

Raumi Majd Kinan, Joshua Kyle Kreeger-Johnston,  
Timothy Joseph Mancillas, and Sierra Rey Sampson (editors)

*"I have mingled extensively with all kinds of people":  
Azariah Ashley Bancroft's Recollections (1880-1884)*

*Shelfmark*

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*Introduction*

The following is the first critical edition of the *Recollections* of Azariah Ashley (A. A.) Bancroft (1799-1885), contained in a leather-bound volume with approximately 100 pages (some blank) and held in the University Archives and Special Collections at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). The volume was purchased from Zeitlin (& Ver Brugge), a Los Angeles-based rare books dealer, on December 17, 1969, for \$500. Its light beige pages are reasonably well preserved; however, the condition of the spine is compromised as pages have mostly separated from it. The volume's slightly faded, black-ink, cursive script remains fully legible. Some entries have been crossed out. Although the *Recollections* were written by A. A. Bancroft, he stated that the book was the property of his son, the noted California historian Hubert Howe (H. H.) Bancroft (1832-1918), "as he furnished the blank" (i.e., the blank volume). Not only did A. A. assemble the memories of his life, he also included copies of letters.

A. A. Bancroft began writing his *Recollections* at the request of his son in October 1880 while living in Oakville (Napa Co., California) (ms. p. 1), and he completed the composition while in San Francisco on August 7, 1884 (ms. cover page). Bancroft was born on January 25, 1799, in Granville, Massachusetts. His family moved to Lewis Lake, Pennsylvania, in 1809, and then to Granville, Ohio, in 1814. He married Lucy Damaris Howe, a teacher, on February 22, 1822. Six of the couple's children lived into adulthood. Bancroft participated in the famous circular hunt at Gibbons Deadening in 1823; he worked on the Ohio and Erie Canal in the late 1820s/early 1830s; he hosted the first anniversary of the Ohio State Antislavery Society in his barn in 1836 (because Granville's local churches refused to do so); he traveled to California (via New York, Havana/Cuba, and Panama) in 1850 in the context of the Gold Rush; he worked as an "Indian Agent" on behalf of the U.S. government in the territory of the Yakama Nation (Washington state) in 1861; and he subsequently settled in Oakville. He and his wife adopted an

Apache girl (Susan) in 1872. Lucy Bancroft died on February 8, 1882, while her husband was still working on his *Recollections*. Bancroft himself passed on March 21, 1885, only a few months after completing the *Recollections*. Bancroft did not record his memories in a strictly linear fashion: he circles back to certain events that apparently impacted him profoundly, such as his first day at school; his family's move to Pennsylvania; and his travel to California in 1850.

The tone of the *Recollections* is rather personal, with many tender comments regarding members of Bancroft's family and friends (and not so favorable ones regarding one of his school teachers). There are numerous references, both direct and indirect, to the Old and New Testament, Christian hymns, and Bancroft's personal faith. In addition, the *Recollections* mention significant events in U.S. history that occurred during Bancroft's lifetime, such as the War of 1812, the California Gold Rush (1848-1855), the cholera pandemic of 1852, and the American Civil War (1861-1865). Considering that Bancroft's wife was a former teacher, his son-in-law (George Hunter Derby) a bookseller, and his own son (Hubert Howe Bancroft) a publisher and acclaimed author, it comes as no surprise that there are also a few literary allusions, including those to a poem by William Cowper (1731-1800) and novels by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward (1844-1911). Bancroft himself recounts the story of "Putnam and the Wolf" from his school books because it left a lasting impression on him (and because he was specifically asked to include it).

A. A. Bancroft's *Recollections* should be of interest to those studying nineteenth-century U.S. history, the abolitionist movement, the westward movement, relations with the Indigenous, immigration to California, and the history of mobility and alterity. The *Recollections* demonstrate the intersection of significant nineteenth-century historical events with A. A. Bancroft's personal life. Events taught in the classroom receive new life when presented through the eyes of an individual who personally experienced or lived during these events. The *Recollections* are also an intimate personal account and should appeal to readers interested in the history of family, labor, mentality, and spirituality in nineteenth-century America. The *Recollections* provided the foundation for some of the stories H. H. Bancroft used in his works on California and western history.

The transcription below preserves the spelling and capitalization of the original volume; "[sic]" has been used sparingly (and not when words are merely spelled phonetically), and "[?]" appears only when a transcription is unclear. Some additional punctuation has been added [in square brackets] to enhance readability. A. A. Bancroft included page numbers at the bottom of each page, but this edition places them at the top of each page. The headings below are those of the original manuscript; occasionally these headings are preceded by a single "x" which has been omitted in the edition below, as have the occasional asterisk markings [\*] in the text that appear to have been added by a later hand. The edition has been annotated to include identifications of most persons, locations, events, and key subject matters mentioned in the text.

*Edition: Azariah Ashley Bancroft's Recollections (1880-1884)*

Cover page:

This Book should be considered the property of H[ubert]. H[owe]. Bancroft,<sup>1</sup> as he furnished the blank, and it was writ[t]en at his urgent request. the writing I know has done the writer good, & if it amuses or tends to give grandchildren or great grandchildren a clue to the early lives of some of their Ancestors, & there times, it will answer its end[.]

A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft  
809 G[u]errero St<sup>2</sup> San Francisco Cal[ifornia]  
Aug[ust] 7 1884

Page 1:

Oakville<sup>3</sup> Napa County Cal[ifornia] Oct[ober] 1880

*Some early recollections of A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft*

Portions of my family have from time to time, urged me to note down something of my early recollections for amusement of children & grandchildren, and I have finally overcome my strong disenclination to it, & make the attempt.

*First my grandparents*

My grandparents on the Pratt<sup>4</sup> side of the family were, Gerard Pratt<sup>5</sup> & Dorcas Ashley.<sup>6</sup> They lived upon their old home farm, afterwards owned by their soninlaw, Col[onel] James Barlow, was one & a half miles from Fathers. Grandfather reserved two acres of good garden [sic] land with some fruit trees also six fine seek-no-farther appletrees[.] They were aged & infirm[.] when I was a small Boy I used to help him dig and store his potatoes, & apples, & sell his fine apples by the dozen in the spring. He had a kind heart & usually kept a stock of nuts and fruit in their season for the grandchildren[.]

Page 2:

He had one peculiarity of wearing his broad brim[m]ed hat constantly, When he went to bed, he would hang his hat upon the bed post & put it on first thing, when he went to the table he ~~table~~ would take his hat off & hold it untill had asked the blessing, and then put it on. Was a man of few words, & fond of hunting & fishing. My grandfather Bancrof[t],<sup>7</sup> & grandmother Elizabeth Spellman,<sup>8</sup> were both good

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<sup>1</sup> (1832-1918), A. A. Bancroft's son.

<sup>2</sup> Address (Mission District, San Francisco); current structure built 1906 (after the earthquake).

<sup>3</sup> Town (Napa Valley, northern California).

<sup>4</sup> Pratt is the family name of A. A. Bancroft's mother, Tabitha Pratt Bancroft (1771-1842).

<sup>5</sup> (1739-1826).

<sup>6</sup> (1736-1813).

<sup>7</sup> Lt. Samuel Bancroft (1737-1820).

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Spelman Bancroft (1740-1836).

talkers she was devotedly Pious. He spent some years in the French and Indian war,<sup>9</sup> & then in the revolution,<sup>10</sup> serving as a Lieut[enant]. He was a good story teller & fond of company, & I never became sleepy, at night while listening to his war stories. I had sheets of his continental money<sup>11</sup> to play with which were never cut apart & wholly worthless. This was his pay for years of service, helping to secure our Independence He died before the law was passed by congress remunerating those old soldiers.<sup>12</sup> He had three sons Azariah[,] Samuel & Barber and five daughters Diana, Rhoda, - -<sup>13</sup> They both lived to old age[,] grandMother ninety five, & then her death was hastened by means of a fall on slip[p]ery door steps[.]

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### *My Parents*

My Father<sup>14</sup> was not of sound health since my remembrance; Always more or less afflicted with Asthma, was quite active for light work in the open air, of good judgment in general matters, both were pious, both had very good governmint, in family without much use of the Black Birch.<sup>15</sup> My Mother was tall & slim of statu[r]e, of a tough wiry constitution, and the way she could turn off her work was a marvel[.] I recollect a private remark father made to me when quite young, was my Mother was worth any two of her sisters, in rearing a family. She was a full hand in all branches of household work, & was I trust devotedly Pious.

### *Our Newengland farm & farming*

Our farm was of rather a hard portion of Mass[achusetts]. Strong and somewhat hilly, our team for farm work was one yoke of oxen, and one gentle horse hi[t]ched before, and driven with a long whip ~~driven~~ the same as the oxen, as obedient to the word, and often without a Bridle, in plowing, it was requisite for a boy to walk beside the team, to keep them straight, When I was 6 or seven years old I done considerable such driving, for my father, I recollect well

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one warm day as the sun was getting low, I became very tired & drop[p]ed some tears which my father noticed, sto[p]ped the team & taking me by the hand kindly asked me the cause, I whined a little & replied that I thought this too large a team

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<sup>9</sup> (1754-1763); conflict between the colonies of British America and those of New France.

<sup>10</sup> (1775-1783); war for independence waged by the American colonies against Great Britain.

<sup>11</sup> Currency used between 1775 and 1783, issued by the Continental Congress.

<sup>12</sup> Either the 1828 "Act for the relief of certain surviving officers and soldiers of the army of the revolution," or the 1832 "Act supplementary to the 'Act for the relief of certain surviving officers and soldiers of the army of the revolution.'"

<sup>13</sup> A. A. Bancroft apparently did not remember the names of these three aunts.

<sup>14</sup> Azariah Bancroft (1768-1828).

<sup>15</sup> Likely referencing a disciplinary tool made from the Black Birch tree.

for a boy 6 years old to drive all day, he patting me a little said he thought so too, & now you drive two rounds more & we will turn out. Well, after a number of plowings and harrowings we proce[e]ded to plant our little field of corn, father attached a a planting bag to his little boy, father with his hoe removed the stone, & prepared the hill, while I dro[p]ped the corn & he covered it, I suppose in this way we planted less than one acre per day. After I was 7 years old I I [sic] never attended school summers, My services were too valuable on the farm. I am helped to arrive at those dates in this way, I know the family left Mass[achusetts] in 1809, and left Penn[sylvania] in 1814. In my farm work I wore my linen frock, the same as the men, made like a shirt but only larger & courser. I helped plant & hoe corn and potatoes, reap grain, pull flax, rake hay &c.<sup>16</sup> &c. My Father did not move to Granville Ohio<sup>17</sup> in 1806, with the first colony were not quite ready at that time but followed some years later[.]

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*Our Family Sojourn in Penn[sylvania].*

In the Spring of 1809 Doct[or] Stanberry<sup>18</sup> of New York brought his friend Geo[rge] Lewis<sup>19</sup> from New York, to Granville Mass[achusetts],<sup>20</sup> his object was to find a man that would hire to Mr Lewis for a term of years, to take charge of Mr Lewis business in Penn[sylvania], where he owned a few thousand acres, laying between the two branches of the Susquehan[n]a,<sup>21</sup> 75 miles below tioga Point.<sup>22</sup> My Father hired to him with the family, at first for 3 years, at \$200 per annum, & afterwards two more for \$300, Mr L[ewis] furnish provisions. This was a cold Mountain section of country, heavily timbered with Hemlock, & black Birch, with an undergrowth of Laurel & detached rock. On the top was a beautiful Lake, of one mile in length & breadth, where he had resolved to spend a fortune upon. could raise grass, oats, & potatoes, Pork & flour were brought on waggons ~~from~~ 20 miles from the Susquehanna valley[.] In Oct[ober] 1809 My Uncle Barber, fathers youngest Brother, & Heman Barlow, my cousin, took each a two horse team, & brought our small effects, from Granville Mass[achusetts], to Lake Lewis,<sup>23</sup> 200 miles. As we approached our location, word was carried to the settlement that, that our teams were assending the mountain[.] Israel Lewis the old mans Nephew, a fine young fellow who was visiting there mounted

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<sup>16</sup> Read: "etc."

<sup>17</sup> Village (Licking Co., Ohio); established ca. 1805, named after Granville, Massachusetts.

<sup>18</sup> Jonas Stanberry; father of the 28th U.S. Attorney General, Henry Stanberry.

<sup>19</sup> (1756-1830).

<sup>20</sup> Town (Hampden Co., Massachusetts); settled 1736 by English colonists, incorporated 1754.

<sup>21</sup> River (northeastern and mid-Atlantic U.S.).

<sup>22</sup> Location (near the New York/Pennsylvania border).

<sup>23</sup> Location (near Union Dale, Pennsylvania), presumably named after George Lewis.

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A horse and rode down & met us, greeting us pleasantly, & asking many questions, finally rode rapidly back, in high glee swinging his hat and shouting, I have seen the yankees, I have seen the yankees, well how do they look[:] W[h]y the old man is dried up old fellow, but looks as cunning as a fox. Yankees at that day and that isolated locality, were not in good repute. The people had little intercourse with except peddlers & sharpers,<sup>24</sup> whose aim was to impose the dutch. While moving through, we often had difficulty to get accommodations because we were yankees, but after an acquaintance of a few months, we found them the most confiding friends we ever had, Mr Lewis was an Englishman & a bachelor, of near 70 years[,] feeble & childish & only visited us about once a year, Father taking the entire charge, & proving to be just the man for the plow, harmonizing well with his employer. During our five years of sojourn, there, we opened a large farm, built miles of Stone fence, built quite a town, a good Sawmill, upon the out let of the Lake, built one large glass factory for window glass, and one for bottles all of stone. we had care of a large flock of sheep of fine breed. Mr Lewis bought some lots of merinos<sup>25</sup> direct from the ships that imported them[,] badly covered with

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scab, the ew[e]s paid 300, & for the Bucks 500, he crowded them into horse carts, & sent them 150 miles, to the Lake by irresponsible persons. we arranged them judiciously in our Barns, & nursed them night and day, but a portion of them would die. And Mr Lewis censured father a little on this occasion, wondering why Bancroft let those sheep die. Father wrote him that he could nurse sheep as well as any man, but could not always keep the breath of life in them. But we had had our eye for some years fixed upon Granville Ohio, where we would meet many old friends, & kindred who emigrated thither nine years before, as a colony. So in Sept[ember] 1814, we settled up amicably with Lewis, hi[t]ched up our own teams, & started for the promised land. We were on the road when our country rang with joyful news of Pease from the war of 1812,<sup>26</sup> and soon after of Jacksons<sup>27</sup> great victory, at New Orleans[.]<sup>28</sup>

### *Of Granville Ohio*

In 1805 A company was formed in Granville Mass[achusetts], to emigrate to the 'far West' in a colony. The company sent out two men [Stanbury and Rothburn],<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Gamblers.

<sup>25</sup> Breed of sheep.

<sup>26</sup> (1812-1815); conflict between the U.S. and the United Kingdom.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Jackson (1767-1845); military commander, later U.S. President (1829-1837).

<sup>28</sup> Battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815); American victory over the British forces.

<sup>29</sup> Names added later added at the bottom of the page, possibly by a different hand.

as agents to look for a suitable location, and after diligent search they fixed upon a township in Licking

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in [sic] county<sup>30</sup>, which took the name of Granville Ohio, & in 1806 they were formed into a congregational church,<sup>31</sup> a sermon was preached at their starting from the text, If Thy presence go not with us, carry us not up thence.<sup>32</sup> Then they hitched up their teams of oxen and horses driving their cows along, moved off in a hurry [?]. As I was not one of the favored colony, shall not attempt the incidents of the journey. They reached their destination late in the week, a heavy timbered tract, arranged their waggons near each other, fell a few of the large noble trees, and on sabbath morn, those woods rang with with the sound of prayer and praise. Having a good sermon read, they [had] such a season as those pioneers took pleasure, in recounting, . [sic] There is yet one living witness who partisipated in that season of worship, Deacon Timothy M. Rose.<sup>33</sup> This colony being princip[al]ly from one place, were nearly of one heart & one mind,<sup>34</sup> so they had schools immediately, & soon were able to settle a pastor. The Rev[erend] Timothy Harris<sup>35</sup> was their first. In this way Granville got the start of adjoining towns in morality & intel[l]igence & always kept it, They had the most schools, & the best & furnished teachers by the hundred for the great West. I am not prepared to state the number of schools & churches

Inserted between pages 8 and 9:

In the town. It is claimed that since that first meeting to come under the head of Granville Ohio<sup>36</sup>

#### *Some Snakes*

The next year after the colony sittled in G[ranville] Ohio, they found their locality almost aliv[e] with snakes, the large yellow rattle snake five foot long, & the little dark copper head 2 feet long, of the two the copperhead was the most annoying & dangerous, was much more active & equally venemous, habits more sneaking liked to crowd himself into our cabbins[,] he gave no warning before biting, as did his noble Uncle of the rattling sp[ec]ies. (the rattle snake, almost invariably ratt[l]es, before he bites) The village of Granville was, n[e]arly surrounded by low hills, which were filled with free stone, & in the upper layers of stone, the snakes harbored in winter. In the early spring of 1807 the people took measures to try and

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<sup>30</sup> Licking Co. (Ohio); established 1808.

<sup>31</sup> Protestant Christian denomination.

<sup>32</sup> Holy Bible, Old Testament, Exodus 33:15.

<sup>33</sup> (1762-1813).

<sup>34</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, Acts 4:32.

<sup>35</sup> (1781-1822); graduate of Middlebury College (Vermont); ordained 1808 in Granville (Ohio).

<sup>36</sup> The main narrative continues on page 9: "In the town."

reduce those pests. I was not there at that time, but I had the results from very good authority, and will let you have "it all the same." They assembled & chose sides as in other - con[tinued]

Inserted between pages 8 and 9 (continued):

hunts, and hunted two days, some dig[g]ing into those loose stone before they had left winter quarters, others scouring the county at large, they only Bag[g]ed the tails of the two venemous sp[e]c[i]es although in dig[g]ing they found snakes of all the common varieties, coiled together in the utmost harmony, all that seemed necessary for a complete fraternization was there Snakeship. It was said as a result of this two days hunt, they counted seven hundred tails of those two varieties. My Father moved into Granville a little later & there was no unusual number there then[.]

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In the town. It is claimed by those who knew, that since that first meeting upon their first sabbath that no sabbath has occurred since, but what has been honored by public worship, in some form. When no preaching could be had, they would have what they called a Deacons meeting. There was this peculiarity in that township, there none very rich and none very poor, all were Kings & all subjects. Here all our children were born[.]

### *My Fathers Family*

My Mother gave birth to eleven children, two having died in infancy,<sup>37</sup> and raising nine to mature age, four sons & five daughters Gerard,<sup>38</sup> Ashley,<sup>39</sup> Henry,<sup>40</sup> William,<sup>41</sup> Lucretia,<sup>42</sup> Matilda,<sup>43</sup> Rhoda,<sup>44</sup> Clarissa,<sup>45</sup> Charlotte.<sup>46</sup> They all reared families, all were pious all were members of the congregational church. Three sons & four daughters are supposed at this date to be living Jan[uary] 2[n]d 1882 there ages ranging from 89 to 75 years, rather a slender Brood but incline[d] to spin out life Without cont[r]oversity, they ware an admirable family, and I confidently trust they all, (yes every one) will have a place in those prepared mansions<sup>47</sup> above. And what more can we ask for them[.]

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<sup>37</sup> For one of these, William Wilson (1803-1805), see below, manuscript pages 53, 61.

<sup>38</sup> (1792-1885). Most of the siblings were buried at Maple Grove Cemetery (Granville, Ohio).

<sup>39</sup> (1799-1885), the author of the *Recollections*.

<sup>40</sup> (1800-1890).

<sup>41</sup> (1805-1870).

<sup>42</sup> (1795-1856).

<sup>43</sup> (1797-1882).

<sup>44</sup> (1808-1892).

<sup>45</sup> (1796-1858).

<sup>46</sup> (1814-1887).

<sup>47</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 14:2.

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*But the great event of my life was*

Entering into a marriage relation. Well, a long time ago, a little stammering Boy turned up from the rocks & hills of Mass[achusetts], who might eventually want a wife, and Infinite Benevolence took the case into his own hands, and being able to see the end from the beginning what better advocate could we possibly have, and as a compensation (or some other cause) for this grievous affliction entailed upon him[.] He was graciously inclined to bestow upon him a very great Boon, one of the very best wives in His keeping, and in accordance with this plan, He caused the damsels of his mighty realm, to pass before him, and strange to relate, in the green Mountains of Vermont,<sup>48</sup> one was found one with whom he was perfectly acquainted, which he knew would be the right person to fill the place. Now the parties were far removed from each other, & still farther removed from the scene of their future destination, which was Granville Ohio. And now the time drew nigh in which those young persons were to be prepared for their work, & for each other therefore the great moving power gave them good parents to train them, & good associations and could clearly see that they would rear a family of children that they would not be ashamed of.

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And now in accordance with the great plan I was sent out from Mass[achusetts] to Ohio, a few years in advance of my mate, and four years later there was a movement in a family in Vermont, who bid farewell to friends and started for the west, there mode of travel was rather primitive, one ox team, & one of horses driving or leading a cow, it was not a fast train, as they consumed, seven weeks to a day in the Journey from St Albans,<sup>49</sup> V[ermon]t to granville Ohio. Mr Curtis Howe,<sup>50</sup> had a Brother who owned a farm North of fathers, where the emigrants stop[p]ed, but they soon bought the farm on the south of fathers. The second day after their arrival, I was walking from fathers towards town, I met two persons[,] one proved to my sister Matilda, the other Miss Lucy D[amaris] Howe, my sister gave a slight introduction & passed on, but not untill I had seen a great deal, my eyes were fixed upon this new object, & I could not tell why, nothing escaped me, not even her dress, which I should think was scarlet alopaca<sup>51</sup> & well fitted. Dont know exactly how it was, whether the dress became the person, or the person the dress, but taking them together I thought them the finest establishment I had ever

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<sup>48</sup> North-south mountain range in Vermont. The parents of Lucy Damaris Howe (1799-1882), A. A. Bancroft's (future) wife, were married in 1798 at St. Albans (Franklin Co., Vermont).

<sup>49</sup> St. Albans (Franklin Co., southwestern Vermont); settled 1785.

<sup>50</sup> (1772-1871); Lucy Damaris Howe's father and A. A. Bancroft's (future) father-in-law. Curtis Howe originally hailed from Granville, Massachusetts, as well.

<sup>51</sup> Perhaps "alpaca."

seen, Poor Ashley, he was rather smitten, & dare not make a move, but he had one resource,

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he knew the way to a throne of grace,<sup>52</sup> and his prayer for months was, that god would give him a companion that should prove a rich & lasting blessing to him. And how wonderfully that prayer has been answered. Miss Howe when she started out from her Uncles log cabbin that morning, did not know that she was going forth into the street, to meet him who was ~~to~~ appointed to be her companion, during a pilgrimage of ~~more than sixty~~ ~~eighty~~ years.<sup>53</sup> What a wonder working God is our God who works~~ing~~ all things after the councils of His will.<sup>54</sup> Help us to trust Him. When I first met Miss Howe coming up to my fathers house, her object was to rent one of our chambers to do some work as her Uncles cabbin was small & dark. Lucius D. Mower<sup>55</sup> a young man somewhat profane one of our merchants, met Miss Howe soon after her arrival [and] asked one [of] his chums who she was, when told [he] remarked she is develish handsome. Miss Howe united with the congregational church of St Albans V[ermon]t in 1817 & next year brought her church letter<sup>56</sup> to Ohio. When she arrived there were about a dozen young persons myself included had been examined for membership, so that Miss was admited by letter on the same day that I was admit[t]ed on profession. Our Pastor at that time was the Rev[erend]

Page 13:

Timothy Harris. Miss Howe taught school some in Granville, & then in Irville<sup>57</sup> 20 miles east of Granville on the Zanesville<sup>58</sup> road. While she was in Irville I wrote to her upon this absorbing subject, It was only a few lines, but she was able to understand them, the reply came in due time, [and] was quite brief and noncommit[t]al. She remarked that her school would close in a few weeks, she should then return home. Well, we were both rather backward and she slow to pledge herself, but when I got encouragement that I thought reliable, my mental response was Bless the Lord o my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name.<sup>59</sup> Were not touched with doubts & fears after this. Mis[s] Howe helped her

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<sup>52</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, Hebrews 4:16 (a metaphor for praying).

<sup>53</sup> The corrections here appear in a different hand. A. A. Bancroft was referring to his and his wife Lucy's lifespan which, since both were born in 1799, had surpassed eighty years when he started writing his *Recollections* in 1880. The correction to "sixty" is therefore a reference to their married life together (1822-1882).

<sup>54</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, Ephesians 1:11.

<sup>55</sup> (1793-1834). His 1824 red brick house in Granville, Ohio, is still standing.

<sup>56</sup> A reference to transferring church membership "by letter."

<sup>57</sup> Community (Muskingum Co., Ohio); established ca. 1815.

<sup>58</sup> City (Muskingum Co., Ohio); established as Zanesville 1801.

<sup>59</sup> Holy Bible, Old Testament, Psalm 103:1.

father ~~her~~ with own earnings in building his house on the farm, & then by teaching & making straw bonnets, she made her outfit for her marriage. my visits during the intervening time, sometimes at her fathers, & then at places where she was teaching, were pr[e]cious seasons, the utmost harmony prevailing. Can call distinctly to mind whin I put to the Hon[orable] Curtis Howe, rather a leading question. When I asked (him by letter) if he would bestow upon me his oldest daughter, he graciously replied well, I think it would be a precious gift, & I - thought - so - too; But the preciousness of the gift did not so much at first appear, untill we had traveled the rugged

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path of life a few years, & she had began to stamp her image upon our offspring, & then point them to heaven, then I understood better the value of the gift. Our marriage which occurred on wife's birth day 23 years of age Feb[ruary] 22, 1822 was not so brilliant as some I have read of but quite enough so for the times & the parties were greeted by no other than pleasant faces. And now after some solicitude on my part this tall Green Mountain girl had become legally mine and how shall we construe the teachings of a kind parent in this case. We can but expect some good results from this union, in comeing generations. The plan of my parents were for me to occupy the home farm and live with them, but a few months after our marriage W[illia]m Stanberry<sup>60</sup> Esq[ui]re. a leading lawyer of our county & living in Newark<sup>61</sup> 6 miles from us wanted a large residence built on his farm two miles below Newark, & as part payment would give a farm of 100 acres adjoining the town of Granville on the north, & two thousand dollars in cash & other property[.]

*Hewing out our destiny*

We closed our contract with d[octo]r Stanberry[,] we furnishing all materials & my father who was in poor health would would [sic] help what he could[.]

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Accordingly in august after harvest, I moved my young wife into a small cabbin on the Stanberry farm with two young men<sup>62</sup> to help and first cleared the cite of a growth of small oaks, plowed & scraped out a cellar, and opened a stone quarry, and by that time every one of us were taken down with the ague<sup>63</sup> and in some of its fases, chills shaking or dumb ague and after struggling & suffering without help to care for the sick, we adjourned to our old home the neighborhood we left in G[ranville], was exempt from ague, & going to this low ground at this season we ought to have expul[l]ed it. Finally we adjourned our work on the job untill

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<sup>60</sup> (1788-1873); half-brother of the 28th U.S. Attorney General, Henry Stanberry.

<sup>61</sup> City (Licking Co., Ohio); settled 1802.

<sup>62</sup> "Men" is a later insertion.

<sup>63</sup> Malaria-like disease; involves fever, shivering, and sweating.

spring & moved back to G[ranville] - where our first son<sup>64</sup> was born in Oct[ober]. After health was partially ~~we~~ restored we done something in the way of hauling logs to a number of saw mills for our lumber, and in the spring returned & made brick &c. My Brothers Gerard and Henry at time were carpenters, and with their apprintices done most of our work. Stanberry added extra work so that his house when completed cost him about \$4,000[.] at that time it was the best residence in Licking County. We had not the conveniences of Mill work in sash doors cornice<sup>65</sup> &c. all were now made by hand, so we were two years in building[.]

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Then we moved to our farm North of Granville where six of our children were born, all except Curtis.<sup>66</sup>

*My work on the Ohio Canal*

I think I did not rest on the farm but a few months when work commenced on the Ohio canal.<sup>67</sup> My first contract of any note was quarrying, hauling & cutting the stone for two locks near the Muskingum River,<sup>68</sup> eight miles above Dresden<sup>69</sup> Father Howe being employed with me. This was a heavy laborious job ~~There were celebrated mills locks built at the locks mills dont remember their name~~ The stone used for those locks were sandstone laying in very large detached blocks upon the face of the hill above locks. we broke to suitable size, hi[t]ched a chain & with an ox team drew them down, did not load them upon wheels. My young energetic wife with very little help hearded [?] all our hands, and nursed our Babies[,] was with us there two years[.] I spent much of my time cutting stone, as I had had some experiences in work of that kind before going upon the canal. We made a little clear money on all of our jobs more or less, but upon the whole those jobs were not lucrative but we came off with honor in every instance.

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My last job of much note was sowing Blue grass seed upon the canal banks, and harrowing it in. The object of this was to prevent the banks from washing from rain. This job extended from Circleville<sup>70</sup> to Portsmouth<sup>71</sup> 75 miles. It was a

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<sup>64</sup> Curtis Azariah Bancroft (1823-1893).

<sup>65</sup> Ornamental molding around the wall of a room, just below the ceiling.

<sup>66</sup> These children included: Cecilia Marianne (1826-1868), Emily Matilda (1829-1907), Hubert Howe (1832-1918), Mary Melissa (1838-1933), Albert Little (1841-1914), and a boy who died in infancy. See Henry R. Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft and His Card String of Events (Continued)," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (December 1950): 357-367.

<sup>67</sup> Ohio and Erie Canal (Ohio); constructed 1825-1833.

<sup>68</sup> Tributary of the Ohio River (Ohio).

<sup>69</sup> Village (Muskingum Co., Ohio); incorporated 1835.

<sup>70</sup> City (Pickaway Co., Ohio); established 1810.

<sup>71</sup> City (Scioto Co., Ohio); established 1803.

responsible job, as I knew better how it should be done, then the commmissioners or engineers, They however gave me much credit for its faithful performance. In 1834 I built a stone residence on our farm, cutting the stone myself, & ro[o]ffing it with tin, I was back there in 1873 & that roof was nearly as bright without paint as when put on, but the cause of this I suppose was being remote from sea breeze[.]

*My Southern mistake*

About this time it was discovered that there [was] fine farming land in the lower corner of Missouri, southwest of New Madrid<sup>72</sup> and a number of families from Granville, includi[n]g our own moved down. It was a charming rich country, interspersed with small Prairies the best of soil & timber. But it had its draw back, it was too low & rich to be exempt from this dreaded miasma.<sup>73</sup> Well I struggled there about three years, more dead than alive, & then slid out of it not richer in money

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But in something else. I was in health quite low did not expect to regain it, but my constitution proved not only wiry but elastic & I was on my feet again.

The summer of 1849 was a very fruitful season in orchard products, & I built a flat boat on a feeder<sup>74</sup> of the canal, loading it with apples, cider, applebutter<sup>75</sup> and a multitude of other articles, and ran out into the Ohio River at Portsmouth & thence into the Father of waters,<sup>76</sup> selling as we went. But there was much cholera on the River that year, so that many p[e]ople were afraid of our fruit. We stop[p]ed some weeks at Memphis tenn[essee] selling princip[al]ly out, then ship[p]ing the ballance upon a steamer bound up red river.<sup>77</sup> And here again that fatal disease was at our heels, Two days ~~after~~ before we reached Shreveport,<sup>78</sup> I was taken with cholera<sup>79</sup> and I think ran a narrow escape. One night there among strangers, I expected to die much more than to live & the feelings I had for my family were difficult to express, & if I ever prayed, I did then, and the Lord heard my ardent prayer[,] rebuked my disease, and permit[t]ed me to reach home in safety and mingle with dear family & friends again, as he had done many times before & since, and blessed be his name[.]<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> City (New Madrid Co., Missouri); established 1778.

<sup>73</sup> Strong, unpleasant odor; associated with transferable diseases.

<sup>74</sup> Supply/tributary canal.

<sup>75</sup> Concentrated applesauce.

<sup>76</sup> Mississippi River.

<sup>77</sup> Tributary/distributary of the Mississippi River.

<sup>78</sup> City (Caddo Parish, Louisiana); founded 1836.

<sup>79</sup> Infectious disease; causing diarrhea and extreme dehydration.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Holy Bible, Old Testament, Psalm 113:2

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*The gold fever*

Early in the spring of 1850<sup>81</sup> a company of about 30 persons moral and respectable men, from our part of Licking County were about to start from Granville to California and I cast in my lot with them. Procured through tickets on steamer & started early in March & on reaching Panama<sup>82</sup> the Steamer Columbus<sup>83</sup> had not reached Panama, & our Consul said probably she would not for one month[.] as we did not like to stop there we exchanged our tickets for a sail vessel with some boat, it was the Bark Susan<sup>84</sup> of 300 tons[.] The Capt[ain] & ship were both promising, and we started out under favorable circumstances, but our staid old Capt[ain] soon gave evidence of insanity steering for different ports almost every day & finally, one evening cut his throat and threw himself into the ocean, our mate took us back to Panama where after 57 days we drop[p]ed our anc[h]or with our colors reversed as a signal of distress. a commit[t]ee from our Company of passengers were by the first boat that left the ship to lay our case before the consul for redress. He took us in charge at once furnished us supplies as we had been on allowance for a while, and the cleansing of the ship had been neglected after we lost our Capt[ain], & the passengers were many of them were sick, some died on

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and some after we arrived in Panama, the boat that brought us ashore, took back from the Consul provisions & medicine. We put a large tent on the Island Taboga<sup>85</sup> (near Panama) while our vessel was cleansed refitted and reof[f]icered and in two weeks were sent forward on on the Bark Susan & were in all on board that vessel over 160 days. After making our outfit we went to Mormon Island<sup>86</sup> American River[.]<sup>87</sup> In the fall we passed oustro[m]<sup>88</sup> Yuba<sup>89</sup> and worked there about two years. I returned home in summer of [18]52 a few days before our sonsinlaw Harlow Palmer & George Derby died in Buffalo[.]<sup>90</sup> Mr Derby a few weeks before his death, ship[p]ed a stack of Books to San Franci[s]co, & as providence would

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<sup>81</sup> California Gold Rush (1848-1855).

<sup>82</sup> Transcontinental country (southernmost Central America).

<sup>83</sup> Side-wheel steam ship; operating 1828-1850; sank November 27, 1850, Chesapeake Bay.

<sup>84</sup> Bark Susan W. Lind; wrecked February 19, 1860, Gingerbread Ground Reef (Bahamas).

<sup>85</sup> Volcanic island (Gulf of Panama); about 20 kilometers from Panama City, Panama.

<sup>86</sup> Mining town (Sacramento Co., California); established 1848; now underneath Folsom Lake.

<sup>87</sup> River (California); the nearby 1848 discovery of gold at Coloma started the Gold Rush.

<sup>88</sup> Community (Yuba Co., California).

<sup>89</sup> Yuba Co. (California); established 1850.

<sup>90</sup> Harlow Palmer was the husband of Emily Matilda Bancroft; George Hunter Derby was the husband of Cecilia Marianne Bancroft. See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 357-358. The brothers died during the 1852 cholera pandemic in Buffalo, New York.

have it, Mr Derby had been training two of his Boys H[ubert]. H[owe]. Bancroft<sup>91</sup> & G[eorge] L Kenny<sup>92</sup> for their work, & sent them by the Isthmus<sup>93</sup> to S[an]. F[rancisco]. to take charge of his shipment & sell them out[.] Well, soon after the stock started by one route, & the Boys in another, for their destination, Mr Derby died in Buffalo of Cholera. And now his ~~the~~ Brothers took charge of Geo[rge] Derbys business, is[s]ued orders to H. H. to put the goods up at auction & make them returns, but the Boy H. H. had Geo[rge] Derbys instructions to sell them differently which he did, and remit[t]ed to them the last doller -. And here, through the Providence of God was the germ of the Bancroft house in San Francisco[.]

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And what has it accomplished[.] Some one hath said, that that who studies the provid[en]ces of God, shall providen[c]es of God to study. Now here is a place for some very interesting incidents in connection with this business[.] But others understand them better than myself therefore will be excused from recording them. While this cruel war<sup>94</sup> destroyed thousands of fortunes families & friends, it dealt gently with our family, and was a means of their accumulating property. For a time Greenbacks<sup>95</sup> were worth only 50 & they could sell for coin, & buy for Greenbacks, so doubling their money every move, and for a time, made money as fast as they desired.

### *Indian Agent*

In 1861, About the time [of] the War of the Rebellion<sup>96</sup> was inflicted upon us, I rec[e]ived an appointment from President Lincoln<sup>97</sup> as Indian Agent<sup>98</sup> for the Yakima<sup>99</sup> agency, located at Fort Simcoe<sup>100</sup> W[ashington]. T[erritory]. east of the Cascade Range<sup>101</sup> 90 miles ~~west~~ north from Dalls City[.]<sup>102</sup> This Post was built by the military & while new This was turned over to the Indian department[.] In my appointment I was informed that my salary would be \$1500<sup>103</sup> per annum, but before we rec[eive]d our first payment Greenbacks were the order of the day and

<sup>91</sup> Then a clerk in his brother-in-law's (i.e., George Derby's) bookstore in Buffalo, New York.

<sup>92</sup> H. H. Bancroft's close friend and (future) business partner in San Francisco.

<sup>93</sup> Panama Isthmus; connects Central and South America.

<sup>94</sup> American Civil War (1861-1865).

<sup>95</sup> Paper currency issued by the U.S. during the American Civil War.

<sup>96</sup> American Civil War.

<sup>97</sup> Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865); U.S. President (1861-1865).

<sup>98</sup> Individual authorized to interact with the Indigenous on behalf of the U.S. government.

<sup>99</sup> City (Yakima Co., Washington); named after the region's Indigenous Yakama Nation.

<sup>100</sup> U.S. army fort (Yakima Co., Washington), established 1856-1859.

<sup>101</sup> Mountain range (extending from southwestern Canada to northern California).

<sup>102</sup> The Dalles City (Wasco Co., Oregon); incorporated 1857; ca. 90 miles south of Ft. Simcoe.

<sup>103</sup> Later insertion from a different hand above: "(\$1500 -?)."

were worth only about 50 ce[n]ts, & as a general Gov[ernment] employees in all departments were paid off in

Page 22 (1); there are two pages numbered "22" in this manuscript:

this currency, so with others I submit[t]ed to how my salary reduced nearly one half, but it was the only war tax I had to pay, Then add to this the agency was deeply in debt when I took possession made a difficul[t]y in paying off old debts with curren[c]y so much below par. We were not paid coin during the four years I was there, but as my sons were in business at S[an]. F[rancisco]. they proposed that I should save my greenbacks & they would credit me on their books the face, & send them east to purchase stock, which helped me much in the out come. Well in 1864 I think it was we left Simcoe & drop[p]ed down to San F[rancisco] H[ubert] with family was living in Oakland<sup>104</sup> and doing business in San F[rancisco]- Wife and I stop[p]ed with ~~th~~ him a few days untill he bought the lot con [sic] Pine & Franklin St[reet],<sup>105</sup> where he now lives, & the little house now occupied by Mrs Watts, this was moved to one corner of the lot, & repaired repaired [sic], which became our[s] for [a] few years, while I worked some in the warehouse at store and some in improving the lots adjoining this, cl[e]aring the Brush off & grading, then H[ubert]. put up two res[i]dences on the lots on Cal[ifornia]. St[reet]s<sup>106</sup> west of Alberts,<sup>107</sup> & I ~~labored in~~ labored in building those two houses, cl[e]aring fensing & grading. But much of the labour I done there, was done over me, as plans were changed a number of times, But this was now about 20 years ago, & does not affect me much now

Nov 10. 1883

Page 23 (1); there are two pages numbered "23" in this manuscript:

I had previously mentioned of comeing to california with a company, as a Miner in 1850. At that time it was frequently the case that men without means would offer to others who would pit them out, one half of the net profits on their return. There were not less than 6 or 8 so fitted out from granville. And I think in every instance it was a loosing game for those who advanced the out fit. My Brother W[illia]m & myself sent two persons on that principle, & I went out and took charge of them, but they were determind to steal and did so, in spite of every thing. They were temperate at home, but after being from ~~two~~ home two days they drank to excess. Thomas Owens<sup>108</sup> was an exception he was the Doct[or] second man he done pretty well in working & saving but was shipwreck[ed] on his way home and lost some. One of our men whom we fitted out (Morrison) ~~whom~~ left

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<sup>104</sup> City (Alameda Co., California); incorporation approved 1854.

<sup>105</sup> Intersection (Polk Gulch neighborhood, San Francisco).

<sup>106</sup> Street name (San Francisco); transects the Polk Gulch neighborhood.

<sup>107</sup> Albert Little Bancroft; one of A. A. Bancroft's sons.

<sup>108</sup> (1811-1869).

his bones upon 'Long Bar Yuba'<sup>109</sup>. This was after I left 'long bar'. It was thought by other miners, that Briggs<sup>110</sup> who was camping with him, killed him. They were both bad men from G[ranville]- I returned home July 1852 I brought a few hundred in gold with me, & lost some in a quartz mill. a few weeks after my return, Harlow Palmer died in Buffalo of Cholera. And a few weeks after, G. H. Derby our other soninlaw died of the same complaint. Thus our two daughters Ce[ci]lia & Emily were both left widows in

Page 22 (2); there are two pages numbered "22" in this manuscript:

one month. They were very pleasantly situated near each other, with uncommon fair prospects, with the best of husbands, & business prospects quite flattering. Ce[ci]lia left with three daughters,<sup>111</sup> Emily with one infant daughter,<sup>112</sup> but, both left with considerable means & some enter[pr]ise which enabled them to make the most of what they had. Their loss was exceding great, and yet few were so well provided with money & friends as they were. The first summer after my return [in] 1853 I spent in the employ of Channel & Spencer<sup>113</sup> taking charge of two companies of men quar[r]ying stone in Licking Narrows<sup>114</sup> 16 miles below Newark, the stone were for rebuilding locks & aquedocks upon the Ohio canal. I continued the work into the winter, and had to thaw the sand reock before we could break them. My employers awarded me much praise for my skill and perseverance in quar[r]ying & ship[p]ing the stone in that inclement season. I had prev[i]ously made arrangements with Brother W[illia]m to open a large Prairie in Coles Co[unty]- Ill[inois]. Immediately after getting released from Channel & Spencer, I proceeded to Ill[inois] and commenced the laboreous task of making rails parts and slots. We had prev[i]ously obtained a section of prairie & two forty acre lots of timber adjoining the prairie. This farm was in Coles Co[unty] Ill[inois], & on the Okaw,<sup>115</sup> head waters of the Kas-Kask[i]a.<sup>116</sup> I opened a fine farm there fencing with posts & slots split on the farm

Page 23 (2); there are two pages numbered "23" in this manuscript:

I worked this farm about two years, & never raised prod[uce] so easily as there, but had to do it by hired help, & to board the workmen, which made it [a] hard place for my dear wife & I resolved to have change for us both but my sons were in cal[i]fornia & spoiled for a farming enterprise, & after consu[l]ting with Brother W[illia]m, our minds were made up to sell the farm stock & tools, which did at fair

<sup>109</sup> Former township (Yuba Co., California); named after a bar in the Yuba River.

<sup>110</sup> Perhaps a reference to George C. Briggs, a (1849er) transplant from Ohio.

<sup>111</sup> Emma Cecilia, Florence Cordelia, Ida Matilda. See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 358.

<sup>112</sup> Anna.

<sup>113</sup> Probably a company name.

<sup>114</sup> Name of gorge through which the Licking River flows (near Newark, Ohio).

<sup>115</sup> West Okaw River (Illinois); flows into the larger Kaskaskia River.

<sup>116</sup> Large tributary of the Mississippi River (central and southern Illinois).

rates, I thought then & ever since, that Ill[inois]- is the largest & best body of farming land without waste in the known world, taking everything ind account, Rail Roads, stone coal, water, & climate &c. &c.

• Relating to my dear wife

My dear wife was a person of great resolution & uncommon energy; Was beset with a large well proportioned frame, and a very good constitution And had she taken good care of herself, she ought she ought to have lived ~~ten~~<sup>twenty</sup> years longer. Her Father lived to a great age, lacking I think ~~two~~<sup>16 months</sup> ~~two~~ years of an hundred. & she would to think she might live as long as her father, but did not so carefully obey the laws of Nature. It might be said of him, that he was temperate in all things" Her friends admonished her frequently during a few of her last years, that she was overdoing her and that she was growing old too fast, & that her system could not endure the strain she imposed upon it, but would make light of it, had to be convinced that she was injuring herself.

But Oct 19 1881 while doing some of her trapezoidal work upon our back porch at dusk, she stepped off backwards where it was 20 inches high, she fell heavily upon her hips & thigh, some slight bruises showed the next day, but only for two days & no bones were broken, but was almost as helpless as an infant, while she lived. We employed Doct Dawson of St Helena, the best Physician in Napa, a good conscientious Christian gentleman, who attended her while she lived. He said her fall was not so much the cause of her death, as the excuse. That the system was much run down, that of her

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Figure 1: Relating to my dear wife (ms. p. 25).

Page 24: Page left blank.

Page 25:

*Relating to my dear wife*

My dear wife was a person of great resolution & uncommon ene[r]gy; Was helped with a large well proportioned frame, and a very good constitution And had she taken good care of herself, she ought she ought [sic] to have lived ~~ten~~ twenty years longer. Her father lived to a great age, lacking I think ~~less than two years,~~ 16 months, of an hundred. & she seamed to think she might live as long as her father, but did not so carefully obey the laws of Nature It might "be said of him, that he was temperate in all things"<sup>117</sup> Her friends admonished he[r] frequently during a few of her last years, that she was overdoing &c. and that she was growing old too fast, & that her system could not endure the strain she imposed upon it, but would make light of it, hard to be convinced that she was injuring herself.

But Oct[ober] 19 1881 while doing some of her trifli[ng] work upon our back porch at dusk, she step[p]ed off backwards where it was 20 inches high, she fell heavily upon her hip & thigh, some slight bru[i]ses showed the next day, but only for two days & no bones Miss placed, but was almost as helpless as an infant, while she lived. We employed Doct[or] Dawson<sup>118</sup> of St Helena,<sup>119</sup> the best Physician in Napa, a good consciencious Christian Gentleman, who attended her while she lived. He said her fall was not so much the cause of her death, as the excuse. That the system was much run down, that & her

Page 26:

age, plased the case beyaund the reach of medical aid. Then the sciatic nerve, the princiapal nerve of the leg, was much injured, so that with all the aid, and our appliencs she could not take one step. She needed constant attendance, moving & rub[b]ing, every few minutes, especially rub[b]ing. Curtis<sup>120</sup> was stop[p]ing with us as an invalid, when Mother had her fall, & I was also an invalid, from injuries rece[i]ved months previous, so it was difficult for us two invalids to lift & care for her, while in her extreme distress. Curtis gave out, in a few days & left for the city, and a few days later friends decided that I must also leave, which left our help at home very short, we advertised for help, in the city a man & his wife as nurses &c. And it was said that while our ink was yet moist they began to rush in. The first that applied was a Mr Cook & wife no childrin, would take the place at \$50 per month, they struck us favorably & as soon as may be, they were sent up. We had previously obatained a young widow as nurse good & strong of English bearth, & they all proved to be, a God send to us, & they did not come one day too

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<sup>117</sup> Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 9:25.

<sup>118</sup> Dr. William Dawson (born 1846); native of Canada; came to St. Helena in 1877.

<sup>119</sup> City (Napa Co., California); incorporated 1876.

<sup>120</sup> A. A. Bancroft's oldest son.

soon, for Emily<sup>121</sup> was here with but little help, & twice as much work as she could stand up to. These were dark days for the dear child, & we fear it will be many months before she gets over it. Ere long we had over three helps organized, one as cook & two as nurses, and times looked a little better. I remained away three weeks and improved a very little, but could not say that for Mother

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Sometimes we flattered ourselves there might be a little improvement, but our good honest physician did not give us much hope. ~~We discharged~~ About Feb[ruary] 1st there was a little change, the system showed more dropsical<sup>122</sup> tendencies, & the sciatic pains a very little less severe But we took no courage from that, for the[i]r symptoms were not so favorable. Mr Kenyy<sup>123</sup> & Ce[ci]lia came up a few days before Mother died, Mr K[enny] remained untill after the funeral, & Ce[ci]lia a week later and they done us more good than we can express, were the right people, in the right place. Hubert and Tilla<sup>124</sup> were with us quite frequently with hearts and hands always full. Well, the great event was slowly but surely approaching day by day, with stealthy step, untill Feb[ruary] 8th her last day with us, when her Dear Savior released her, and as we trust, gave her an abundant entrance into those prepared mansions<sup>125</sup> above. Her last day with us, dawned upon us much as other days, except alittle labored breathing, and wanting the outside door open much of the time. Emily & two of the nurses had been with her the later part of the night, I came in a little before light, & Emily went to her room, & Mr. Kenny & Ce[ci]lia came in without being called, soon after. I went to Mother & asked if she was suffering much she says no, not at all, open the door wide. Perhaps an hour later, I approached & kissing, she siezed my hand tightly & exclaimed O pa, dear dear pa, and was

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alittle affected. She talked without difficu[l]ty with all her speech holding out remarkably. I think about 11 oclock she asked Ce[ci]lia is pa here, C[ecilia]- replied he is near the fire, do you wish to see him[;] yes, I want to bid him good bye. She drew [me down?] and kissing me spoke cheerfully and distinctly dear dear<sup>126</sup> pa, good bye which were her last words. ten or fifteen minutes later I asked if she knew me but got no response, & a little before 12 she ceased to breathe without moving a muscle Can assure you that we who had stood over her so many days & nights, in her deep distress without the power of affording much aid, felt a relief when the dear body was at rest. Yes Forever at rest. From all we could discover

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<sup>121</sup> A. A. Bancroft's second-oldest daughter.

<sup>122</sup> Edematous (swollen due to an excess of watery fluid).

<sup>123</sup> George L. Kenny; H. H. Bancroft's close friend and business partner in San Francisco.

<sup>124</sup> Nickname for Matilda Coley Grffing, H. H. Bancroft's second wife (married 1876).

<sup>125</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 14:2.

<sup>126</sup> The words "dear dear" are pasted over the original text.

her deathpains, were not near so severe as those sciatic pains she endured every day for more than 100 days previous. It would seem that the Messenger did not approach her as a thief in the night,<sup>127</sup> she appeared to understand her situation better than her nurses. During her last night she had a bad 'spell', & some thought she might be dying. Emily asked her if she should call me, she replied, not yet, not yet, & then a few hours later when she wished to bid me good bye she ap[p]eared to understand full well how the case stood with her for a few moments after, she was unconscious. The funeral was largely attended Friday the 11th Rev[erend] Mr Mitchel of St Helena offici[a]deing.<sup>128</sup> We sang at the grave with fine effect, I would not live always.<sup>129</sup>

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And is it a reality, an undisputed fact that Lucy D[amaris]. Howe, a long time ago, jo[u]rneyed from St Albans Vermont to Granville Ohio, and there met on the street, south of town, for the first time ~~met~~ Ashley Bancroft, a poor obscure ~~boy~~ Boy & after a lengthy but pleasant preliminaries, married him, & after which they journeyed hand in hand, up the rugged steepes of life, meeting with all the vicis[s]itudes which this life is subject to, but more of the "Light than of the shade"<sup>130</sup> for 60 years untill her husband had become a de[c]repid old man, then one pleasant morning Feb[ruary] 8th 1882 she called for me, saying she wanted to bid me good bye, and drawing my head down kissed me & s[p]oke distinctly & cheerfully, dear dear pa, good bye, step[p]ing aside & was gone. - gone! oh whither?

And they tell us that natural afficton<sup>131</sup> does not exist upon the other side of this mysterious River.<sup>132</sup> How is this? that my wife, my spouse, my undefiled, the Mother of my children, with whom I lived so long, & in such close relationship, will be no more to me in heaven, than other saints in light.<sup>133</sup> It may be an orthodox view, but I do not recieve it, as I do not wish to. No, let her remain mine, for I am sure, that the Lord gave her to me, in a mysterious manner, and blessed be His name, for He makes no mistakes.

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<sup>127</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Thessalonians 5:2; 2 Peter 3:10.

<sup>128</sup> Read: "officiating."

<sup>129</sup> "I would not live alway" [sic]; hymn (ca.1824) by William A. Muhlenberg (1796-1877).

<sup>130</sup> See, for example, Holy Bible, Old Testament, Isaiah 50:10.

<sup>131</sup> Read: "affection."

<sup>132</sup> Metaphor for death ("crossing the river").

<sup>133</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, Mark 12:25.

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*Subjects for devout gratitude Aug[ust] 2, 1882*

Am thankful for birth & education in Mass[achusetts], the land of the Pilgrims.<sup>134</sup>  
 For Christian Parents & early religious instruction. For early habits of industry &  
 frugality For being dedicated to God in infancy. For early restraining grace to hold  
 me back from many of the sins of youth For being shielded from dangers seen &  
 unseen through a long life. For having a companion given me from the Lord, &  
 spared me to a good old age, & in giving us children, which are very great blessing  
 to us, & we trust to the world And for a reasonable allowance of the good things  
 of this life, that we trust may follow us to the end

But all this shrinks to nothing in view of our glorious inheritance<sup>135</sup> in those  
 prepared mansions<sup>136</sup> above, where we shall dwell forever with the Redeemer &  
 the Redeemed

*From a slip found in my folio*

To My Dear Husband Dec[ember] 25 - [18]80

My Prayer has been for some days that we, you & I, may have ~~given~~ grace &  
 patience given us, by our Precious Saviour, to live one year, (if indeed such  
 unprofitable servants as we are should be permit[t]ed to live another year), my  
 prayer is & shall ever be, that we may have patience & self controll enough, not to  
 speak one wrong or wicked word, to each other, for one year.

signed Your Loving Wife

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*Gods Universal Providence - Aug[ust] 4 [18]82*

As an evidence of Gods tender regard over all his creatures & of us my dear  
 companion & myself in particular, & that He did design and prepare us for  
 eachother in a remarkable manner, I would remark That notwithstanding we were  
 born quite remote from eachother, each were given parents of the same religious  
 faith, viz Congregation[al]ist and that our Mothers indoctrinated us into ~~this~~ this  
 faith in our childhood, by the aid of the Shorter Catechism.<sup>137</sup> Great use was made  
 of this help when I was a little Boy. The answers that I learned 80 years ago while  
 standing at my Mothers knee, are many of them familiar to me today. The first  
 question was, What is mans chief end. ans[wer]- Mans chief end, is to glorify God

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<sup>134</sup> Reference to the Plymouth Colony of Pilgrims (Massachusetts); established 1620. One of  
 A. A. Bancroft's ancestors, John Bancroft, came from England and settled in Massachusetts in 1632.  
 See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 357.

<sup>135</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, Ephesians 1:18.

<sup>136</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 14:2.

<sup>137</sup> Westminster Shorter Catechism (1646/1647); a didactic summary of Christian doctrine.

& enjoy Him.<sup>138</sup> Now 80 years ago this was thought to be orthodox, But who can tell me today, what is mans chief end for all will admit there has been great progress during the past 80 years in many things, ask Ingersoll<sup>139</sup> Now the instruction and general teaching in Mr Howes family in V[ermon]t, were nearly identical with that of my fathers in Mass[achusetts]. In early times, in our schools Saturday afternoons were devoted exclusively to reciting the Catechism. And then once a year our district schools assembled at the village church, & our Pastor heard our recitations & gave us a good talk. This was equivalent to our present S[unday]. S[chool].<sup>140</sup> conventions

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as this was a long time previous to the origin of S[unday]. S[chool]. I recollect when S[unday]. S[chools]. were being introduced, that one grave objection was, we Broke the sabbath<sup>141</sup> by teaching school I think this objection was short lived At this time every family far removed from heathenism Taught the catec[h]ism, so that this help at this time was worth more to Newengland than a goldmine would have been Now you can easily imagine that two persons trained in that manner, there would naturally be a oneness existing between them to a remarkable degree, & ~~thus~~ I trust it was thus with my dear wife & myself, we enjoyed the same preaching, the same religious reading, our views upon family training, & government were identical. I would compare those two persons to two portions of a watch in our modern watch factory, before they were wanted for use, they were being tumbled about the factory, but when wanted, they were brought forth, & each fitted their place to a nicety. And now friends what have you to allege against this great Architect,<sup>142</sup> if He should reveal to you in some way that he had those two persons 'in question' in his keeping from all eternity. He knew them perfectly, He inspired & answered the prayers, offer[e]d at their infant dedication, He saw the influence they would exert, the family they would rear, all they would do & how they would do it. And finally, he saw them plod[d]ing along to a good old age and then one of them passed on before, leaving the other for a time, a lonely wanderer

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*Oct[ober] 19th 1881*

On the eve of this day My dear wife took a fatal step backwards, off our porch in Napa, (20 inches high) & it proved to be her last step. Uup to that time, she could

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<sup>138</sup> The first question and answer in the Westminster Shorter Catechism. There are 107 total.

<sup>139</sup> Robert G. Ingersoll (1833-1899); a.k.a. "The Great Agnostic;" advocate of "free thought."

<sup>140</sup> With origins in eighteenth-century England, Sunday Schools became a means to provide education for working children.

<sup>141</sup> See Holy Bible, Old Testament, Exodus 20:10.

<sup>142</sup> One of the ways in which the medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas characterized God.

walk a mile without inconvenience. Curtis was there as an invalid, & myself in the same predicament, we had difficulty in getting her into the house, as she was helpless as an infant, & in very great distress. With all the skill of kind friends & physicians, we could not enable her to walk a step. Doct[or] Dawson of St Helena said, that the s[c]iatic nerve of the leg (the principle nerve) was injured, but it was not the fall from the porch that killed her, but that her system was greatly impa[i]red by exhaustion, & had it no[t] been the fall, some some [sic] other event would have occur[r]ed, to have hastened the event. She was the greatest sufferer for more than three months, that I ever witnes[s]ed, And when that dear form was still in death the friends all, I think, breathed freer, from a relief Her last agonies, as far as we could judge, were not near so distressing, as those s[c]iatic pains which had been constant for about 100 days.

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*Recollections*

I recollect distinctly one pleasant morning in Napa, Feb[ruary] 8 - [18]82, a very affectionate & cheerful leavetaking, between Wife & husband, Mother & children, then all was silent, & I was alone -

And this is what they call Death

But through Christ, he is a vanquished enemy<sup>143</sup>

Mr Curtis Howe, my Precious wives father, lived to a great age, & she used to take pride in her good constitution saying she did not know why she might not live to be a hundred years old, and when she received her injury, I do not think she gave up the hope of long life, & through most of her distressing illness was hopeful. After it became evident to us all that she was sinking I thought best to have a little plain talk with her in which I made the remark, that I thought it doubtful whether she ever got well, soon after she spoke qu[i]te cheerfully to one of the daughters, Emily I think what do you think Pa says, he thinks it doubtful whither I get well, & in that case I shall never see Alberts little Boy Shall I?<sup>144</sup>

She had no fears of death her hope was unshaken in Christ. ever calm, but exhibited some feeling when she came to take leave of her husband & children, a few moments before she ceased to breathe. Voice strong & distinct to the last.

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*An itim that should have been inserted previously*

I was always rather hasty in temper One day when I was about 8 years old I was driving [a] team for Father to plow the team incur[r]ed my displeasures & I plied the whip with all my powers, Father spoke earnestly & tenderly, I knew from the

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<sup>143</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 15:54-57.

<sup>144</sup> Albert Little Bancroft's youngest son (Karl August) had been born in Weimar (Germany) in 1881 while the family was traveling in Europe. See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 367. The news had reached the grandparents in California, but they had not yet seen the boy when Lucy passed.

tone of his voice, that he felt deeply, Ashley, As[h]ley dont do so, If you would only learn to govern your temper, & treat your team kindly, I should 'really' think you one of the best Boys in the country.

Now here was matter for serious thought. If I only lacked one thing of being one of the best boys, in my Fathers estimation could I not reform, & attain that high standard which I think I did.

Now that tender pleasing voice which is fresh in memory, haunts me still touched me in the right place, and how much better for me than a f[e]roicious whip[p]ing I arrive at many of my early dates in this way I was born Jan[uary] 1799, My Father left Granville Mass[achusetts] in the fall of 1809, I was then in my tenth year, Stop[p]ed in Penn[sylvania] five years, & came to Ohio in 1814

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*Susan, our adopted and redeemed Apache*

About 1870, in the providence of god there was a little Apache captive girl captured by Gen[eral]- Crooks<sup>145</sup> command, near Prescott Arizona,<sup>146</sup> aged about 4 years, & two years later she providentially fell into our hands at Oakville & we had her legally bound to us. She had been in bad hands in Prescott for a while, so there was much to unlearn, My Wife taught her to read, & gave her religious instruction as she had her own children, and she proved to be quite teachable, in every thing except lying, & she was an adept in that. But as the good seed took root it seamed to overcome that propensity, & in a few years, she gave satisfactory evidence that she loved the Saviour and His word. We had prev[i]ously reared the best of children, but none of them were more kind, or selfsacrificing to us than this Indian girl. She was, for a few years, a stout broad face healthy child as we could ask, but as it often occurs with the poor Indian, consumption<sup>147</sup> fastened its fangs upon her vitals, & no pow[er] that we could avail ourselves of could eradicate it. Her death was peaceful, at the age of 15 years. At no time did we strike her, but tied her up a few times. Her remains lie near those of my dear wife in Yountville<sup>148</sup> cemetary. Weeks before she died, she was solicitous to know what we would do with her when she died,<sup>149</sup> we assured her that we should do as with one of children

see next page

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Susan said she thought she saw both her Parents killed by Gen[eral] Crooks soldiers, & she was almost killed in riding behind an off[i]cer two days, in reaching

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<sup>145</sup> George R. Crook (1829-1890); U.S. Army officer.

<sup>146</sup> City (Yavapai Co., central Arizona); founded 1864; incorporated 1881.

<sup>147</sup> Wasting disease (e.g., pulmonary tuberculosis).

<sup>148</sup> City (Napa Co., California); established 1855; named "Yountville" in 1867.

<sup>149</sup> Based on the dates given in the *Recollections*, Susan passed in 1881.

Prescott. Why do we wonder at all the kind care Jesus exercised over this poor little Indian child, we trust she was one of his Lambs,<sup>150</sup> He knew her full well, then why should he not shield her from the Bullets and outrage of the Soldiers, He knew all about her

St John in his revelation says After this I beheld and lo a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds & people & tongues stood before the throne & the Lamb,<sup>151</sup> yes & one little broad faced Apache Indian girl stood with them, And I verily believe this one was a bright Star in the crown of your dear Mother

I once was young, & now am old, yet cannot call to mind of ever striking a boy in anger, or receiving a blow. I have toweled<sup>152</sup> [sic] extensively among stranger[s] and the same remark about Boys, will hold good concerning men. No man ever heard me utter a profane word, No man ever saw me drunk yet I know I am exceed[i]ngly imperfect & loathe my imperfections. And in the summ[a]ry up when my richeousness is called,<sup>153</sup> all I can do is to point towards Christ

Knowledge is not what you learn, but what you remember

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*Substance of a letter addressed to my Brother, Gerard Pratt Bancroft of Granville Ohio*

1605 Franklin St,<sup>154</sup> A[lbert]. L[ittle].s residence San Francisco Oct[ober] 1883

My Dear affected elder Brother, The loss of your dear wife Jane,<sup>155</sup> with whom you had lived more than 70 years, has quickened my memory some what relating to your early life, And as I take devout pleasure in contemplating the providences of God, permit me to record one chapter fraught with deep interest, no doubt to both of us. In our boyhood days, we were constituted quite differently, you being six years my seignior you were forward of your age, while I was backward, yet were intimate, you intrusting me with your secreits to some extent & now to the Point. In 1808 you fell in love with a little girl Abi Graves<sup>156</sup> in Granville Mass[achusetts], whose family were expecting to remove to Granville Ohio & and as our family were anticipating making the same move ere long, you two forward youths solem[n]ly pledged yourselves to remain true to each other, & meet in Ohio & be married Well, our family left Mass[achusetts], Oct[ober] 1809 but under a contract with Geo[rge] Lewis<sup>157</sup> Esq to take charge of a large business of his in

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<sup>150</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 21:15.

<sup>151</sup> Holy Bible, New Testament, Revelation 7:9.

<sup>152</sup> Perhaps "traveled."

<sup>153</sup> See Holy Bible, Old Testament, Isaiah 42:6.

<sup>154</sup> Address (Polk Gulch neighborhood, San Francisco).

<sup>155</sup> Jane P. Little Bancroft (1794-1883).

<sup>156</sup> Abigail Graves Spelman (1793-1818).

<sup>157</sup> (1756-1830); see above, manuscript page 5-7.

Penn[sylvania]- opening a large farm, & erecting a glass factory &c. &c. Mr Lewis was a feeble old man of wealth, & a Bachelor of English berth, residing in N[ew] Y[ork]. & only visiting this isolated locality over a year

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The locality was upon a spur of the Alegany Mountains,<sup>158</sup> between the branches of the Susquehann<sup>159</sup> & 75 miles below Tioga Point,<sup>160</sup> a little Lake on the mountain top which struck the old mans fancy, & he had resolved to spend a fortune there, which [he] did, to little purpose. Father at first engaged for three years at 200,\$ per ann[um] for the whole family & after for two years more for \$300, per an[n]u[m]. Well Abis friends went on to Ohio according to contract, while we were serving our stewardships with Mr Lewis, & not finding her boy there, another boy set his trap, & caught her, on the principle, that a "bird in hand is worth two in the bush"<sup>161</sup> Judge Bancroft our uncle was living in Ohio & Knowing Gerards plans, wrote him the state of the case, & G[erard] was for drop[p]ing every thing, & going to O[hio] to counter act the plot, but his uncles next letter stated that he had called upon Abi Graves, & her mind was made up not to wait, & then there was a large boy of about 17 years I think, going around with head down ~~wishing~~ frequently wishing himself dead, but no, he could not die, although you did come very near it once as I witnessed, when a rowboat of sand sank beneath you & John Sample in the middle of Lake Lewis & you then & there had to learn to swim on a cold March day, & in water that the ice had only left three days before. John Sample, under favorable circumstances was a good swim[m]er G[erard]- had never swam a rod<sup>162</sup> independantly he had on heavy boots, which he pulled off just as the boat was dip[p]ing under, this to all human

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appearance saved him. John encouraged Gerard by telling him not to be afraid, that he could swim out with him on his back, after taking water G[erard]- attached himself to John, & for some reason John could not swim with him, & G[erard]- said he saw they would both drown at that rate, & he disengaged himself, & commenced with a slow stroke, & found he could swim, & he reached the shore alittle in advance of Sample. A number of us ran up the Lake Shore a third of a mile to where they were comeing out, was near G[erard]- when he clim[b]ed the bank, his teeth chattering with cold, heard him utter his first noble words Well, I thank my Maker for this, Yes my dear Brother, there were others who through up

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<sup>158</sup> Alleghenies (part of the Appalachians in Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia).

<sup>159</sup> See above, manuscript page 5.

<sup>160</sup> See above, manuscript page 5.

<sup>161</sup> Proverb (better own something small than merely see the potential of something great).

<sup>162</sup> Unit of measurement (16.5 feet).

an ejaculatory thanks giving to God, for this great deliverance.<sup>163</sup> and now the piercing March wind chilled them so they could not walk, but four of the friends present, took each an arm & hurried them to the house. In the sinking of the Boat, the Boys were taken by surprize, they had loaded it with with [sic] damp sand, but not wet, & would absorb a good deal of water, before it would show it self upon the surface, & were unaware of their condition untill about sinking. And now Abi Graves having married Timothy Spellman,<sup>164</sup> my fathers cousin, settled the matter between her & h[e]r Gerard & now Gods plans begin to appear, and that was for G[erard]- to marry Jane Little a very good girl from a good family from the state of New Jersey, which was brought about Jan 1814. My fathers plan from the first, was to settle his family

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eventually in Granville Ohio. & in Oct[ober] 1814 he settled up with Mr Lewis, started with two teams for Ohio. Gerard leaving his young wife with her parents went with us, to drive one of the teams. while on our way the war of 1812 with Great Briton,<sup>165</sup> was brought to a close, and the news was flashed through the country, not by telegraph, for they did exist, but by handbills, in large letters Peace, Peace, Esq Little<sup>166</sup> & Gerard sent by father \$200, to invest in a joint farm for them, as they had decided to remane the next year, all of which was accomplished. On reaching O[hio] & resting a little, Gerard saddled one of our horses & rode back to his family & friends. The place where Esq Little lived, was on out of the place, where they enjoyed no religious prival-<sup>167</sup> & the people had relapsed into a state of simmi-heathenism & Gods plan was to take Esq Littles family six in number with four young men their near friends, ten in number from this isolated into Granville Ohio where privalys<sup>168</sup> were very good & they all every one became interested upon the subject of religion & all ynited with the church militent, & we trust also with the church triumphant<sup>169</sup> as they witnessed a good pr[o]fession. Here we see the wisdom 8 [sic] of God, in frustrating our plans, Jane Little proved to be a much better wife & Mother than Abi Graves & living twice as long,<sup>170</sup> & then bringing those ten persons within the pale of the church thereby starting a pious race, which may tell for many generations & yet Gerard thought when his plans were frustrated that all these things were against him.

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<sup>163</sup> See, for example, Holy Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 45:7.

<sup>164</sup> (1791-1879).

<sup>165</sup> See above, manuscript page 7.

<sup>166</sup> Thomas "Squire" Little (1774-1863), Jane's father.

<sup>167</sup> Perhaps "prevail" ("prevalence").

<sup>168</sup> Perhaps "prevails" ("prevalence").

<sup>169</sup> States of the Church: militant (on Earth), triumphant (in Heaven).

<sup>170</sup> Abigail died in 1818; Jane died in 1883.

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*Copy of a letter addressed to Mr & Mrs J[ames].M. Pierce  
San Diego Dec[ember] 16 1883*

My dear Son & Daughter<sup>171</sup>

I was unwilling to let this old year of 1883 slip by without addressing you one more of my disjointed letters. I often wish I could photograph on paper My thought & feelings better than I can. I frequently during my wakeful hours, coin the skeliton of a letter and when I came to record it it is like the old dreamers dream, it has departed from me, & as we have no Daniel<sup>172</sup> to fall back upon, we must do the next best thing we can, A small portion of the World know that I am an egotist & wherewithall Proud of my children. And now, with regard to Gods dealings with our family first & last what shall we say, "Allelu[i]a for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth"<sup>173</sup> yes let us look up & rejoice in God for he is our strength & shield.<sup>174</sup> notwithstanding you my dear daughter, in past years have been grievously aff[li]cted, yet you have this consolation it - was - the - Lord And trust you are not unmindful that you have had strewed along your path by the same hand mercies also which were exce[e]ding great. Nothing appears plainer to my mental vision, than that your parents were designed & prepared by the Great Architect<sup>175</sup> for each other from childhood, although far removed from each other their training was identical. you may not easily understand the advantages this gave us in rearing a family. Our doctrines & views upon all important matters were the same Hense, there must exist a oneness above what we often

Page 45 and 47: both numbers appear; there is no page 46.

meet with. And now let me come a little nearer home I am favor[a]bly impressed with your investments for 1883 I see no reason for a change of opinion, I believe it is as the Lord would have it, & that you might safely say as one of old who was Gov[ernor] of a marriage - f[e]ast, some time ago when refreshments were being discus[s]ed "but you have kept the good wine untill now"<sup>176</sup> I believe also that you two persons were also design for each other although your wheels moved a little slow, yet effectively And now may you be able to serve & trust Him all your days, for he as[s]ured you cannot do better A[zariah]. A[shley]. B[ancroft].

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<sup>171</sup> Addressed to A. A. Bancroft's daughter Emily Matilda Bancroft (the widow of Harlow Palmer who had died of cholera in 1852) and her second husband James Pierce (1821-1887). See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 358. Contrary to Wagner's statement, the two had married in 1882, not 1884. A marriage in 1884 would render the above 1883 letter's address nonsensical.

<sup>172</sup> Old Testament prophet; dream interpreter.

<sup>173</sup> Holy Bible, New Testament, Revelation 19:6.

<sup>174</sup> Holy Bible, Old Testament, Psalm 28:7.

<sup>175</sup> See above, manuscript page 33.

<sup>176</sup> Holy Bible, New Testament, John 2:10.

*I Recollect distinctly the first*

day I ever attended school, it was in Granville Mass[achusetts] was probably five years old, our house was one mile from schoolhouse, my Father was going with his ox te[a]m & a load of tan Bark a little b[e]yound the schoolhouse, he put me upon the load, while the other children walked. arriving at schoolhouse I was seated upon a long high bench, standing in middle of the room, think my feet reached about halfway to the floor & becoming weary fell asleep and nothing more natural than that I should fall off upon the floor & hurt myself beside frighten[e]d myself & cried lustily to go home & see my Mother.

How mysterious is an old mans memory, the incident related above, occur[r]ed probably more than 80 years ago Since I have noting those incidents, my memory has been great excitement in our school district

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*Putnam and the Wolf*

I have been request[ed] to note down this incident<sup>177</sup> which is a historical matter, being incorporated into one of my early school-Books, & supposed I read it with interest a score of times where a little boy, & therefore am able to record it very much as I read it, It occurred a few years prev[i]ous to our revolutionnary war, and the locality was Pomphret con[n]e[c]tticut,<sup>178</sup> The country was rather new at that time, and the people found it difficult to keep sheep on account of the Wolves. The people of pomph[r]et were especially annoyed by the depredations of one old she wolf for a number of years, she had been caught when young in a steel strap & cut the toes from one foot, and after that could not be caught, She raised a litter of young every year, those the people caught or shot, but the old one app[ea]red to have a charmed life, untill the patience of the people were greatly exhausted, and they called a townmeeting to devise some means by which they rid themselves of this great pest, fortunately a light snow fell at that time & this animal having lost the toes from one foot, made it an easy matter to track her, & at the townmeeti[ng] the people resolved to put a company of men & dogs upon her track, and follow her alternately untill slain or fled the country, and after a few days of unremit[t]ing tail, the dogs drove her into her den or cavern in the rocks, And now the question was what next.

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The dogs would enter a short distance, & return wounded, and refuse to reenter. Putnam who was a born leader, proposed to his Negro man to go down into the cavern & shoot the wolf, but he declined, Putnam remarked that he was sorry to have a coward in his family, & volunteered to go himself, accordingly he attached

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<sup>177</sup> Israel Putnam (1718-1790); American army officer; fought in the American Revolutionary War; killed Connecticut's last wolf in 1742 in Pomfret ("Israel Putnam Wolf Den").

<sup>178</sup> Town (Windham Co., Connecticut); incorporated 1713.

a rope to his feet, instructing the people not to draw him back until he kicked the rope. He took a torch of pitch pine,<sup>179</sup> & went down to explore, the wolf was sitting upon her haunches at the further end of the cavern, greatly disturbed, throwing her head between her legs, growling & snap[p]ing her teeth, apparently in the act of springing upon him. Having made what discovery he could, he kicked the rope, & was drawn out. After a little rest he loaded his musket heavily with ball & Buck shot,<sup>180</sup> he entered the second time, with musket<sup>181</sup> in one hand, & torch in the other, the wolf was in about the same place, & in the same mood as before, he took deliberate aim & fired, wounding the wolf mortally, who set up a great howl & became furious, the friends outside fearing he was in trouble, drew him out hastily without being signaled, which made it a rough passage for him. After adjusting his clothes, & giving a little time for the smoke to clear a way, he entered the third time with merely his torch, as he approached the scene of action, he could see the wolf laying quiet, he drew near & applied his touch to her nose & found she

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and found she was dead, and laying aside his torch, took her by the ears & kicking the rope he and the wolf were both drawn out together

This same Putnam a few years later, was quite conspicuous in our war of the revolution, as Maj[or] General of our army, and proved to be one of our bravest & best Generals & greatly beloved by his men, as he was ev[e]ry inch a Pleb[e]ian<sup>182</sup>

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I here quote a scrap from our golden wedding<sup>183</sup> Book

*The Antislavery excitement*

In May 1836 the first anniversary of the Ohio State Antislavery society<sup>184</sup> was appointed to be held in Granville, it being presumed that some one of the half dozen churches of that pious little village would [open] its doors to the convention. But as the time drew near, the trustees of the various churches being intimidated by the citizens declined. We decid[e]d to open the doors of both house & Barn, and by putting a temporary addition we were able to accommodate one of the most interesting & important meetings ever held in the state - So it came to pass, that those early reformers asse[m]bled out of town in a barn, not exactly for f[e]ar of the Jews,<sup>185</sup> but for fear of a di[s]solution of the Union. Although it was in the month of May it was yet it was emphatically a well filled Barn, yes the best filled

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<sup>179</sup> A torch made from a tree branch.

<sup>180</sup> Combination of musket ball and pellets.

<sup>181</sup> Muzzle-loaded long firearm.

<sup>182</sup> A commoner in ancient Rome; here: "a man of the people" or "unrefined."

<sup>183</sup> A. A. Bancroft and his wife Lucy celebrated their "golden wedding" in 1872.

<sup>184</sup> (1835-1845); abolitionist society; established in Zanesville, Ohio.

<sup>185</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 7:13.

barn I ever saw, scaffolds and all. Near the close of the meeting a colle[c]tion was taken to advance the interests of the cause, when several hundred dollars were raised. I well recollect of seeing tens twenties & a few fifties pass up over the heads of the crowded audience to the stand.

I have wrote a  
 scraps from our  
 golden wedding Book x The Antislavery excitement

In May 1836 the first anniversary of the Ohio State Antislavery <sup>society</sup> was appointed to be held in Grouville, it being presumed that some one of the half dozen churches of that pious little village would its doors to the convention. But as the time drew near, the trustees of the various churches being intimidated by the citizens declined. We decided to open the doors of both house & Barn, and by putting a temporary addition we were able to accommodate one of the most interesting & important meetings ever held in the state —

So it came to pass, that those early reformers assembled out of town in a house, not exactly for fear of the gears, but for fear of a dissolution of the Union. Although it was in the month of May it was yet it was emphatically a well filled Barn, yes the best filled barn I ever saw, scaffolds and all. Near the close of the meeting <sup>or collection</sup> was taken to advance the interests of the cause, when several hundred dollars were raised. I well recollect of seeing tens twenties & a few fifties pass up over the heads of the crowded audience to the stand,

When the amount was announced, the Ben Tait brothers arose and said, the silver and the gold are the words, let us praise him in a song, and struck up the doxology praise God from whom all blessings flow at the top of his voice, I dont know exactly

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Figure 2: The Antislavery excitement (ms. p. 51).

When the amount was announced, the Rev[erend] Doct[or] brothers arose and said, the silverr and the gold are the Lords,<sup>186</sup> let us praise Him in a song, and struck up the doxology<sup>187</sup> praise God from whom all blessing flow<sup>188</sup> at the top of his voice, I dont know exactly

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how it was, but either from the vibration of the timbers, or some other some other [sic] cause, Old Hundred<sup>189</sup> sounded about right. I do not expect to hear it performed again in like mannar this side of heaven. Among the resolutions proposed near the close, was a note of thanks to A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft for the use of his Barn. Means were taken to let the mob understand, we were prepared, and should certainly defend ourselves. The meeting closed without much disturbance, but as the people passed into the village, they were assailed by the mob. Among the distinguished guests present was the Hon[orable] J[ames]. G[illespie]. Birney<sup>190</sup> of Cincinnati, formerly a Kentucky Slaveholder. He came to Granville riding a valuable horse. When preparing to leave it was found that his horse, with quite a number of others were closely shaved main & tail, He mounted this fine animal at the door of my Brother Doct[or] W[illiam]. W[ilson]. Bancroft. The mob improved their opportunity and [ar]ranged themselves each side the street with Basket of eggs "for our glorious Unioun must be preserved."<sup>191</sup> The Judge accepted the situated the situation [sic] walking his horse deliberately up main Street while the eggs poured upon like hail. after passing the guantlet, he put his horse upon a lope & left, both man & horse like Jonah<sup>192</sup> preaching the downfall of human slavery as they went.

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I am thankful that were permit[t]ed to aid in so Glorious a work. Of the investments I have made during the past 25 years, the small patron[a]ge bestowed upon that heaven born institution the American Missionary Association,<sup>193</sup> has been the most satisfactory, causing devout gratitude to God. I am sure they will yield the largest & richest returns for our country and the world. Why were we induced to extend the helping hand to the Amistad Captives<sup>194</sup> & then take on interest in the American Missionary Association, To God be the praise, and may

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<sup>186</sup> Holy Bible, Old Testament, Haggai 2:8.

<sup>187</sup> Liturgical formula of praise.

<sup>188</sup> The Common Doxology; verse written by Thomas Ken (1674).

<sup>189</sup> Genevan Psalter (1551); tune used for the singing of the Common Doxology.

<sup>190</sup> (1792-1857).

<sup>191</sup> Attributed to Andrew Jackson (1830); used by Lincoln for the 1860 presidential campaign.

<sup>192</sup> Old Testament prophet; famed for preaching at Nineveh.

<sup>193</sup> (1846-1999); Protestant abolitionist group; founded in Albany, New York.

<sup>194</sup> In 1839, African captives stolen for the slave trade rose up against their captors on the schooner *Amistad*, ultimately resulting in a 1841 U.S. Supreme Court case that set the Africans free.

He lead our children and childrens children, to support the right, even though it brings the worlds division. & not wait untill success had made it popular  
 Would here note a brief obituary notice of my young Brother William Willson Bancroft Born Granville Mass[achusetts] 1803 Died Oct[ober] 1805 two years & few days ~~Born~~ died about three weeks before Doct[or] W. W. Bancroft was Born<sup>195</sup>

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*Driving Game in Licking Co Ohio in 1820*

In the early settlement of Ohio we were much an[n]oyed by Wolves interfering with our sheep, and farmers felt called upon to exert themselves for their extermination This was about 1820,<sup>196</sup> I was then 19 years of age and had some ambition. At that time the law required our Militia to be well organized, and to meet twice each year for training & drill, This organization was a great help to us, in preparing for those celebrat[e]d drives of game which followed, as our military officers were our officers in those hunting enterprises which Licking County Granville hoasted an artillery company, we had of of [sic] our own make, east at the Granvitte [sic] furnace [?] a six pounder, this was brought into requisition in our drives as a signal gun. At first we felt able to cope with a township six miles square selecting one N[orth]. W[est]. from Granville, on which there were but few settl[e]rs, our county surveyors sur[veyed?]- and blaised the lines plainly, of a half mile square in the center of township. It was distin[c]tly understo[od] that in marching in we were to halt on this half mile line. The general orders were, for certaen officers to take charge of men of certaen townships, & to be reach a certain line of this hunting ground at an early hour, & to station the men in the followery manner, step off 100 yards on the line & station a

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man, with instructions what course to have in marching in, and to have the lines all moved by 10 a[m.] air can[n]on was moved to a suitable position & at the hour of 10 was to be discharged as a signal for commencing marching for the center[.] our section of Ohio was heavily timbered much of which was Beach which as a general rule afforded a heavy Beach Mast which drew large quantities of Turkey & deer. Well, this matter of driving game was new to us at this time, & we soon found we had attemp[t]ed to grasp a little more than we could do justice to, some of our lines were not well preserved & much game escaped, yet there were large quantities of deer & turkeys killed and taken to the center, where many hundreds of us met as the sun was getting low, & if not mistaken there was a noisy time, when a few thousand hungry rude fellows met on that oc[c]asion but as it [was] getting late, our officers called for order The game was placed in four equal piles

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<sup>195</sup> Final lines of manuscript page 53 are crossed out: "Would here note [...] Bancroft was Born."

<sup>196</sup> The circular hunt of Gibbons's deadening described hereafter took place in 1823. See Henry Bushnell, *The History of Granville, Licking County, Ohio* (Columbus: Hann & Adair, 1889), 126.

& the officers & men who moved the four lines took charge. large fires were kinder[e]d, & as the deer were skinned sharp poles were incerted as spits & laid into forked steaks drove into the ground near the fire, then the deer could be swung to or from the fire, and as portions became more done would swing off & take a slise, for I can assure you that some hundreds of us “began to feel as well we might, the keen demands of appetite”<sup>197</sup>

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I brought home a quarter of venison as I had a good reliable horse & think reached home quite early the next day, many others camped on the ground  
But we were not well satisfied with this our first ~~hunt~~ effort in driving game, accordingly a few weeks later, we fixed upon a locali[t]y nearer home, which we knew to be a great haunt for Wolves. In 1805 a man by the name of Gibbons<sup>198</sup> deadened<sup>199</sup> a thousand or two acres, of beach & Maple land within a few miles of Granville, & in a few years the old timber died & f[e]ll down & a heavy second, growth sprang up, & made one one [sic] of the worst thickets, & a great harbour for the game, We had a three mile square tract so surveyed, that brought our half mile center into beautiful open wood and proce[e]ded to operate upon it as at the first. This proved to be a rich tract for our sport, our lines were better man[n]ed, & proceeded more cautiously, we killed much game in driving in one Bear two wolves, & a large number of deer & turkey, When we halted upon our half mile line, our Boys stood almost within reach of each other, and before us herd of about twenty deer, and three old wolves, two Gray & one as Black as a mink were exercising before us. Had it not been that those wolves had murde[re]d so many of our sheep should have felt some sympathy for them.

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for they evidently felt bad, keeping a constant lope around the ring, with heads & tails down tounge[s] out & a constant roar of rifles pouring upon them. Our Boys here seem to think that A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft did not know what amusement was when he was young, But I would not give one half hour of standing on that line with that game playing before us, & hundreds of rifles roa[r]ing at their heels, for all their senseless games of a life time. The wolves did not incline to scatter but kept one regular track, & a good rifle shot from the line, we always knew when to look for the wolves by the constant roar that followed them. The deer within the lines, were soon disposed of, but the wolves seemed to have a charmed life. But as the day was far spent a change in the programme was called for, orders were is[s]ued along the line to cease fireing and a number of expert hunters were sent in who soon dispa[t]ched the wolves & ended that sport. Then the dividing of the [game] followed as at the prev[i]ous hunt. And as the

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<sup>197</sup> From the poem “The Nightingale and the Glow-Worm” by William Cowper (1731-1800).

<sup>198</sup> William Davidson Gibbons (1783-1854).

<sup>199</sup> Stripping trees of bark.

shades of evining drew on, & our fires glowed bright. a few of the old hunters who k[n]ew to do it, ar[r]ayed themselves with Turkey quills in their hair, gave us an Indian pow wow<sup>200</sup> over the game, with song and Indian dance.

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This first hunt at Gibbons dead[e]ninn, proved a Waterloo defeat,<sup>201</sup> for the wolves in our section. The ground was driven a number of times afterwar[ds] but never with success. Those not slain evidently changed their quarters, and ever after had comparative peace.

I will relate an incident showing how half the wolves of that day had become, we used to corell<sup>202</sup> our sheep nights just across the street from front of our house, say four rods<sup>203</sup> from our door, The sheep came up one night, the corell being a little wet, the sheep lay down in the street close to the house, Father remarked that as they had located so well, would let them remain there, but in the night father was awakened by the rattling of the sheep bell & dog being disturbed, called me & ran out the sheep had disappeared, we proce[e]ded a few rods from our gate, & there lay a fine fat weather<sup>204</sup> kicking & the blood spinning from his neck, while standing there looking, the wolf set up a howl a short distance away He had given that sheep one snap, at the throat as only a wolf can and then was obliged to leave. We had a fox trap which I knew was too light for a wolf, but I set it, & Mr wolf carried the trap about half a mile, & lift it with one toe in it, which he never came back for. So we had a grain of comfort, in rob[b]ing him of one toe, & fresh Mutton for breakfast.

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Feb[ruary] 5 1884

*My School Teachers*

I think I can name every one of my teachers & all but one or two I loved and resp[e]cted. A Miss Keziah Jones a weak minded, degraded herself by acting a lie, to us little Boys, when the truth would have for better. At her last day of school She was about, she was about to make us some small presents, I was in the third class, she called our class up to her desk, said she wanted to make the good boys of the third class presents of some nice fishhook, and bealt<sup>205</sup> out one Bogus fishhook to each little boy, Now as young as we were, we knew what fishhooks were better than she did. Well, after those good boys had reci[e]ved their Bogus fishhooks, they might go out and play, but the boys of the second class were not

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<sup>200</sup> Narragansett term: an Indigenous ceremony involving feasting, singing, and dancing.

<sup>201</sup> Battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815); British-led coalition victory over France.

<sup>202</sup> Read: "corral" (i.e., gather together).

<sup>203</sup> Unit of measurement (16.5 feet).

<sup>204</sup> Read: "wether."

<sup>205</sup> Read: "dealt."

very good, they must not go out. And when we were out of sight, she called up the boys of the second class & presented them with sleevebuttons, one pair of which were worth a doz[en] of her fishhooks. And then they might go out and play, & -send the third class in. Well, the boys with the sleevebuttons could not resist the temptation of crowing our us, whose heads were now made sore “They would not have such worthless things” some threw them away, others took them in & laid theirs on their Hon[orable] teachers desk.

Poor Miss Jones, How little she thought that one of little Boys after a laps[e] of 80 years would be away here toward the setting sun exposing her Perfidity

Page 60:

*Job Interviewed*

Job 14-10

Job<sup>206</sup> gravely informs us that man dieth and wasteth away, yea man giveth up the ghost and where is he,<sup>207</sup> yes Job we understand something of that first proposition, we see it demonstrated quite frequently, that man dieth and giveth up the ghost, then you ask us poor short sighted creatures where is he. Now Job I dont think that is exactly fair, you have greatly the advantage of us. you have been up yonder almost “since the morning stars first sang together,”<sup>208</sup> and I think you should be willing to gratify our curiosity, and we would return the question, And now Job if you have not got the moundbuilders of the Missi[ssi]ppi Valley,<sup>209</sup> the Cassa Grand builders<sup>210</sup> of the Gila vall[e]y,<sup>211</sup> and the Cave dwellers up there with you. I would ask with due respect where are they. The Cassa Grand builders, have left us some rude stone implements & probably they have left us their dust, but we cannot read it, no metal, no Bones, but they have left us an evidence of their being indefatiga[b]le workers in their way, and Job where are they.

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*Obituary Notice*

A brief obituary notice of my young Brother William Wilson Bancroft born Granville Mass[achusetts] June 7 1803, Died Oct[ober] 19 1805 aged two years & a few days. He died about three weeks before my other brother William. Doct[or] W[illiam]. W[ilson]. was born, so I have had for a long tim[e], two pre[v]ious Brothers in heaven, of the same name,<sup>212</sup> I recollect the young brother as a pleasant

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<sup>206</sup> Old Testament figure.

<sup>207</sup> Holy Bible, Old Testament, Job 14:10.

<sup>208</sup> Holy Bible, Old Testament, Job 38:7.

<sup>209</sup> Monuments of the Indigenous (ca. 3500 BCE to 1500 CE), e.g., at Cahokia, Illinois.

<sup>210</sup> Casa Grande Ruins National Monument (Pinal Co., Arizona).

<sup>211</sup> Gila River Valley (in Arizona and New Mexico).

<sup>212</sup> William Wilson Bancroft (the Older) died 1805; Dr. William Wilson Bancroft (the Younger) died in 1870. Reusing the same name for siblings helped keep the deceased’s memory alive.

playful little fellow, At one time he had two day scabs upon the corners of his forehead, that he called his horns. His ailment was called at that time canker & rattles,<sup>213</sup> am told it was what we now call scarlet fever. He died sitting in grandmother Bancrofts<sup>214</sup> lap. A little before his departure he called for something a number of times, & could not make himself understood, finally he was understood to call for Ashley & Henry, we were brought to him, he took each by the hand he could not speak, but seemed pleased & satisfied. this was his last farewell to his older Brothers[.] When he ceased to breathe, grandmother spoke quite distinct, well Tabitha,<sup>215</sup> he has gone, Mother was greatly affected. And now when we enter those gates, shall we look for a little Boy, or for a young man

Page 62:

*My First day in school*

I recollect distinctly the first day I attended school.<sup>216</sup> It was in Granville Mass[achusetts] was probably four or five years old. our house was one mile from the schoolhouse. My Father was going a little beyaund the schoolhouse with a load of tan Bark, he put me upon the load while the other children walked[.] arriving at the schoolhouse I was seated upon a long high bench standing in the middle of the floor, I think my feet reached about half way to the floor, and becoming weary went to sleep and fell off upon the floor[.] hurt a little and frightened more and cried lustily to go home and see My Mother. But the kind teacher and the little Boy finally compromised, & stayed untill night.

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In noting my early recollections I have recorded some things rather humiliating, and others that inspired devout gratitude to God. Would here remark that I verily believe that I was renewed in h[e]art as early as five years of age at least, that if I am a child of God now I was then, notwithstanding my childish freaks &c. &c. Well, when I was quite a small boy I was sitting beside my Mother reading the testament to her & of the Saviours hteaching & healing[.] My reading was attended with some difficulty on account of my impediment, My Mother inter[r]upted my reading by asking if I did not wish the Saviour was now on our streets, that I might go to him and be healed of this trouble, He was as willing to heal now as then, & we could go to him by prayer with a promise that he would hear and answer. Well, as young as I was this was a matter of deep thought and I remembered it before the throne and as I became older my supplications more importunate & at times but little desire to live without an answer - And you may ask, did the Kind heaven

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<sup>213</sup> Croup after scarlet fever.

<sup>214</sup> Elizabeth Spelman Bancroft (1740-1836), A. A. Bancroft's paternal grandmother.

<sup>215</sup> Tabitha Pratt Bancroft (1771-1842), A. A. Bancroft's mother.

<sup>216</sup> See above, manuscript page 45 and 47.

answer - Yes he answered like a God, not by granting the identical request but something Far Better.

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*My trip to Upper & Lower Sandusky in 1820*

About one year before I was married, which [was] just before the Ohio canal was constructed, labour and produce were extremely low & money as scarced, My brother in law Knowels Linnel<sup>217</sup> & my self, in order to put in our time, loaded our two horse waggons with Flower<sup>218</sup> of our own make, for Upper Sandusk[y]<sup>219</sup> timing it so as to reach there at the time the Indians were to rece[i]ve their annuities - We also had orders from Col[onel]. Humphrey<sup>220</sup> of Granv[i]ll[le] for loads of tin plate from Lower Sandusky<sup>221</sup> as back freight. We started late in July after our harvest, when weather was settled & roads good. We took our camp equipage along including Horse feed &c. &c. intending not to [make] the country taverns much richer for our trip. As we were to be absent many days, we took our time, the distance more than 100 miles and our loads including feed were heavy, yet our intent was to make the journey rather pleasa[n]t[.] We found a large number of Indians assembled there, engaged as Indians are prone to be, in drinking gambling Horse rasing,<sup>222</sup> but we soon found there was but little money in circulation[.] They wanted flour, but lacked the money to pay for it. However we sold many small lotes<sup>223</sup> to families, but sold our loads principlly to Indian traders. As our expences were not worth nameing, we done much better than at home.

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After disposing of our loads we spent some hours at their town Pipe town,<sup>224</sup> where was an extensive Indian Cemetery where we amused ourselves. It was different from Lone Mountain,<sup>225</sup> but exhibited the different phases & tastes of the Poor Indian, much as Lone Mountain does of the Whites. This Indian Cemetery was located on a sandy tract, some of it covered with scruboakes, which were utilized ~~expen~~ in enclosing & covering the graves, inside of those enclosures were many articles of food in neat little Trays carved of wood, dried meat, green corn, crabapple, wild Plumbs, Gourds of water, Mockosons Hatchets, Bows & arrows.

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<sup>217</sup> (1788-1875); married to Lucretia Bancroft (1795-1856), A. A. Bancroft's sister.

<sup>218</sup> Read: "flour."

<sup>219</sup> City (Wyandot Co., Ohio); settled before the American Revolution.

<sup>220</sup> Col. Chauncey Humphrey (1774-1852); entrepreneur in the tin and sheet iron business.

<sup>221</sup> City: Fremont (formerly Lower Sandusky; Sandusky Co., Ohio); 1750s trading post.

<sup>222</sup> Read: "racing."

<sup>223</sup> Perhaps "lots."

<sup>224</sup> Location (Ohio); named after an Indigenous chief, Captain Pipe (Konieschquanoheel).

<sup>225</sup> Lone Mountain Cemetery (San Francisco, California); established 1854.

The Indian belief of the future is, that if he is a good Indian he goes into good hunting ground where he fares well, but if a bad Indian, he has a hard time of it, much as the bad white people do. And now what has inspired the poor benighted Indian to bestow this kind care upon his friends who have gone to the happy hunting ground. As this was a long time in advance of Miss Phelps<sup>226</sup> having enlightened the public by her "Gates - ajar" & her beyond the gates" He must have receiv[e]d the insperation from some source to sit him to thinking & working[.]

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Then we had a pleasant drive of abo[u]t 30 miles from Upper Sandusky, to Lower Sandusky stop[p]ing over the sabbath at 'Cold Spring'<sup>227</sup> the longest and most celebrated Spring I ever saw, it Boiled up over a space of two acres of level ground, making a deep of that size, where it was ten feet deep we could see every straw & pebble on the bot[t]om (from the clearness of the water) When we were there in 1821 they were building a dam & a mill at the outlet of the S[p]ring. I think it em[p]tied into Lake Erie in about 5 melis,<sup>228</sup> & in that distance there were quite a number of mills, I dont remember the number. While there we were shown a number of vacant log cabbins where white settlers lived before the war of 1812, but dereng the war Indians raided those settlements and took the white women & children Prisoners, many of which never found their friends again. Upon arriving home with our loads of tin plate, Col[onel] Humphrey opened a[n] extensive Tin Shop for the manufactory of tin ware[,] the first started in Granville which furnished business for a large number of tin Ped[d]lers[.]

Pages 68, 69, 70: Pages left blank.

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Feb 21 - 1884

San Fransisco

*My Work and its results*

When requested to put some early recollections on paper for amusement of children &c. I was not disposed to regard it with favor, I done alittle, and soon after I rec[e]ived an injury which cripp[le]d [me] for a time, then the sickness & death of my dear wife followed so there was a long time my book was out of sight, But Sept [18]83 I was located in this pleasant chamber with all the facilities for work and soon found that my work tended to quicken memory, It has been alittle like widows cruise,<sup>229</sup> the more I usued the more I had for use. I know full that it

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<sup>226</sup> Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward (1844-1911); American author who penned *The Gates Ajar* (1868), *Beyond the Gates* (1883), and *The Gates Between* (1887).

<sup>227</sup> Probably the "Blue Hole" (Castalia, Erie Co., Ohio).

<sup>228</sup> Read: "miles."

<sup>229</sup> See Holy Bible, Old Testament, 1 Kings 17:8-16.

is a crude auncouth concern, yet have rather enjoyed it. I needed employment and this has done me good in more ways then one[.] We know that every part of the System is made for work. Our teeth for instance, if we do not use them in grinding our hard food they decay, our limbs also if we do use them, they become set so we cannot use them. I have recorded many little incidents that occurred 75 or 80 years ago and am confident that I have in most cases have availed myself of the identical words used, it has also had some effect during past months, in Staving off old age a[little]. We frequently hear the term used a che[c]kered life. And most of our lives come to analize there are more or less checkered. my own for instance, in looking back upon from this standpo[i]nt

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say my 85 anaversary in many resiepts<sup>230</sup> looks checkered. I have not in those many years, done every thing that some others have done. I have mingled extensively with all kinds of people, and from the days of my Boyhood, to the present time cannot call to mind of ever striking a boy or man in anger, or ever receiving a blow. No man has ever heard me utter a profane word. No man has even seen me drunk[.] In my business intercourse, have never contracted but very few debts, almost iniconelly<sup>231</sup> earned my money, before I spent it. Am not cons[c]ious of honestly oweing a man one dollar, As a general rule when a Boy I harmon[i]zed pretty well with Brothers & Sisters, yet can call to mind many things, that called for penitense. But I would not for one moment regard myself as richeous<sup>232</sup> above others, for I know that my life has been exceedingly imperfect. But I can glory in an imputed robe of richeousness<sup>233</sup> even Christs which is my only hope. But it seems almost too much for me to make that claim. And now, in my present state, feeling myself more dead than alive expecting almost daily to be called by the Master, I often ask myself, how I could live one day without this unspeakable boon of imputed richeousness. O "what a friend we have in Jesus."<sup>234</sup> "Wonders of grace to God belong[.]"<sup>235</sup>  
1605 Franklin St<sup>236</sup> Feb 29 San F[rancisco]

Page 73:

When I was from 6 to 8 years old there was much said & preached about the Millinneum<sup>237</sup>, by this tearm was me[a]nt a reign of richeousness, when a large

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<sup>230</sup> Read: "respects."

<sup>231</sup> Read: "initially."

<sup>232</sup> Read: "righteous."

<sup>233</sup> Read: "righteousness."

<sup>234</sup> Hymn; words (1855) by Joseph M. Scriven; tune by Charles Crozat Converse (1868).

<sup>235</sup> Line three of the hymn "Give to Our God Immortal Praise" by Isaac Watts (1674-1748).

<sup>236</sup> Address (Polk Gulch neighborhood, San Francisco).

<sup>237</sup> A reference to millenialism, a belief held by various Christian groups since late antiquity and based on Holy Bible, New Testament, Revelation 20:1-6.

portion of the inhabitan[t]s of earth would be christians. expositors in studying the prophesies with a view to ascertain when this event might be expe[c]ted, fixed upon the year 1866.<sup>238</sup> Now I was anxious to make sure of heaven, but could not reason[a]bly expect to live to see that day. It was not expe[c]ted that this great event would be ushered in suddenly but gradually, & by human instrumentality<sup>239</sup> by lay ministirs & others laboring through the world as Mr Moody<sup>240</sup> has done. Expositors yet believe that such a time is comeing, but in their calculations have not fixed upon the right time. And now for some reasons my life has been lengthened out beyond this fixed time for this great event so I do not in the least trust to that, yet my hope of heaven is as unshaken as the Eternal-Hills. and O what a foundation we have in Christ.<sup>241</sup> I think it not too much for me to claim & to express, that I do know that I love the Saviour and am loved of Him, notwithstanding all my inconsistencies. When I was from four to six years old, I had frequent seasons of laying awake nights and weeping on account of my sins, & there upon my bed resolving that I would try & be a better little Boy

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I have had similar exercises through my life, though of late years not so much tears of penitense, as tears of gratitude and joy for Gods unmired mercies throug[h] a long life. Where is the man that has been so signally favored as I have been[.] And in view of my exercises of mind when a little Boy and since, I am strongly impressed that if I am a renewed person now, I was when four years old.

Page 75:

March 1850

*Notes of my first trip to California*

In March 1850<sup>242</sup> a company of about 30, most of them Farmers, & rather moral started from our part of Licking County for the Gold fields. We had secured tickets on a line of Steamers from New York to Chagres,<sup>243</sup> We were to go to Zanesville by wagons[.] We left Granville one morning before daylight in a blinding March snow storm. It was a dismal morning, & dark for[e]bodings, and most resembled a Leep in the dark, of any that I ever took. I thought then, & afterwards that there was a number of chances for me to fall by the way, to where there was one to escape. But my covenant God was with me. And is it a reatily<sup>244</sup>, or an illusion that

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<sup>238</sup> See, for example, R. Govett, "Answer to the Rev. B. Young on the Millennium," *The Rainbow: A Magazine of Christian Literature* 4 (1867): 403-412; see also *ibid.*, 472-474, 506-511.

<sup>239</sup> Read: "instrumentality."

<sup>240</sup> Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899); American evangelist and publisher.

<sup>241</sup> See Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 3:11.

<sup>242</sup> See above, manuscript pages 19-20.

<sup>243</sup> At the time the main Atlantic port on the Isthmus of Panama.

<sup>244</sup> Read: "reality."

I did leave my home on that dismal morning, & on that dismal enterprise, and that that step forward, had something to do with the Bancroft none on the Pacific. Prev[i]ous to our leaving, we had sent two of our number to New York to arrange for us, on arriving I met G[eorge]. H[unter]. Derby<sup>245</sup> who was there on business, he was ~~there~~ exce[e]ding kind and active in supplying all my little wants. He gave me a large diary which was very useful, As I was about leaving he became a little excited & in shaking my hand hand [sic] remarked, I must come to San Francisco soon, and start a Bookstore there about as big as all out of doors. Our Steamer was of the largest size -

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We all understood that Capt[ain] Porter<sup>246</sup> was to call at Havana<sup>247</sup>, and there meet a ship from New Orleans<sup>248</sup> and transfer her passengers to our ship for Chagres, but a few of our hat heads swore it should not be, had enough already & then they might bring some disease aboard, but the bluster did not trouble Capt[ain] Porter. The Harbour there is very snug, at the mouth we run in under the guns of Morro Castle<sup>249</sup> which looks at a little distance like a ledge of rock, at a nearer view would be seen mounted guns, and Soldiers, the Ship from the south was there in advance of us and we anc[h]ored near by, we remained there near two days, where the time arrived for transfer[r]ing the passengers, Porter came on deck with a double shotgun and sat down, & ordered our line to be passed over to the other ship & made fast, then attached to our caps[t]on,<sup>250</sup> and began to draw the ships together and when side by side the transfer was made just as easy as sliding down hill, and Porter had no occasion to spend his ammunition. We spent our time there very pleasantly indeed yet every thing about the city has an old decayed look. The Park is extensive, fountains numerous and in their day were gorg[e]ous, The city wall does not not amount to much, numerous old cannon planted in the streets as fenderposts. On our round we bought at a stand some mealons<sup>251</sup> laid there on an empty table to cut, taking out our pocket knives, which the vendor seeing rushed up huslled them

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out of sight saying if police see we pay big fine and handed us some old case knives which were not danger[.] There were a number of shipmates got into trouble by not conforming to their silly rules. But those w[h]o kept sober and behaved decently had no trouble. Our Capt[ain] Porter was son of the celebrated

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<sup>245</sup> Husband of Cecilia Marianne Bancroft, A. A. Bancroft's daughter.

<sup>246</sup> Probably David Dixon Porter (1813-1891).

<sup>247</sup> Capital city (Cuba).

<sup>248</sup> City (Orleans Parish, Louisiana).

<sup>249</sup> Fortress at the entrance to Havana Bay (Cuba); constructed 1589-1630.

<sup>250</sup> Read: "capstan;" vertical-axled rotating device to haul ropes etc.

<sup>251</sup> Read: "melons."

Com[ander]-Porter<sup>252</sup> who was a distinguished as a Naval officer in 1812 he commanded the Essex & her consort, done some hard service in destroying British ship[p]ing untill they marked him & fit[t]ed out two ships much heavier than Porters, & sent them out to cruise for him, and thi[s] was about what might have been expected, they were too heavy for him. We reached Chagres near sunset, I told our boys not to hurry off untill I c[o]uld speak to the Capt[ain]. when the way was clear I explained to him I had charge of a few men and in my permit from my insurance Co[mpany] was restricted from stop[p]ing ouver night at Chagres and could we not a few of us remain on the ship over night, he was quite gentlemanly said the ship would not remain, but I would have no difficulty[;] I could secure men & boats & start at once better than to wait. I thanked him & found it as he said and [we] were soon moving up the River withe the multitude hooping & shouting. We ship[p]ed for the town of Gorgona<sup>253</sup> were many pack trains fit out paid our mim<sup>254</sup> [sic] half their fare before starting There were many shoal places where our men had to step out, & drag over them[.]

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alittle after midkn[i]ght our men were up to some of them lined and they proposed stop[p]ing untill morning & all take a sleep, which we did[,] they going home & we sleeping in the canoes drawn up on the sand. The passage up Chagres<sup>255</sup> was quite pictureisk & exciting[:] every thing, s[h]rub, tree, & plant had a foreign aspe[c]t, every thing but the King fisher<sup>256</sup> he looked & behaved just as he used to[,] plenty of monkeys over head parake[e]tes or wild Parrots screaming over head Blooming trees common But the Bamboo Brakes or thickets alloreled<sup>257</sup> [sic] much[,] grew like cone Brakes close, & from 4 to 6 inches diameter & from 50 to 70 feet high. Great use is made of Bamboo in building their houses log cabin style. Well our men were on hand bright & early, there were many settlers & some small towns along the river where we got fruit & vegetables. at one town we got some Bread Fruit<sup>258</sup> the only lot I ever saw, growth like corn[,] taste like sweet potatoe only better[.] I asked the Alcalda<sup>259</sup> of this Bread Fruit, said was easily cultivated & productive, a few rods square would supply a family the entire year, & not require other food, so that is the place to live. In the course of this second days run, an American woman hailed us from the other side [of] the river wanted us to come

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<sup>252</sup> David Porter (1780-1843).

<sup>253</sup> Town (on the Pacific coast, Panama).

<sup>254</sup> Perhaps "men."

<sup>255</sup> River (central Panama).

<sup>256</sup> Bird.

<sup>257</sup> Perhaps "allured."

<sup>258</sup> Tropical tree with edible fruit.

<sup>259</sup> Read "alcalde" (official, magistrate).

over and her in awe of our canoes, untill she could overtake her company[.] She was standing upon a log partly in water[.]

One of our natives who was in the water dragging started over for her, as naked as he was born backed up to her took her on his back & brought her over as I helped her from his back into the canoe I remem-ber, Madam this is rather a novel mode of travel the safest I should think it was. The third day at eve we reached our destination Gorgona atown where many pack trains are fitted out, some mules, but more of oxen, and more of Natives than either. We remained there about two days, on one of which they held a great native For-don go epicorlet to a Ball, in the open air, so we had the pleasure of seeing the Natives Dances. During the performance a "few of loose sort" created a disturbance and the Alecks ordered them to the guard house, & two of them had their feet made fast in the stocks, so we paid them a visit. The guard house was of Bamboo 30 square built log cabin stile. the stocks were two pieces of light timber extending the length of the house on <sup>one</sup> top of the other with hot places secured to fit the ankles, a strong hinge on one end & hoops & padlock on the other, dog hides were placed on ground to sit upon, they could lie, sit, or recline. There were two native guards with short muskets walking back and forth looking awful grave. It was well understood that Lito Paster was to call at Novana & there meet a ship from the south & take her passengers on board for Chagres, but a few of our hot heads were it should not be hot too many already. But the bluster did not trouble the

Figure 3: Bancroft crossing Panama (ms. p. 79).

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one of our natives who was in the water drag[g]ing started over for her, as naked as he was born backed up to her took her on his back & brought her over as I

helped her from his back into the canoe[.] I remarked, Madam this is rather a novel mode of travel she replied - I - should - think - it - was. The third day at eve we reached our destination Gorgona a town w[h]ere many pack trains are fit[t]ed out, some mules, but more of oxen, and more of Natives than either. We remained there about two days, on one of which they held a great native Fon-don go<sup>260</sup> [sic] equi[v]alent to a Ball, in the open air. So we had the privalige of seeing the Natives Damsels. During the performance a "few of booe<sup>261</sup> sort" created a disturbance and the Alcalda ordered them to the guard house, & two of them had their feet made fast in the stacks, so we paid them a visit. The guard house was of Bamboo 30 square built log cabin stile. the stacks were two pi[e]ses [sic] of light timber extending the length of the house on one top of the other[,] both had places scal[l]uped to fit the oveles, a strong hinge on one end & hasp & padlick<sup>262</sup> on the other, dry hides were plac[e]d on ground to sit upon, they could lie, sit, or recline, Then two native guard with shout muskets walking back and forth looking awful grave[.]

It was well understood that Capt[ain] Porter was to call at Havana<sup>263</sup> & there meet a ship from the south & take her passengers on board for Chagres, but a few of our hat heads swore it should not be[,] had too many already. But the bluster did not trouble the [Captain?]

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In entering the little snug harbour we ran in under the guns of Moro Castle. At a little distance Moro looks like a ledge of rock, but at a nearer mounted guns & troops. Our southern ship was in & we anchorerd near by, we remained near two day, when the time arrived for transfer[r]ing the passengers Porter came on deck with a double barrel[l]ed shot gun and sat down, ordered our line passed over and made fast, also made a turn around our caps[t]an and began to draw the ships together, and when side by side the transfer was made just as easy as sliding down hill, and no waste of ammunition[.] We spent near two days very pleasantly at Havana[,] were constantly on the move, every[thing] there has an old decayed look, the Park is extensive, Fountains numerous & in their day georgeous. The city wall does not amount to much. There are numerous old cannon planted in the streets as fenderposts. One day on our rounds we bought at a stand a lot of mealons, we laid them on an empty table to cut, took out our pocket knives which the vender saw, he rushed up & hust[l]ed them out of sight saying poliece see them you pay big fine, gave us old case knives. There were a number of our shipmates arrested for refusing to comply with their silly rules.

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<sup>260</sup> Read: "fandango" (dance, party).

<sup>261</sup> Those who boo (i.e., shout in disapproval).

<sup>262</sup> Read: "padlock."

<sup>263</sup> See above, manuscript pages 76-77.

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Brief sketch

*Our experi[e]nce on the Pacific*

We had tickets, on a Steamer for the Pacific that [had] not arrived at Panama,<sup>264</sup> our commit[t]ee called upon the Consul to get his views, he thought she might not be at Panama for a month[.] We called a council. There was a sailing vess[e]l in Port. the Bark Susan of 300 tons calling for passengers, we visited the Capt[ain], & the ship, both appe[a]red well, He was a Boston Seafaring man of 50 years quite preposses[s]ing, we could exchange our tickets and get extra for them, It was sickly at Panama, & all were in favor of shipping upon the Bark Susan, we started, what we thought under favorable circumstances. Would much rather be on pacific, than waiting in f[i]lthy old Panama, were well pl[e]ased with our Capt[ain], for about three days every thing went well. The best friend I had on board was W[illia]m Ellis intel[l]igent & pious, he took me by the arm saying what do you suppose ails our Captain[,] he is trouble[d], watch him, goes to one side of the ship & stra[i]ns his eyes ahead and then to the other & so back & forth. Early the next he notified us to assemble he wanted to explain to them, Said the company [that had] fitted out ship imposed upon him, had put more passengers and less supplies than were to, but added dont be troubled, I know those southern seas well I can run South a few days an[d] catch all the rain water we want, & then proce[e]de[d] on our course[.]

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so we gave him a cheer for the south, and in few days he called us up again, thought we had better steer for a port on the coast of Mexico as the winds seemed to faver it so we cheered for that port. Then again changed to Galap[a]gus Islands<sup>265</sup> on the Equator. It disturbed the Capt[ain] some for us yankees to watch the compass, one morning friend Ellis came to me early slap[p]ed me on the shoulder saying what do you think, we are headed for Panama I rep[l]yed well I am prepared for almost any thing and soon it was undersdood among us, we were on our return. Then the Capt[ain] called us up once more and said It was a fact, after more thought he had decided that our grieven[c]es were so great that that [sic] he dare not enter a port where there was no American Consul, therefore had made the change in the night. Now he says keep up spirits, and the Consul will supply us & then go direct to San F[rancisco]. At dusk that same eve a cry was raised A man overboard he lay close under the stern, a rope was thrown to him & exhausted to lay hold, but no[,] then a boat was lowered and before they reached him he had sank. And this our poor Captain. He had gone into a store room at the

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<sup>264</sup> See above, manuscript pages 19-20.

<sup>265</sup> Volcanic archipelago (off the coast of Ecuador, Pacific Ocean); famous for its wildlife.

stern and cut his throat with a razor and not dying soon he clim[b]ed up to a scuttle in the stern and threw himself out into the water[.]

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So it devolved upon our first Mate to take our ship back to Panama.<sup>266</sup> Our ship had become very light water & sup[p]lies nearly gone, and no ballast and being round bottomed, could not hold up against the wind, Panama Bay is very large some say 300 miles, when we arrived at its mouth we met a strong land breeze, the ship light & round Bottomed could not ~~not~~ make headway by tacking we ran back & forth for ten days across the mouth, other ships well ballasted would pass us and enter without difficu[l]ty. This was the trying position I was ever placed in, we had been on allowance of food & water for some time, then the ship was a floating Hospital many sick, some nigh unto death, and we comple[te]ly helpless untill the wind would favored us, at length our time came and we ran in, and 57 days from the time we left, drop[p]ed our anchor in Panama bay with Flag reversed as signal of distress. ~~we~~ our company had our commit[t]ee for the Consul appointed, and the first boat that came off took us ashore[.] the Consul was prompt, the boat us off took back medicine & supplies for the sick, we were furnished a large tent on the Island of Taboga near P[anama]- which occupied two weeks while our S[h]ip was being cl[e]ansed refitted & reoffic[e]red & sent on in the same ship, arriving in San Frances[c]o in July, about five months from time of starting[.]

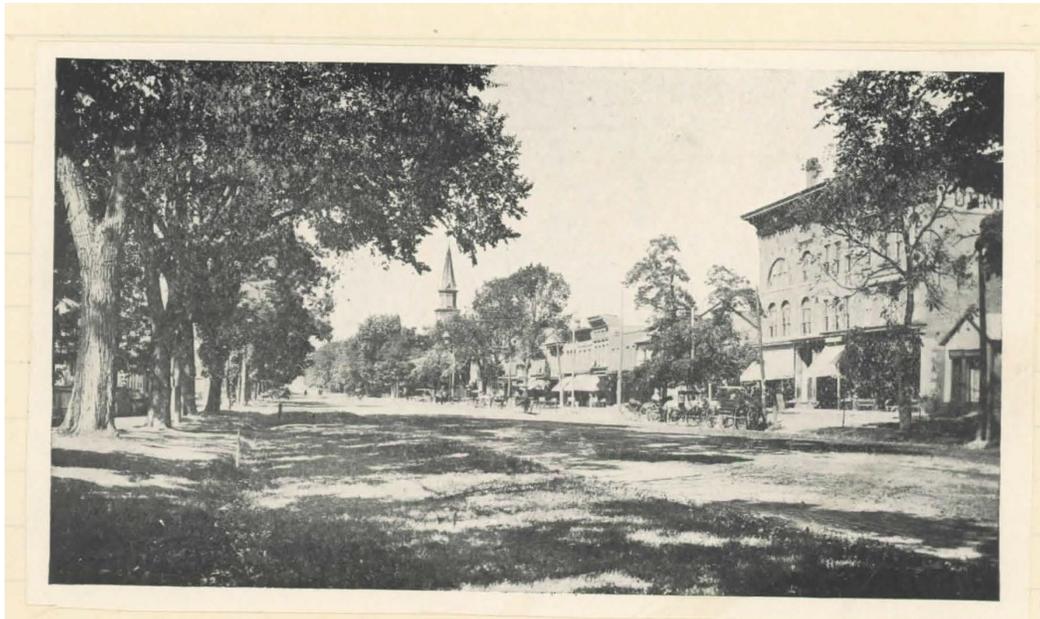


Figure 4: Granville, Ohio (historical photograph).

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<sup>266</sup> See Robert Frank Evans, *Notes on Land and Sea: 1850* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1922), 50.

The remainder of the book contains the following printed matter: (1) *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 56 (1902): 83-88, including J. Henry Lea, Esq., "Genealogical Gleanings among the English Archives," with information on the Bancrofts in England dating back to the sixteenth century; (2) a historical photograph/postcard of Granville, Ohio, with the First Presbyterian Church (110 W Broadway) in the background on right; (3) Rev. C. L. Work, D.D., "The Presbyterian Church of Granville, Ohio," *Old Northwest General Quarterly* 8 (1905): 255-259, with additional images of Granville's earliest buildings and inscriptions from "Old Burying Ground, Granville" (*ibid.*, 406); the historical photograph/postcard mentioned above (2) appears in this same volume (*ibid.*, between 250 and 251).

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Raumi Majd Kinan of Orange, California, earned his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2018), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, working on comprehensive examinations in twentieth-century European nationalism and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Joshua Kyle Kreeger-Johnston of Corona, California, earned his B.A. in History at the University of California, Riverside (UCR) (2016). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History, focusing on medieval and German history, at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is working in the Corona-Norco Unified School District. He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Timothy Joseph Mancillas of Whittier, California, earned his B.A. in History with an emphasis on the Americas and Africa at the University of California, Santa Cruz (2017). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in history at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Sierra Rey Sampson of West Covina, California, earned her B.A. in History (2017) and her M.A. in History (2020) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She served as an editor for Volume 46 (2019) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History." The primary-source edition published above originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*