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## Notes

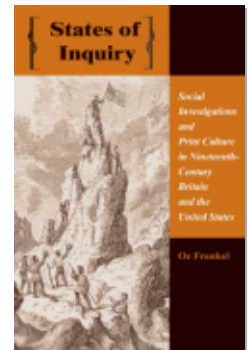
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*Abbreviations*

BL	British Library
GHA	Gray Herbarium Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
HL	Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
HoL	Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
JCBL	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., and College Park, Md.
NYHS	New York Historical Society
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
SA	Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.
UCL	University College, London

*Introduction*

1. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in One Volume* (London, 1970), 171. Edward Said employed this quotation from Marx to launch his *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).
2. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley, 1967), 8–9.
3. Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff, Wales, 1998), 217–18.
4. John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism, On Liberty, Considerations on Representative Government, Remarks on Bentham's Philosophy*, ed. J. M. Dent (London, 1993), 258–59.
5. "Letter to John Penn," in *Works of John Adams*, vol. 4 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1856), 205.
6. Melissa S. Williams, *Voice, Trust, and Memory: Marginalized Groups and the Failings of Liberal Representation* (Princeton, 1998), 27.
7. Benedict Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (London, 1998), 42.

PART I • *Monuments in Print*

1. *Quarterly Review* 70 (June and Sept. 1842): 159.
2. J. C. Frémont, *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, ed. Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, vol. 1 (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 269–71.
3. Quoted in Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days, 1809–1868*, vol. 1 (New York, 1935), 362.
4. Justin McCarthy, *Modern Leaders: Being a Series of Biographical Sketches* (New York, 1872), 194.
5. William Charvat, *The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800–1870* (Philadelphia, 1959), 49.
6. Geoffrey Nunberg, “Farewell to the Information Age,” in *The Future of the Book*, ed. Geoffrey Nunberg (Berkeley, 1996), 120.
7. For orature, see Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York, 1996), 11–12; Ngugi wa Thiong’o, *Penpoints, Gunpoints, and Dreams: Toward a Critical Theory of the Arts and the State in Africa* (Oxford, 1998), 103–28.
8. John Stuart Mill, *Writings on India*, ed. John M. Robson, Martin Moir, and Zawahir Moir, vol. 30 (London, 1963), 33.

*Chapter One • Blue Books and the Market of Information*

1. Nassau Senior to Lord Brougham, March 9, 1833, 44,843, Lord Brougham Papers, UCL. See also Senior to Brougham, December 16, 1832, 44,440.
2. Harriet Martineau, March 5, 1834, Harriet Martineau File, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Papers, UCL.
3. *Third Report of the Controller of the Stationery Office*, 1890 (c 5993) 26, pp. 18, 19.
4. Lawrence Goldman, “Experts, Investigators, and the State in 1860: British Social Scientists through American Eyes,” in *The State and Social Investigation*, ed. Michael J. Lacey and Mary O. Furner (Washington, D.C., 1993), 95.
5. *Hansard’s Parliamentary Papers*, 3d ser., 123 (Dec. 7, 1852): 1069.
6. Since the mid-1830s, government’s periodical reports and reports of royal commissions of inquiry were under the supervision of the Stationery Office. Although they were presented to the House of Commons in a printed form they were still labeled parliamentary papers. The designation *parliamentary papers* as an overarching label to describe all official publications was in use throughout the period under discussion.
7. In their appearance, blue books often resembled pamphlets. Official print ephemera could also be purchased in loose leaves.
8. *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register* 81 (July 6, 1833): 17–18.
9. *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register* 80 (Apr. 6, 1833): 22.
10. J. Toumlin Smith, *Government by Commissions Illegal and Pernicious* (London: S. Sweet, 1849), 168.
11. *Ibid.*, 182–83.
12. In the nineteenth century, there were seven categories of printing for the House of Commons: votes, petitions, journals, returns, bills, command papers, and reports (select committees).

13. *Report from the Select Committee on the Printing Done for the House of Commons*, HC 1828 (520) 4, p. 7 fn. *Report from the Committee for Promulgation of the Statutes in Great Britain. Parliament, House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Sheila Lambert, vol. 105 (Wilmington, Del., 1975), 5–7.

14. L. G. Graves, *Luke Graves Hansard: His Diary: A Case Study in the Reform of Patronage*, ed. P. and G. Ford (Oxford, 1962), xviii.

15. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing Done for the House*, HC 1828 (520) 4, p. 49.

16. There were other parliamentary printers. In the 1820s, Eyre and Strahan (later Eyre and Spottiswoode) printed the bills, journals, reports, and miscellaneous papers of the House of Lords and also had a patent for the separate business of printing acts of Parliament, forms of prayer, Bibles, and prayer books and were booksellers for the acts and prayers. Nichols printed the votes of the House of Commons and performed confidential night work. Hansard printed the Commons reports, returns, bills, and command papers.

17. *Second Report from the Committee on Public Documents*, HC 1833 (717) 12, pp. 6–7. *Second Report from the Select Committee on Printed Papers*, HC 1835 (392) 18, pp. xxix.

18. J. C. Trewin and E. M. King, *Printer to the House: The Story of Hansard* (London, 1952), 150. *First Report from the Select Committee on Public Documents*, HC 1833 (44) 12, p. 13.

19. *First Report from the Select Committee on Public Documents*, HC 1833 (44) 12, p. 3.

20. *Ibid.*, 23.

21. *Ibid.*, 6.

22. *Report from the Select Committee on Public Petition*, HC 1831–32 (639) 5, p. 3.

23. *Report from the Select Committee on the Printing Done for the House of Commons*, HC 1828 (520) 4. Also see *First Report from Select Committee on Publication of Printed Papers*, 1840 (130) 15, p. 6.

24. *The Poor Man's Guardian: A Weekly Paper for the People* (June 29, 1833): 205.

25. *Report from the Select Committee on the Printing Done for the House of Commons*, 1828 (520) 4, p. 8. Of 24,492 petitions presented from 1823 to 1831 not less than 10,685 were printed. Of 13,610 petitions referred in 1839 to the committee of petitions, only 1,133 were printed (from four-ninths to one thirteenth). *First Report from Select Committee on Publication of Printed Papers*, 1840 (130) 15, p. 10.

26. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 31 (Feb. 18, 1836): 553.

27. *Journals of the House of Common* 90 (Aug. 13, 1835): 344. The selling of votes of the House had become the established practice after the revolution of 1688. *First Report from Select Committee on Publication of Printed Papers*, HC 1840 (130) 15, p. 5.

28. From an average of 973,053 annual copies in the three years preceding the decision to an average of 920,010 in the three years that followed it (a reduction of slightly less than 5 % in the number of copies between 1833–35 and 1836–38); *First Report from Select Committee on Publication of Printed Papers*, HC 1840 (130) 15, p. 8. In the 1830s, the largest run of any document was the private bill resolution (12,000 copies). Commissions' reports were printed in between 2,000 and 3,000 copies.

29. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 32 (Mar. 24, 1836): 579–83. For Lord Lennox's complaint, see *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 103 (Mar. 15, 1849): 755.

30. Trewin and King, *Printer to the House*, 190. *Hansard: His Diary*, ed. Ford and Ford, 161.

31. Trewin and King, *Printer to the House*, 208–9. The publication in question was *Report from the Selected Committee on the System of Transportation*, 1837 (518) 19.
32. Joseph Redlich, *The Procedure of the House of Commons: A Study of its History and Present Form*, trans. A. Ernest Steinthal, vol. 2 (London, 1908), 49–50.
33. *Report from the Select Committee on Publication of Printed Papers*, HC 1837 (286) 13, p. 9.
34. *First Report from the Select Committee on Publication of Printed Papers*, HC 1840 (130) 15, p. 11.
35. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 36 (Feb. 1, 1837): 73.
36. *Ibid.*, 74.
37. *First Report from Select Committee on Publication of Printed Papers*, HC 1840 (130) 15, p. 11.
38. Edwin Chadwick to Florence Nightingale, August 28, 1860, Add. Mss., 45,770, f. 151, BL. Nightingale responded in the affirmative. Nightingale to Chadwick [copy], September 3, 1860, Add. Mss., 45,770, f. 159, BL.
39. Chadwick to Nightingale, February 19, 1858, Add. Mss., 45,770, f. 10, BL. See also Chadwick to Nightingale, August 2, 1858, Add. Mss., 45,770, f. 25, BL.
40. Smith, *Government by Commissions*, 172–73.
41. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1854–55 (447) 11, p. viii.
42. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 122 (June 25, 1852): 1317; also, see *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 123 (Dec. 7, 1852): 1067.
43. *Letter (March 19, 1849) From the Board of Health on Printing Reports in the Octavo Form*, HC 1849 (293) 45, p. 3.
44. J. R. McCulloch, Comptroller of the Stationery Office, to Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, Treasury, March 26, 1849 in *Letter (March 19, 1849) From the Board of Health on Printing Reports in the Octavo Form*, HC 1849 (293) 45, p. 7.
45. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 84 (Feb. 24, 1846): 14–15.
46. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. 163.
47. Edwin Chadwick to Lord Brougham, June 1849, 10,807, Brougham Papers.
48. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 123 (Dec. 7, 1852): 1067.
49. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. 159.
50. *Ibid.*
51. This description is taken from Joseph Hume's testimony. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. 168. [*Six*] *Report[s] from the Select Committee on the Combination Law*, HC 1824 (51) 5.
52. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. 161.
53. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 123 (Dec. 7, 1852): 1066.
54. *Ibid.*, 1068, 1070.
55. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. iii.
56. *Hansard's*, 3d ser., 178 (Mar. 24, 1865): 215. A different printing project based on a selection of government papers (especially diplomatic documents) began in the 1850s under the

title *The British and Foreign State Papers*. These volumes were edited by the librarian of the foreign office, issued annually, and sold for about thirty shillings per volume.

57. Lord Stanley, “What Should We Do with Our Blue Books? Or, Parliament as the National School Master” (London: Savill and Edwards, Printers, 1854), 13.
58. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1854–55 (447) 11, p. 31.
59. It is not clear what report he had in mind, but see “Bill to Amend the Law as to Marriage with a Deceased Wife’s Sister or Niece,” HC 1854–55 (56) 4.
60. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1854–55 (447) 11, p. 32.
61. *Hansard’s*, 2d ser., 18 (Mar. 6, 1828): 989. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing Done for the House*, HC 1828 (520) 4, p. 8.
62. “A plan for a new Police Gazette to replace the old Hue and Cry, 1827,” HO 44/58, PRO. Government also published three gazettes (*London Gazette*, *Dublin Gazette*, and *Edinburgh Gazette*) that were used mainly for official and legal advertisements.
63. *Second Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1847–48 (710) 16, p. 4.
64. *First Report of the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1847–48 (657) 16, p. 27. The first experiment in this direction was not to print the evidence of the third report of the Sanitary Commission. The Home Office decided to submit the appendix in manuscript form (p. 26).
65. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1854–55 (447) 11, p. 48. Printing the reports for the Sanitary Commission cost between £10,000 and £12,000. *Report from the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure*, HC 1847–48 (543) (543-II) 18, part 1, p. 50. The average cost of printing was about £3,000.
66. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1854–55 (447) 11, p. 46.
67. Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil, or, the Two Nations* (1845; Ware, Hertfordshire, 1995), 196.
68. Anthony Trollope, *The Eustace Diamond* (1872; New York, 1998), 24.
69. *Hansard’s*, 3d ser., 179 (June 1, 1865): 1144.
70. *Hansard’s*, 3d ser., 178 (Mar. 24, 1865): 215.
71. *Hansard’s*, 3d ser., 146 (July 17, 1857): 1690.
72. T. J. Ward, *The Factory Movement, 1830–1855* (London, 1962), 102; Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (1918; New York, 1988), 101.
73. David Low, “The Book of the Month—(Heavyweight Section)”[caricature], *Evening Standard*, June 10, 1930.
74. The term was coined by Lord Derby in 1867. Trewin and King, *Printer to the House*, 241.
75. Quoted in F. Knight Hunt, *The Fourth Estate: Contributions Towards A History of Newspapers, and of the Liberty of the Press*, vol. 1 (London, 1850), 7.
76. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (1962; Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 66–67.
77. Cyril Northcote Parkinson, *The Law and the Profits* (London, 1960), 130.

### Chapter Two • The Battle of the Books

1. For example, in 1849, Congress printed extra copies of the following documents: *Coast Survey*, 4,500; *Report on Commerce and Navigation*, 10,000; *Patent Office Report on Agriculture* (which was displayed by Stevens in the committee hearing), 100,000; *Patent Office Report on Machines*, 50,000; *King’s Report on California*, 10,000; *Banks of the United States*, 5,000;

*Foster and Whitney's Mineral Report*, 10,000; *Proceedings Relative to the Death of General Taylor*, 30,000. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. 178. Beyond circulation by congressmen, the Library of Congress and the State Department were initially responsible for sending copies to designated colleges, learned societies, and state and territorial libraries. The responsibilities for educational distribution were transferred in 1858 to the Department of the Interior.

2. *Ibid.*, 176. The witness estimated the federal expenditure on publication to be about £100,000 annually (at that time, about \$600,000). J. R. McColluch gave a similar assessment about the expense of parliamentary printing in Britain, although Hansard's figure was substantially lower, £28,000. These general estimates may not be accurate. It is difficult to distinguish in the historical records between expenses for printing reports, and other stationery and printing appropriations. In the U.S. case, publication budgets often came from the contingency fund of both houses rather than from the printing budget. However, it is safe to assume that, relative to the size of its budget and the scope of its federal activity, the federal government spent proportionally much more than the British government on state printing.

3. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. 171.

4. The closest term to *parliamentary papers* in the United States was the similarly nebulous concept of *government publications*. A law approved in 1847 defined pamphlets or books that were published, procured, or purchased by Congress as “public documents.” See Leroy Charles Merrit, *The United States Government As Publisher* (Chicago, 1943), 2.

5. There were attempts to persuade Congress to produce more documents for educational purposes by, for instance, distributing to schools public documents such as the president's annual message and the publications of the Smithsonian Institution. See “Memorial of Joseph L. Smith,” March 24, 1856, RG 46, SEN 34A-H17, 34th Cong., 1st sess., NARA.

6. Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875* (Athens, Ga., 1977), 72.

7. James L. Harrison, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961* (Washington, D.C., 1961), 12.

8. Suzanne deLong, “What is in the United States Serial Set?” *Journal of Government Information* 23, no. 2 (1996): 123–35; and Richard J. McKinney, “An Overview of the U.S. Congressional Serial Set” (Washington, D.C., 2002). For the initial House of Representative order for serial publication, see House of Representatives, *Journal* (Dec. 8, 1813) 13th Cong., 2d sess., 166–67.

9. *Report on Public Printing*, Senate Doc. 99, 15th Cong., 2d sess., serial 15, p. 1.

10. *On Executive Patronage, Expenditures of Government . . . and Public Printing in Connection with Retrenchment*, Senate Doc. 399, 28th Cong., 1st sess., serial 437, p. 43.

11. *Report of the Superintendents of Public Printing*, House Misc. Doc. 110, 35th Cong., 1st sess., serial 963. *Report on an Investigation into Alleged Corruption in Public Printing*, House Report 648, 36th Cong., 1st sess., serial 1071. Smith, *The Press, Politics, and Patronage*, 226.

12. Harrison, *100 GPO Years*, 54.

13. Charles Sumner to William T. Bingham, December 31, 1860; Sumner to C. F. Smith, February 7, 10, 1860, Charles Sumner Papers, LC.

14. Sumner to Theodore Parker, Jan. 6, 1853 [copy], vol. 10, 262.5; Sumner to Parker, March 27, 1853 [copy], vol. 10, 263.5; Parker to Sumner, August 18, 18[53?] [copy], vol. 6, 261. Theodore Parker Papers, MHS.

15. George P. Button to [Hunt?], April 21, 1849, Letters to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, RG 233, HR 30C-B1, NARA.
16. *Congressional Globe* (Sept. 23, 1850): 1923. William L. Hickey, ed., *The Constitution of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1848).
17. *Congressional Globe* (Sept. 23, 1850): 1923.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Report of the Commission of Patents for the Year 1858: Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: James B. Steedman, 1859), or, House Exec. Doc. 105, 35th Cong., 2d sess., serial 1012, p. 239.
20. *Congressional Globe* (Mar. 7, 1850): 473–74.
21. *Ibid.*, 475.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Harrison, *100 GPO Years*, 54. The 1875 report contained 536 text pages and 128 pages of woodcuts.
24. *Congressional Globe* (Jan. 17, 1850): 172.
25. *Ibid.*, 173.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 174.
28. *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 31, 1850): 139. By the second session of the fortieth Congress (1868), the cluster of executive documents known as the Annual Message of the President, reached almost 11,000 pages and cost approximately \$110,000 to print. This was one of the most important federal documents issued, and three thousand copies were made with an abridgment printed in a massive 35,000 copies. The document was dispatched to specific newspapers in central areas ahead of time so to that they would be able to publish it on the day of its formal presentation to Congress. *Cost of Public Printing and Distribution of Public Documents*, Senate Report 247, 40th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1362, p. 3. The *New York Herald* employed express horse service to beat other newspapers in getting Jackson's annual message to New York in 1835.
29. *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 18, 1850): 77. The document under consideration was Senate Exec. Doc. 64, 31st Cong., 1st sess., serial 562.
30. *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 19, 1850): 96. Also see *Congressional Globe* (July 26, 1850): 1464.
31. *Congressional Globe* (Jan. 21, 1852): 332.
32. *Congressional Globe* (Jan. 17, 1850): 171.
33. *Ibid.*, 171–72. Other congressmen also complained of spreading ink and fading illustrations.
34. *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 12, 1850): 35; *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 17, 1850): 66. Also see “Memorial of German-American Agriculturists and Citizens for Printing of the Agricultural Report of the Patent Office in the German Language,” House Misc. Doc. 41, 37th Cong., 2d sess., serial 1141.
35. *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 12, 1850): 35; (Dec. 17, 1850): 66.
36. *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 17, 1850): 66.
37. *Ibid.*, 67.
38. *Ibid.*, 68.
39. *Ibid.*



40. “Memorial of Eugene Plunkett,” December 21, 1852, 32d Cong., 2d sess., RG 46, SEN 32A-H17, NARA.
41. *Congressional Globe* (Dec. 23, 1852): 138.
42. Clarence E. Carter, “The United States and Documentary Historical Publication,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 25 (June 1938): 4–7. In early 1833, the Clerk of the House, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, was inundated with requests from libraries and colleges for copies of the twelve volumes of Sparks’s *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, which according to a law past by the Twenty-second Congress were to be granted to all incorporated literary institutions in the country.
43. *United States Telegraph*, January 28, 1830. Also, see House of Representatives, *Journal*, 21st Cong., 1st sess., 350, 363, 368, 404, 419. “An Act Making Provision for a Subscription to a Compilation of Congressional Documents,” H.R. 652 (Feb. 28, 1831) House of Representatives, *Bills and Resolutions*, 21st Cong., 2d Sess.
44. *Register of Debates in Congress*, vol. 1, preface (Washington, D.C., 1825).
45. *National Intelligencer*, January 24, 1843.
46. The distribution list of the *Documentary History of the American Revolution* included dignitaries (e.g., James Madison, John Quincy Adams, and Andrew Jackson), foreign ministers, government departments, lawmakers (3 copies each), justices, states, territories, and colleges. *Senate Record Book of the Distribution of Publications by Act or Resolution*, 33d Cong., RG 46, SEN 33d-B3, NARA.
47. John Spencer Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians* (New York, 1917), 241–43, 287–88.
48. *Report of Select Committee of House of Representatives, on Purchase and Publication of Madison Papers*, Senate Misc. Doc. 20, 30th Cong., 1st sess., serial 511.
49. “Petition of Elizabeth Hamilton for the Patronage of Congress to the Publication of Her Late Husband’s Papers,” Senate Doc. 52, 29th Cong., 1st sess., serial 473.
50. “Petition of Samuel L. Gouverneur,” Senate Misc. Doc. 10, 30th Cong., 2d sess., serial 533, p. 2.
51. *Congressional Globe* (June 13, 1850): 1203–4.
52. *Congressional Globe* (Aug. 21, 1850): 1623.
53. *Ibid.*, 1624.
54. *Congressional Globe* (Aug. 26, 1850): 1664.
55. *Ibid.*, 1665.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, 1668.
58. See, e.g., A. B. Farlin to Thomas Campbell, Clerk of the House of Representatives, February 19, 1849, Letters to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, RG 233, HR 30C-B1, NARA.
59. William Morrison to Campbell, August 26, 1848 [copy], Letters to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, RG 233, HR 30C-B1, NARA.
60. Morrison to Thomas Stall, n.d. [copy], Letters to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, RG 233, HR 30C-B1, NARA.
61. Printed circular from Thomas J. Campbell, Clerk to the House of Representatives, Jan-

uary 15, 1849, Letters to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, RG 233, HR 30C-B1, NARA.

62. The most expensive item was the *American State Papers*, which cost \$235.50. “Letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives transmitting additional estimates of appropriations of the contingent expenses of the House of Representatives,” 33d Cong., 1st sess., n.d., Letters to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, RG 233, HR 33C-C1.2, NARA.

63. *Congressional Globe* (Aug. 21, 1850): 1661.

64. *New York Herald*, January 17, 1858.

65. *Cost of Public Printing and Distribution of Public Documents*, Senate Committee Report 247, 40th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1362.

66. *Ibid.*, 6.

67. *Ibid.*

68. In 1864, government printed 50,000 copies of the *Army Register of Volunteers* without any gratis allocation. It was poorly executed and failed to sell. However, the *Congressional Directory* cost less than sixteen cents a copy and large numbers were sold. A few senators and representatives bought hundreds of copies for their own distribution. *Cost of Public Printing and Distribution of Public Documents*, Senate Committee Report 247, 40th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1362, pp. 12–13.

69. *Congressional Globe* (Jan. 31, 1872): 723.

70. George Alfred Townsend, *Washington, Outside and Inside* (Hartford, Conn.: James Betts and Co., 1873), 239

71. *Ibid.*, 250–51.

72. *Ibid.*, 239.

73. *Ibid.*, 251.

74. *Ibid.*, 240.

75. *Congressional Globe* (July 13, 1870): 5528.

76. *Ibid.*, 5528.

77. *Ibid.*, 5624, 5645.

78. Townsend, *Washington, Outside and Inside*, 240–41.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Thomas H. Benton to John Charles Frémont, March 20, 1843, in *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, ed. Jackson and Spence, vol. 1, 164–65.

81. *Congressional Globe* (May 24, 1866): 2804. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington, D.C., 1880–1901). Carter, “The U.S. and Documentary Historical Publication,” 16.

### Chapter Three • *The Bee in the Book*

1. William Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men* (New York, 1986), 178. This figure may be less impressive if one takes into consideration the limited scope of federal government activity before the Civil War.

2. Catherine Coffin Phillips, *Jessie Benton Frémont: A Woman Who Made History* (San Francisco, 1935), 69.

3. Charles Wilkes had his wife copy his narrative on the exploring expedition. One member of the scientific corps of the expedition, Horatio Hale, left his manuscript with his mother, novelist Sarah Josepha Hale, to proofread.
4. J. J. Abert to Frémont, April 26, 1843, *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, ed. Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, vol. 1 (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 342.
5. *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, vol. 10, ed. Ralph H. Orth and Alfred R. Ferguson (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 431; Bernard De Voto, *The Year of Decision: 1846* (Boston, 1942), 40.
6. *Publication of Result of late Exploring Expedition of J. C. Frémont to California and Oregon*, Senate Committee Report 226, 30th Cong., 1st sess., serial 512, p. 3.
7. *Letter of J. C. Frémont to National Intelligencer on his last Expedition across Rocky Mountain, and Route for Railroad to Pacific*, Senate Misc. Doc. 67, 33d Cong., 1st sess., serial 705.
8. *Expeditions of Frémont*, ed. Jackson and Spence, 270. Frémont's biographer raises the possibility that the bumblebee anecdote was a fabrication inspired by the bee motif in William Cullen Bryant's *The Prairie* (1834) and in Washington Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* (1835). Tom Chaffin, *Pathfinder: John Charles Frémont and the Course of American Empire* (New York, 2002), 144–45.
9. *Notes of Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to Sand Diego, in California*, Exec. Doc. 41, 30th Cong., 1st sess., serial 517, p. 15.
10. *Ibid.*, 419.
11. Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View, or, A History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years*, vol. 2 (New York, 1861), 579.
12. "Letter of the Clerk of the House of Representatives U.S. . . . relative to the distribution of Frémont's Report," House Doc. 118, 29th Cong., 1st sess., serial 483. "Resolution to inquire into causes of delay in delivery of Frémont's Report, and the possibility that any officer or person in employ of Senate has withheld or disposed of documents in manner contrary to rules of Senate," Senate Doc. 486, 29th Cong., 1st sess., serial 478.
13. Asbury Dickins to E. Weber and Co., Letters on Frémont's Maps of California and Oregon, September 25, 1848, RG 46, Office of the Secretary of the Senate, Transcribed Copies of Outgoing Correspondence, 278, NARA. Also see Dickins to Weber, January 27, 1849, RG 46, Office of the Secretary of the Senate, Transcribed Copies of Outgoing Correspondence, 307, NARA.
14. Dickins to Alexander Dallas Bache, May 5, 1847, RG 46, Office of the Secretary of the Senate, Transcribed Copies of Outgoing Correspondence, NARA.
15. Dickins to Boyd Hamilton, June 27, 1851; Dickins to Sherman and Smith, April 4, 1851, RG 46, Office of the Secretary of the Senate, Transcribed Copies of Outgoing Correspondence, NARA.
16. Quoted in Anita M. Hibler, "The Publication of the Wilkes Reports, 1842–1877" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1989), 206.
17. William H. Dall, *Spencer Fullerton Baird: A Biography* (Philadelphia, 1915), 78.
18. *Brief Account of the Discoveries and Results of the United States Exploring Expedition* (from the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, vol. 44) (New Haven: B. L. Hamlen, 1843), 1. The findings of Napoleon's expeditions to Egypt were published in twenty-three sumptuous

and enormous volumes (measuring 107 cm. by 71 cm.), Commission des sciences et arts d'Égypte, *Description de l'Égypte, ou, Recueil de observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, 23 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1809–28).

19. *Brief Account of the Discoveries and Results of the United States Exploring Expedition*, 4.

20. *Publication of Result of late Exploring Expedition of J. C. Frémont to California and Oregon*, Senate Committee Report 226, 30th Cong., 1st sess., serial 512, p. 3.

21. *On Causing to be Published additional Copies of Scientific Work of Exploring Expedition*, Senate Doc. 405, 29th Cong., 1st sess., serial 477, pp. 10–11. By the resolution of February 20, 1845, a copy was awarded to each state; two each to France, Britain, and Russia; one apiece to twenty-five other countries, one to each of the commanders of the three main vessels that participated in the journey, one to the Naval Lyceum in Brooklyn, and two to the Library of Congress.

22. *North American Review* 63 (July 1846): 100–101.

23. [Charles Davis], “The United States Exploring Expedition,” *North American Review* 61 (July 1845): 106–107. *Southern Literary Messenger* 11 (May 1845): 310.

24. Instructions of James K. Paulding, Secretary of the Navy to Charles Wilkes, quoted in Daniel C. Haskell, *The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842, and its Publications, 1844–1874* (New York, 1940), 34. For Gov. Isaac I. Stevens’s expedition from St. Paul to Puget Sound, it was determined, “Each officer and scientific man of the expedition will keep a daily journal, noting everything worthy of observation of a general character. These journals will be deemed a part of the results of the expedition, will be turned over as a part of its archives, and will be made use of in preparing the report. This is not intended to preclude copies being taken and published by the writer, after the publication of the report and proceedings of the expedition.” *Reports of the Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: A.O.P. Nicholson, Printer, 1855), 4.

25. *Report from the Library Committee on Exploring Expedition, Maps, Plates, Etc.*, House Report 160, 28th Cong., 2d sess., serial 468, p. 6. William F. Party, *Copyright Law and Practice* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 340.

26. The difference between this edition (published by Lea and Blanchard in 1845) and the original one was the size and type of paper, the substitution of forty-seven woodcuts for steel vignettes, and the exclusion of sixty-four plates. An English edition issued by Wittaker and Co. omitted the entire appendix on Wilkes’s instructions to his officers, which had comprised one-fifth of the text but was deemed tedious by the British publisher.

27. Charles Wilkes, *Autobiography of Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes*, ed. William James Morgan et al. (Washington, D.C., 1978), 542.

28. Quoted in Hibler, “Publication of the Wilkes Reports,” 154–56.

29. Augustus A. Gould, *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. 12, *Mollusca and Shells* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, Printer, 1852).

30. Dirk J. Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making* (Boston, 1948), 293.

31. Of the appropriations already spent, the largest expenditure was for engraving natural history plates (\$41,189.13). Engraving charts and maps cost \$24,810.85, engraving narratives and other plates \$16,808.71, and printing the text \$20,633.27. During those years, James Dana

received \$16,200 for preparing four volumes for publication, Charles Pickering received \$9,654.41, Louis Agassiz \$5,916.66 (2 vols.), and Asa Gray \$5,400.00 (2 vols.). *Report of the Library Committee on the Progress of the Publication of the Exploring Expedition*, Senate Committee Report 391, 35th Cong., 2d sess., serial 994, pp. 1–2.

32. *Congressional Globe* (Mar. 3, 1859): 1616–18.

33. *Congressional Globe* (Feb. 26, 1853): 880.

34. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, vol. 12, p. 368. “Collections of Exploring Expedition Directed to be Transferred to the Smithsonian Institution,” House Doc. 117, 35th Cong., 1st sess., serial 958.

35. Robert V. Bruce, *The Launching of Modern American Science, 1846–1876* (New York, 1987), 209.

36. Quoted in Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825–1875* (New York, 1980), 129.

37. *Congressional Globe* (Apr. 5, 1853): 312.

38. *Ibid.*, 313.

39. *Ibid.*, 313–14.

40. *Ibid.*, 315.

41. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua*, vol. 1 (1854; Chicago, 1965), 399.

42. *National Intelligencer*, April 26, 1854.

43. *Washington Union*, April 27, 1854, *Mexican Boundary Commission*, Scrapbook, microfilm ed., p. 277, Bartlett Papers, JCBL.

44. *Washington Union* [April 1854], *Mexican Boundary Commission*, Scrapbook, clipping 2, microfilm ed., p. 277, Bartlett Papers.

45. Major Emory to General Robert B. Campbell, April 24, 1854, reprinted in the *Washington Union* [April 1854], *Mexican Boundary Commission*, Scrapbook, microfilm ed., p. 279, Bartlett Papers. The paper also published a letter from the Chief Clerk of the Interior Department, George C. Whiting, reporting that Bartlett had admitted that Pratt’s illustrations were at his possession and that he used them for his private publication (p. 290).

46. *New York Quarterly Review* (July 1854): 3, *Mexican Boundary Commission*, Scrapbook, microfilm ed., p. 319, Bartlett Papers.

47. *New York Times*, June 16, 1854.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Churchman, n.d., *Mexican Boundary Commission*, Scrapbook, microfilm ed., p. 334, Bartlett Papers.

50. Republished in *Providence Daily Journal*, [July? 14, 1858?], Scrapbook, microfilm ed., p. 312, Bartlett Papers. William H. Emory, *Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey*, 2 vols. in 3 (Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1857–1859). Congress decided to print 10,000 copies of the first volume of Emory’s report, the narrative, and 3,000 of the botanical and zoological volume.

51. *Mexican Boundary Commission*, Scrapbook, microfilm ed., clipping 1, reel 11, p. 352, Bartlett Papers.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Robert V. Hine, *Bartlett’s West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary* (New Haven, 1968), 87.

54. Fred E. Cannon to Jacob Thompson, October 8, 1858, box 2, binder 1, Requests for

copies of the *Report and Maps Relating to the Pacific Railroad Route*, 1854–61, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, Department of the Interior, RG 48, NARA.

55. William Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803–1863* (New Haven, 1959), 296.

56. Lt. John W. Gunnison, in charge of the middle route—38th and 39th parallel—and other members of the expedition were killed by Utah Indians on October 26, 1853. George P. Merrill, *The First One Hundred Years of American Geology* (New Haven, 1927), 315–16; *National Intelligencer*, March 14, 1807.

57. *Report of the Secretary of War on the Several Pacific Railroad Explorations*, House Doc. 129, 33d Cong., 1st sess., serial 737.

58. *Explorations and Surveys for Pacific Railroad*, vol. 11, *Explorations, 1800–1857*, Senate Exec. Doc. 78, 33d Cong., 2d sess., serial 768; House Exec. Doc. 91, 33d Cong., 2d sess., serial 801.

59. Edgar Conkling to Jefferson Davis, August 9, 1855, Requests for copies of the *Report and Maps Relating to the Pacific Railroad Route*, 1854–61, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, Department of the Interior, RG 48, Entry 724, NARA.

60. Levi Jones to Jefferson Davis, August 7, 1855, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

61. Dr. Christian Raub to the Secretary of War, November 6, 1858, binder 1, box 2; August Harvey to Jefferson Davis, December 22, 1856, binder 2, box 2; Richard Rigely to Floyd, Nicholasville, KY, January 25, 1858 and another letter in February 26, 1858; Henry B. Dawson, December 31, White Plains, NY, 1857; Gibson to Floyd, May 27, 1858, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

62. David Wyrick to Abbot, July 21, 1858; Wyrick to [Acting] Secretary Drinkard, July 29, 1858; Drinkard to Wyrick, July 27, 1858. In a later request for documents, Wyrick wrote “I suppose there hardly another to be found who takes more pride in collecting and Reading Governmental Reports than I do—as well as preserving of them.” Wyrick to Humphreys, January 9, 1859, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

63. John H. Carpenter to the War Department, May 17, 1857, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

64. Gibson to Floyd, May 27, 1858, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

65. E. Franseen to Jefferson Davis, November 4, 1856, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

66. J. J. Ames, October 7, 1857, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

67. Samuel B. Cowdney, November 29, 1859, binder 2, box 2; Breven, n.d., binder 2, box 1, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

68. George M. Fowle to Floyd, January 12, 1858, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

69. Thomas H. Howell to Floyd, January 20, 1858, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

70. W. J. Merton [and ?] April 27, 1858; David White to Floyd, June 25, 1857, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.

71. W. B. Maclay to Floyd, [March?] 25, 1858; Asa Gray to Lieut. Abbot, August 15, 1857; Spencer Baird to Humphreys, Jan 30, 1858, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
72. William J. Loomis to the War Department, July 8, 1858, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
73. John Fitch to Floyd, November 14, 1857, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
74. J. W. to Floyd, Philadelphia, March 19, 1858, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
75. Fred E. Cannon to Jacob Thompson, Geneva, N.Y., October 8, 1858, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
76. John McKiernan to the Secretary of War, February 3, 1859, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
77. Capt. W. C. Palmer to Humphreys, March 12, 1856, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
78. A. Marschalk to [U.S. Representative] Jacob Thompson, Belton, Texas, November 20, 1858, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
79. Alexander S. Taylor to Secretary Floyd, March 31, 1858, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
80. The Polytechnic College of the State of Pennsylvania, September 30, 1858, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
81. H. W. Wood to Secretary Floyd, April 27, 1858, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
82. Stein to Floyd, February 24, 1858, binder 1, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
83. J. N. Hurd to the Secretary of War, September 23, 1858, binder 2, box 2, Records of the Office of Explorations and Surveys.
84. Augustus Addison Gould to Senator Benjamin Tappan, December 17, 1843, quoted in Haskell, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, 74. In order to guarantee early publicity, Gould suggested issuing before full publication of the report “short Latin characters” of the new species and their names in one of the scientific journals or in a government pamphlet. He consequently published short notices in the *Proceedings* of the Boston Society for Natural History.
85. The British government published sporadically geological surveys on the British Isles. See, e.g., Sir Henry de la Beche, *Report on the Geology of Cornwall, Devon, and West Somerset* (London: HMSO, 1839). It included 624 pages, many woodcuts, and twelve plates. Also see *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and of the Museum of Economic Geology*, 2 vols. (London: HMSO, 1846).
86. George Alfred Townsend, *Washington, Outside and Inside* (Hartford, Conn.: James Betts and Co., 1873), 240–41.

PART II • *The Culture of the Social Fact*

1. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment (Mines); Reports and Evidence of Subcommissioners*, Part 2, HC 1842 (382) 17, p. 63.

## Chapter Four • Scenes of Commission

1. Herman Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, rev. ed. (New York, 1950), 47.
2. W. Cory, *A Guide to Modern English History*, vol. 2 (London, 1882), 366.
3. *Quarterly Review* 50 (Jan. 1834): 348 fn.
4. Also alluded to are the Poor Law Commission for England and Wales (1832–34) and two investigations that had meager effects on policy making, the Poor Law for Ireland Commission (1833–36) and the Rural Constabulary Force Commission (1836–39). Other investigations include the Handloom Weaver Commission (1837–41), Health of Town Commission (1843–48), Framework Knitters Commission (1844–45), and Bleaching Works Commission (1854–55).
5. Since the monarch did not enjoy the judicial prerogative to interrogate witnesses, it is hardly plausible that the crown could delegate such authority to a commission. Hugh M. Clokie and Joseph F. Robinson, *Royal Commissions of Inquiry: The Significance of Investigations in British Politics* (Stanford, 1937), 85–87. Only in 1921, with the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, were royal commissions given compulsory privileges.
6. *Daily Telegraph*, February 15, 1865, item 116, Sir Edwin Chadwick Papers, UCL.
7. The Poor Law Commission had eight commissioners and twenty-four subcommissioners. The Factory Commission had fifteen full commissioners but still adopted the office/field division. The Employment of Children Commission (Mines) was led by four commissioners who supervised twenty subcommissioners.
8. [Letter to the *Times* in 1831] in William John Fitzpatrick, *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin* (Boston, 1862), 319.
9. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment (Mines)*, Part 2, p. h12.
10. Irish Poor Law Commission, *The Miseries and Misfortunes of Ireland and the Irish People from the Evidence Taken by the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland* (London: John Reynolds, 1836), 8–11.
11. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Methods of Social Study* (London, 1932), 90.
12. G. Calvert Holland, "The Mortality, Sufferings and Diseases of Grinders," Part 1 (London: John Ollivier, 1841), 7.
13. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment (Mines)*, HC 1842 (380) 15, p. 266. For the remark on Welsh stature, see p. 250.
14. Kirkman Finlay, "Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Ashley on the Cotton Factory System and the Ten Hour's Bill" (Glasgow: John Smith & Son. Printer, 1833), 9.
15. Peter Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England* (1833; New York, 1972), 72.
16. "Letters from the Home Office to the Handloom Weavers Commission," HO 74/1, ff. 148–49, 155–58, 165–66, PRO. Also see, J. M. Collinge, ed. *Office Holders in Modern Britain*, vol. 9, *Officials of Royal Commissions of Inquiry 1815–1870* (London, 1984), 25–26.
17. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment (Mines)*, Part 2, p. H1.
18. Factory commissioner Rickards's expenses in Manchester (£86.14.0) included renting and fitting an office (carpentry); painting (for writing on the office door); bell-hanger's fees;



an oak table, candlesticks, fenders and fire irons, library table and other office furniture (chairs, carpets); coal, mounting a map of Lancashire; seal-engraver's fees, printer for circulars; "diaries" for mill owners; advertisement in Bolton, Manchester, Stockport, and Preston; and postage. George Rickards to the Treasury, May 22, 1834, T/3736, PRO.

19. "Final Account," March 18, 1837, T 1/4100, PRO. The Poor Law for England and Wales Commission cost only £6,565.17.2; the Factory Commission, £4,919.17.2; the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales Commission, £24,700. These were not the most expensive investigations. The Commission of Arbitration for Inquiring into Claims of Compensation for the Abolition of Slavery cost £140,722.12.11. *Return on Commissions of Inquiry*, HC 1842 (449) 26, p. 373. The Mine Commission cost £8,214.2.4. *Return on Commissions*, HC 1846 (187) 25, p. 318.

20. Irish Poor Law Commission, *Miseries and Misfortunes of Ireland*, 8.

21. *Factory Commission Report (1)*, 76. Chadwick to Lord John Russell, July 2, 1866 [copy], item 1733, Chadwick Papers.

22. *Factory Commission Report (1)*, 78.

23. *Ibid.*, 77. John Cowell to the Central Board of the Factory Commission, May 3, 6, 9, 1833 [copies], item 41, Chadwick Papers.

24. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment (Mines)*, 267.

25. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children's Employment (Mines); Reports and Evidence of Subcommissioners*, Part I, HC 1842 (381) 16, p. 758 fn. For the miners' gathering at Bransley, see p. 262.

26. *First Report from the Select Committee on Bleaching and Dyeing Works* HC 1857 (151 Sess. 2) 11, p. 242.

27. *Report on the Poor Laws in Scotland*, ii.

28. Chadwick to Home Secretary Lord John Russell, August 1836 [copy], item 1733, Chadwick Papers. Also, see Irish Poor Law Commission, *Miseries and Misfortunes of Ireland*, 8.

29. Constabulary Commission Files, item 14, Chadwick Papers. See also "Practices of Habitual Depredators; as Disclosed in a London Prison," *Report from the Constabulary Force Commission*, HC 1839 (169) 19, pp. 205–15.

30. Irish Poor Law Commission, *Miseries and Misfortunes of Ireland*, 6.

31. Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (New Haven, 1995), 80–81, 88. Gaskell, *Manufacturing Population of England*, 161–63.

32. *Report from the Select Committee on the Bill to Regulate the Labour of Children*, HC 1831–2 (706) 15, pp. 150, 152–53, 172, 183, 204, 287, 381, 420, 494–95.

33. Diana Davids Olien, *Morpeth: A Victorian Public Career* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 91; *Report from the Select Committee on the Bill to Regulate the Labour of Children*, HC 1831–32 (706) 15, pp. 150, 172, 420.

34. *First Report from the Select Committee on the Operation of the Factory Act*, HC 1840 (203) 10, pp. 63, 905–912.

35. *Ibid.* Frederic Hill to Home Secretary Sir James Graham, July 30, 1845; Hill to Under-Secretary H. Manners Sutton, October 28, 1845; Hill to [Under-Secretary Manners Sutton?], March 12, 1846, HO 1845/46, PRO.

36. Irish Poor Law Commission, *Miseries and Misfortunes of Ireland*, 12.

37. Under-Secretary Fox Maule to Webster, April 24, 1837; Maule to George Howell, May

18, 1837; Maule to Howell, June 3, 1837; Maule to Webster, July 9, 1839, Letters from the Home Office to Inspectors of Factories, Mines, and Colliers, HO 87/1, PRO.

38. *Factory Commission Report (1)*, 749.

39. John Cowell to the Central Board of the Factory Commission, May 21, 1833 and July 24, 1833 [copies], item 41, Chadwick Papers. Also, see “Correspondence and Accounts of the Factory Commission,” September 10, 1833, T 1/3736, PRO. On Samuel Swain Scriven’s methods, see *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, Part 2, p. 65. On Alfred Power’s decision, see *Factory Commission Report (1)*, 531.

40. Stuart to Wilson, August 32, 1833, in *Evils of the Factory System Demonstrated by Parliamentary Evidence*, ed. Charles Wing (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837), 492.

41. John Cowell to the Central Board of the Factory Commission, June 24, 29, July 1, 3, 10, 1833 [copies], item 41, Chadwick Papers.

42. Tremenheere to the Home Office, February 3, 1845, HO 45/952, PRO.

43. On the Heathcote affair, see the correspondence between Heathcote, Horner, and the Home Office (Mar.–May 1843) in HO 45/423, PRO.

44. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, 2.

45. *Factory Commission Report (1)*, 10

46. Chadwick to Major George Graham [copy book], December 7, 1843, item 2818/1, Chadwick Papers.

47. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, 95.

48. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, Part 2, 58.

49. *Ibid.*, Part 1, 519.

50. Irish Poor Law Commission, *Miseries and Misfortunes of Ireland*, 9.

51. See petition from the Irish assistant commissioners, May 4, 1836, T 1/4100, PRO. Also, assistant commissioner Thomas Nuget Vaughan’s correspondence with the Treasury, June 6, 16, 1836, T 1/4100, PRO.

52. Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. M. W. Flinn (1842; Edinburgh, 1965), 397.

53. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, 268.

54. Mrs. Charles L. Lewes, *Dr. Southwood Smith: A Retrospect by His Granddaughter* (Edinburgh, 1898), 88.

55. Hector Gavin to Chadwick, December 21, 1853, item 797, Chadwick Papers.

56. For attempts to protect witnesses, see, e.g., *First Report from the Select Committee on the Operation of the Factory Act*, HC 1840 (203) 10, pp. 21–22, 141; *Second Report from the Select Committee on the Operation of the Factory Act*, HC 1840 (227) 10, p. 16.

57. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, 3. Also see request from the Home Office to the Treasury to remunerate superintendent Charles Brown for journeys to Holywell, where his presence was needed due to his knowledge of the Welsh language, April 3, 1838, T 1/3736, PRO.

58. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, 9.

59. *Quarterly Review* 64 (June 1839): 92.

60. *Report on the State of Education in Wales*, HC 1847 (870) 27, Part 1, 2.

61. Leonard Horner, *Employment of Children, in Factories and Other Works in the United*

*Kingdom and in Some Foreign Countries* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840), 2.

62. “Memoranda of Instructions for Ascertaining the Causes of Pauperism,” n.d., item 22, Chadwick Papers.

63. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, Part 1, 539.

64. *Ibid.*, 514.

65. *Ibid.*, 515.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*, 520.

68. G. R. Porter to the Privy Council on Trade, August 14, 1832, reprinted in *First Report of the Select Committee on Public Documents*, HC 1833 (44) 12, pp. 15, 28.

69. *First Report from the Select Committee on the Operation of the Factory Act*, 5.

70. *Report of the Commissioners on Handloom Weavers: Assistant Commissioners’ Reports*, HC 1839 (159) 42, p. 1.

71. *Report of the Royal Commission on Handloom Weavers*, HC 1840 (43-1) 23, p. 407.

72. *First Report from the Select Committee on Bleaching and Dyeing Works*, HC 1857 (151 Sess. 2) 11, p. 2.

73. *Ibid.*, 3.

74. *Ibid.*

75. The demand for daily accounts came from Secretary Lord Russell, October 8, 1836, HO 87/1, PRO. Inspectors were to report to the Home Secretary quarterly. Superintendents were to give a detailed account of each day of employment to the inspectors.

76. Dickinson to Home Secretary Sir George Grey, June 8, 1863, HO 45/7006, PRO.

77. [A Lancashire Cotton Spinner], “Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Ashley on the Cotton Factory Question, and the Ten Hours’ Factory Bill” (Manchester: Henry Smith, Printer, 1833), 7.

78. [James Leach], *Stubborn Facts from the Factories by A Manchester Operative* (London: John Ollivier, 1844), 17–18.

79. A. E. Musson, *The Congress of 1868: The Origins and Establishment of the Trades Union Congress* (1955; London, 1968); Simon Cordery, *British Friendly Societies, 1750–1914* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2003), 95.

80. T. W. Jobling to Secretary Grey, February 1, 1851, HO 45/3491, PRO.

81. “The Ten Hours’ Factory Question: A Report Addressed to the Short Time Committees of the West Riding of Yorkshire” (London: John Ollivier, 1842), 32.

82. “Memorial from the Framework Knitters of Leicester to Home Secretary Lord John Russell,” May 23, 1838, ff. 355–56, ff. 417–20, HO 44/31 PRO. Also see “Memorial from the Leigh Silk Weavers Committee to the Home Secretary,” January 29, 1844, HO 45/657; “Petition from the inhabitants of Rhos Parish of Ruabon County of Denbigh in North Wales,” December 16, 1850, enclosed in Richard Cobden to Secretary Grey, July 7, 1851, HO 45/3868, PRO. *Report of the Commissioner Appointed to Inquire into the Condition of the Framework Knitters*, HC 1845 (609) 15, p. 2.

83. Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff, Wales, 1998), 103.

84. T. J. Ward, *The Factory Movement, 1830–1855* (London, 1962), 92.

85. John Cowell to the Central Board of the Factory Commission, May 3, 6, 9, 1833 [copies], item 41, Chadwick Papers.
86. Michael Thomas Sadler, “Protest Against the Secret Proceedings of the Factory Commission in Leeds” (Leeds: F. E. Bingley and Co., 1833), 7.
87. Sadler, “Protest Against the Secret Proceedings,” 12.
88. John Elliot Drinkwater, “Letter to Michael Thos. Sadler” (Leeds: Printed for Baines and Newsome, 1833), 9.
89. John Elliot Drinkwater and Alfred Power, “Replies to Mr. M. T. Sadler’s Protest against the Factory Commission” (Leeds, Printed for Baines and Newsome, 1833), 9, 11–12.
90. [William Cobbett’s] *The Poor Man’s Guardian: A Weekly Paper for the People* (June 29, 1833): 208–10.
91. *Brooklyn Eagle*, May 8, 1843, clipping, item 116, Chadwick Papers.
92. *Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Operation of the Factory Act*, HC 1840 (227) 10, pp. 125–28. In 1838, Chadwick (then the secretary of the Poor Law inspectorate and a royal commissioner on rural police force) provided the Home Office with a confidential statement on trade union activities. See January 29, 1838, ff. 82–85, HO 44/31, PRO.

#### *Chapter Five • Facts Speak for Themselves*

1. “Factory Inspectors Half Yearly Meetings,” January 16–18, 1836, ff. 48–50; January 18, 1836, f. 49, LAB 15/1, PRO. Also see July 6, 1838, f. 109.
2. “Expenses of the Poor Law Commission since September 4, 1835, Completed in May 26, 1835,” T1/4100–102, PRO.
3. Flood to [Assistant Secretary of the Commission Hamilton Dowdall?], July 1836 [copy], enclosed in Dowdall to the Treasury, July 29, 1836, T 1/4100, PRO.
4. *Second Report from the Select Committee on the Operation of the Factory Act*, HC 1840 (227) 10, pp. 107–9.
5. *Ibid.*, 15, 58, 76–80, 175.
6. *Ibid.*, 92.
7. Hugh Seymour Tremenheere to G. Cornewall Lewis, October 23, 1848; Tremenheere to Lewis, July 5, 1850, HO 45/2366, PRO.
8. Chadwick to Lord Russell, July 2, 1866 [copy], item 1733, Sir Edwin Chadwick Papers, UCL.
9. Herbert Mackworth to Secretary Lord Palmerston, August 23, 1854, HO 45/5374, PRO.
10. Saunders to Under-Secretary Manners Sutton, September 3, 1844, HO 45/657(/8), PRO. Also see John James to R. Baker, August 21, 1844; Baker to Saunders, August 31, 1844; Home Office to Saunders, September 5, 1844, HO 87/1, PRO.
11. Under-Secretary H. Waddington to Horner, June 11, 1855, HO 87/3, PRO.
12. Horner to Waddington, June 13, 1855, HO 45/6249, PRO.
13. Under-Secretary Manners Sutton to Stuart, November 25, 1844, HO 45/1417, PRO.
14. Under-Secretary Maule to John Beal, July 18, 27, 30, October 13, 17, 31, 1840; Home Office to Horner, June 15, 1841, HO 45/1417, PRO.
15. *First Report from the Select Committee on Bleaching and Dyeing Works*, HC 1857 (151 Sess. 2) 11, p. 240.

16. *Report on the Poor Laws in Scotland*, ii.
17. Yaron Ezrahi, *The Descent of Icarus: Science and the Transformation of Contemporary Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 69.
18. Thomas Erskine May, *The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III, 1760–1860*, vol. 1 (New York, 1895), 409.
19. Reports of royal commissioners were officially delivered to the Home Office in manuscript form with the signatures and seals of the commissioners.
20. *Quarterly Review* 50 (Jan. 1834): 349.
21. Nassau Senior to Lord Brougham, January 4, 1833, 44, 437, Lord Brougham Papers, UCL.
22. Irish Poor Law Commission, *Miseries and Misfortunes of Ireland*, 11.
23. Parish of Carrick in County Tipperary, *ibid.*, 265. For an analysis of the different linguistic choices of the three commissioners in the 1847 Education in Wales investigation, see Roberts, *The Language of Blue Books*, chap. 5.
24. Item 42, Chadwick Papers.
25. *Second Report from the Select Committee on the Operation of the Factory Act*, Appendix, 115.
26. Joel Fineman, “The History of the Anecdote: Fiction and Fiction,” in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veerer (New York, 1989), 61.
27. Joseph W. Childers, “Observation and Representation: Mr. Chadwick Writes the Poor,” *Victorian Studies* 38 (Spring 1994): 411.
28. On the *Spectator*’s remarks in the context of the 1840s language of discovery, see Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York, 1983), 356–57.
29. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines): Reports and Evidence of Subcommissioners*, Part 2, HC 1842 (382) 17, p. H30.
30. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, HC 1842 (380) 15, p. 161.
31. *Ibid.*, 80.
32. *Ibid.*, 24.
33. Lewes, *Southwood Smith*, 74.
34. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, Part 2, 156–57.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, 161.
37. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, Part 1, 182 (381) 16, p. 96.
38. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, Part 2, H12.
39. *Ibid.*, 721.
40. *First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, 137.
41. *Appendix to First Report of the Royal Commission on Children’s Employment (Mines)*, Part 2, p. c38.

42. Michel Foucault, “What is an Author,” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York, 1984), 112.
43. “Distribution List of the Irish Poor Law Report,” March 15, 1836, Treasury/Irish Poor Law Correspondence 1833–1839, T 1/4100, PRO. These figures, however, do not include the distributions of reports in Ireland.
44. “Distribution List of the Rural Constabulary Commission Report,” item 7, doc. 6, Chadwick Papers. Five thousand copies of this particular report were sold.
45. *Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1854–55 (447) 11, pp. 4–5.
46. *Ibid.*, 33.
47. *Ibid.*, 34. The cost of 10,000 copies for 1851–52 (1,397 pages) was £1,211.10.11.
48. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Papers*, HC 1852–53 (720) 34, p. 173.
49. Chadwick to McCulloch, February 24, 1852 [copy], item 1296, Chadwick Papers.
50. C. Macaulay to Sir C. E. Trevelyan, December 11, 1852; Treasury Minute, December 14, 1852; Macaulay to Trevelyan, December 24, 1852; Treasury Minute, January 7, 1852, in *Report from the Select Committee on Printing*, HC 1854–55 (447) 11, p. 145.
51. *Quarterly Review* 57 (Dec. 1836): 396–443.
52. “Legion,” *A letter from Legion to . . . the Duke of Richmond . . . on the Slavery Committee of the House of Lords: Containing an exposure of the character of the evidence on the colonial side produced before the Committee* (London: S. Bagster Printer [1833]), 13.
53. For an example of “interception” by pro-employer advocates, see William Rathbone Greg and Samuel Greg, “Analysis of the Evidence Taken Before the Factory Commissioners as Far as It Relates to the Population of Manchester and the Vicinity Engaged in the Cotton Trade” (Manchester, 1834).
54. Quoted in Roberts, *The Language of Blue Books*, 212.
55. *Morning Chronicle*, January 27, 1844.
56. *Quarterly Review* 57 (Dec. 1836): 413.
57. Tremenheere to Lewis, July 5, 1850, HO 45/2366, PRO.
58. Joseph Bell to Lord Walpole, November 23, 1852, HO 45/4206, PRO.
59. “Memorial from the Miners of Pontefract Lane Colliery in Leeds,” September 27, 1859, HO 45/6782, PRO.
60. Tremenheere to Waddington, September 28, 1859, HO 45/6782, PRO. See also Secretary Lewis to the Pontefract Lane Colliery Miners, October 17, 1859, HO 6782, PRO.
61. John Holmes and the Delegates of the Miners of the Leeds and Wakefield Districts, “A Memorial to Secretary Lewis,” September 14, 1859, HO 6782, PRO. Also see “Letter from a Meeting Held in Lofthouse Gate Near Wakefield at the Star Inn to Secretary Lewis,” October 4, 1859; Henry Shaw, Elijah Stocks and the Delegates of the western portion of the Leeds Branch of the Coal Miners Association to Secretary Lewis, September 13, 1859, HO 6782, PRO.
62. Tremenheere to Secretary Grey, December 31, 1846, HO 45/1490, PRO.
63. *Ibid.*
64. See, e.g., Chadwick to James Simpson, December 25, 1843, January 4, 1844, April 25, 1844; Chadwick to Dr. Holland, January 6, 1844; Chadwick to Dr. Laycock, January 11, 1844 [copybook], item 2181/1, Chadwick Papers.

65. B. F. Hawkins, “Intemperance and Vice, the effects of long hours and a bad system from the report of Dr. Bissett Hawkins, one of the medical officers of the Factory Commission, 1833” (Bradford, 1835), *Richard Oastler’s Collection: Short Times Tracts*, Goldsmith’s Library of Economic Literature, University of London.

66. Society for the Suppression of Mendicity, *Fourth Annual Report* (London, 1822), 22.

67. Richard Oastler to Secretary Lord Russell, August 29 and September 14, 1839, and n.d., ff. 181–203, HO 44/33, PRO.

68. *Ibid.*, f. 194.

69. *Ibid.*, f. 181.

70. *Ibid.*, f. 187.

71. *Ibid.*, f. 185.

72. Jacques Derrida, “Signature Event Context,” in *Limited Inc.*, trans. Samuel Weber and Jeffrey Mehlman (Evanston, Ill., 1988), 12.

### Chapter Six • *Can Freedmen Be Citizens?*

1. “Memorial of the Emancipation League (Boston, Mass.) praying for an immediate establishment of a Bureau of Emancipation,” Senate Misc. Document 10, 37th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1150, p. 1. The notion of a nation born in a day was probably taken from Isaiah 66:8.

2. United States War Dept., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 3, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1899–1900), 73–74.

3. John G. Sproat, “Blue Print for Radical Reconstruction,” *Journal of Southern History* 23 (February 1957): 25–44.

4. Samuel Gridley Howe, *The Refugees From Slavery in Canada West: Report to the Freedmen’s Inquiry Commission* (Boston, 1864), 104.

5. Edward L. Pierce, “The Freedmen at Port Royal,” *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (Sept. 1863): 301.

6. Charles Sumner to Francis Lieber, Washington, January 31, 1864, in *The Papers of Charles Sumner: Microfilm edition*, ed. Beverly Wilson Palmer, reel 64/294. Also, see Lieber to Sumner, New York, January 31, 1864, *ibid.*, reel 77/642.

7. Howe to Francis W. Bird, Washington D.C., September 17, 1862, Samuel Gridley Howe Papers, HoL.

8. *Anti-Slavery Standard*, March 18, 1863, 2.

9. The commission was denied the absolute power to call for any official document they wished to examine for fear of interfering with “official business.” Sumner to Howe, Washington, April 9, 1863, *The Papers of Charles Sumner*, reel 64/244. For the slave-owner testimony, see “Testimony of Mrs. DeMerville from Nashville Tennessee,” November 23, 1863, quoted in Ira Berlin et al., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 1, vol. 1, *The Destruction of Slavery* (Cambridge, 1985), 312.

10. The commission’s forty-eight black interviewees were unrepresentative of the black population. Most of the witnesses came from the upper regions of the South, about half were runaways, and many others had been manumitted or had purchased their freedom. Only twelve women were included, although their testimony figured prominently in the commission’s reports. For interview with Solomon Bradley, see *Records of the American Freedmen’s Inquiry Commission*, testimony, file 3, in Letters Received by the Office of the Adju-

tant General, Main Series, 1861–1870, File 328-0 1863, microfilm M 619, reel 200, pp. 274–77, NARA.

11. *Ibid.*, 278–91.

12. Robert Dale Owen, *The Wrong of Slavery: The Right of Emancipation* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1864), 121.

13. Howe, *Refugees from Slavery*, 63. Howe visited St. Catherine's, Hamilton, London, Toronto, Chatham, Buxton, Windsor, Malden, and Colchester. American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, *Preliminary Report*, Senate Exec. Doc. 53, 38th Cong., 1st sess., serial 1176, p. 86.

14. These two questionnaires indicate that during the summer of 1863, Howe decided to focus his inquiry on the supposed physical differences between blacks and mulattos and was interested in particular in fertility, demography, and diseases. The questionnaires are in the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Papers, HoL. Benjamin Hunt to the AFIC, Philadelphia, May 27, 1863, James McKaye Papers, LC. Owen, *Wrong of Slavery*, 214.

15. Howe to Sumner, Norfolk, Va., June 11, 1863, *The Papers of Charles Sumner*, reel 77/133.

16. *Atlantic Monthly* 70 (Aug. 1863): 260–63.

17. The *Philadelphia Dial*, quoted in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 18, 1863, in a report on the address in Philadelphia of a former southern female slave Oneda E. Dubois.

18. *New York Times*, June 13, 1863. The *Times* reporter H. J. Winser served as a clerk to McKaye during the visit.

19. American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, *Preliminary Report*, 16. Also, see Howe to Sumner, Norfolk, Va., June 11, 1863, *The Papers of Charles Sumner*, reel 77/133.

20. J. Lang, "Results of the Serf Emancipation in Russia" (New York: Loyal Publication Society, No. 47, 1864). *Liberator*, June 17, 1864; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, August 19, 1863.

21. William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, ed. Eugene H. Berwanger (1863; Philadelphia, 1988), 37.

22. On the caste system, see Charles Sumner, "The Question of Caste: Lecture Delivered in the Music Hall Boston, October 21, 1869," in *The Works of Charles Sumner*, vol. 13 (Boston, 1870–83), 131–83. [Mary Putnam], *Record of an Obscure Man* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1861), 171–91.

23. Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (1854; New York, 1980), 16.

24. Carlo Ginzburg, "Making Things Strange: The Prehistory of a Literary Device," *Representations* 56 (Fall 1996): 17–19.

25. "Queries and answers respecting the colored convicts in the Sing-Sing state prison," August 19, 1833, Francis Lieber Papers, HL. For anti-emancipation propoganda, see, e.g., "Free Negroism; or, Results of Emancipation in the North, and the West Indies," *Anti-Abolition Tracts*—no. 2 (New York: Van Evrie, Horton and Company), reprinted in *Anti-Abolition Tracts and Anti-Black Stereotypes: General Statements of the "Negro Problem"*, ed. John David Smith, Part 1 (New York, 1993), 37. The general's remark was quoted in the *New York Herald*, August 15, 1863.

26. Thomas W. Higginson, "Leaves from an Officer's Journal [part I]," *Atlantic Monthly* 14 (Nov. 1864): 527

27. Thomas W. Higginson, "Leaves from an Officer's Journal [part II]," *Atlantic Monthly* 15 (Jan. 1865): 65.



28. Thomas W. Higginson, "Leaves from an Officer's Journal [part I]," *Atlantic Monthly* 14 (Nov. 1864): 528.
29. *Ibid.*, 70.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Edward Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly* 12 (Sept. 1863): 309–11.
32. McKaye to Sumner, New York, January 20, 1864, *The Papers of Charles Sumner*, reel 30/244.
33. Owen, *Wrong of Slavery*, 198. James McKaye, "The Mastership and its Fruits: The Emancipated Slave Face to Face with his Old Master: A Supplemental Report" (New York: Loyal Publication Society, no. 58, 1864), 8. Free blacks in Louisiana had an average of \$525 worth of property (by another account close to \$700). The average property in the loyal states was only \$484. These assessments refer to the 1860 census. American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, *Final Report*, Senate Exec. Doc. 53, 38th Cong., 1st sess., serial 1176, p. 101.
34. Quoted in E. P. Whipple, "Reconstruction and Negro Suffrage," *Atlantic Monthly* 16 (Aug. 1865): 245.
35. Howe, *Refugees from Slavery*, 56, 63–64.
36. McKaye, "The Mastership and Its Fruits," 1.
37. *Preliminary Report*, 3. *New York Herald*, August 15, 1863. *Final Report*, 98–99.
38. Howe, *Refugees from Slavery*, 40.
39. *Ibid.*, 18–20.
40. The slaves were also favorably contrasted to American Indians in their attitudes toward women. Evidence included the 1847 Constitution of Liberia, which featured provisions for women's property rights. Howe, *Refugees from Slavery*, 96. *Final Report*, 105.
41. George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York, 1971), 101–2, 124, 160–64.
42. *Final Report*, 103. Howe, *Refugees from Slavery*, 103. *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe: The Servant of Humanity*, ed. Laura E. Richards, vol. 2 (Boston, 1909), 512.
43. Howe, *Refugees from Slavery*, 56, 99–100.
44. The Knickerbocker insured mostly "house slaves," mechanics, and steamboat sailors or operators. The company took detailed descriptions of the slaves' racial features, but its president could not discern any variance in death risks dependent on racial mixture. Frederick Law Olmsted to Howe, New York, August 13, 1863, American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Papers.
45. Howe to Agassiz, August 18, 1863, in *Louis Agassiz: His Life and Correspondence*, ed. Elisabeth C. Agassiz, vol. 2 (Boston, 1886), 613–14.
46. Howe to Mary Peabody Mann, Toronto, September 6, 1863, Horace Mann Papers, MHS.
47. Owen, *Wrong of Slavery*, 201; *Final Report*, 99; Whipple, "Reconstruction and Negro Suffrage," 246.
48. McKaye, "The Mastership and Its Fruits," 35; *Final Report*, 25.
49. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," 291.
50. *Ibid.*, 311.
51. *Preliminary Report*, 22–23.
52. *Ibid.*, 7, 10.

53. Owen, *Wrong of Slavery*, 201.
54. “Testimony taken by the Commission, Department of the South,” *Records of the American Freedmen’s Inquiry Commission*, Microfilm M 619, reel 200, p. 287, NARA.
55. Whipple, “Reconstruction and Negro Suffrage,” 242–44.
56. Owen to Sumner, New York, June 29, 1863, *The Papers of Charles Sumner*, ed. Palmer, reel 28/647. Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia, 1995), 33.
57. Bird to Sumner, Boston, July 2, 1863, *The Papers of Charles Sumner*, reel 28/670.
58. *Congressional Globe* (June 27, 1864): 3285.
59. *Ibid.*, 3286.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. Owen, *Wrong of Slavery*, 62.
64. *Ibid.*, 83.
65. For the abolitionist reaction, see Richard W. Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen: A Biography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 364. J. M. Ludlow, “American Slavery: As It Now Stands Revealed to the World,” *Good Words* (1863), 827.
66. *New York Herald*, August 8, 186[4?].
67. Robert Dale Owen, *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1860), 5.
68. Howe, *Refugees from Slavery*, 38.
69. Quoted in Roberta Sue Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen: Relations During Presidential Reconstruction, 1865–67* (Durham, 1985), 19.
70. Quoted in *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions, 1865–1900*, ed. P. Foner and G. Walker, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1986), 289–90.

## PART III • Totem Envy

1. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, “An Address Delivered before the Was-ah Ho-de-no-sen-ne, or New Confederacy of the Iroquois . . . at its Third Annual Council, August 14, 1845” (Rochester, N.Y.: Jerome and Brother Printers, 1846), 6.
2. Walt Whitman, *The Gathering of the Forces: Editorials, Essays, Literary and Dramatic Reviews and Other Material Written by Walt Whitman as Editor of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle in 1846 and 1847*, ed. Cleveland Rodgers and John Black, vol. 2 (New York, 1920), 136–37.
3. See, e.g., *Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks: Speeches, Negotiations and Treaties with the United States*, Indian Affairs 92, 7th Cong., 1st Sess. ASP07; *Treaty with Florida Indians, with speeches*, Indian Affairs 198, 18th Cong., 1st sess., ASP08.

## Chapter Seven • Archives of Indian Knowledge

1. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851), 107–8.

2. [Lewis Cass], “Review of Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley,” *North American Review* 26 (Apr. 1828): 365–66.
3. Henry R. Schoolcraft, “Mythology, Superstitions and Languages of the North American Indians,” *Literary and Theological Review* 2 (1835): 103.
4. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, 652, 654; *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1839; *Detroit Free Press*, April 21, 1839.
5. Schoolcraft, *Plan for the Investigation of American Ethnology* (New York: NY Historical Society, 1847), reprinted in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institutions*, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), 907–14.
6. P. T. Barnum, *Struggles and Triumphs, Or, Forty Years’ Recollection of P. T. Barnum*, ed. Carl Bode (New York, 1981), 170–71.
7. New York State Senate Document 84, 68th sess., 1845; *Laws of the State of New York* (1845), 136. However, in 1788 the legislature of Virginia ordered the enumeration of the Powhatan tribes. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois; or Contributions to American History, Antiquities, and General Ethnology* (Albany: Erastus H. Pease and Co., 1847), 5.
8. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, 9–10. Also, N. S. Benton to Schoolcraft, June 25, 1845, June 25, 1845, Schoolcraft Papers, LC.
9. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, 5–6.
10. *Ibid.*, 1. He calculated the Iroquois’s increasing population based on somewhat flimsy historical evidence. He found in the United States and Canada 6,942 Iroquois, out of whom 3,843 were in the state of New York (25–26).
11. *Ibid.*, iii. The thirty-seven illustrations in the private edition were mostly of negligible value and included a portrait of Pocahontas and small woodcuts of artifacts and archeological sites.
12. *Ibid.*, 12.
13. *Report of Mr. Schoolcraft, to the Secretary of State, Transmitting the Census Returns in Relation to the Indians*, New York Senate, Doc. 24, 1846, pp. 206–32.
14. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, 475.
15. *Report of Mr. Schoolcraft*, 4–5.
16. *Report of the Commissioners Relating to the Condition of the Indians in Massachusetts*, Massachusetts House Report 46, February 1849, pp. 4–5.
17. *Ibid.*, 48–49.
18. *Ibid.*, 51.
19. Schoolcraft to Medill, February 24, 1846 [copy], Schoolcraft Papers.
20. Cass, Dickerson, and Dix to Marcy, July 21, 1846 [copy], Schoolcraft Papers. Also see Schoolcraft to William Medill, February 24, 1846, Schoolcraft Papers. Office of Indian Affairs Circular, September 1, 1846, Letters Received by the Western Superintendency, 1846–1848, Record Group 75, NARA.
21. Schoolcraft to Medill, July 28, 1846 [copy], Schoolcraft Papers.
22. *Memorandum for the President*, August 1846 [draft], Schoolcraft Papers.
23. *Report of the Committee of Indian Affairs on Albert Gallatin’s Memorial on the Statistics of Indian Tribes to Accompany Bill H. R. No. 649*, House Report 53, 29th Cong., 2d sess., serial 501, p. 3.
24. “Medill’s Report,” February 1, 1847, in *Report of the Committee of Indian Affairs*.

25. *Statutes at Large*, 29th Cong. 2d sess., vol. 9 (1847), 204. Schoolcraft accepted the official position on March 19, 1847. Letter of Appointment, William L. Marcy [Secretary of War] to Schoolcraft, March 18, 1847, Schoolcraft Papers.
26. Enclosed in a letter from Schoolcraft to Marcy, August 2, 1846 [copy], Schoolcraft Papers.
27. *Memorial of George Catlin Praying Congress to Purchase His Collection of Indian Portraits and Curiosities*, in Senate Misc. 152, 30th Cong., 1st sess., serial 511, p. 3.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Committee of the Library to Whom was Referred the Memorial of R. R. Gurley, Praying for the Purchase of Catlin's Collection of Paintings*, House Report 820, 30th Cong., 1st sess., serial 527, p. 2.
30. *Report of the Select Committee on the Expediency of Purchasing Mr. George Catlin's Collection of Indian Scenes and Portraits*, Senate Report 271, 32d Cong., 1st sess., serial 631, p. 2.
31. Schoolcraft to Medill, March 25, 1847, Office of Indian Affairs, Letter Received, Misc., Record Group 75, NARA.
32. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Present and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, vol. 1 of 6 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851), 548–49.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 567.
35. “Circular to the Superintendents, Agents and Sub Agents of the Indian Department,” May 1847, Schoolcraft Papers.
36. Schoolcraft to Marcy, February 1, 1849 [copy], Schoolcraft Papers, LC. In a May 1849 letter to Medill, Schoolcraft urged him to dispatch someone to the western agencies to induce the agents and subagents to fill up the forms. Schoolcraft to Medill, May 20, 1849 [copy], Schoolcraft Papers.
37. Joseph Henry to Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing, June 19, 1849 [copy], Schoolcraft Papers.
38. Schoolcraft to Lieber, March 22, 1851, Schoolcraft Papers, Rhee Collection, HL.
39. Schoolcraft to Indian Commissioner Luke Lea, December 10, 1852, Office of Indian Affairs, Letter Received, Misc., Record Group RU 75, NARA.
40. “Expenses of Collecting and Digesting Statistics of the Indian Tribes of the U.S.,” *Abstract of Expenditures of the United States*, Record Group 213, vol. 5, p. 183, NARA. Henry R. Schoolcraft and Lippincott, “Memorandum of Agreement,” December 6, 1850, Schoolcraft Papers.
41. Frances S. Nichols, *Index to Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes of the United States,"* Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 152 (Washington, D.C., 1954).
42. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information*, 3:58.
43. *Ibid.*, 1:367–68; 2:x-xi; 4:179, 461; 6:28–29.
44. “History of the Indian Tribes,” *North American Review* 73 (July 1851): 243. Friends of Schoolcraft wrote several of these reviews. For example, see *Knickerbocker* 37 (May 1851): 458–59, and *Knickerbocker* 39 (June 1852): 553.
45. Francis J. Bowen, “Schoolcraft on the Indian Tribes,” *North American Review* 77 (July 1853): 245, 247.

46. See, e.g., Schoolcraft to Spencer Fullerton Baird, March 25, 1851, Assistant Secretary Incoming Letters, 1850–1877, RU 52, SIA. George Robbins Gliddon to Ephraim George Squier, April 16, 1851, Ephraim George Squier Papers, LC.
47. *New York Herald*, January 17, 1858.
48. Schoolcraft to George Manypenny, October 1, 1853, Office Of Indian Affairs, Letter Received, Misc., RU 75, NARA.
49. Mary Howard Schoolcraft to the House of Representatives Committee of Indian Affairs, January 21, 1859, Committee Papers, RG 233, HR 35A-D8.7, NARA; Private Bill no. 9, 35th Cong., 2d sess; *Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong. 2d sess. (Jan. 21, 1859): 517.
50. George Manypenny to Schoolcraft, June 11, 1853, RU 75, Letters Received, Misc., NARA.
51. Mary Howard Schoolcraft to Spencer Fullerton Baird, November 12, 1859, Assistant Secretary Incoming, RU 52, SIA.
52. “Report [to accompany bill S. 308] on Seth Eastman’s Memorial,” Senate Committee Report 151, 36th Cong., 1st sess., serial 1039.
53. “The Committee on Claims on Seth Eastman’s Memorial,” Senate Committee Report 160, 39th Cong., 2d sess., serial 1279. In 1863, the Schoolcrafts proposed to publish the remainder of the material collected under the Act of 1847, but despite support in the Senate a \$10,000 appropriations failed in the House. Judging by remarks made during the discussion, it appears that senators were in fact somewhat knowledgeable about the volumes’ content. *Congressional Globe* (June 25, 1864): 3257–58.
54. Schoolcraft, “An address delivered before the New Confederacy of the Iroquois,” 4–5.
55. Robert E. Beider, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820–1880* (Norman, Okla., 1986), 112.
56. Squier to Henry, March 24, 1847 [draft], Squier Papers.
57. Henry to Squier, June 23, 1847; Henry to John Russell Bartlett, June 23, 1847, Squier Papers. On the alterations introduced to the original correspondence, see Gallatin to Henry, June 16, 1847, Albert Gallatin Papers, NYHS. An edited version of that letter was included in the published correspondence. See, e.g., Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report* (1847), 186. Henry to Squier, April 28, 1847 [draft], Joseph Henry Papers, SIA.
58. Henry to Squier, June 23, 1847; Henry to John Russell Bartlett, June 23, 1847, Squier Papers.
59. Henry to Squier, April 18, 1848; also see Henry to Squier, April 14, 1848, Squier Papers.
60. Henry to Gray, May 23, 1848, Historic Letters, GHA.
61. Henry to Squier, August 18, 1848, Squier Papers.
62. Ephraim George Squier and E. H. Davis, “Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising the Results of Extensive Original Surveys and Explorations,” *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1848), xxxiv.

#### *Chapter Eight • The Purloined Indian*

1. Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois* (Rochester: Sage and Brother, 1851), x.
2. *Ibid.*, x–xi.

3. Lewis H. Morgan Diary Entry, October 19, 1859, printed in “How Morgan Came to Write *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*,” ed. Leslie A. White, *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* 42 (1957), 260.
4. “Aquarius” [Lewis H. Morgan], “Vision of KAR-IS-TA-GI-A, a Sachem of Cayuga,” *Knickerbocker* 24 (Sept. 1844): 238.
5. *Ibid.*, 245.
6. Carl Resek, *Lewis Henry Morgan: American Scholar* (Chicago, 1960), 24.
7. Lewis H. Morgan to George Bancroft, August 16, 1844, George Bancroft Papers, MHS. The Oneidas were located at Utica; the Onandagas at Syracuse; the Cayugas, further divided into four tribes, were at Aurora, Auburn, Ithaca, and Owego; and the Seneca, also divided into four, were at Waterloo, Canandaigua, Rochester, and Lima.
8. “Proclamation of the Tek-a-ri-ho-ge-a Instituting and Confirming the Wolf Tribe of the Oneida Nation at Utica,” in Elisabeth Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture* (Tucson, Ariz., 1994), 74.
9. Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley, 1987), 42–43.
10. Skenandoah [Lewis H. Morgan], “To the general Council Fire of the Confederacy at the Falls of the Genesee, 11 Gya-ong-wa [Oct.] 1845,” in Robert E. Beider, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820–1880* (Norman, Okla., 1986), 201.
11. Quoted in Beider, *Science Encounters the Indian*, 210. Also see Tooker, “Issac N. Hurd’s Ethnographic Studies of the Iroquois: Their Significance and Ethnographic Value,” *Ethnohistory* 27 (Fall 1980): 363–69.
12. Eli Parker to William C. Bryant, November 26, 1884, reprinted in Arthur Caswell Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker: Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant’s Military Secretary* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1919), 216.
13. Morgan to Schoolcraft, October 7, 1845, Schoolcraft Papers, LC.
14. William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman, Okla., 1998), 136–39.
15. David Maldwyn Ellis, *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk region, 1790–1850* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1946), 242–50, 271–72. Also see David R. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991), 104.
16. Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, 1989), 12–13.
17. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 456.
18. The book was published in two different styles. A luxurious (\$35) edition on tinted paper included twenty-two colored plates and illustrations that had been prepared for Morgan’s reports for the New York State Board of Regents. These volumes had full gilt edge and were bound in blue leather boards decorated with a chief’s headdress in gold. In the general edition (\$15), maps, plates, and woodcuts were in black and white, and the volume was bound with either cloth or leather. William N. Fenton, Introduction to Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (1962; New York, 1993), vi.
19. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 57–48.
20. *Ibid.*, 60.
21. *Ibid.*, 79.

22. Ibid., 84.
23. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship*, 66.
24. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 102.
25. Quoted in Fenton, Introduction to Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, xiv.
26. Lewis Henry Morgan, "To the Honorable the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York," November 13, 1848, *Second Annual Report of the Regents*, 85.
27. *Second Annual Report of the Regents of the University, on the Condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History with Catalogue of the Same*, New York Senate Doc. No. 20, 1848 (Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen, 1848), 10.
28. *Third Annual Report of the Regents of the University*, New York Senate Doc. No. 75, 1849 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1850), 10.
29. Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*, xiv.
30. Morgan to Parker, Rochester, October 30, 1848, in Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*, 53, 56.
31. Ibid., p. 75. *Third Annual Report of the Regents*, 15.
32. Society of Friends, *Documents and Official Reports Illustrating the Causes Which Led to the Revolution in the Government of the Seneca Indians, in the Year 1848* (Baltimore: William Woody and Son, 1857).
33. Charles Talbot Porter, "Personal Reminiscences," in Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, ed. Herbert M. Lloyd, vol. 2 (New York, 1904), Appendix B, 156.
34. Parker to Schoolcraft, May 2, 1846, Schoolcraft Papers.
35. Schoolcraft to Parker, May 7, 1846, Schoolcraft Papers. Two years later Parker wrote Schoolcraft asking him to keep an eye on the Tonawanda case in Washington (Parker to Schoolcraft, Jan. 23, 1848, Schoolcraft Papers). In 1850, Parker tried to get Schoolcraft to find him a vacant Indian agency in the Midwest or the West (Parker to Schoolcraft, Feb. 25, 1850, Schoolcraft Papers).
36. *Ithaca Daily Chronicle*, August 17, 1846, quoted in William H. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps, Ely S. Parker: Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1978), 31.
37. *Masonic Chronicle* (Columbus, Oh.) 16 (Nov. 1896), quoted in Parker, *Life*, 97.
38. Ibid., 133.
39. Ibid., 141.
40. Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on the Iroquois Material Culture*, 303, fn 30.
41. These incidents usually involved heavy drinking. Parker, *Life*, 132–33.
42. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 33.
43. Parker to Schoolcraft, April 10, 1848, Schoolcraft Papers. However, Parker continued to send Schoolcraft ethnological material about Indian games, dances, and crime. Parker to Schoolcraft, May 8, 1848, Schoolcraft Papers.
44. Resek, *Lewis Henry Morgan*, 38.
45. "The Gettysburg Speech of Grant's Military Secretary," reprinted in Parker, *Life*, 183.
46. Schoolcraft, "An Address Delivered Before the New Confederacy of the Iroquois," 7. Emphasis in the original.
47. Parker, "Memorial To the State Legislature, New York, February 1, 1888," reprinted in Parker, *Life*, 212–13, 218–20.
48. Ibid., 222.

49. “Aquarius,” “Thought at Niagara,” *Knickerbocker* 22 (Sept. 1843): 195.
50. José Barreiro, ed., *Indian Roots of American Democracy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), viii. Donald A. Grinde Jr., “Iroquoian Political Concept and the Genesis of American Government,” in Barreiro, *Indian Roots*, 47–66.
51. Dwight W. Hoover, *The Red and the Black* (Chicago, 1976), 56–57.

### Conclusion

1. Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 2–3.
2. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman, Okla., 1998), 713.
3. <http://www.g-11commission.gov/family/index.htm> (accessed August 2004).
4. Polly Summar, *Albuquerque Journal*, July 27, 2004.
5. *The 9/11 Investigations: Staff Reports of the 9/11 Commission; Excerpts from the House-Senate Joint Inquiry Report on 9/11*, ed. Steven Strasser, intro. Craig R. Whitney (New York, 2004).
6. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, Al Felzenberg, Deputy for Communications, Media Advisory, May 19, 2004. [http://www.g-11commission.gov/press/pr\\_2004-05-19b.pdf](http://www.g-11commission.gov/press/pr_2004-05-19b.pdf).
7. *New York Post*, July 25, 2004.
8. *New York Times*, May 25, 2004.
9. *Baltimore Sun*, May 30, 2004.
10. [http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2004-07-22-report-book-buyers\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2004-07-22-report-book-buyers_x.htm).
11. Heidi Benson, “9/11 Report Creates a Stir in Bookstores,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 1, 2004 ([www.sfgate.com](http://www.sfgate.com)). Ernest R. May, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York, 1998).



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