

Parts 7 and 8. Plates XXXI-XL; pp. [9]-12
of “Introductory Remarks”; [2] p., “Synopsis
of all the described Species of Orchidaceae
hitherto discovered in Mexico and Gua-
temala”; [1] p., “Century of the best Orchi-
daceae Cultivated (Ann. 1843) in British Col-
lections”; [1] p., Drawings of plans of the
“Epiphyte-House in the Gardens of Sigismund

Rucker, Esq., Wandsworth," and the "Epiphyte-House in the Gardens of the Rev. John Clowes, Broughton Hall, Manchester"; [1] p., "List of Subscribers"; [1] p., "Index to the plates"; [1] p., "Preface"; [1] p., Vignette; pp. 7-[8] of "Introductory Remarks"; "Addenda et Corrigenda" on narrow strip (verso blank).

Each plate is followed by an unnumbered leaf with descriptive letterpress on both sides, except that those following Plates XV, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV, XXVII, XXIX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVII, and XXXIX carry letterpress only on the rectos, the versos being blank.

Parts 1-6, inclusive, and Parts 7 and 8 (in one) each have front and back covers and front and back flyleaves, which are blank except for the rectos of the front covers, which carry titles, imprints, prices, and ornamental borders.

A description of the work is not complete without considering the various parts of which it is composed: the dedication, the introduction, the plates and vignettes, and the descriptive letterpress.

The dedication in its grace bespeaks the age in which the author lived and the class into which he was born: "TO/ HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY/ QUEEN ADELAIDE/ THIS WORK/ DESIGNED TO ILLUSTRATE A PORTION OF/ A TRIBE OF PLANTS/ WHICH IN THEIR NATIVE COUNTRIES ARE THE/ FAVOURITE EMBLEMS OF DEVOTION/ AND/ THE CHOSEN ORNAMENTS OF ROYALTY/ IS WITH PERMISSION DEDICATED/ BY HER MAJESTY'S MOST HUMBLE/ AND DEVOTED SERVANT/ JAMES BATEMAN./"

The text of the work in the "Introductory Remarks" and in the descriptive letterpress for each plate reviews the history of the knowledge of the orchid and its cultivation, gives much information on British collections, on the owners of those collections, and on those hardy collectors who searched for the orchid in its native haunts, and sets forth the leading points in orchid cultivation. In addition, in the letterpress descriptions, more detailed information on the habitat and culture of the species under discussion is given, as well as a botanical description, and, in many cases, an indication of the source through which the first specimen of the species was transmitted to British growers.

The illustrations, which form such an important part of the work, are of two sorts, the plates and the vignettes, which for the most part serve as tailpieces to the leaves of descriptive letterpress. With three exceptions, the forty plates in color, drawn in almost every instance from specimens of the species flowering at Knypersley or in other British collections, are the work of Mrs. Withers and Miss Drake. At the same time that she was preparing plates for *The Orchidaceae* . . ., Miss Drake was performing a similar task for Professor Lindley's *Sertum Orchidaceum* . . . which was issued in ten parts (1837-1842).

The vignettes are one of the most charming features of the work and give to it something of the flavor of those countries from which the orchids came. Some of them represent orchids; others that archenemy of the orchid, the cockroach. There are representations of altars of Mexican churches and wayside crosses with orchids growing over them. Tropical forests and plants are depicted; birds, the hieroglyphical calendar of the Aztecs, men and women of Mexico and Guatemala in native costume, the floating

gardens of Mexico, shells, an example of the gold and silver filigree work of Latin America, and some archaeological finds of Mr. Skinner. Of the illustrators, by far the best known is George Cruikshank, to whom the work is indebted for two characteristic woodcuts. One, forming the tailpiece to the letterpress for Plate IX, depicts a newly-opened box of orchids from overseas from which two gigantic cockroaches have escaped. They are being pursued by a gardener and three assistants, armed with rake, hoe, spade, and pitchfork, while the gardener's wife stands in the background poker in hand. The other, which stands alone on p. [8] of the "Introductory Remarks," shows *The Orchidaceae of Mexico & Guatemala* being hoisted by ropes into a tripod by a number of men, some of whom are sprawling on the ground, knocked down by its weight, while several small devils dance around. Bateman's sense of humor shows itself, not only in some of the vignettes, but also in some of the quotations from Latin and English writers which are found below many of them. These vignettes were published separately in London in 1844 under the title, *Vignettes from . . . Orchidaceae of Mexico & Guatemala*.

Bateman was the author of three other works on orchids besides *The Orchidaceae . . .*, and of several theological pamphlets, as well as being a contributor to horticultural journals of his day. His *Guide to Cool-Orchid Growing* appeared in London in 1864; *A Monograph of 'Odontoglossum,'* a genus of the orchid tribe, 1864-1874, in four parts with thirty colored plates; and *A Second Century of Orchidaceous Plants, selected from the Subjects published in 'Curtis' Botanical Magazine' since the Issue of the 'First Century'* in 1867. The latter contains 100 colored plates

accompanied by descriptive letterpress. The so-called "First Century" had appeared in 1849 under the title, *A Century of Orchidaceous Plants, selected from Curtis's Botanical Magazine, consisting of a Hundred of those most worthy of Cultivation, systematically arranged, and illustrated with coloured Figures and Dissections . . .*, as the work of Sir William Jackson Hooker, Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew.

The orchid was not the only plant in which Bateman interested himself. In the middle years of the nineteenth century the gardens of his estates, Knypersley and Biddulph Grange, were famous all over Europe for their Chinese garden "in which the scheme of a Willow-pattern plate was reproduced," their Egyptian court, their avenue of Sequoias, their groves of rhododendrons, their bulb gardens, rose gardens, dahlia gardens, and pine groves, as well as the fine orchid collection. In his later years, Bateman presented the latter to the Horticultural Society, of which he had been a devoted member for more than half a century, and to which he had lectured for many years. No more fitting place could have been chosen for his collection than in the epiphyte houses of that society, which in Bateman's youth had been a pioneer in experiments on the culture of the plant, which was to give him his chief claim to recognition as a horticulturist.

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EDITOR'S MISCELLANY

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