# In the World Before, During, and After 1882 and 1883: An Idiosyncratic Timeline

## Frank Self

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## Preface

In 2011, I created copies of a portfolio containing information about the history of the State Normal School in New Britain. This was part of the effort of the Executive Board of the Hillside Place at New Britain Condominium Association, Inc. to gain state funding for major and costly maintenance projects. This effort by the Board was a result of the Board's lack of success to gaining the support of our unit owner members to fund these needed projects.

Our main building and our annex had long been subject to delayed maintenance, first when it functioned as the State Normal School, later when it housed the Board of Education, and still later after its transition to residential condominiums. After bricks fell from the tower in 1984, a comment by the assistant superintendent for the New Britain Public Schools was recorded by the New Britain Herald: ". . . he was surprised the bricks fell since the building has had no serious problems in over a century of service." This way of thinking is all too common. The conception that "since it has never happened before, it won't happen; at least not on my watch" can and will lead to disastrous results, especially when it comes to maintenance. (It also applies to pandemics, but that is another story.) In 2011 the Board faced this way of thinking among the majority of our association members. So, as president of the Board, I tried other avenues. These included the effort to gain state funding. And for this, the portfolios.

With legal size mylar envelopes holding the narrative on one side and supporting documents on the other, the portfolios were very large, and increasingly so. Mark Weiland, of Vision Management, LLC, with a background of work in the computer industry, looked at the portfolio and said this compilation of documents was ungainly as a portfolio, but ideal for a website on a computer. Then Mark turned the job of helping me work through the transition to a website to his brother Chris Weiland, Hillside Place's property manager with Vision. My first meeting with Chris to identify the building blocks of the website was brief, his notes were written, quite literally, on an envelope: all the sections of the portfolio (Home, Early History, Living at Hillside Place, General Information, Extra Information, Owners' Page, and Contact) and one important addition, a timeline to let everyone know what was going on in the world during the time that the State Normal School was being built. All of the earlier sections of the website were seen by the Board as essential to our work with our members and they were built in the next few months. But the timeline, much less essential, lagged behind.

As I worked—from time to time—on the timeline over the years, I became increasingly aware of the need for context to better understand how the events fit into the historical line, but also how they connected to more recent, and even current, events. Although I made efforts to present "In the World," it is lopsidedly focused on the United States. And within that lopsided focus, one can see my special interests in the Founding Fathers,

Lincoln, the Civil War, Reconstruction, women, Jews, Native American people, and African American people. And, because the Normal school in New Britain is the center from which all else springs, I pay special attention to Connecticut. From that list, one can see that I am most interested in the process of bringing rights to persons who have been denied rights.

And a personal note: I have a keen interest in Japan and the Japanese. This can be seen in the entry on Annie Lyon Howe. I have traveled to Japan multiple times over the years and have many Japanese friends. During 1992-93, I was a Fulbright Scholar (i.e., Professor) in the Department of Education at Hokkaido University in Sapporo, Japan. During my year there, I was able to travel to Kobe and visit Shoei Junior College and Shoei kindergarten, established by Annie Lyon Howe. There I met the many people who today carry on what she started these many years ago.

Reaching a satisfactory conclusion when pursuing such open-ended pursuits is always elusive. And this work is not in the finished state that I had hoped to achieve. It will be seen that some years convey the appearance that nothing or very little occurred of note. Of course that is not the case. And many entries will seem pinched, clearly lacking full attention, with others only hinted at. But now I must stop.

Our world has been turned upside down by a pandemic causing now over 33,000,000 to become sickened and over one million deaths worldwide. These are the estimates by Johns Hopkins University, but many governments have no reliable methods of determining either their medical cases or their morbidity, and there are countries who, for internal reasons, choose not to accurately report their medical cases. What is clear is, in addition to the sheer horror of so many people ill and so many people dying, the pandemic threw hundreds of millions of people out of work and caused school children and college goers to be deprived of in-person learning and the related social and emotional development. In addition to the pandemic, we are also facing increasing changes in climate and increasing temperature extremes, droughts, wildfires and storms, with low-lying areas increasingly uninhabitable from rising seas. All of these existential crises are causing increasing rifts in our social fabric along economic, social, and political lines.

Now in my mid-80s, my sap is running dry, I am ripe and easy fruit. Unfinished this is, but now is no time for me to tarry.

I am not a trained historian, and as an amateur I am sure I have committed many errors. For this, my apologies.

Frank Self, 2020.
 Hillside Place at New Britain Condominium Association, Inc.
 Member of the Executive Board from 2005 through 2017.

In the World **Before 1882**, Before Construction **Began on the State** Normal School in New Britain, Connecticut

### What we call America was built on conflict, on an American dilemma that continues.

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and happiness.

- Declaration of Independence, 1776

In the midst of the Civil War, and in a speech addressed more to the situation in 1852 than to the work of the Founding Fathers, Frederick Douglass, before the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society at Corinthian Hall, Rochester, New York. said: What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Rev. Margin Luther King, Jr., in his "I had a dream" speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in 1963, had this to say:

In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

James Baldwin, the African American author and essayist, responded to a question by the documentary filmmaker Ken Burns in 1985.

What is liberty? Oh, wow. That's quite a question. I suppose almost nobody really asks themselves that question.

Well, I can always quote the Declaration. "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal." And the moment I do that I am in trouble again because obviously I was not included in that pronouncement. "That they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." Ah, what is liberty?

### Columbus, the New World, the Indigenous Peoples, and the English Settlers

With the longed for support of the Spanish Catholic monarchs Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, who proclaimed him "Monarch of the Seas" and a promise of a portion of found riches (of course, no one knew whether he would return or not), Christopher Columbus made his first voyage with three ships and arrived at what he thought must be India, but was in fact islands of what we now call the Caribbean, a world unknown to the Europeans of the time. (Much earlier, Vikings had made it at least as far as Newfoundland, but that was not widely known, and that is another story.) Encountering the Arawak in what we now call the Bahamas, he wrote in his diary, "these people are very simple in war-like matters. . . . I could conquer the whole of them with 50 men, and govern them as I pleased." Returning to Spain, he presented Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand with gold, golden ornaments, pearls, six captured native people, a tobacco plant, a hammock, pineapples, a turkey, and chili peppers, but not the valued black pepper they so longed for from India. (It would be 1521 and Magellan before a European reached the East by rounding the southern tip of South America and sailing west through the Pacific Ocean.) Columbus had left behind 39

Spaniards to colonize as they could. Columbus's second voyage had a purpose that went far beyond exploration. With 17 ships and 1,200 men, including farmers, soldiers, and priests, and Columbus's two brothers, and with stores of supplies to meet their needs, their intention was to create not just "colonies of exploitation" but "colonies of settlement" and convert the native people to become good Christians, with Columbus to be governor and viceroy. (Columbus had a habit of justifying his actions by passages in the Bible. Later in his life, he considered his voyages to be biblical prophesy.) But Columbus refused to let the native people become Christians, fearing Christians would be more difficult to sell in Spain. He wanted his profits, so he

enslaved five hundred and sixty people. The slaves were shipped to Spain; 200 died during the route back to Spain, and half of the remainder were ill when they arrived. After legal proceedings in the Cortes [sic], some survivors were ordered released and to be returned to their Americas homeland. (Source: <u>https://courses.lumenlearning.com</u>. Boundless. *Spanish Exploration and the Voyages of Christopher Columbus.*)

In his third voyage, he landed on the mainland of what is now called South America, and finding what is now called the Orinoco River, too large to be on an island, he then realized he had sailed to a large landmass, a continent. He conjectured that on his continent might be the Garden of Eden. Because of severe arthritis and inflamed eyes (he had long suffered from various fevers, what was thought to have been gout, and bleeding from the eyes and temporary blindness), he and the others on his boat returned to their camp on Hispaniola (the island where are now found the countries of Haiti and the Dominican Republic); he there found his camp in rebellion against him with accusations of tyranny, brutality, and incompetence toward the colonized subjects.

A 54-page report written on the request of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand by a member of the Order of Calatrava has recently been found in a state archive in the Spanish city of Valladolid. An article in *The Guardian*, 7 August, 2006, reads as follows:

"Columbus' government was characterised by a form of tyranny," Consuelo Varela, a Spanish historian who has seen the document, told journalists.

One man caught stealing corn had his nose and ears cut off, was placed in shackles and was then auctioned off as a slave. A woman who dared to suggest that Columbus was of lowly birth was punished by his brother Bartolomé, who had also travelled to the Caribbean. She was stripped naked and paraded around the colony on the back of a mule.

"Bartolomé ordered that her tongue be cut out," said Ms Varela. "Christopher congratulated him for defending the family."

Columbus eventually gave in to the demands of his camp and returned to Spain in chains, as were his two brothers. There imprisoned, he and his brothers were later freed. Columbus was allowed to sail a fourth time, but he could not be governor or viceroy. On his fourth voyage he made it to Central America. He died in Spain in 1506, when he was probably 54-years-old.

The land where Columbus landed was called the "New World" and we now call it Central and South America; he never reached North America. The Spanish and Portuguese began to explore Central and South America. Then the English began to explore North America. The indigenous people (called "Indians") became accustomed to these parties of explorers who arrived from the ocean, spread their diseases and stole their gold, then left by way of the ocean. Then in North America, about a hundred years after the first explorers' arrival, there was another group from England, then about 20 years later another group. They were not explorers and they were not looking for gold, but they did spread their diseases. These new groups wanted to establish permanently in this New World and to create in this New World what they considered the best of the Old World. Completely illprepared and overwhelmed by the task that they had set upon, these settlers made demands on the Indians which the Indians didn't understand. The settlers demanded food and took land and produce from the Indians. The Indians didn't understand that they were inferior to the English. The Indians didn't understand that the English were White, well-mannered, law abiding Christians who deserved respect, sustenance, and help. So these Indians were a problem. These Indians needed to move away so these good English people could live the life that was their due. Before the first settlers from Europe arrived in the "New World," there had been hundreds of nations of indigenous people living throughout what is now North, Central, and South America, for the most part remarkably free of conflict. With a communal view of land, they had moved freely, taking care of themselves and each other, taking care of the land and its produce as the land and its produce took care of them. The Aztec and the Maya build large communities, far larger than London or Paris or Rome, and large

temples, farms, gardens, and waterways. The European settlers, however, conceived of themselves in the world quite differently. The European settlers, whether from England, Spain, Portugal, or France, saw themselves on top, with land, their own private land, supporting them. They saw others as either friends or enemies. If they were friends, they could, to varying degrees, share their land. If they were enemies, they could not share their land. And not only that, the enemies' lands were always in peril of confiscation. Worse, the enemy could be enslaved or killed. The concept of "better than" was rife. "I am better than you." "We are better than you." There were many skirmishes, many wars.

(What contrast with the thinking of Jean Jaques Rousseau! In 1754, Rousseau wrote:

The first man who, having fenced in a piece of land, said 'This is mine', and found people naïve enough to believe him, that man was the true founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars, and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows: Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody.)

For almost four centuries, America, built on individual and collective self-determination (although, initially, only for free White men who owned property), on liberty, freedom, and human equality, was the goal for people seeking freedom from religious and political oppression, economic turbulence, lack of land resources, famine, and disease. To fund the voyage across the Atlantic, immigrants frequently came as indentured servants. As a consequence, the indigenous peoples living here had their land stolen from them, were abused, and, in many cases, made slaves.

And this was written in the Declaration of Independence:

[King George III] has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

The Founding Fathers did not want "merciless Indian Savages" joining with England against the Colonists. They wanted to deal with the "Indian Problem" on their own terms. (Note that the insertion of the above clause, unlike the words against the slavery of African Americans, was no stumbling block to ratification by all of the Thirteen Colonies.)

But the English, especially those who settled in Massachusetts, believed in divine providence, and divine providence came to their aid in the form of smallpox. Smallpox was just one of the many diseases brought from Europe to the Americas, and most arriving English had acquired immunity to this devastating virus that had wrecked havoc and decimated populations for centuries in the Old World. But to the Indians, who had no epidemiological resistance to it in their populations, it was lethal. In 1633 when the English arrived in what came to be known as Plymouth, Massachusetts, they quickly spread the virus to the Indians of the area. It has been estimated that some Indian groups suffered fatalities as high as 80% to 90%. Divine providence had protected the new arrivals from England in their daring voyage across the ocean, surviving the storms at sea and the monsters of the deep, and now in the New World it was once again divine providence, or so they wanted to believe, that made the way easier for them to good land and its bounty.

#### An Aside on Scientific Research on Smallpox

As an aside, I will skip to, first, William Harvey, then Edward Jenner. William Harvey (1578-1657) was physician to King James I. In addition to his actions to illustrate the fallacy of witchcraft, he established the scientific basis of the circulation of the blood in the body, as he so wrote in his treatise *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus.* Harvey had one cardinal piece of advice for scientists: "Don't think, try." With this advice, he became an early advocate for the scientific method.

Edward Jenner (1749-1823), the son of a vicar of the Church of England, would eventually became physician extraordinary to King George IV. As a schoolboy in Berkeley, Gloucestershire, Jenner was inoculated, successfully, for smallpox by a method called "variolation," where a patch of his skin was scraped and pus from a patient with smallpox was inserted into the broken skin, and by so doing, Jenner, in this case, would contract a mild form of smallpox and develop antibodies which might later prevent development into a full case of the disease. There were risks involved, but this method had been found to have some effectiveness in some cases. In Jenner's case, the variolation was successful.

When 14-years-old, Jenner began study with a local physician and surgeon as an apprentice; after seven years he was well on his way to being a surgeon himself. He then moved to London and studied as an apprentice in surgery and anatomy for an additional three years. Returning to his home in Berkeley, he opened a practice as doctor and surgeon. Because smallpox was the most feared disease at the time, with a fatality rate of 10% to 20% in Great Britain, he must have had to deal with it hundreds of times. As had others, he began to realize that dairy farmers and milkmaids as a group seemed to be strikingly free of the worse effects of the disease. Using Harvey's advice, he studied cowpox, a virulent disease that travels from animals to other animals, including humans. Cowpox is related to smallpox, but less virulent than smallpox. He discovered that by the inoculation of cowpox under the skin of patients, he could induce a mild case of cowpox, but, and this was his goal, to prevent patients from having the much worse disease of smallpox. The details of this process was provided in his books An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolæ Vaccinæ (1898) and Further Observations on the Variolæ Vaccinæ, or Cow-Pox (1899).

In 2002, Donald Hopkins, a world-renowned infectious disease doctor, wrote,

Jenner's unique contribution was not that he inoculated a few persons with cowpox, but that he then proved [by subsequent challenges] that they were immune to smallpox. Moreover, he demonstrated that the protective cowpox pus could be effectively inoculated from person to person, not just directly from cattle.

But in the late 1880s, many people were afraid, including the medical establishment. Was it wise, or even Christian, to put a disease from an animal into a human? Was it possible for a vaccinated person (*vaccinate* and *vaccinated* are terms coined by Jenner) to infect an unvaccinated person? But Jenner was, if not the first, it was his work and his writings which largely won over both the medical establishment and the public.

#### An Aside on Benjamin Franklin

Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) was an essayist; printer; newspaper owner; printshop owner; land speculator; bookstore owner; an excellent swimmer and chess player; a Freemason; author of *Poor Richard's Almanac*; and a publisher. As a scientist, he charted the Gulf Stream. He invented the lightning rod, bi-focal lens glasses, a pair of wooden hand paddles to increase swimming speed, a more efficient heating stove, and the glass-harmonica, for which Mozart wrote compositions. The U.S. postal system was established by the Second Continental Congress in 1775, and Franklin was made its first postmaster general. He and a group of his friends, established the Library Company of Philadelphia, the first American subscription library. As a statesman, he was a diplomat to France, where he became a fashion icon, and a diplomat to England, where he wrote "Scheme for a new Alphabet and a Reformed Mode of Spelling," which he found interested no one else but him.

Benjamin Franklin was the only Founding Father to have signed all four of the key documents establishing the U.S.: the Declaration of Independence (1776), the Treaty of Alliance with France (1778), the Treaty of Paris which established peace with Great Britain (1783), and the U.S. Constitution (1787). He recognized that the Iroquois Confederation, encompassing the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Mohawk, Seneca, and Tuscarora, had achieved what the Thirteen Colonies were trying to achieve. Franklin wrote in 1751 to his printer colleague James Parker,

It would be a very strange Thing, if Six Nations of ignorant Savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such an Union, and be able to execute it in such a Manner as that it has subsisted Ages and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, and be able to execute it in such a Manner, as that it has subsisted Ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like Union should be impracticable for ten or a Dozen English Colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous; and who cannot be supposed to want an equal Understanding of their Interests.

He was a philanthropist. He was the founder of the University of Pennsylvania and made significant donations to its library. And in his will, munificently so to the cities of Boston and Philadelphia. One son died of smallpox, age four, in 1736.

He and his wife Deborah owned people in slavery who worked as domestic servants, but, ever the scientist and learner, when in England and brought by his friend Samuel Johnson, he visited a school for black children established by the English philanthropic association, Dr. Bray Associates. Back in the States, he became president of the Philadelphia Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. An indication of his role as an abolitionist and the high regard with which he was held among African Americans, can be gained from the article "Benjamin Franklin and Freedom" in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 4, No. 4, January 1, 1919. (A pdf can be found on line.) The initial paragraph reads as follows:

Of the fathers of the republic who first saw the evils of slavery, none made a more forceful argument against the institution than Benjamin Franklin. A man of lowly estate himself, he could not sympathize with the man who felt that his bread should be wrung from the sweat of another's brow. Desiring to see the institution abolished, Franklin early connected himself with the anti-slavery forces of Pennsylvania and maintained this attitude of antagonism toward it until his death. His printing press was placed at the disposal of the pamphleteers who by their method endeavored to influence public opinion, and as a means of effecting the liberation of the blacks he cooperated with others in educating them as a preparation for citizenship.

From 1771 to 1790 he wrote what has come to be known as *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, published after his death. It is now considered one of the world's great autobiographies.

When 22-years-old, he wrote:

The Body of B. Franklin Printer; Like the Cover of an old Book, Its Contents torn out, And stript of its Lettering and Gilding, Lies here, Food for Worms. But the Work shall not be wholly lost: For it will, as he believ'd, appear once more, In a new & more perfect Edition, Corrected and Amended By the Author.

But it was not to be. He died at age 84 in Philadelphia and there he is buried. His will stated that his marker read: "Benjamin and Deborah Franklin." And so it was.

## The New World, the English Settlers, and African people in Slavery

Now back to the North American Continent in the New World. In addition to the misery brought upon the Indians by armed conflict and disease, there were the men, women, and children who were kidnaped (by the Portuguese and other Europeans) from their homes in West Africa, first in 1619, when slaves (reflecting English gentility, they were referred to as "servants") were brought to Jamestown, Virginia, and to other areas soon after. (The market of enslaved Africans had already an old history: the first European market opened in 1441 in Portugal, selling people from Mauritania. This was ten years before Christopher Columbus was born.) The brutal practice of kidnapping and subsequent brutal travel conditions across the ocean was justified by the belief among Christians in support of the superiority of the people God made white over those God made black; this strongly held belief made possible the corresponding belief that these Black people were without meaningful family, feelings, social relationships, culture, and intelligence—that is these Black people weren't even human.

Seeing the business opportunity, people of wealth in many European countries built ships specially designed to convey the largest possible number of enslaved people to many parts of the New World, chiefly to South America and the Caribbean, but also, substantially to the Middle Passage, the American Colonies, and later, the American States: shackled and shipped in unspeakable conditions during which many died, split from all others with whom they had any kind of relationship, and sold—at high prices—as one might buy a mule or a good horse. After all, conditions were difficult in this new land, and help was appreciated. In 1641, the colony of Massachusetts legalized slavery; in 1643, the New England Confederation of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven adopted a fugitive slave law; and in 1650, Connecticut legalized slavery.

#### An Aside on Life as a Slave on a Slave Ship in the Middle Passage

Historian Marcus Rediker wrote his definitive work *The Slave Ship: A Human History* in 2007. Adam Hochschild wrote in his review of Rediker's book in *The New York Times,* Oct. 21, 2007:

Most spasms of cruelty in history we know about largely through the testimony of victims. It is thanks to acts of witness by survivors like Primo Levi and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for instance, that we can begin to picture what life was like in Auschwitz and the gulag. There is no great trove of memoirs by retired concentration camp guards.

By contrast, a much more prolonged bout of suffering, the notorious Middle Passage across the Atlantic, on which more than 12 million Africans were embarked for the Americas over more than three centuries, we know about almost entirely from the perpetrators. There are few accounts of this voyage by slaves, and historians are now not 100 percent sure of the authenticity of the most famous of them, the 18th-century autobiography of Olaudah Equiano. But an astonishingly large body of evidence remains from those who trafficked in human beings: letters, diaries, memoirs, captain's logbooks, shipping company records, testimony before British Parliamentary investigations, even poetry and at least one play by former slave-ship officers.

It is this rich array of material that Marcus Rediker plumbs, more thoroughly than anyone else to date, for his masterly new book, *The Slave Ship: A Human History.* His focus is on the period after 1700, when this traffic was increasingly dominated by Britain — a country where, as anyone who has worked in its libraries and archives knows, they seldom seem to throw a piece of paper away. The documents mounted up because the transport of chained and shackled Africans was once so central a part of world commerce.

Rediker looks not at that bigger picture but at the slave ship itself, as a microeconomy where the captain was chief executive, jailer, accountant, paymaster and disciplinarian, exercising these roles by maintaining, from his spacious captain's cabin in a very unspacious ship, the mystique of what later military leaders would call command isolation. Slave ships are, after all, a far larger part of our history than we like to think. Our normal picture of an 18thcentury sailing vessel is of one filled with hopeful immigrants. But before 1807, ships carried well over three times as many enslaved Africans across the ocean to British colonies as they did Europeans.

## The United States, Indigenous People, and African American Slavery

When Thomas Jefferson, along with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman, wrote the Declaration of Independence for the Second Continental Congress in 1776, there were more than 500,000 enslaved people in America, with more than 100 enslaved people owned by Jefferson, yet their draft included a paragraph condemning slavery. This paragraph caused intense debate, and it was opposed by delegates from Georgia and South Carolina, and also Northern delegates representing manufacturers and merchants involved in the slave trade. Their favorable votes were essential for passage, so the paragraph condemning slavery was deleted.

The Declaration ended with this paragraph:

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

On July 4, 1776, twelve of the Thirteen Colonies approved this new United States. But New York abstained, the only one of the Thirteen Colonies that did. On July 9, New York's Provincial Congress approved, and with that final approval, all of the colonies became the United States, separated from and independent of England. That afternoon, George Washington had the Declaration of Independence read to his troops in the New York Commons. And that evening, a mob assembled in Bowling Green and knocked down an equestrian statue of King George III.

The power of the proslavery faction did not abate during the ten years between the Declaration of Independence and the writing of the Constitution in 1787 establishing the United States. In the Constitution, in Article I, Section 2, enslaved people are referred to as "other Persons" and counted as only three-fifths of a whole person, and "Indians not taxed" are not considered as a person, to any degree, at all. In Article I, Section 9, Congress is bared from banning the "Importation" of enslaved people before 1808. (This compromise of 20 years allowed the slave trade to continue, but Congress subsequently passed a law nullifying that limit.) Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3, states that

"No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

(In addition to enslaved people, this clause would include apprentices and indentured servants.)

By far, the majority of North American enslaved people were in the Southern States. This was no accident. Treaties with the Indigenous Native Nations were repeatedly made and then promptly broken by the new arrivals (the majority of whom were from Virginia), with the newcomers, especially those with wealth and enslaved people, quickly moving into this captured land. This happened over and over again. After all, the Indigenous Native people knew where the good land was: that's where they lived and worked and prospered. But they were heathens, and according to the Constitution, not even people. Why should they have good land when White Christian men did not? What these White Christian men had was laws. (The Indigenous Native people had laws, too, but they didn't count; they also had guns provided by the British. The White Christian men had laws. guns, and an army.) So it was: write a treaty, push out the Indigenous Native people, move in with your enslaved people; write a treaty, push out the Indigenous Native people, move in with your enslaved people.

It happened over and over, with the look of the favored part of Virginia, with the white house with Greek columns (Thanks to you, Thomas Jefferson, and to your Monticello.), which they established wherever they landed, which meant wherever there was good farm land. The rich black loam, the good rich growing soil was no longer cultivated and enjoyed by the Indigenous Native people. They were forced in 1830 by President Andrew Jackson's signing of the Indian Removal Act to go west of the Mississippi where the land was not so good. Not just go, they had to walk. These repeated evacuations forced on, predominately, members of the Cherokee, Seminole, Muscogee, Chickasaw and Choctaw nations, resulted in an estimated 4,000 deaths en route from a combination of exposure, disease, and starvation. One Choctaw leader referred to the removal as "A Trail of Tears and Deaths." And quite rightly, too, for once again God had blessed the White Christian men with big white houses and big white columns. After all, didn't they deserve it? Hadn't we or our ancestors made that long, stormy voyage and, maybe, had been forced to eat hardtack and had run out of rum long before any sight of land. Some of their beds weren't comfortable and many of our group had been seasick. No, not at all pleasant. Of course we deserved to be where we were. Drinking mint juleps. Sleeping on a comfortable bed and watched over during the night by a trustworthy, kindly black woman whose own child was far away with the other Colored. But without a doubt, the Indigenous Native people were also favored by these actions. After all, they couldn't help who they were. It is true that there were some deaths, but really no number of those Native people would ever equal one White person's life. Why, it wasn't worth even thinking about. But under the control of the U.S., those Natives could become educated in the ways of the Whites. They could start to wear respectable clothes, speak only respectable English, give up traditional practices, wish their children well in their White run schools away from their backward families. Surely they would then learn to happily accept the ways of the Whites as the better ways and the laws of the Whites as the better laws. Surely then

there would no longer be an Indian Problem. And their children will only thank us for doing so much to help them and their parents. Yes, they will be grateful. I mean if some couldn't walk a bit, that just showed that they were weak. And without the weak, everyone else is strong. So, sure, we were only helping them. Of course, they will be grateful.

But, for multiple reasons, things did not always turn out as planned. The people of the Indian Tribes continued to think of themselves as people who wanted to determine for themselves who and what they were and respected for it. They wanted to be allowed to act as American Indians with their own Indian Nations, with their own languages and beliefs, with their own ways. The people of the United States, many of the people, often most of the people, continued to have the itch. The itch for more. The itch called Manifest Destiny. The itch to be better than. So battles and wars ensued. The U.S. sent people into Indian territories without permission or the respective Nations' approval (i.e., Lewis and Clark). Treaties were made, but the U.S. chipped away at their Tribal lands for increasing numbers of western settlers, with the U.S. not upholding the treaty bargains for the settler lands. When the Indians rebelled, the U.S. would bring in their superior forces to subdue the rebellion. One example of the attitude of the U.S. toward Indians, one of many, was the deliberate starvation of the Santee Sioux in the Dakota Nation in the new State of Minnesota. (One trader expressed his view by saying, "If they are hungry, let them eat grass.") Over a period of about six weeks, the Dakota leader Little Crow led starving bands against the settler families, eventually killing 480. In the aftermath of what came to be called the U.S.-Dakota War, Lincoln ordered 38 Dakota/Santee Sioux hung, but he commuted the sentences of

265. Nevertheless, this remains the largest mass execution in U.S. history. Treaties were made and, when people of the States found something they wanted, treaties were broken, sometimes followed by wars (i.e., discovery of minerals and the Battle of Little Big Horn.) On and on and on.

Then in 2020, there was a breakthrough. In Jimcy Mcgirt, Petitioner v. Oklahoma On Writ Of Certiorari To The Court Of Criminal Appeals Of Oklahoma, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Muscogee (Creek) Nation's reservation was not officially terminated when Oklahoma became a state and that for certain purposes essentially the eastern half of the state is Native American land, and, as such, on that land Oklahoma prosecutors lack the authority to pursue criminal cases against American Indian defendants. The decision was 5-4, so far from unanimous. But enough. Justice Neil Gorsuch delivered the majority opinion of the Court:

On the far end of the Trail of Tears was a promise. Forced to leave their ancestral lands in Georgia and Alabama, the Creek Nation received assurances that their new lands in the West would be secure forever. In exchange for ceding "all their land, East of the Mississippi river," the U. S. government agreed by treaty that "[t]he Creek country west of the Mississippi shall be solemnly guarantied to the Creek Indians." Treaty With the Creeks, Arts. I, XIV, Mar. 24, 1832, 7 Stat. 366, 368 (1832 Treaty). Both parties settled on boundary lines for a new and "permanent home to the whole Creek nation," located in what is now Oklahoma. Treaty With the Creeks, preamble, Feb. 14, 1833, 7 Stat. 418 (1833 Treaty). The government further promised that "[no] State or Territory [shall] ever have a right to pass laws for the government of such Indians, but they shall be allowed to govern themselves." 1832 Treaty, Art. XIV, 7 Stat. 368.

Today we are asked whether the land these treaties promised remains an Indian reservation for purposes of federal criminal law. Because Congress has not said otherwise, we hold the government to its word.

(Note: In The New York Times [July 11, 2020], Jack Healy wrote that after the Trail of Tears there "were decades of betrayals, broken treaties and attempts to legislate and assimilate tribes out of existence." He included the following quotation, "It's so momentous and it's immense," said Joy Harjo, the United States poet laureate and a Muscogee [Creek] Nation member who lives in Tulsa. "It marks a possible shift. Not just for Muscogee Creek people, for all Native people." In UConn Today [July 13, 2020], Camille Chill wrote of Law Professor Bethany Berger's brief, cited in the U.S. Supreme Court decision, "that is expected to reframe the sovereignty of American Indian tribal nations." Berger is a co-author and member of the Editorial Board of Felix S. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law, the foundational treatise in the field. At the University of Connecticut School of Law, Professor Berger teaches American Indian Law, Property Law, Tribal Law, and Conflict of Laws.)

Maybe this will be a beginning and not a dead-end.

Both the soil and the climate in the South provided for rich harvests of tobacco, rice, and cotton, all requiring large numbers of what was later termed "stoop labor" and working long hours. The high quality of the tobacco, rice, and cotton produced in the South was eagerly purchased by people in the North, as well as in many international markets. But cotton was problematic. The problem was the hard, prickly cotton boll. The cotton boll contained the desired cotton fibers attached to its many, many seeds. Planting cotton was one thing. But pulling the fiber from the seeds was quite another. It was difficult, tedious, and slow going. Hand labor. Slave hand labor. Not so bad with longstaple cotton, but long-staple cotton only grew along the coasts. By far the most cotton grown was short-staple, and short-staple cotton was the bummer: so very difficult to pull the tightly-attached fiber from the seeds. There was always the cost of enslaved people and the cost of shipping the raw cotton to the Northeast and to Europe in relation to the final profits, and many planters found that their margin of profit was slim or, for some, completely lacking. But this was to change. With the introduction of Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1794, which guickly and efficiently pulled the cotton fibers – even the short-staple fibers – from the seeds, the demand for slave labor in the cotton growing South increased exponentially. And profits for the slave owners increased exponentially. Cotton was king.

Especially after the introduction of the cotton gin, every aspect of slavery was a business and every part incredibly lucrative. The Portuguese, the English, and other Europeans who built the slave ships, they got rich. The officers on the ships got rich. And a good enslaved person repaid the slave owner many times the original cost. And the children of enslaved mothers were free of charge, lagniappe for the owner, leading to high market value for women—and girls— able to bear children. (White owners ofter helped to increase the number of babies of enslaved mothers, something widely known, but not spoken of in polite, i.e., White upper-class society.) Nobody bought ugly old women. Year after year, laws were created throughout the Colonies, and then the States, that reduced any semblance of freedom for the Indigenous Native people, for enslaved people (first from Africa and later from the Caribbean, especially Barbados, which were favored because they were then acclimated to the heat and humidity of the Southern States), and for "free" Blacks. This avarice at every link on the chain—except, of course, on the part of those people who became enslaved—kept the slave trade going for over 300 years.

### Andrew Jackson, a Man of the South

It was not an accident, it was expected that Southern men (not women) of wealth and stature would be leaders of the community, to be doctors, bankers, lawyers, military officers, and, of course, politicians. So Andrew Jackson, who owned the 1,050 acre estate Hermitage in Tennessee, with cotton being his main crop, may, during his years there, have owned 300 people in slavery. He depended largely on his enslaved people for his wealth. For economic reasons, he did not want to lose even one. And if one ran away, he wanted that runaway, and all of his other enslaved people who might entertain the thought of running away, to know the consequences that he would mete out: the consequences would be vicious and debilitating and performed without mercy.

### A Newspaper Ad for the Return of a Runaway Slave to Andrew Jackson, October 3, 1804

(Note: The archaic typeface "long s," which resembled an "f," had largely died out by 1800, but not in the *Tennessee Gazette*.)

# Stop the Runaway. FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.

Eloped from the fubffriber, living near Nafhville, on the 25th of June laft, a Mulatto Man Slave, about thirty years old, fix feet and an inch high, stout made and active, talks fenfible, stoops in his walk, and has a remarkable large foot, broad acrofs the root of the toes—will pass for a free man, as I am informed he has obtained by fome means certificate as fuch took with him a drab great-coat, dark mixed body coat, a ruffled fhirt, cotton home-fpua [sic] shirts and overalls. He will make for Detroit, through the ftates of Kentucky and Ohio, or the upper part of Louifiana. The above reward will be given any perfon that will take him, and deliver him to me, or fecure him in jail, so I can get him. If taken out of the ftate, the

40

above reward and all reafonable expences paid—and ten dollars extra, for every hundred lafhes any perfon will give him, to the amount of three hundred. ANDREW JACKSON Near Nafhville, State of Tenneffee.

This 1804 ad for the return of this unnamed man was doubtless one of many by Jackson, and one of the estimated 200,000 such ads placed by slave owners in U.S. newspapers between 1730 and 1865. That being said, Jackson's last sentence above does stick out for its sheer horror and vindictiveness. Jackson's detailed description of the clothing while omitting the man's name is just further indication of the dehumanization enslaved people lived under. Twenty-five years after placing this ad, Andrew Jackson was elected the 7th President of the United States and served eight years as a member of the Democratic Party. No record has been found of him changing his position on slavery.

#### Andrew Jackson, Military Officer

Andrew Jackson served in multiple wars and battles as Major General, starting in 1813, and perhaps most notably in the Battle of New Orleans. The irony is that this battle occurred in 1815, although the Treaty of Ghent between Great Britain and the United States ending the War of 1812 was signed in 1813. (This was long before there was telegraph communication across the Atlantic.) He headed a motley crew against a superior and larger British force, and won the battle. And with that, he won the hearts of most Americans.

# Andrew Jackson, American

In 1928, the centennial of his becoming President, his portrait was placed on the \$20 dollar bill, where it remains today. Jackson was considered a man of the people and an advocate for democracy. In recent years, many people have changed their views, seeing him as racist and divisive. But he remains the epitome of the Southern slave owner/military commander/ politician, exuding White supremacy, racist to the core.

During his entire lifetime, Andrew Jackson was within the American mainstream. He would have been within the American mainstream during the Colonial Period. To recall the writing of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson had written a statement against slavery in the new States, but it was omitted from the final, approved copy. The goals for this Continental Congress were three-fold: to identify the causes for which the Thirteen Colonies need to be independent of Great Britain; to have the different Colonies united against the tyranny of King George III, the leader of the most powerful country in the world, and the British Parliament; and to announce to nations throughout the world that if they want to fight for freedom, then fight with this new nation. But first, they had to pass this Declaration and it had to be passed by the Southern Colonies, where the economy was based on slave labor, and by the Northern States, where, while there were many abolitionists,

there were still many who profited from the products of slavery in their weaving industries or in the slave trade. Both North and South, all Thirteen Colonies needed to be united in approving this Declaration. Jackson, had he been a delegate, would surely have approved it. And Jackson would have remained within the American mainstream for decades later. (I suggest he is now moving out of the mainstream, even with Steven Bannon's and Donald J. Trump's efforts to the contrary.)

# And Then There Was David Walker

The Jacksons in the United States were in the mainstream, but that mainstream did not encompass the entirety of the stream. There were abolitionists there, too. One abolitionist was David Walker. And David Walker spun around and spun around in the stream of public commentary and attracted much attention. In spite of the mainstream, Walker encouraged enslaved African American people, North and South, to take a stand against the institution of slavery, and he caused feelings of sheer terror from slave owners, North and South.

David Walker (1796 or 1797-1830) was born in Wilmington, North Carolina. His mother was free and his father, who died before David was born, was enslaved. Because American law upheld Blackstone's *partus sequitur ventrem* (Latin for "that which is brought forth follows the belly"), in the United States the status of the child follows the status of the mother. So, the fact that David's mother was free meant that David was born free. However, being free himself didn't stop or reduce his acute empathy of his fellows being who were enslaved, and when he could, he moved to Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston had a vibrant community of free Blacks engaged in bettering their lives. The hub of this community in Charleston was the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME Church) (See: 1886, below), and he joined with them in their secret (because then illegal) gatherings. While in the South, he traveled widely there, and also in the West, and was able to deepen his knowledge and understanding of the horrible impact of slavery on human beings.

In 1825, Walker moved to Massachusetts, where slavery was abolished in 1783. He settled in Boston, and there he married Eliza Butler, of a well-established Boston African American family. Walker quickly became a prominent member of the community and a popular public speaker, helping those in the community less fortunate, aiding runaway enslaved people, joining organizations that were dedicated to improving the lives of African American people, and helping to found the Massachusetts General Colored Association, the goals of which were to abolish Massachusetts's laws which were discriminatory, i.e., segregated public accommodations and the prohibition of inter-racial marriages; to end slavery; to end racism; and to help people through education and religion. He joined a Methodist Church led by Rev. Samuel Snowden, a formerly enslaved person, and in Boston a beloved

leader of the anti-slavery movement. Walker began to write for New York's *Freedom's Journal*, the first newspaper owned and operated by African Americans in the United States. There he often wrote in opposition to the colonization of free American Blacks back to Africa. Walker had had great success as a public speaker. Now he decided to write directly to his audience throughout the United States.

There was no widespread abolitionist movement in this country in 1829. Thomas Jefferson had died three years before. It would be another two years before Nat Turner's Rebellion. It would be another 23 years before Frederick Douglass's 1852 "What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July?" speech. I have quoted selections from Douglass's speech above, and here is a section that recalls the thinking of David Walker:

For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

And it would be another thirty years before John Brown's 1859 raid on Harper's Ferry. In 1829, Walker published Walker's Appeal, In Four Articles; Together With A Preamble, To The Coloured Citizens Of The World, But In Particular, And Very Expressly, To Those Of The United States Of America, Written In Boston, State Of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829. (Shortened title, An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World.) This was followed by a second, and then the, as Walker wrote it, Third And Last Edition, With Additional Notes, Corrections, &C. [sic] Boston: Revised And Published By David Walker. 1830.

(You will note as you read that Walker likes exclamation points. He evidently thought that if one point indicates an exclamation, additional points will indicate heightened exclamation.)

The "Preamble" to his *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World.* begins with these words:

My dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow Citizens.

HAVING travelled over a considerable portion of these United States, and having, in the course of my travels, taken the most accurate observations of things as they exist--the result of my observations has warranted the full and unshaken conviction, that we, (coloured people of these United States,) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began; and I pray God that none like us ever may live again until time shall be no more.

I am fully aware, in making this appeal to my much afflicted and suffering brethren, that I shall not only be assailed by those whose greatest earthly desires are, to keep us in abject ignorance and wretchedness, and who are of the firm conviction that Heaven has designed us and our children to be slaves and beasts of burden to them and their children. I say, I do not only expect to be held up to the public as an ignorant, impudent and restless disturber of the public peace, by such avaricious creatures, as well as a mover of insubordination--and perhaps put in prison or to death, for giving a superficial exposition of our miseries, and exposing tyrants. But I am persuaded, that many of my brethren, particularly those who are ignorantly in league with slave-holders or tyrants, who acquire their daily bread by the blood and sweat of their more ignorant brethren-- and not a few of those too, who are too ignorant to see an inch beyond their noses, will rise up and call me cursed--Yea, the jealous ones among us will perhaps use more abject subtlety, by affirming that this work is not worth perusing, that we are well situated, and there is no use in trying to better our condition, for we cannot. I will ask one question here.--Can our condition be any worse?--Can it be more mean and abject? If there are any changes, will they not be for the better, though they may appear for the worst at first? Can they get us any lower? Where can they get us? They are afraid to treat us worse, for they know well, the day they do it they are gone. But against all accusations which

. . . .

may or can be preferred against me, I appeal to Heaven for my motive in writing--who knows that my object is, if possible, to awaken in the breasts of my afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in this Republican Land of Liberty!!!!!

The sources from which our miseries are derived, and on which I shall comment, I shall not combine in one, but shall put them under distinct heads and expose them in their turn; in doing which, keeping truth on my side, and not departing from the strictest rules of morality,

I shall endeavour to penetrate, search out, and lay them open for your inspection. If you cannot or will not profit by them, I shall have done my duty to you, my country and my God.

Walker proceeds to four articles.

"Article I, Our Wretchedness In Consequence Of Slavery."

This article begins with this paragraph:

My beloved brethren:--The Indians of North and of South America--the Greeks--the Irish, subjected under the king of Great Britain--the Jews, that ancient people of the Lord--the inhabitants of the islands of the sea--in fine, all the inhabitants of the earth, (except however, the sons of Africa) are called men, and of course are, and ought to be free. But we, (coloured people) and our children are brutes!! and of course are, and ought to be SLAVES to the American people and their children forever!! to dig their mines and work their farms; and thus go on enriching them, from one generation to another with our blood and our tears!!!!

Walker addressed a statement that Thomas Jefferson wrote in his "Notes on Virginia," and then he provided an especially apt metaphor of the common comparison of enslaved men to free men.

Mr. Jefferson declared to the world, that we are inferior to the whites, both in the endowments of our bodies and of minds? It is indeed surprising, that a man of such great learning, combined with such excellent natural parts, should speak so of a set of men in chains. I do not know what to compare it to, unless, like putting one wild deer in an iron cage, where it will be secured, and hold another by the side of the same, then let it go, and expect the one in the cage to run as fast as the one at liberty.

"Article II, Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Ignorance."

Walker does not automatically let the slaves off the hook; he finds too many ignorant, too many willing to boy and scrape for their masters, too often "grovelling servile and abject submission to the lash of tyrants." Here he states,

If you can only get courage into the blacks, I do declare it, that one good black man can put to death

six white men; and I give it as a fact, let twelve black men get well armed for battle, and they will kill and put to flight fifty whites.--The reason is, the blacks, once you get them started, they glory in death.

(This must have really helped slave owners to sleep at night. Instead of a period, probably "!!!!" is called for.)

Walker pushes back against what Thomas Jefferson published in "Notes on Virginia."

"I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind?"--It," says he, "is not against experience to suppose, that different species of the same genius, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications." [Here, my brethren, listen to him.] "Will not a lover of natural history, then, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of MAN as distinct as nature has formed them?"—I hope you will try to find out the meaning of this verse--its widest sense and all its bearings: whether you do or not, remember the whites do. This very verse, brethren, having emanated from Mr. Jefferson, a much greater philosopher the world never afforded, has in truth injured us more, and has been as great a barrier to our emancipation as any thing that has ever been advanced against us. I hope

you will not let it pass unnoticed. He goes on further, and says: "This unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these, embarrassed by the question, 'What further is to be done with them?' join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only." Now I ask you candidly, my suffering brethren in time, who are candidates for the eternal worlds, how could Mr. Jefferson but have given the world these remarks respecting us, when we are so submissive to them, and so much servile deceit prevail among ourselves--when we so meanly submit to their murderous lashes, to which neither the Indians nor any other people under Heaven would submit? No, they would die to a man, before they would suffer such things from men who are no better than themselves, and perhaps not so good. Yes, how can our friends but be embarrassed, as Mr. Jefferson says, by the question, "What further is to be done with these people?"

"Article III, Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Preachers of the Religion of Jesus Christ."

This is a fair illustration of the state of society in this country--it shows what a bearing avarice has upon a people, when they are nearly given up by the Lord to a hard heart and a reprobate mind, in consequence of afflicting their fellow creatures. God suffers some to go on until they are ruined for ever!!!!! Will it be the case with the whites of the United States of America?--We hope not--we would not wish to see them destroyed notwithstanding, they have and do now treat us more cruel than any people have treated another, on this earth since it came from the hands of its Creator (with the exceptions of the French and the Dutch, they treat us nearly as bad as the Americans of the United States.) The will of God must however, in spite of us, be done.

The English are the best friends the coloured people have upon earth. Though they have oppressed us a little and have colonies now in the West Indies, which oppress us sorely.--Yet notwithstanding they (the English) have done one hundred times more for the melioration of our condition, than all the other nations of the earth put together. The blacks cannot but respect the English as a nation, notwithstanding they have treated us a little cruel.

There is no intelligent black man who knows any thing, but esteems a real Englishman, let him see him in what part of the world he will--for they are the greatest benefactors we have upon earth. We have here and there, in other nations, good friends. But as a nation, the English are our friends.

After many Biblical citations, he ends this Article with:

I declare, that the very face of these injunctions appear to be of God and not of man. They do not

show the slightest degree of distinction. "Go ye therefore," (says my divine Master) "and teach all nations," (or in other words, all people) "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Do you understand the above, Americans? We are a people, notwithstanding many of you doubt it. You have the Bible in your hands, with this very injunction. . . . Have you not, on the contrary, entered among us, and learnt us the art of throat-cutting, by setting us to fight, one against another, to take each other as prisoners of war, and sell to you for small bits of calicoes, old swords, knives, &c. to make slaves for you and your children? This being done, have you not brought us among you, in chains and hand-cuffs, like brutes, and treated us with all the cruelties and rigour your ingenuity could invent, consistent with the laws of your country, which (for the blacks) are tyrannical enough? Can the American preachers appeal unto God, the Maker and Searcher of hearts, and tell him, with the Bible in their hands, that they make no distinction on account of men's colour? Can they say, O God! thou knowest all things--thou knowest that we make no distinction between thy creatures, to whom we have to preach thy Word? Let them answer the Lord; and if they cannot do it in the affirmative, have they not departed from the Lord Jesus Christ, their master? But some may say, that they never had, or were in possession of a religion, which made no distinction, and of course they could not have departed from it. I ask you then, in the name of the Lord, of what kind can your religion be? Can it be that which was preached by our Lord

Jesus Christ from Heaven? I believe you cannot be so wicked as to tell him that his Gospel was that of distinction. What can the American preachers and people take God to be? Do they believe his words? If they do, do they believe that he will be mocked? Or do they believe, because they are whites and we blacks, that God will have respect to them? Did not God make us all as it seemed best to himself? What right, then, has one of us, to despise another, and to treat him cruel, on account of his colour, which none, but the God who made it can alter? Can there be a greater absurdity in nature, and particularly in a free republican country? But the Americans, having introduced slavery among them, their hearts have become almost seared, as with an hot iron, and God has nearly given them up to believe a lie in preference to the truth!!! And I am awfully afraid that pride, prejudice, avarice and blood, will, before long prove the final ruin of this happy republic, or land of liberty!!!! Can any thing be a greater mockery of religion than the way in which it is conducted by the Americans? It appears as though they are bent only on daring God Almighty to do his best--they chain and handcuff us and our children and drive us around the country like brutes, and go into the house of the God of justice to return him thanks for having aided them in their infernal cruelties inflicted upon us. Will the Lord suffer this people to go on much longer, taking his holy name in vain? Will he not stop them, PREACHERS and all? O Americans! Americans!! I call God--I call angels--I call men, to witness, that your

DESTRUCTION is at hand, and will be speedily consummated unless you REPENT.

"Article IV. Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Colonizing Plan."

In this Article, Walker writes at length of Henry Clay. Not Henry Clay in his role as "The Great Compromiser," but the Henry Clay in his role as the voice of The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America, commonly known as the American Colonization Society (ACS), established in 1816. Clay was a founder of this Society and, from 1836 to 1849, served as president of the ACS. This Society promoted repatriation of free African Americans back to Africa (eventually to the new country of Liberia).

Free African Americans, most of whom were born free, were a major source of trouble for Americans who were pro-slavery: they encouraged enslaved people to break the law and runaway from their owners, they aided the runaways in their travels to freedom, and they influenced Whites in both the North and the South to embrace freedom for enslaved people and direct their private associations and public power toward freeing enslaved people. It was these free African Americans who the ACS wanted to go away, to go far away, to go "back to Africa," although few had ever been in Africa, few had even a few words that anyone in Africa might understand, few had any clear idea of where in Africa their ancestors had lived. Not surprisingly, the ACS had a way of looking at the situation quite differently from Walker's. In 1834, *Western Monthly Magazine* carried an article by James Hall that presented the ACS position:

The plan of colonizing free blacks, has been justly considered one of the noblest devices of Christian benevolence and enlightened patriotism, grand in its object, and most happily adapted to enlist the combined influence, and harmonious cooperation, of different classes of society. It reconciles, and brings together some discordant interests, which could not in any other plan be brought to meet in harmony. The Christian and the statesman here act together, and persons having entirely different views from each other in reference to some collateral points connected with the great subject, are moved towards the same point by a diversity of motives. It is a splendid conception, around which are gathered the hopes of the nation, the wishes of the patriot, the prayers of the Christian, and we trust, the approbation of Heaven.

Walker wrote, first quoting from Henry Clay, then providing his rebuttal:

[Clay] says, "It was proper and necessary distinctly to state, that he understood it constituted no part of the object of this meeting, to touch or agitate in the slightest degree, a delicate question, connected with another portion of the coloured population of our country. It was not proposed to deliberate upon or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or that which was connected with the abolition of slavery. It was upon that condition alone, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the South and the West, whom he saw present, had attended, or could be expected to co-operate. It was upon that condition only, that he himself had attended."--That is to say, to fix a plan to get those of the coloured people, who are said to be free, away from among those of our brethren whom they unjustly hold in bondage, so that they may be enabled to keep them the more secure in ignorance and wretchedness, to support them and their children, and consequently they would have the more obedient slaves. For if the free are allowed to stay among the slaves, they will have intercourse together, and, of course, the free will learn [sic] the slaves bad habits, by teaching them that they are MEN, as well as other people, and certainly ought and must be FREE.

Walker's view was "This country is as much ours as it is the whites, whether they will admit it now or not, they will see and believe it by and by."

Walker ends his Appeal with his profound Christian beliefs:

Do the whites say, I being a black man, ought to be humble, which I readily admit? I ask them, ought they not to be as humble as I? or do they think that they can measure arms with Jehovah? Will not the Lord yet humble them? or will not these very coloured people whom they now treat worse than brutes, yet

under God, humble them low down enough? Some of the whites are ignorant enough to tell us, that we ought to be submissive to them, that they may keep their feet on our throats. And if we do not submit to be beaten to death by them, we are bad creatures and of course must be damned, &c. If any man wishes to hear this doctrine openly preached to us by the American preachers, let him go into the Southern and Western sections of this country--I do not speak from hear say--what I have written, is what I have seen and heard myself. No man may think that my book is made up of conjecture--I have travelled and observed nearly the whole of those things myself, and what little I did not get by my own observation, I received from those among the whites and blacks, in whom the greatest confidence may be placed.

The Americans may be as vigilant as they please, but they cannot be vigilant enough for the Lord, neither can they hide themselves, where he will not find and bring them out.

Walker closes with quotations, in full, of two Christian hymns: "Thy presence why withdraw'st, Lord?" from the *Common Prayer Book* and "Shall I for fear of feeble man" from *Wesleys Collection*.

#### The United States and Slavery

Along with those of wealth and stature, these newly opened areas drew the marginalized and the poor. Of course, they

weren't able to claim the best growing land, as always they got the scraps, the plots that somehow during the geological past and present always resisted agricultural productivity, those areas that the native people found to be perennially problematic. But for the marginalized and the poor, they had their attractions: they were away from the overcrowding of the areas they had left and they had a little bit of land, not good land, mind you, but a little bit of land, nonetheless. But, being poor, they still could not buy enough poor land to farm and sustain a family. Their lives turned out to be very different from what they had hoped. They were forced to rent land from their better off neighbors, which meant they had to pay rent for the land, pay for seed and tools and equipment, and each year give a share of the product to the neighbor. They were called sharecroppers. Many lived the life of slaves.

Mark Twain wrote about "poor whites" (a Southern term interchangeable with sharecroppers, also called "white trash") in his 1889 novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. This selection points out the need to feel "better than," when one is deprived of all sense of self-worth other than the need to be "better than" others, and also seeking affirmation of being "better than" by joining those above in ensuring those below stay below.

The "poor whites" of our South who were always despised, and frequently insulted, by the slave lords around them, and who owed their base condition simply to the presence of slavery in their midst, were yet pusillanimously ready to side with the slave lords in all political moves for the upholding and perpetuating of slavery, and did also finally shoulder their muskets and pour out their lives in an effort to prevent the destruction of that very institution which degraded them. And there was only one redeeming feature connected with that pitiful piece of history; and that was, that secretly the "poor white" did detest the slave lord, and did feel his own shame. That feeling was not brought to the surface, but the fact that it was there and could have been brought out, under favoring circumstances, was something—in fact it was enough; for it showed that a man is at bottom a man, after all, even if it doesn't show on the outside.

People who were enslaved, of course, engaged in revolts, using a variety of stratagems in efforts to escape their bondage: early on as Maroons, going into less settled areas such as forests and swamps, often associating with Native American people, especially with the Seminoles, in Florida, the Carolinas, Louisiana, and, eventually, Texas. Females, especially, would be truant in a nearby hiding place for a few days, then return to their family and their slave owner—and their punishment. And later, to do it again.

And then in 1831, there was Nat Turner's Rebellion in Virginia, where Turner and other enslaved men raided nearby plantations, freeing the enslaved as they went and killing over fifty White people, for which Turner, for leading the insurrection, and six other enslaved men, were hung. News of this rebellion struck terror in the hearts of slave-owning Whites and their families, and no time was wasted in starting rumors and bringing terror by mobs and militias throughout the South to bear against all African American men, women, and children, both enslaved and freed, for weeks of targeted killing. Some were fortunate enough to be only locked up. Throughout the south these people—few had anything to do with the Rebellion—were either locked up or killed by court order, by militias, by mob rule, by hunting dogs. The number killed have been estimated to have been well into the multiplehundreds, but we still don't know with any accuracy.

In Virginia, newspapers had been printing discussion of manumission and this was widely discussed in community meetings. The concern was not centered on the inhumanity of slavery, but rather on whether its continuation might result in physical harm to the White population. With the fear that Turner's knowledge of reading and writing was the cause of his villainous actions, states throughout the South quickly passed laws forbidding the teaching of reading and writing to enslaved people. This resulted, after the Civil War, in many freed slaves being illiterate. Public schools in the South were established by Reconstruction. But while never as good as in the north and northeast, Jim Crow laws determined that those in the South serving African Americans would be, systematically, underfunded and, in every conceivable way, less, much less, than schools for White children.

Some sources say Turner was hung, drawn, and quartered. Other sources hold that he was beheaded. According to John Wesley Cromwell in a 1920 article in the *Journal of Negro History* (1920), "Turner was skinned to supply such souvenirs as purses, his flesh made into grease, and his bones divided as trophies to be handed down as heirlooms." Cromwell's assertions rule out neither form of killing.

# An Aside on John Wesley Cromwell

John Wesley Cromwell is also of interest. He was born as a slave in Virginia in 1846. When 5-years-old, he was bought into freedom, along with others in his family, by his father. Then they moved to the free-state of Pennsylvania. He later became a teacher (including the Philadelphia Friends school and many schools in D.C.), a lawyer (Howard University Law, admitted to the bar before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia), a historian (with special interest in Nat Turner), a public servant (Virginia Educational and Historical Association, Bethel Literary and Historical Association, American Negro Academy), and a journalist and publisher (the People's Advocate, the Washington Record, American Negro Monograph Company). One of his daughters, Otelia Cromwell, was the first Black graduate of Smith College and received a Ph.D. from Yale in 1926. One of his sons, John Wesley Cromwell, Jr., became the first certified public accountant. John Wesley Cromwell died in 1927, at 80 years of age.

# The United States and Slavery, Again

After railways became a major part of the United States economy and nurtured social opportunity, escape efforts by enslaved people took on the name of the Underground Railroad. All of these were efforts to free themselves. When it was possible, they were helped by comparatively small numbers of Whites, called Abolitionists, mostly in the North and mostly members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), as well as by communities of free Black people. With many enslaved people wanting to go with their family members, it was a frantic undertaking. In all cases, it was a highly dangerous task they set before themselves. Harriet Tubman, who escaped herself, is alone credited with helping almost 150 enslaved people in their escape to freedom by way of the Underground Railroad.

The most sustained and impactful revolt by enslaved people was during the War. They knew that no matter how the War turned out, the South would never be the same again. The plantations, the farms, the economy, the social hierarchy, the culture—all were changed or were changing, not ever to be the same again. The Whites, for the most part, filled their heads with dreams and fantasies. They can get rid of the ungrateful negroes. They can invalidate their voting rights. They can once again live the life as God intended unsullied White people to live. All will be well. Next week, next month, next year, all will be well. But the enslaved African Americans, always vigilant, always practical, always aware of which way the wind was blowing, saw that this War provided them with an opportunity not seen before. This War presented them with an opportunity to change the direction of their lives, to reunite with family members sold away from them, to live among themselves—away from chains and beatings and condemnations and all manner of insults and sexual molestation by Upstanding, Respected, Christian White Men and Women. And get away they did. They—in mass—walked away. Some

went to join Union Army camps. They went to communities where other African Americans had established a stronghold, places such as the Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands. They went into the woods and the forests. They got up and left their slave owners, their slave homes, their slave lives. They knew freedom was coming. They were determined that they would not be left behind.

Under pressure from the South, in 1793 the United States passed the Fugitive Slave Act, outlawing all efforts to impede the capture of runaway slaves, even in the Northern States that had passed laws to abolish slavery. The enslaved people on the Underground Railroad, unless they could successfully hide themselves, to be truly safe they had to continue until they reached Canada, where slavery had been abolished in 1834, or, especially those in the Western Gulf South states, Mexico, where slavery had been abolished in 1829. Canada's Black population increased by about 20,000 in the first decade after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. After the Civil War began and the Union Army entered the South, enslaved people ran to the much nearer Union campgrounds and settlements. Referred to as contraband and supported by the Confiscation Act of 1861 and the Act Prohibiting the Return of Slaves (1862), many were eager to enlist and all sought the care and protection of the U.S. government. Some found the actions of White military leaders too reminiscent of their former slave owners. Still, by the end of the War, about 200,000 runaway slaves had served in the Union Army and Navy, an unexpected situation. In their service in the military, they displayed abilities far beyond expectations by Union commanders and the population as a whole. Word of their military

achievements would forever change race relations in the United States and, indeed, the world.

In the late 1700s, France held a Caribbean colony populated mainly by enslaved people from Africa. The French were relentless task masters and a rebellion by the enslaved people occurred. The enslaved people drove out the French in one of the few successful slave rebellions in history, and named the new nation Haiti. This had been France's most profitable colony, and losing it made Napoleon rethink France's strategy in lands so far away. Thomas Jefferson wanted to purchase the city of New Orleans to gain its port, but Napoleon Bonaparte made a counter offer: buy the whole of Louisiana for approximately 4¢ an acre. So, in 1803, the U.S. added to the territorial map almost 828,000 square miles of territory, from New Orleans to the Rocky Mountains and Canada, along—especially significant for transport -with navigation "rights" on the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. In 1811, on a plantation just outside of New Orleans, approximately 25 enslaved people attacked and killed their owner and his son, this turned out to be the largest single revolt by enslaved people in U.S. history. In 1846, Texas was annexed to the United States. In 1848, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ended the Mexican-American War, Mexico ceded Alta California and Santa Fe de Nuevo México to the United States, over 500,000 square miles. Although Native American people and Mexican citizens lived in these areas, the U.S. considered them of little value, not important enough to follow through with granting them the right of U.S. citizenship as specified in any Treaty. The U.S., with many people in the East feeling cramped and with increasing immigration from Europe, valued the vast Western stretches of land and water resources for farms and

ranches and, of course, the land's extensive deposits of silver, gold, copper, zinc, and lead, all eagerly received by the increasingly weathy Eastern families and their developing industries. The rationalization for taking these western lands was made easier by the Protestant revival movement Second Great Awakening and the coinage by the newspaperman John O'Sullivan of the phrase "Manifest Destiny."

With this increase in land and wealth, the United States was faced with a major dilemma: whether the vast increase in territory west of the Mississippi would be free or slave. The Compromise of 1820, also known as the "Missouri Compromise," prohibited slavery in new states north of the border of the Arkansas territory, excluding Missouri. The Compromise of 1850 declared that California could enter the Union as a free state and that the slave trade would end in the largest slave market in North America: Washington, D.C., although slavery itself could continue there. For these abolitionist acts, the South demanded and received an even more draconian Fugitive Slave Act. This 1850 Act was so severe regarding the treatment of runaway slaves and others coming to their aid (criminalizing everyone involved in any way with the Underground Railroad), that the number of Abolitionists in the North greatly increased, as did their efforts to help runaways get to freedom, including Northern States passing "personal liberty" laws. In 1857, in Dred Scott v. Sandford, often referred to as the Dred Scott Decision, the U.S. Supreme Court held that Congress could not exclude slavery from the new Western Territories. (This was always a strange decision, because it was based on the Founding Fathers not stating that African Americans, whether slave or not, were citizens. But the irony was that the Founding Fathers never stated anything about citizenship

for anyone, leaving it up to the States to make their own rules. This would be the case until 1868 when the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution.) The Dred Scott Decision was overturned by Congress in 1862.

# On Slavery: Letters from the High and the Low in the Popular Press

Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower [nee Howard], Duchess of Sutherland (1806-1868) served as Mistress of the Robes and friend to Queen Victoria. Quite dazzling, she was "the hostess with the mostest," drawing the Queen and other royalty, leading politicians, and other people of importance (primarily of liberal persuasion) to her splendidly furnished home. With the Duke, she was a supporter of "good causes," including prison reform, improvement of conditions for miners, and bettering the lives of the poor, and their home held many discussions, debates, and lectures. Her primary good cause was anti-slavery in the United States. (Britain had abolished all slavery in 1833.) In 1853, she hosted Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. The major consequence of this visit was "An Affectionate and Christian Address of Many Thousands of the Women of England to their Sisters, the Women of the United States" (better known as "The Stafford House Address"), which expressed great admiration for Stowe's best selling novel and enunciated their condemnation of chattel slavery in the United States. This was not a trivial address and petition. It was signed by over half a million women in Britain, and published in the New York Daily *Tribune* and other newspapers. Both the Duchess and Stowe were chastised for this meeting, the Duchess in England and

Stowe in America, and the Queen was advised by the American minister not to welcome Stowe, for so doing would seem as if the Crown were in support of the Abolitionists in America.

This petition was responded to by many women in the Southern United States, but one response received by far the most attention. It was written by Julia Tyler of Virginia.

Julia Gardiner Tyler, was the second wife (and 30 years younger) of the tenth President of the United States, John Tyler. Retired to their Sherwood Forest Plantation in Charles City County, Virginia, with 60 enslaved people and 1,100 acres of land, they were enjoying their pampered lives. Julia was born on Gardiner's Island, New York, the private estate of the Gardiner family for just over 380 years, but she lived most of her life in the family home in East Hampton, Long Island. The Gardiners had owned people who were enslaved, but New York State had outlawed slavery before Julia was born. Her mother had inherited significant pieces of Manhattan property and was the wealthiest woman in the State of New York, so Julia had never had to stretch far for comfort. But this indolent life on a large Virginia plantation was new to Julia. She quite enjoyed it. But then something came to Julia's attention, something that unsettled her. Something got under her bonnet. Within weeks of the publication in New York of the petition from the English women, Julia Tyler took up the bait, and Julia, never one to take a back seat, wrote a reply. "The Women of England vs. the Women of America" was also published in the New York Daily Tribune.

Here are some excerpts from Tyler's letter:

[Women, in the United States,] knows nothing of political conventions, or conventions of any other sort than such as held under suitable pastors of the church, and are wholly directed toward the advancement of the Christian religion. Such is emphatically the case with the women of the Southern States. Do you wish to see them, visit their homes. Do you desire to ascertain the the nature of their employments, you must enter their family circles, and, believe me, good sisters of England, you would find in their Christian deportment, and perfect amiability of manners, enough at once to inspire you with the most exalted respect and esteem. You might find no splendid vestments of dress, no glittering diamonds, no aristocratic displays. No; the vestments they wear are those of meekness and charity, their diamonds are gems of the heart, and their splendor the neatness, the neatness, and order, and contentment, which everywhere greets the eye; and that neatness, that order, that contentment, is in nothing more observable than in the well clothed and happy domestics who welcome your arrival, and heap upon you every comfort during your sojourn under the roofs of their masters. ... [Tyler proceeds to disparage the English women and their motivations, apparently "without the concurrence of their husbands," and the history of the slave trade by the English.]

... It will be a very, very difficult matter, to furnish us with satisfactory reasons for this conversion of a whole people, after losing an American market, on the subject of the slave trade, and we, women of the United States, must ever receive with suspicion all interference with our domestic affairs on the part of the noble ladies of England, or any portion of her inhabitants. Such interference implies either a want of proper conduct on our part in the management of our negroes, or it seeks to enlist the

sympathies of the world against us. Your own address, (I have the charity to suppose that it is written in ignorance of the fact, as it is.) represents the Southern States as denying to their slaves all religious instruction -a calumny more false was never uttered. So far from it, no Sabbath goes by that the places of worship are not numerously attended by the black populationedifying discourses are delivered to them, and often by colored pastors, and large numbers of them are in communion with the churches. And yet your tears are made to flow freely over the sad and melancholy privations of the children of Africa, to whom the bread of life is represented as denied. Your assertion could only have been derived from some dealer in, and retailer of fiction. It is known how readily woman's heart responds to real or imaginary distress, and when woman joins in the concerns of the busy world, how readily her sympathies become excited by an artificial, as well as a real, picture of human suffering. This sympathy, which makes her the joy of creation, rather disqualifies her as a legislator, and subjects her to be made the instrument of the designing. One fact is incontrovertible, and I recommend it to the consideration Duchess of SUTHERLAND, and her peers of high and low degree—that England, when she had the power to prevent the introduction of slavery into the United States, most abstinently refused to do it; but now that she is deprived of its authority either to advise or dictate, she sighs and sheds tears, and complains over the injustice and the wrong. The crocodile, good sisters of England, is said to cry most piteously; but woe to the traveler who is beguiled by those tears!

... Manage your own affairs as best you may, and leave us to manage ours as we may think proper. Each of us will find abundant employment in the performance of our respective duties.... Leave it to the women of the South to alleviate the

sufferings of their dependents, while you take care of your own. The negro of the South lives sumptuously in comparison with the 100,000 of the white population of London. He is clothed warmly in winter, and has his meat twice a day, without stint of bread. ... But I return to your subject-the state of slavery in our Southern States—and I tell you, that you are mistaken in supposing that the Southern heart is different from your own in its sympathies and emotions. Believe me, that the human heart is guite as susceptible with us as with you. Moralists, and dealers in fiction, may artfully overdraw and give false coloring, as they do; but be not deceived into the belief that the heart of man or woman on this side of the Atlantic, is either more obdurate or cruel than yours. There is no reason, then, why you should leave your fellow subjects at home, in order to take your seat by the side of the black man on the plantations of America. Even if you are sorrow-stricken at the highly colored picture of human destress, incident to the separation of husband and wife, and parents, and children, under our system of negro slavery—a thing, by the way, of rare occurrence among us, and then attended by peculiar circumstances. . . . [Tyler continues to outline the needs of people in England and contrasts their plight with "the well-fed negroes" in slavery in the South.] The African, under [England's] policy, and by her laws, became property. That property has defended father to son, and constitutes a large part of Southern wealth...

Our eyes are turned across the ocean, not in the direction of England, but to Africa. The footprints of our policy are seen in the colonies there established, already become independent States—in the voluntary emancipation of our slaves by our citizens as preparatory of emigration to Africa—a course of emancipation which, from 1790 to 1850, has increased our table in Virginia, of free negroes in the ratio of 301 per cent, while the white population has increased by 102 1/2 per cent, while the slaves 61 3/4 per cent. These interesting statistics I extract from a memorial recently presented to the Legislature of Virginia, asking additional aid to further the colonization of freed negroes in Liberia. Thus we seek to retribute the wrongs done by England to Africa, by returning civilization for barbarism— Christianity for idolatry. . . . America might love England, if England would permit it.

Tyler writes of the many commonalities between England and Americans, especially, the people in the Southern States. She concludes her letter with a sentence, which in length if not in any other way, could compare with any finales written by Beethoven or Wagner.

But, if England will sever these ties; if, instead of cultivating good feelings with us, she chooses rather to subject us to taunt, to ridicule, to insult in its grossest form; and above all, improperly to interfere in our domestic affairs; if she scatters her nobility among us, first to share our hospitality and then to abuse us; if, what is still worse, she send her emissaries, in the persons of members of Parliament, to stir up our people to mutiny and revolt; if, which is quite as objectionable, her public press shall incite her women, and the more illustrious for birth the worse it makes the matter, to address us homilies on justice, humanity, and philanthropy, as if we had not, like themselves, the advantages of civilization and the lights of Christianity, with all the desire to cultivate relations of undying amity, the men of the United States, deriving their spirit from their mothers and their wives, may be forced into the adoption of a very different feeling with regard to Great Britain.

The following letter was written four weeks later by Harriet A. Jacobs (1813 - 1897) in the dramatic style of romantic fiction popular at the time. It was also published in the *New York Daily Tribune*, June 21, 1853.

#### LETTER FROM A FUGITIVE SLAVE

[We publish the subjoined communication exactly as written by the author, with the exception of corrections in punctuation and spelling, and the omission of one or two passages.—Ed.]

SIR: Having carefully read your paper for some months I became very much interested in some of the articles and comments written on Mrs. Tyler's Reply to the Ladies of England. Being a slave myself, I could not have felt otherwise. Would that I could write an article worthy of notice in your columns. As I never enjoyed the advantages of an education, therefore I could not study the arts of reading and writing, yet poor as it may be, I had rather give it from my own hand, than have it said that I employed others to do it for me. The truth can never be told so well through the second and third person as from yourself. But I am straying from the question. As Mrs. Tyler and her friend Bhains were so far used up, that he could not explain what those peculiar circumstances were, let one whose peculiar sufferings justifies her in explaining it for Mrs. Tyler.

I was born a slave, reared in the Southern hot-bed until I was the mother of two children, sold at the early age of two and four years old. I have been hunted through all of the Northern States, but no, I will not tell you of my own suffering—no, it would harrow up my soul, and defeat the object that I wish to pursue. Enough—the dregs of that bitter cup have been my bounty for many years.

And as this is the first time that I ever took my pen in hand to make such an attempt, you will not say that it is fiction, for had I the inclination I have neither the brain or talent to write it. But to this very peculiar circumstance under which slaves are sold.

My mother was held as property by a maiden lady; when she marries, my younger sister was in her fourteenth year, whom they took into the family. She was as gentle as she was beautiful. Innocent and guileless child, the light of our desolate hearth! But oh, my heart bleeds to tell you of the misery and degradation she was forced to suffer in slavery. The monster who owned her had no humanity in his soul. The most sincere affection that his heart was capable of, could not make him faithful to his beautiful and wealthy bride the short time of three months, but every stratagem was used to seduce my sister. Mortified and tormented beyond endurance, this child came and threw herself on her mother's bosom, the only place where she could seek refuge from her persecutor; and yet she could not protect her child that she bore into the world. On that bosom with bitter tears she told her troubles, and entreated her mother to save her. And oh, Christian mothers! you that have daughters of your own, can you think of your sable sisters without offering a prayer to that God who created all in their behalf! My poor mother, naturally high-spirited, smarting under what she considered as the wrongs and outrages which her child had to bear, sought her master, entreating him to spare her child. Nothing could exceed his rage at this what he called impertinence. My mother was dragged to jail, there remained twenty-five days, with Negro traders to come in as they liked to

examine her, as she was offered for sale. My sister was told that she must yield, or never expect to see her mother again. There were three younger children; on no other condition could she be restored to them, without the sacrifice of one. That child gave herself up to her master's bidding, to save one that was dearer to her than life itself. And can you, Christian, find it in your heart to despise her? Ah, no! not even Mrs. Tyler; for though we believe that the vanity of a name would lead her to bestow her hand where her heart could never go with it, yet, with all her faults and follies, she is nothing more than a woman. For if her domestic hearth is surrounded with slaves, ere long before this she has opened her eyes to the evils of slavery, and that the mistress as well as the slave must submit to the indignities and vices imposed on them by their lords of body and soul. But to one of those peculiar circumstances.

At fifteen, my sister held to her bosom an innocent offspring of her guilt and misery. In this way she dragged a miserable existence of two years, between the fires of her mistress's jealousy and her master's brutal passion. At seventeen, she gave birth to another helpless infant, heir to all the evils sufferings was meted out to her until her twenty-first year. Sorrow and suffering has made its ravages upon her—she was less the object to be desired by the fiend who had crushed her to the earth; and as her children grew, they bore too strong a resemblance to him who desired to give them no other inheritance save Chains and Handcuffs, and in the dead hour of the night, when this young, deserted mother lay with her little ones clinging around her, little dreaming of the dark and inhuman plot that would be carried out into execution before another dawn, and when the sun rose on God's beautiful earth, that broken-hearted mother was far on her way to the capitol of

Virginia. That day should have refused her light to so disgraceful and inhuman an act in your boasted country of Liberty. Yet, reader, it is true, those two helpless children were the sons of one of your sainted Members in Congress; that agonized mother, his victim and slave. And where she now is God only knows, who has kept a record on high of all that she has suffered on earth.

And, you would exclaim, Could not the master have been more merciful to his children? God is merciful to all of his children, but it is seldom that a slaveholder has any mercy for hs [sic] slave child. And you will believe it when I tell you that mother and her children were sold to make room for another sister, who was now the age of that mother when she entered the family. And this selling appeased the mistress's wrath, and satisfied her desire for revenge, and made the path more smooth for her young rival at first. For there is a strong rivalry between a handsome mulatto girl and a jealous and faded mistress, and her liege lord sadly neglects his wife or doubles his attentions, to save him being suspected by his wife. Would you not think that Southern Women had cause to despise that Slavery which forces them to bear so much deception practiced by their husbands? Yet all this is true, for a slaveholder seldom takes a white mistress, for she is an expensive commodity, not as submissive as he would like to have her, but more apt to be tyrannical; and when his passion seeks another object, he must leave her in quiet possession of all the gewgaws that she has sold herself for. But not so with his poor slave victim, that he has robbed of everything that can make life desirable; she must be torn from the little that is left to bind her to life, and sold by her seducer and master, caring not where, so that it puts him in possession of enough to purchase another victim. And such are

the peculiar circumstances of American Slavery—of all the evils in God's sight to most to be abhorred.

Perhaps while I am writing this you too, dear Emily, may be on your way to the Mississippi River, for those peculiar circumstances occur every day in the midst of my poor oppressed fellow-creatures in bondage. And oh ye Christians, while your arms are extended to receive the oppressed of all nations, while you exert every power of your soul to assist them to raise funds, put weapons in their hands, tell them to return to their own country to slay every foe until they break the accursed yoke from off their necks, not buying and selling this they never do under any circumstances.

And because one friend of a slave has dared to tell of their wrongs you would annihilate her. But in Uncle Tom's Cabin she has not told the half. Would that I had one spark from her store house of genius and talent I would tell you of my own sufferings —I would tell you of wrongs that Hungary has never inflicted, nor England ever dreamed of in this free country where all nations fly for liberty, equal rights and protection under your stripes and stars. It should be stripes and scars, for they go along with Mrs. Tyler's peculiar circumstances, of which I have told you only one. A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

In 1861, the autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl Written By Herself*, was published in England. (The title of the English edition was *The Deeper Wrong*.) This autobiography, it turned out, was written by Harriet A. Jacobs (1813 - 1897), who grew up in North Carolina. In this work, she describes many more of her experiences than she had in her letter.

She was threatened by a mob during the mass retribution following the Nat Turner Rebellion. To avoid the predatory sexual attacks by her owner, a doctor, she confined herself in a small space between a kitchen ceiling and the roof shingles and stayed there for seven years. During that period, the doctor's son weighed in against her two children in an attempt for Jacobs to return and care for them. She knew the doctor had hired slave hunters to search for her in the Northern States. (She had written some letters to the doctor and her friends had gotten them to New York to mail, in an attempt to hide her whereabouts; the doctor made at least one trip to New York to try to find her.) She knew the risks of being a criminal runaway slave and she knew the risks to her children from their owners, father and son, in staying where they were. Convinced that her children would be better off and probably freed if she were out of the picture, she left that confined space and headed to New York. Her children were not freed. The doctor's son died and then the doctor died.

In New York, she worked as a nurse for the young baby of a kindly woman, and she saved her earnings. With those accumulated earnings, she was able to buy her children's freedom. Later, she and her daughter were active in anti-slavery activities. Jacobs lived long enough to see her daughter help organize the National Association of Colored Women in Washington D.C.

## It is God's will. It is God's blessing.

Another example of the all too common condescension of Whites toward enslaved people of color is from Brigham Young, 2nd President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), in a speech in the Territory of Utah in 1852 in which he said that slavery was "a relief and a benefit" for enslaved people, because it caused them to interact with "the more favored portions of the human race."

This was not a new point. Brigid Brophy, in her *Mozart: The Dramatist* [1988], relates that the French abbé Jean Terrasson, in his novel *The Life of Sethos* [1731] argued "that it is permissible to conquer foreign races in order to introduce them to laws and happiness." Brophy makes the point that Terrasson's argument "is probably an apologia for the *pax Romana* as well as for French and English colonialism."

And, alas—as if anyone today needed reminding, it has not gone away. In June of 2020 in Atlanta, an African American man, Rayshard Brooks, was shot twice in the back by two White Atlanta police while he was running away, then when dying, was stepped on and kicked by them. Two days later, a White paster of an Atlanta megachurch, Louie Giglio, proclaimed from his pulpit, "We understand the curse that was slavery, White people do. And we say that was bad, but we miss the blessing of slavery that it actually built up the framework for the world that White people live in and lived in." (Blessing, according to Christian theology, refers to God's favor and protection.)

In 2017, Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts began to read on the floor of the U.S. Senate a 1986 letter from Coretta Scott King, the widow of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had been assassinated in 1968 by a White supremacist. In an effort to silence Senator Warren, the Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky said, "Senator Warren was giving a lengthy speech. She had appeared to violate the rule. She was warned. She was given an explanation. Nevertheless, she persisted." The next day, Madison Park, of CNN, wrote, "For Warren's supporters, it was a textbook case of mansplaining followed by males silencing a woman." "Manspaining," as it has come to be called, is a variation of the centuries old rationalization of White superiority, always followed by efforts to silence, to dehumanize, to make every effort to annihilate. Thus the old, old story of men to women. Thus the old, old story of Whites to people of color. Misogyny has persisted. White supremacy has persisted. It is God's will. It is God's blessing.

#### The United States and Immigration

Slavery wasn't the only issue to rock the country. In the 1840s, with the rise of German immigrants up and down the midwest and Irish immigrants in the East, there was a zealous ground-swell of anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiment, which in the 1850s organized into the American Party, commonly called the Know-Nothing Party. This far-right and nativist party, strongly supported by White Protestant church groups in the "Bible Belt," had great success at the ballot box, but their success was short lived because of sectional difficulties; the members splintered into proslavery and antislavery factions, joining either the Democratic Party and the Southern Cause or the new Republican Party and the Northern Cause. With the 1860 election of Republican Abraham Lincoln, the National Party was gone, but the nativist sentiment (pro-White and pro-Protestant and born in this country) continued, raising its head from time to time with anti-immigration efforts, both formal in the form of legislative acts and informal in the form of fear-mongering, designed to exclude from the U.S. specific groups. (In the past: Chinese, Japanese, Southern Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Jews; and presently: Latinos in general, Mexicans in particular, and all those of the Islamic faith).

#### **Produce, Transport, and Markets**

With their produce, especially the produce of cotton, the South needed markets. Their major markets were in the Northeastern States, with their factories, and in Europe. But the South needed to transport their produce to these markets. Water transport by ship was clearly the answer. But transport was needed to move the produce from the plantations and farms to the shipping ports, primarily Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; and New Orleans, Louisiana. Transport that was quicker, more reliable, and more efficient than horse drawn wagons. So railroads were constructed— short, local, and at a price that many people, many new companies, could become involved in, raise the funds needed, and to do it quickly. The problem was solved: from plantations and farms to railway cars to port cities to ships to markets in Northern industrial cities and in Europe. Success. All would be well.

#### Some Notes on the Civil War

All would be wonderful, that is, until the Civil War began and there was a different kind of need for the railroads. While the South had built short haul railroads, the Northern and Mid-West, with their zeal to cross the Appalachian Mountain range and go west from there, built long haul railroads, railroads that connected cities and towns of any size, railroads that were within easy hauling from many farms and trading centers. So with the War, the Union was ready and able to move military troops and equipment where needed, while the Confederacy was at a decided disadvantage.

There were other ways that the military of the Confederacy had the decided advantage. Because most of the battles took place in the South, they knew the territory: the woods, the caves, the waterways, the swamps, the bayous, the quicksands; they were close to their homes and families, which meant that food and supplies were generally easy to obtain and transporting less arduous than it was for the Union military; they could more frequently see their homes and family members, thus gaining emotional support and sometimes even a night's sleep in their own beds. But the Union military had Ulysses S Grant, William Tecumseh Sherman, George G. Meade, Philip Sheridan, David G. Farragut, David D. Porter, John A. Winslow, and— later in the war —many, many formerly enslaved men who had joined the battle.

Yet the South, war torn as it was, continued to fight. Even though the Southern railroads were far from ideal, they continued to move men, weapons, and goods to keep the battles going. Even though many areas of the South had had their farms ruined, food for soldiers was still being grown and cotton was still being exported to fund the battles. The people in the North were growing weary and the U.S. Government was getting low on funds. Washington had to make a decision. And it did. The Union had to take guick and decisive action. Because this war involved the entire fabric of society, both in the North and in the South, the Union, to end the war, had to eliminate the conditions by which the South was extending the war. They had to destroy the fields of food and cotton. They had to destroy the Southern railroads. They had to destroy the mercantile cities. To the Confederacy, Atlanta, Georgia, was the most important city south of Richmond, Virginia. Atlanta was key in the Confederate's military operations, the manufacturing and warehousing of items for military use, and in the transport of cotton and other goods. The Union decided to take these actions, as awful as they were, to end this terrible war, this war which no one thought would go on month after month, year after year, tearing families apart, tearing the country apart.

In Atlanta, there was a five-week siege, during which the Confederate General John Bell Hood ordered the destruction of 81 Confederate rail cars full of ammunition and other military gear. The Union General William Cogswell ordered all civilians to vacate the city. Three days later, Union General William T. Sherman issued a special order, "The city of Atlanta, being exclusively required for warlike purposes, will at once be vacated by all except the armies of the United States." (This order also stipulated that no Union military could occupy the vacated houses, but could use materials from them to build their own houses.) On the same day, a Notice to the Citizens of Atlanta was written by their Mayor, urging their compliance with General Sherman's order. Along with 8,842 items of baggage, 705 adults and 860 children and 86 servants left. (This was after the Emancipation Proclamation and before the Thirteenth Amendment.) Sherman realized that occupying Atlanta would require Union soldiers needed for future battles, so occupation was out of the question. He decided to destroy Atlanta by burning it. But not everything in Atlanta. Father Thomas O'Reilly of the Immaculate Conception Catholic Church plied with Sherman; Sherman did not burn the city's churches or hospitals.

In his "March to the Sea," Sherman followed Confederate troops to Savanah, Georgia. To prevent Union troops from taking even more from their land, the Confederate troops destroyed everything they could as they quickly moved forward. And just behind, the Union troops collected remaining food and stores, then burning and destroying what they couldn't collect and carry.

The goal was to convince the people in the South, those who had not taken up arms, but were sympathetic to the Confederate cause, that rebelling against the Union was not a light-hearted act. As one Union soldier wrote home, "it isn't so sweet to secede." From Savanah, where they found that the 10,000 troops tasked with patrolling the city had fled, Sherman presented the city of Savannah and its 25,000 bales of cotton to President Lincoln as a Christmas gift. Then they plundered and burned their way to Charlestown, South Carolina, a major port city for sending cotton and other goods to England and Europe. Within a few months, the Confederacy surrendered and the war was over.

### Abraham Lincoln

In New Orleans, while on a flatboat trip to sell farm produce, Abraham Lincoln, age 19, saw a slave auction, an event which had a major and, arguably, increasing impact on his view of the world. Lincoln later became a lawyer, then moved toward public office. Always able to tell a joke or a humorous story to aid him in making his point, he soon developed a singular gift at oratory and three of his speeches (those in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, the Cooper Union Address, and the Gettysburg Address) cemented his political career.

The 1858 Lincoln-Douglas Debates were held as part of the Illinois Senatorial campaign of seven debates, each one three hours in length, by Lincoln of the Republican Party and Steven A. Douglas of the Democratic Party. They dealt primarily with the question of the expansion of slavery into the western federal territories. When Lincoln accepted the candidacy for Illinois Senatorial campaign, he stated, "A house divided against itself cannot stand" and that "this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Ultimately, Lincoln lost the Illinois Senatorial election by a narrow margin, but he established himself as an eloquent spokesperson for the Republican Party. The Cooper Union Address, given in New York City in 1860, established Lincoln on the national stage and lead to his being nominated to run for the Presidency. About the three-hour long Cooper Union Address, the historian Harold Holzer wrote in 2004,

Lincoln's watershed, the event that transformed him from a regional leader into a national phenomenon. Here

the politician known as frontier debater and chronic jokester introduced a new oratorical style: informed by history, suffused with moral certainty, and marked by lawyerly precision.

Abraham Lincoln becomes the 16th President of the United States in 1861.

In 1862, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation which declared "that all persons held as slaves" within the rebel states "are, and henceforward shall be free." This was the first clear evidence that Lincoln's administration wasn't just fighting the Civil War to preserve the Union, but was determined to move against the institution of slavery. Many people who were enslaved, those in border states and those in the North and in the West, were not freed. But this was a start.

The Gettysburg Address was delivered by Lincoln in 1863 at the dedication of the national cemetery at the field of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final restingplace for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate— we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

By Lincoln's dating of "Fourscore and seven years ago," he harked back to the Declaration of Independence and the words "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Enslaved people and formerly enslaved people were created equal to all other men and their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was unalienable. And on this battlefield at Gettysburg, this "final resting-place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live," Lincoln knowledges "the unfinished work . . . the great task . . . remaining before us. . . ." He dedicates himself, his administration, and "us the living . . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." And with this short speech he erased all doubt as to the direction and the goals of this country. Yes, the Emancipation

Proclamation freed some of the people who were enslaved, but that was just the start. "This nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom...."

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1819. The Missouri Compromise had prohibited slavery from the Louisiana Territory north of the 36°30' parallel, excluding Missouri, and thus providing a balance between free states and slave states in the U.S. Senate; the Kansas-Nebraska Act eliminated the required balance by substituting "popular sovereignty," that is it would allow for the electorate of each territory to decide for themselves whether to have people enslaved or not, thus creating great instability regarding the matter of slavery in the U.S.

Significantly, Abraham Lincoln, having lost to Douglas for the Senate seat and returned to being a lawyer in Springfield, Illinois, wrote of the Act, "I cannot but hate it. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world." Lincoln then decided to leave Illinois once again and return to political life and Washington.

In 1864, President Abraham Lincoln wrote the following to the editor of the Frankfort Commonwealth. It is, I think, less well known than it merits. Here it is in its entirety.

Executive Mansion, Washington, April 4, 1864. A.G. Hodges, Esq Frankfort, Ky.

My dear Sir: You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day, in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel. And yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand however, that my oath to preserve the constitution to the best of my ability, imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government -- that nation -- of which that constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation, and yet preserve the constitution? By general law life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution,

through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the constitution, if, to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution all together. When, early in the war, Gen. Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When a little later, Gen. Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, Gen. Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March, and May, and July 1862 I made earnest, and successive appeals to the border states to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation, and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it, the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force, -- no loss by it any how or any where. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no cavilling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

And now let any Union man who complains of the measure, test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebelliony [sic] force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he can not face his case so stated, it is only because he can not face the truth.

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man devised, or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln

In 1865, Lincoln delivered his Second Inaugural Address:

Fellow-Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of this great conflict which is of primary concern to the nation as a whole, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray

to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

In 1865, Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at the Battle of Appomattox Court House. In about ten weeks, all of the other generals in the Confederacy surrendered as well. Four days after the surrender, enjoying an evening with his wife at the theater, relaxation for the President having long been in short supply, Lincoln is shot. The next morning he died.

#### After the Civil War

The United States continued to reverberate from the Civil War for decades. It was a war fought by many people with many different reasons. But overwhelmingly, and especially in the southern states, the Civil War was fought over the question of the right of an individual to own chattel slavery, for a state and a country to condone and promote the ownership of chattel slavery. (In the South, it was not uncommon for a man who had wealth and owned enslaved people to not fight in the war; rather, he hired poor White men to fight in his stead.) The Southern states objected that the Northern States enacted laws in favor of the abolition of slavery, and thus undercutting the south's prime source of economic well-being and the support of its social system. At the end of the war in 1865, 40,000 African Americans had died and 750,000 military (White and Black) had died by both battle and disease. There were in the U.S. at least 37,000 more widows, 90,000 more orphans, and, because of the sharp reduction of available men, an unknown number of women who never married. The south was in ruins, but southern White men were determined to remain supreme, with African Americans continuing to be subjugated. (One Texan put it bluntly, the "destiny of the negro race" depended on "subordination to the

white race.") It was one thing to get rid of the term "slavery," but White supremacy would continue under many names and in many guises.

The laws of most states at this time were based on English Common Law and Blackstone's Commentaries, which stated, "By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage." (Legally, these were referred to as coverture laws, i.e., laws which subsumed or "covered" married women's rights under the rights of their husbands.) Women, then, and for centuries before, were viewed generally, once past childhood and setting aside joining a religious community of women or joining a circus, as necessarily and inevitably belonging to either of two categories: wives and mothers i.e. housewives or criminals/ prostitutes. Intelligence was not considered an important factor for none of those roles. Science, during the second half of the 19th century, moved from viewing females as inferior to males to viewing females as disorganized, emotional, and hysterical, as opposed to the stability of rational males-perhaps more nuanced, if not a great step forward.

During the Civil War, with the great number of men in the military, many civilian jobs previously held by men became empty. Then after the war, with so many men dead or injured in mind or body, so many communities dislocated, there was an increase in the number of needed civilian jobs. These civilian job openings were often and inevitably filled by women (even if they were not the employers' preference), giving the women many opportunities, some financial standing, and demonstrating their ability to be capable, intelligent, productive, and influential members of society. As an added bonus for some: these new opportunities provided the new experience of becoming independent from men and leading a life of their choosing.

# Multiple U.S. Women Who Were Able to Direct Their Own Lives

Jane Addams. Deeply affected by her childhood reading of the novels of Charles Dickens concerning the conditions of the poor in London and also by her mother's efforts helping the poor in their community in Illinois, the general direction of Jane Addams' work was set. With Ellen Gates Starr, she established Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago, and she is widely credited with establishing the field of social work. In 1931, she was the first American woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize, giving her prize winnings to the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which she was president.

Louisa May Alcott. The second of four daughters of Massachusetts transcendentalists Abby May and Amos Bronson Alcott, she had the remarkable experience of being taught by Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Fuller. In *Little Women* and other bestselling works, this novelist, an abolitionist and feminist who had worked as a nurse in a Union hospital in the Civil War, wrote of strong women who successfully pursued a range of work in addition to becoming wives and mothers.

Susan B. Anthony. She first lived in northwestern Massachusetts, then New York State east of Saratoga Springs, and finally in Rochester, New York. Growing up in a Quaker home, she later became a Unitarian. Early on, she became a staunch abolitionist, and in her 17th year she was collecting antislavery petitions. In her mid-twenties, she became the New York state agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. By this time she had met Elizabeth Cady Stanton and they formed the New York State Temperance Society. They went on to found the Women's Loyal National League, in support of abolition of slavery; the American Equal Rights Association, whose purpose was "to secure Equal Rights to all American citizens, especially the right of suffrage, irrespective of race, color or sex"; the women's rights newspaper The Revolution, which for a time had an alliance with the National Labor Union; the National Women's Suffrage Association; and to heal a split within the women's movement, the National American Women's Suffrage Association. With Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage, she wrote the six-volume History of Women Suffrage.

After passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, Anthony acted on the basis of Section 1, which read,

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Anthony and many of her colleagues favoring women's suffrage voted in the presidential election of 1872 and were arrested. The others were released, but Anthony was put on trial. The trial was in many ways a farce and closely followed by the national press. She was given a fine and stated to the judge that she would never pay the fine, and she never did. In 1874, the Supreme Court clarified any possible confusion by ruling, in the case of Minor v. Happersett, that woman suffrage was not guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment or any other part of the Constitution. Once again, the men claimed their power.

That would remain the law until 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment, which prohibits states from restricting, on the basis of sex, the right of citizens to vote, was ratified. Unfortunately, Anthony would not live to see it. However, the day after Hillary Clinton was nominated to run for president by the Democratic National Convention, the Mayor of Rochester, Lovely Warren, put a sign by Anthony's grave,

Dear Susan B., we thought you might like to know that for the first time in history, a woman is running for president representing a major party. 144 years ago, your illegal vote got you arrested. It took another 48 years for women to finally gain the right to vote. Thank you for paving the way.

On the subsequent election day, women lined up to put "I Voted" stickers and flowers on Anthony's grave.

**Clara Barton**. Born in Massachusetts in 1821, and died in Maryland in 1912, Clara Barton is most remembered as the nurse who founded the American Red Cross. But her long life was filled with achievements.

She was a school teacher, a clerk in the U.S. Patent Office, and in the Civil War she first organized a volunteer effort to supply food and materials to Union soldiers. Then, after breaking the men-only rule on the battlefield, she began to nurse the wounded soldiers—first those of the Union, later those of both the North and the South—in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina. In 1865, President Lincoln appointed her to "search for missing prisoners of war." To this end, she set up Friends of the Missing Men of the United States Army. Friends of the Missing Men quickly included identifying graves, including the graves at the prison at Andersonville, Georgia.

She then became a popular lecturer, and on one such tour, she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony; this association lead her to join the suffrage movement. She traveled to Switzerland for her health and there met Dr. Louis Appia, who was active in the Committee of Five, a relief organization that would later become the International Committee of the Red Cross. With support of the International Committee, she organized relief in Strasbourg and Paris, France. Continued ill health caused her to recuperate in England, then New York, where she entered a sanitarium.

When again in good health, she put her energies toward U.S. ratification of the Geneva Convention and she established the American Red Cross. In 1900, the U.S. Congress granted the American Red Cross a charter: "To continue and carry on a system of national and international relief in time of peace and apply the same in mitigating the sufferings caused by pestilence, famine, fire, floods, and other great national calamities, and to devise and carry on measures for preventing the same." She lead the American Red Cross in relief efforts not only in the United States, but also in Russia, Armenia, and Cuba. She then established the National First Aid Association of America. At age 90, she died a few days before the Titanic ship disaster; the American Red Cross helped the survivors and the families of those drowned.

Anna Julia Haywood Cooper. Born into slavery in 1858 in Raleigh, North Carolina, Anna Julia Haywood's White father was either of two brothers, both prominent and in a prominent family of lawyers and politicians. The father of the brothers helped found the University of North Carolina. Her mother, an African American slave domestic, would never reveal who Anna's true father was. Nor did either brother. (Perhaps they didn't know.) When she was nine and no longer enslaved, she was given a scholarship at Saint Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute in Raleigh, a school funded by the local Episcopal Church for the education of those formerly enslaved. She spent 14 years there, studying mathematics, science, Greek, Latin, French, and English literature. Her scholastic achievements allowed her to be granted entry to courses in the course track otherwise limited to boys. There she met and married George A. C. Cooper M.D. when she was 19-years-old. Unfortunately Dr. Cooper died in their second year of marriage. She was able to continue at Saint Augustine's by adding the job of tutoring younger students to her already full life. After completing her course, she stayed on as an instructor. She then went to Oberlin, starting as a sophomore, and there she was able to pursue the course of study designed for men. (No doubt benefiting from the actions of Lucy Stone, which see below.) She often took four courses a semester, rather than the

usual three. She graduated in 1884, then taught briefly at Wilberforce University, then back to Saint Augustine's, then back to Oberlin for an M.A. in Mathematics in 1887.

In 1898, she addressed the World's Congress of Representative Women in Chicago with these words:

Let woman's claim be as broad in the concrete as the abstract. We take our stand on the solidarity of humanity, the oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritism, whether of sex, race, country, or condition. If one link of the chain is broken, the chain is broken. A bridge is no stronger than its weakest part, and a cause is not worthier than its weakest element. Least of all can woman's cause afford to decry the weak. We want, then, as toilers for the universal triumph of justice and human rights, to go to our homes from this Congress demanding an entrance not through a gateway for ourselves, our race, our sex, or our sect, but a grand highway for humanity.

In 1900, she traveled to Europe and attended the First Pan-African Conference in London. This conference had the goal "to influence public opinion on existing proceedings and conditions affecting the welfare of the natives in various parts of Africa, the West Indies and the United States." Anna Cooper delivered her paper, "The Negro Problem in America." After the conference concluded, she traveled to many areas of England, Scotland, France (including the World Exposition in Paris), Germany, and Italy. In 1892, she published *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. Here is an excerpt from this book, attesting to her strong commitment to education in general, and to education of women, of course including African American women in particular.

In the very first year of our century, the year 1801, there appeared in Paris a book by Sylvain Marechal entitled Shall Women Learn the Alphabet. The book proposes a law prohibiting the alphabet to women, and quotes authorities weighty and various, to prove that the woman who knows the alphabet has already lost part of her womanliness. The author declares that women can only use the alphabet as Molière predicted they would, in spelling out the verb *amo*; that they have no occasion to peruse Ovid's Ars Amoris, since that is already the ground and limit of the intuitive furnishing; that Madame Guion would have been far more adorable had she remained a beautiful ignoramus as nature made her; that Ruth, Naomi and Spartan women, the Amazons, Penelope, Andromache, Lucretia, Joan of Arc, Petrarch's Laura, the daughters of Charlemagne, could not spell their names; while Sappho, Aspasia, Madame de Maintenon, and Madame de Staël could read altogether too well for their good; finally, that if women were once permitted to nibble at any side of the apple of knowledge, there would be an end forever to their sewing on buttons or embroidering slippers.

[In 1833] one solitary college in America decided to admit women within its sacred precincts, and organized a "Ladies' Course" as well as the regular B.A., or Gentlemen's Course.

It was felt to be an experiment—a rather dangerous experiment —and was adopted with fear and trembling by the good fathers, who looked as if they had been caught secretly mixing explosive compounds and were guiltily expecting every moment to see the foundation under them shaken and rent and their fair superstructure shattered into fragments.

But the girls came, and there was no upheaval. They performed their tasks modestly and intelligently. Once in a while one or two chose the gentlemen's course. Still no collapse; and the dear, frightened old professors were just getting their hearts out of their throats and preparing to draw one good free breath, when they found that they would have to change the names of those courses; for there were as many ladies in the gentlemen's course as in the ladies', and a distinctly Ladies' Course, inferior in scope and aim to the regular classical course, did not, and could not, exist.

Other colleges gradually fell into line, and today there are one-hundred and ninety-eight colleges for women, and twohundred and seven coeducational colleges and universities in the United States alone, offering the degree of B.A. to women, and sending out yearly into the arteries of this nation a warm, rich flood of strong, brave, active, energetic, well-equipped, thoughtful women—women quick to see and eager to help the needs of this needy world—women who can think as well as feel, and who feel none the less because they think—women who are none the less tender and true for the parchment scroll they bear in their hands—women who have given a deeper, richer, nobler, and grander meaning to the word "womenly" than any one-sided masculine definition could ever have suggested or inspiredwomen whom the world has long waited for in pain and anguish till there should be at last added to its forces and allowed to permeate its thought the complement of that masculine influence which has dominated it for fourteen centuries.

Since the idea of order and subordination succumbed to barbarian brawn and brutality in the fifth century, the civilized world has been like a child brought up by his father. It has needed the great mother heart to teach it to be pitiful, to love mercy, to succor the weak and care for the lowly.

The next brief excerpt may remind the reader of ideas, words, and phrases heard from some people in high places today.

Verily, we are the people, and after us there in no other. Our God is power; strength, our standard of excellence, inherited from barbarian ancestors through a long line of male progenitors, the Law Salic permitting no feminine modifications.

Says one, "The Chinaman is not popular with us, and we do not like the Negro. It is not that the eyes of the one are set bias, and the other dark-skinned; but the Chinaman, the Negro is weak—and Anglo Saxons don't like weakness.

In 1911, Anna Julia Haywood enrolled at Columbia University, then stopped to rear her brother's five grandchildren. In 1925, she enrolled at the University of Paris (the Sorbonne), where she became the fourth African American woman to receive a Doctorate of Philosophy.

In Washington, D.C., she assumed the presidency of the Frelinghuysen Group of Schools for Employed Colored Persons.

Evening classes ten hours a week daily except Saturday and Sunday. Law from 5 to 7. Religion, 7 to 9. Academic, Secondary and Collegiate, 8 to 10. No degrees are offered, but certified credit is given for standard work completed. The Opportunity School is for unclassified persons whose employment will not permit adjustment in regular classes, and who are given individual instruction at such hours as may be convenient.

Tuition in all departments is \$5.00 per month for the term of eight months, October 1 to June 1. Summer work for Opportunity School in Academic subjects only.

As she continued to write in the *Decennial Catalogue of Frelinghuysen University*, first referring to Howard University,

Through the faith, hope and love of its founders, lifting it to where it stands today by all odds the greatest and unquestionably the only monument in the world of a democratic nation's generosity and goodwill toward a formerly enslaved minority group of distinguishable racial identity.

The nation itself has reason to be proud of Howard University as a symbol of the sincerity of its own democracy, the highest exponent of its ideals of social justice and Christian brotherhood visualized in the patriotic dreams of Washington and Jefferson; the citizens of the colored race on their part have reason to take satisfaction in the demonstration, if proof were needed, that the brain of the black man is capable of passing the severer tests of Americanism to the extent of appreciating and appropriating the finer culture offered through classic as well as through modern education.

The humbler aims and achievements in the Frelinghuysen Group of Schools for Employed Colored Persons may not seem, in this connection, wholly unimportant nor, since it marks an effort of self-sustained resourceful initiative on the part of that same minority group to stand on their own feet to pluck the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, may it not seem worthy of something more than the arrogant scorn of self-satisfied standards and the cold shoulder of over stuffed coffers, —an institution in fact of which the black man may say in the words of Shakespeare's fool, "No great thing, milord, but *mine own*"—their own, not for self-centered exploitation or childish glorification, but as a high responsibility for thoughtful investments in service for the common good.

Anna Julia Haywood Cooper died in 1964, age 104.

**Anne Moncure Crane**. Crane is remembered for her ancestor Thomas Stone who signed the Declaration of Independence; her father who, in 1815, along with two African American clergymen, established the Richmond (Virginia) African Baptist Missionary Society; and for her realistic novels which explored sexual and psychological depths. Her first book, *Emily Chester*, was such a success in both the United States and Europe, it went though 10 editions. She wrote a total of three novels. The women in all of her novels would have been considered as immoral at the time of publication.

**Charlotte Cushman**. Born and died in Boston (1816-1876), Charlotte Cushman first trained as an opera singer and sang the demanding role of Countess Almaviva in Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*. When her singing voice began to fail, she took up acting on the dramatic stage, jumping immediately into the daunting role of Lady Macbeth. Cushman became an exceedingly successful actor both in the United States, in England, and in Europe. She was most successful in tragic roles, and—to wide dismay—took many male roles, including both Romeo and Hamlet. Before she returned to Boston in her final years, she lived among many talented women friends in London and Rome.

**Rebecca Blaine Harding Davis**. Born in Pennsylvania in 1831, when she was 17 the family moved to Wheeling, Virginia, an industrial town of coal and steel mills, but, as she wrote in her 1904 autobiography, "there were no railways in it, no automobiles or trolleys, no telegraphs, no sky-scraping houses. Not a single man in the country was the possessor of huge accumulations of money." Industrialization and the ways that it affected the industrial workers and their community became the center of her moral life, a social compassion that lead to other disadvantaged groups, such as African American people, Indigenous Native people, women, immigrants, and the working class in all of its faces in many places. Her social compassion was expressed in her many writings and journalistic work, work noted for its naturalistic realism. Her most widely known and influential work was her essay "Life in the Iron Mills," published in 1861 in The Atlantic Monthly. "Life in the Iron Mills" is widely considered an early, perhaps the first, instance of realism in American literature.

**Anna Elizabeth Dickinson**. Born in 1843 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to a family of Quakers and active Abolitionists (their home was a stop on the Underground Railroad), Anna Elizabeth Dickinson suffered the death of her father when she was 2-yearsold. She had three brothers and a sister. With their mother, they were left destitute. To provide some income, her mother opened a school in their home and took in boarders. So Anna Elizabeth, like so many children of single mothers, learned early that women, epitomized by her mother, could be strong, resourceful, and successful in ways that others considered the proper work of husbands and fathers. Another thing Anna Elizabeth learned from her mother was a love of great books. She was a reader. And she was academically successful in her schooling.

She was also what would later be called an early bloomer. When she was 13, she wrote an essay about a school teacher in Kentucky who was abused for his anti-slavery beliefs; the essay was published in William Lloyd Garrison's Abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator.* When she was 15, she got her first regular job as a copyist. When she was 17, she became a teacher. At 19, she got a clerkship at the U.S. Mint.

Following in the tradition of Quaker women speaking out in public, she was 15 when she first did so. She was good at it, and began to speak more and more, about women's rights, abolition, temperance, and Reconstruction. She was 19 when, aided by Lucretia Mott, she gave a two-hour lecture in Philadelphia, "The Rights and Wrongs of Women," attended by 800 purchased ticket holders. Quickly the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, arranged by Mott, sent the 19-year-old Anna Elizabeth Dickinson on a lecture tour. She spoke in Boston. She visited camps and hospitals and spoke to soldiers. She spoke in 1863 in Connecticut, New York, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania in political support for pro-Union and anti-slavery Republicans running for the U.S. Senate. She spoke in New York City at the Cooper Institute before a crowd of 5,000 people. Then, in 1864, when she was 21, she became the first woman to speak to Congress, and she received a standing ovation.

After the end of the Civil War, she continued to draw large crowds. Often giving a speech every other day, she became a very weathy woman, giving away most of her earnings to her mother and sister, and to friends and charities. She spoke about Reconstruction and the rights of women (although not for suffrage) and African Americans, and she added new topics, such as polygamy and venereal disease.

Mark Twain wrote of her in 1867:

She talks fast, uses no notes what ever, never hesitates for a word, always gets the right word in the right place, and has the most perfect confidence in herself. Indeed, her sentences are remarkably smoothly-woven and felicitous. Her vim, her energy, her determined look, her tremendous earnestness, would compel the respect and the attention of an audience, even if she spoke in Chinese—would convince a third of them, too, even though she used arguments that would not stand analysis.

Yet, as she grew older, she lost the wonder-kid appeal and as the strife-worn nation wanted consolation and distraction, she began to make statements that were offensive toward her supporters and her audience. Newspapers questioned her sanity. She could no longer support herself by her lectures alone.

Clearly, Anna Elizabeth Dickinson needed a change of scenery. And she needed to do something different. She went to Colorado and climbed mountains: Pikes Peak, Mount Lincoln, Grays Peak, and Mount Elbert. Any hopes that these exploits would revive her lecture career were dashed when a newspaper published a photo of her in pants. (Scandalous enough for George Sand, but she was in Paris, but here was an American woman in the United States climbing mountains—and in pants. Scandalous.)

To add to her income, she had already begun to write novels and plays. One of her novels addressed interracial marriage. Another addressed the need for education for workers and compulsory education for all children. This same novel also advocated for better treatment of prisoners and financial support for the poor. Her plays were produced on Broadway. She even engaged in acting, but achieved no success.

In 1891, she experienced paranoia and, against her will, she was committed by her sister to a hospital for the insane, a situation that newspapers were eager to broadcast. She sued her sister and the newspapers who had run her story and, in 1898, won in court. Such publicity and "unwomanly" behavior were too much for most of the people who had previously supported her. She lived quietly the rest of her life with a couple in Goshen, New York, dying in 1932 of cerebral apoplexy, i.e., bleeding within the brain.

**Julia Ward Howe**. I will write about Julia Ward Howe, but to get to her I first need to write the first act which leads up to her story. The second act focuses on Julia Ward Howe. The third act presents some of the legacy. The entirety concerns a remarkable piece of music.

Act One. Scene One.

Listen. Can you hear it? Let's go a little closer. Ah, yes. Listen.

Say, brothers, will you meet us. Say, brothers, will you meet us. Say, brothers, will you meet us. On Canaan's happy shore?

> Glory, glory, hallelujah. Glory, glory, hallelujah. Glory, glory, hallelujah. For ever, ever more!

By the grace of God we'll meet you. By the grace of God we'll meet you. By the grace of God we'll meet you. Where parting is no more.

> Glory, glory, hallelujah. Glory, glory, hallelujah. Glory, glory, hallelujah. For ever, ever more!

Jesus lives and reigns forever, Jesus lives and reigns forever, Jesus lives and reigns forever, On Canaan's happy shore.

> Glory, glory, hallelujah. Glory, glory, hallelujah. Glory, glory, hallelujah. For ever, ever more!

This song had been a standard group singing hymn sung at White camp meetings for a long as anyone remembered. The repetitive words were easy to remember and the refrain—well, even the poorest of singers could join in, and they did, enthusiastically. And the melody, with the first and third lines the same, that melody stayed in the head for days and days. Sometimes it seemed to never go away. And that's what William Steffe of Philadelphia found out. He was traveling in the southern states, and although his work was in insurance, he was collecting songs for publication. He hit the jackpot with "Say, brothers, will you meet us." When his book of songs was published, it was on page one. And with this publication, this camp meeting hymn became even more popular.

Act One. Scene Two.

John Brown had been born in 1800 in Torrington, Connecticut, and the family later moved to Ohio. They were staunch Calvinists and they saw that their purpose in life was to struggle against sin. Because there was no greater sin in this nation than slavery, their house became a stopping point on the Underground Railroad.

In 1859, with the intended purpose of inspiring a slave revolt, the abolitionist John Brown led an attack against a Union armory in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. They held the armory for two days, but were overcome by the Marines. There were many wounded and many deaths, including two of John Brown's sons. John Brown was seriously wounded and captured. He was tried and found guilty of treason against the Commonwealth of Virginia and executed.

In words that continue to ring true today, at his trial, he stated:

Had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

Referring to the events at Harper's Ferry, the pacifist abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison characterized Brown's actions as "misguided, wild and apparently insane." Garrison may have been correct. There were many in the Northern States and in the West who were quite conflicted on the matter, some taking a pacifist view, many favoring Brown's actions in Harper's Ferry and the necessity of military intervention.

Henry David Thoreau read his plea for Captain John Brown to the townspeople of Concord, Massachusetts, on October 30, 1859. John Brown would be hanged on December 2, 1859. Here is the closing section of Thoreau's plea.

"Misguided"! "Garrulous"! "Insane"! "Vindictive"! So ye write in your easy-chairs, and thus he wounded responds from the floor of the Armory, clear as a cloudless sky, true as the voice of nature is: "No man sent me here; it was my own prompting and that of my Maker. I acknowledge no master in human form." And in what a sweet and noble strain he proceeds, addressing his captors, who stand over him: "I think, my friends, you are guilty of a great wrong against God and humanity, and it would be perfectly right for any one to interfere with you so far as to free those you willfully and wickedly hold in bondage."

And, referring to his movement: "It is, in my opinion, the greatest service a man can render to God."

"I pity the poor in bondage that have none to help them; that is why I am here; not to gratify any personal animosity, revenge, or vindictive spirit. It is my sympathy with the oppressed and the wronged, that are as good as you, and as precious in the sight of God."

You don't know your testament when you see it.

"I want you to understand that I respect the rights of the poorest and weakest of colored people, oppressed by the slave power, just as much as I do those of the most wealthy and powerful."

"I wish to say, furthermore, that you had better, all you people at the South, prepare yourselves for a settlement of that question, that must come up for settlement sooner than your are prepared for it. The sooner you are prepared the better. You may dispose of me very easily. I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled,--this negro question, I mean; the end of that is not yet." I foresee the time when the painter will paint that scene, no longer going to Rome for a subject; the poet will sing it; the historian record it; and, with the Landing of the Pilgrims and the Declaration of Independence, it will be the ornament of some future national gallery, when at least the present form of slavery shall be no more here. We shall then be at liberty to weep for Captain Brown. Then, and not till then, we will take our revenge.

Most of those in the Southern States vilified Brown and his actions. But misguided or not, wild and insane or not, what Brown did at Harper's Ferry so increased the Nation's temperature at the time that it led directly to the start of the Civil War.

These events at Harper's Ferry quickly led the music of the rousing hymn "Say, brothers, will you meet us on Canaan's happy shore" to be sung with the more timely words, "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, His soul's marching on." first by the 2nd Infantry Battalion of the Massachusetts militia, then in the Civil War throughout the Union Army. It was a great marching song. And always with the "Glory, Glory Hallelujah" chorus included. And among the abolitionists, it became a great battle cry, helping to increase their constituency and their voice in Washington.

As is said of good wine, this tune has good legs.

Act Two.

Now Julia Ward Howe comes back into the picture. Julia Ward was born in 1819 in New York City into a family of wealth and status. Her older brother studied for four years in Europe and returned home with a private library; thus at an early age, she developed knowledge of wide range and great depth. She met Samuel Gridley Howe, 18 years her senior. He was a physician and a social reformer, he had founded PerkIns School for the Blind in Watertown, Massachusetts. 1843, they married and had six children. The marriage was not a happy one. Samuel Gridley Howe believed that wives should be content with home and children. Julia Ward Howe believed that women, whether married or not, possessed intelligence and needed to engage that intelligence openly and freely with the world at large. And she was determined to do that herself, no matter the disapproval of her husband. She wrote poems, plays, essays, a book of travel to Cuba, and, eventually, an autobiography; many of which reflected her unhappy marriage. He did not approve.

In 1861, the two of them visited the White House and met Abraham Lincoln. Inspired by that visit and with the encouragement of a friend, she wrote her poem "Battle Hymn of the Republic." It was published early the next year on the front page of *The Atlantic Monthly*. Overnight, it was a sensation, taking the place of "John Brown's Body" as the Union's marching song, and sung at almost every public gathering in the North.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord; He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword: His truth is marching on.

Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps, They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps; I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps: His day is marching on.

Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! His truth is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:

"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal";

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel, Since God is marching on.

Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! His truth is marching on.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat; He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat; Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! Be jubilant, my feet! Our God is marching on.

Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,

With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me. As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free, While God is marching on.

Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah! Our God is marching on.

Act Three.

The tune and sections of Julia Ward Howe's text have been used in multiple ways and for multiple causes, especially in recent years in relation to sport teams. Two uses of the tune are to my mind especially memorable. First is the Labor Union anthem, "Solidarity Forever."

When the union's inspiration Through the workers' blood shall run There can be no power greater Anywhere beneath the sun Yet what force on earth is weaker Than the feeble strength of one? But the union makes us strong

Solidarity forever Solidarity forever Solidarity forever For the union makes us strong

It is we who plowed the prairies Built the cities where they trade Dug the mines and built the workshops Endless miles of railroad laid Now we stand outcast and starving Mid the wonders we have made But the union makes us strong

Solidarity forever Solidarity forever Solidarity forever

For the union makes us strong They have taken untold millions That they never toiled to earn But without our brain and muscle Not a single wheel can turn We can break their haughty power Gain our freedom when we learn That the union makes us strong

Solidarity forever Solidarity forever Solidarity forever

For the union makes us strong In our hands is placed a power Greater than their hoarded gold Greater than the might of atoms Magnified a thousand-fold We can bring to birth a new world From the ashes of the old For the union makes us strong

Solidarity forever

Solidarity forever Solidarity forever For the union makes us strong

Second is the English nursery classic, "Little Peter Rabbit."

Little Peter Rabbit had a fly upon his nose, Little Peter Rabbit had a fly upon his nose. Little Peter Rabbit had a fly upon his nose, So he flipped it and he flopped it And the fly flew away.

This tune has good legs, indeed.

**Annie Lyon Howe.** She was born in 1852 in a Boston suburb, but her parents followed the call to go West; they moved to Illinois, first in Iroquois County, then Chicago. With her sister Mary Deming Howe, Annie started one of the first Frobelian kindergartens in Chicago.

In 1887, at age 35, Annie Lyon Howe responded to the call from her Congregationalist church to start a Frobelian kindergarten in Kobe, Japan. (Mary Deming's kindergarten, which enrolled children who lived in poverty, won fame as a model kindergarten, and their brother, Edward G. Howe, who was a science teacher, and, no doubt influenced by the educational ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, initiated field trips as an integral part of science education.)

In conjunction with this kindergarten in Kobe, which Annie Lyon Howe named Shoei ("Glory"), she also started a training school for teachers (now Shoei Junior College). She translated Froebel's texts and songs into Japanese, and she was able to convince her backers in the States that their donations were wisely and productively spent. Through her efforts to combine the Froebel "gifts" with Japanese cultural goals, along with her efforts to work with kindergarten teachers throughout the country, Glory and the training school affected the design of kindergartens throughout Japan. By that time, the missionary movement had moved its focus from conversion to education, and from men only to both men and women. As with Howe, an increasing number of missionaries were women, without any accompanying men. But Japan, where school began with 6-year-olds at the beginning of the primary grades, was eager to be viewed around the world as a modern society, and one easy way to move toward that goal was to join the rest of the world in having Frobelian kindergartens -even if it meant recognizing and giving responsibility to a woman. (With Japan the epitome of a patriarchal society, Japanese women were given no recognition and, except for home and children, certainly no responsibility. Those were for men.) During Annie Lyon Howe's 40 years there, she wrote many texts on kindergarten education, along with songs and books for the children.

The first people from Europe, the Portuguese had arrived in Japan in 1543, with memories and stories of successful Portuguese conquest and looting in central and southern parts of the New World. But they found Japan to be a very different matter. While quite unlike themselves, still the Portuguese found among the Japanese things they liked. One such thing which the Japan were willing to sell was females who were enslaved and used for sexual purposes. For their part, the Japanese found the Portuguese personal hygiene sorely lacking, but they were much taken by their muskets. Trade was established between Japan and Portugal, and they could only stay, when in Japan, in a small plot of land. But, because the Portuguese had brisk trade with the rest of the world, items from the rest of the world arrived in Japan. Early on, the Japanese most wanted muskets, and they soon began to manufacture their own guns—with improvements in design. The Portuguese continued to most want women who were slaves, that is, until Portugal (under pressure from the Catholic Church) passed a law in 1595 outlawing the buying and selling of Chinese and Japanese people who were enslaved. However, the Portuguese Catholic Jesuits were delighted with the savage souls they could convert, and they set abound that task briskly.

In 1600, a ship from the Netherlands was blown onto the southwestern large island of Kyushu with 23 Dutch men and 1 English man aboard (86 shipmates had died earlier during the voyage). The firearms carried on the ship were of special interest to the Japanese military ruler. And with the help of a Portuguese as interpreter, it was learned that the Protestant Netherlanders came to trade and not to convert. They therefore received a welcome, a welcome that extended through the many years of Sakoku, the "seclusion" period, and more recently referred to by the term Kaikin, "maritime prohibitions" period (1641-1853), when Japan closed all entry except for China and the Netherlands. The period was notable for, among other things, the many years of peace and when samurai engaged in the arts.

Unlike the Portuguese, who had been restricted to living in small areas, the Netherlanders were allowed to feeling travel and

live throughout Japan. Another indication of the close relationship that developed between the Netherland is V. O. C. porcelain.

When I was teaching at Hokkaido University in Japan, I was presented with a V. O. C. porcelain cup. It came with a paper which reads:

INITIALS of V. O. C., representing Vereenidge Oost Indische Compagnie, namely Dutch East India Company. Established 1602. They were mostly consisted of dinner plates, bowls and bottles to be used on board the ships of that company, 1660-1680, and the wares used to be called "The Company's Plate."

The Western-style dinner ware in Japan has its origin in the V. O. C. porcelain. The Blue and White Porcelain wares we are going to market this time are the exact copies of those preserved and exhibited at the Kyushu Ceramic Museum in Arita at present and produced with same manufacturing process and design as used in 1668 by Fukagawa Porcelain Company, which has a history of more than 330 years and now serving as a purveyor to the Imperial Household.

Yes! This tableware for use by the Dutch East India Company executives (including ship captains) in the 1600s came to be used by the Japanese Imperial Household. Remarkable.

This V. O. C. dishes of blue on white was the tin-glazed ceramics of Delft, and the Delft ware was copied from the blue on white true porcelain from China. The V. O. C. tableware is still

available from a factory in Arita, Kyushu, Japan. Early original pieces command high prices.

When Annie Lyon Howe arrived in Kobe, it was 344 years after the first arrival in Japan of the Portuguese, 287 years after the first arrival in Japan of the Netherlanders, and it had also been over 30 years that Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the United States arrived in Japan with his "black ships of evil mien" outside Edo (now Tokyo) in 1853 and 1854, the second time with ten ships and 1600 men, shredding Japan's seclusion/maritime prohibition laws. (Interestingly, the United States was originally trying to get to China for its vast riches, not to Japan; Japan was just a handy stopover for refueling to and from China.) Between those two stops in Japan by Commodore Perry, Japan had moved from total hostility to cautious welcoming, eager to know more about their steam-powered ships, their manufactured guns and cannons, their books, and their knowledge of the outside world. (Much information on Perry's experience there was included in his three volume book, Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan.) In 1858, The Treaty of Amity and Commerce (also called the Harris Treaty, Harris being another representative of the United States government) was signed. This treaty opened five port cities to trade and allowed United States citizens to live, own property, and pursue commerce within designated foreign settlements; it granted extraterritoriality to foreigners, thus freeing Americans from Japanese law; it set low import-export duties (by which the U.S. obtained both silver and gold); and it provided for freedom of religious expression and church construction to serve those from the United States living within the designated foreign settlements.

This U.S. and Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce was one of five signed by Japan in 1858. The others, all in the same year and all comparable, were with the Netherlands, with Russia, with Britain, and with France. The five were known collectively as the Ansei Treaties. They had the purpose of providing opportunities for the Western nations to increase their wealth and national goals in the Far East.

None of these nations imagined the impact Japanese culture would have throughout the West. It was given a French name "Japonisme" in 1872, long after it had begun to sweep the West. It was first applied to art, but it came to mean the Japanese esthetic in all parts of culture. Japonisme was first seen in ukiyoe ("pictures of the floating world"). These were Japanese woodblock prints designed for commerce, which showed landscapes, travel scenes, entertainment scenes, actors, sumo wrestlers, geishas, courtesans, and erotica. (The erotica prints sold fast.) These ukiyo-e prints were decisive to the painting styles of Degas, Manet, Monet (and also his garden and the garden bridge in Giverny), Toulouse-Lautrec, van Gogh (He settled in the south of France in order to find "Japanese light."), Whistler, Cassatt, Renoir, Beardsley, and Klimt, especially in the use of color to establish form in contrast to the European use of line; the architectural and furniture styles of Wright and Mackintosh; and the jewelry and glass designs of Tiffany. In addition, Japonisme had tremendous influence on the design of ceramics and pottery, basket-making, clothing design, and entertainment (best known today is Gilbert and Sullivan's The Mikado).

About the U.S. and Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce, far from gaining the approval of the whole of Japan, the U.S had the advantage and the Tokugawa shogunate knew it. Still, these actions by the United States were the start of great change for Japan. No longer prohibiting visitors from outside, it became increasingly aware that perhaps Japan was not the first and foremost country in the world, and that perhaps they could become even greater by learning what they could from others. Not everything, just the best parts, the parts which would enhance their identity as Japanese, and thus uniquely superior to others, and also enhance their standing in the eyes of the rest of the world. However expressed, Japan experienced an upheaval. An early indication of the changes brought occurred in 1867: feudalism throughout Japan, except for the Ryūkyū Domain, was ended. Then the next year, the Tokugawa shogunate, established in 1600, with its seclusion laws and its many years of peace, came to an end.

The Meiji Era (The Emperor's family name was Meiji.) began in 1868, with its centralized government and multiple efforts to help Japan catch up with the rest of the world. First on the agenda was to create a military of world rank. To that end, British officers were brought in to build a navy, French officers were brought in to build an army, and Dutch engineers were brought in to build the necessary infrastructure to support both the navy and the army. A national conscription was introduced in 1873. Second on the agenda was to build a modern state. And to that end, a system of justice was based on the French model. The new system of education was based on that of the United States —but without any freedom of thought and expression and no creativity, and absolutely no consideration in any way of the concept of democracy. The Japanese Emperor, according to Article 3 of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1890), is "sacred and inviolable."

The Meiji government knew that their continued success rested on the educational system's ability to educate and direct children to be good citizens of Japan. With that in mind, in 1882, *The Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors* was directed to be studied and adhered to by every student. In 1890, *The Imperial Rescript on Education of the Emperor Meiji* was added. Both rescripts were to be recited each day in elementary schools by every student while bowing toward an image of the Emperor.

Still, the Emperor knew that Japan had to gather wisdom from all over the world. In addition to bringing knowledgable and skilled westerners to Japan, Japan sent groups of Japanese to Europe and the United States to learn what they could and bring this information back to Japan. In these ways, Meiji Japan developed a new Japan, one with a strong economy with booming industries producing goods and equipment for both the military and civilian use and with busy international trade; and one with new and challenging ideas in the arts and culture—all broadening and energizing.

Although Article 28 of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1890) stated, "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief," the Japanese government became increasingly opposed to Christianity brought by Christian foreigners (Not just the Jesuits and other Catholics, but Protestants, too.) into Japanese communities, regarding Christianity in all its forms, to be incompatible with Japanese ideals and loyalty. And with many Christian missionaries and other Christians as teachers in the schools of Japan, measures had to be taken. Christians were removed as teachers in the mandatory public schools, i.e., teachers of children over 6-yearsold, but not to teachers of children in kindergarten or to kindergarten training schools. Unfortunately, many of the Christian teachers who lost their jobs scapegoated Howe for their misfortune, rather than seeing the situation as an action by the Japanese government which Howe had no part in.

In 1891 there was a horrendous earthquake just to the north of Howe's kindergarten and training, which she surely felt and participated in cleanup and restoration. [See 1891, below.]

With these national achievements by the Japanese, and eager to flex Japan's newly strengthened muscles and gain recognition as a world power, the Emperor began to direct his sight afar, on lands that could be brought into their orbit, into their empire.

Japan attacked China over Korea in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), with the result of loss of Chinese prestige and soon after, the ending of the Qing Dynasty; the gaining of prestige for Japan by the demonstrated military actions of the modernized army and navy, resulting in few Japanese deaths and limited loss of equipment; China's recognition of the independence of Korea; the gaining for Japan of the territory of Taiwan and Penghu; and also the receipt by Japan of 13,600 tons of silver in reparations. The Korean Empress Myeongseong was opposed to the influence of Japan in Korea, and her obstructions lead to her assassination later in 1895 by Japanese agents.

From 1899 to 1901, there was the Boxer Rebellion (also known as the Yihetuan Movement) in much of northern China. It was brought on by Militia United in Righteousness, a Chinese populist movement which was anti-imperialist, anti-Christian, and anti-foreign. One objection raised by this movement was that the missionaries who came from many countries took needed farm land for designated foreign settlements, thereby causing food shortages among the Chinese. Japan was involved as one of the Eight Nation Alliance (the others were the United States, Austro-Hungary, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia) and Japan had by far the greatest number of troops in the conflict. It was a gruesome affair with widespread atrocities, made worse in the summer of 1900 by a plague of insects and temperatures well above 100° F. The Boxers were suppressed, with one outcome being additional Chinese reparations to Japan.

In 1902, Britain and Japan, both concerned about possible aggression from Russia, signed a nonaggression alliance treaty. Two Articles were key: "Article 2, Declaration of neutrality if either signatory becomes involved in war through Article 1" and "Article 3, Promise of support if either signatory becomes involved in war with more than one Power." (The following month, a similar nonaggression pact was signed by Russia and France.) The Anglo-Japanese Treaty was expanded in 1905 and 1911. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty became especially significant in 1917, a few years into The Great War (later referred to as World War One). Britain asked Japan to escort her ships around the Mediterranean Sea; the British Royal Navy needed every possible vessel in the Atlantic and the North Sea. Japan had already rid the Eastern Seas of the Germans, and because of the treaty agreement 15 years before, Japan agreed. By so doing, Japan deployed destroyers that destroyed U-boats and submarines. In one incident, the Japanese rescued most of the 3,300 from the sinking British transport Transylvania, for which 27 Japanese officers and sailors received metals for bravery from King George V.

The Russians had built the Trans-Siberian Railway from Moscow across Manchuria to Vladivostok on the Sea of Japan. They wanted a warm water port for their navy base and shipping trade, but Vladivostok, with its long and severe winters, was icebound much of the year. Russia bullied the Chinese into leasing them the ice-free port of Port Arthur in China, on the Yellow Sea, and southwest of the Korean peninsula. Japan was not happy with this new arrangement. Japan feared Russia's aggressions, but they wanted to extend their own sphere of influence to include both Manchuria and Korea. Russia had their own concerns in St. Petersburg, fearing an imminent revolution, which did occur in 1905. Negotiations between the mighty Russia and the small archipelago nation recently awake from a long sleep did not go as expected. Japan decided to act. In 1904, Japan wrote a declaration of war against Russia, but before it could be received by Czar Nicholas II, Japan made a surprise attack by a torpedo boat destroyer against the fortified Russian fleet at Port Arthur, severely damaging two battleships and a steamer. The Czar and all of Russia, with their confident feelings of superiority, were incredulous and horrified, never expecting any real danger could come to the Russian military from that scrappy little Japan. But with that attack, the Russo-Japan War was on. And in this war,

every expectation in Russia, Europe, and the United States concerning this conflict was turned on its head.

This war had significance in a new and major way. Reflecting the development of invention and technology in the later half of the 1800s, seen throughout the advanced world, not just in the United States, but also Meiji Japan as well, much of the technological advances saw application in military purposes. Japan was especially keen to this end. The massive and technically advanced supplied forces resulted in great loss of life on each side, far beyond anything previously experienced.

Russia suffered major military loss and great psychological humiliation. In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States negotiated the Peace of Portsmouth. Russia ceded Manchuria, the southern half of Sakhalin Island, and also Port Arthur to Japan, and recognized Korea as within Japan's sphere of influence. This was the first major battle in which an Asian nation defeated a European nation. Japan was now viewed as a modern power. However, the terms of the negotiation, specifically that Japan only received half of Sakhalin Island and no reparations (for burials and economic rebuilding) were paid to Japan at all, was widely considered unfair by many Japanese, sparking unrest and even riots in Tokyo. But Roosevelt, for his efforts in negotiation, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.

Surely as Annie Lyon Howe was growing up in the years following the Civil War in the States, she would have heard many stories about the War. Perhaps she even had contact with individuals and groups active in the Underground Railroad. Surely she would have grown up hearing of Lincoln and his death. And later she would have heard much about Reconstruction, maybe read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, maybe read *Huckleberry Finn*. But what could ever have prepared her for what she lived through for over a half-century in Japan, so far away from home and family? But Annie Howe continued her work, and her work, year after year, continued to have its ripple effect throughout Japan.

Then, in 1941, after 53 years in Japan, Annie Lyon Howe prepared to return to her home in the States. The Japanese love to give farewell parties for those they have grown fond of, and there surely were many farewell parties given in honor of Annie Howe. But one such party went beyond anything this kindergarten teacher, this woman, this Christian, this United States citizen could ever have dreamed of, or anything her colleagues and associates could ever have dreamed of. As testimony to the greatness of her contributions to the field of education in Japan, the Emperor presented her with a distinguished medal of honor. At the end of that same year, after she had left Japan, and under the direction of the Emperor, the Japanese bombed the United States military at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Four days later, the United States declared war against Japan, and on that same day, first Italy and then Germany declared war against the United States. The Second World War had begun.

Annie Lyon Howe died in 1943, aged 91, in Rochester, New York, and was buried in the family plot in Forest Park, Illinois. To this day, her Glory kindergarten and her teacher training college prosper at Kobe College, Nishinomiya, Japan. It is the oldest such school in Japan. And to this day, these many years later, Annie Lyon Howe is fondly remembered and honored. **Theodora Sarah Orne Jewett**. She was born, schooled, and died in South Berwick, Maine, and it was South Berwick and Maine that she wrote about in many poems, books for children, short stories, and novels, all well received at the time. In her works, plot was not a major organizing feature, rather she had a style that was loose, digressive, one demanding an alert and patient reader. She was gifted with a sharp eye for nature and for local color and with the ability to write dialogue that seemed to speak from the page. Her first publisher story was in *The Atlantic Monthly* when she was 19-years- old. Her best known work was and remains *The Country of the Pointed Firs* (1896). She wrote of women who were strong, women who lived alone, and women who lived with other women.

Theodora Sarah Orne Jewett was born in 1849. Her early literary influence was Harriet Beecher Stowe, and years later she influenced Willa Cather. (Cather dedicated her O Pioneers to Jewett.) Her publisher was the Boston firm of James R. Osgood, which went through a series of corporation changes to, with her last published work, Houghton-Mifflin. She was in good company, they also published Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and Thomas Hardy. In 1868, the firm became Fields, Osgood, and Company, adding the published authors, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, Nathanial Hawthorn, Henry Walker Thoreau, and Horatio Alger. The Fields of Fields, Osgood, and Company was James Thomas Fields, also a brilliant editor and publisher and he was editor of The Atlantic Monthly. He and his wife Annie Adams Fields held a celebrated literary salon at their home in Boston. After he died in 1881, Sarah Orne Jewett and Annie Adams Fields lived together, alternating

between Boston and South Berwick, with frequent European trips, until Jewett died in 1919. Their relationship was well known and was considered a "Boston" marriage. Jewett never legally married and supported herself through her writings.

**Mary Harris "Mother" Jones**. An immigrant to the U.S. from, first, Ireland, then Canada, she early on suffered two tragedies: her husband and their four children died from a yellow fever epidemic in Memphis, and then, having set up a dressmaking business in Chicago, her shop, home, and all of her possessions were lost in the Great Chicago fire of 1871. In an effort to rebuild her life and the lives of others in similar circumstances, she joined the Knights of Labor, then the United Mine Workers, actively supporting workers' strikes. This lead to her active involvement in the Socialist Party of America. Unlike many women of the time, she was not in support of female suffrage, thinking that it would lead to mothers neglecting their children. With many arrests to show for it, she put all of her energies during her very long life (she died at age 93) toward the improvement of the lives of miners and their families.

**Florence Kelley**. Before writing about Florence Moltrop Kelley, I will write about her father William Darrah Kelley, who, as she often stated, played a major part in the person that she became.

William D. Kelley (1814-1890) was born in Philadelphia and when young worked in a bookstore, then as proofreader for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which supported the Democratic Party. He passed the Bar in 1841, and was later appointed Judge of the Philadelphia County Court of Common Pleas. He was an abolitionist and supported the anti-slavery wing of the Democratic Party, but once the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed, Kelley quit the Democratic Party, and, with others, started the Republican Party. He was elected to Congress and served over 27 years. His work in Congress largely addressed the needs of African Americans, first through enrolling them into the Union Army, then through advocating for "impartial suffrage." He also supported American industry, refusing to wear any item not manufactured in the U.S. During this time of rampant corruption and profiteering among office holders, he was accused numerous time of corruption and profiteering while in office, yet none of the charges were proved. If fact, he was considered odd for being so honest.

His daughter, Florence Moltrop Kelley (1859-1932,) was never elected to Congress, but that didn't stop her from following her father in other ways, and even exceeding him in her effect on American social and political reform.

In 1882, she attended Cornell University when she was 16years-old. In the same year, she joined Eliza Turner and other like- minded women in the establishment in Philadelphia of the New Century Guild of Working Women, a social, support, and educational center for lower-class working women living in urban slums. The Guild was an early leader in the campaigns for better working conditions and better living conditions for workers. It was also in the forefront of the battle for the minimum wage and the eight-hour work day. Then in 1893, she helped create the New Century Trust, the legal successor to the Century Guild. (The New Century Trust continues today. A current headline on their website is "Centering women of color is key to COVID-19 response.")

She wrote her thesis at Cornell on disadvantaged children and graduated as a Phi Beta Kappa member. Unable to enroll to study law at the University of Pennsylvania because of her gender, she enrolled at the University of Zurich, the first European university to grant degrees to women. It was there that she became interested in socialism and met Lazare Wischnewetzky, a Polish-Russian medical student. They married and had three children. She translated into English Friedrich Engel's The Condition of the Working Class in England. She wrote The Need of Theoretical Preparation for Philanthropic Work, in which she differentiated the palliative approach in reducing only the pain of the problem, which she termed "bourgeois philanthropy," from philanthropy of the working class. Bourgeois philanthropy "aims to give back to the workers a little bit of what our social system robs them of, propping up the system longer." This is countered by "Philanthropy of the working class . . . aims to weaken the capitalist system through goals such as shortening the work day and limiting the working of children." The point being the need for theoretical preparation to address the causes, rather than the symptoms, of the problem. Her private life had become a problem for her: her husband's high degree of indebtedness and physical cruelty. She addressed the problem directly: she got a divorce.

In 1891, she moved to Chicago with her children and joined Hull House, further extending her network among women who had dedicated their lives to social activism and helping other women, almost all recent immigrants, in need. She enrolled at Northwestern University of Law where she gained her law degree. When at Northwestern, she was an active member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and started actively campaigning for women's suffrage and civil rights for African Americans.

She was an effective advocate. She talked her way into being hired by the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics to investigate the labor conditions in the garment industry. Then, on request of the U.S. Commissioner of Labor, she conducted a survey of Chicago slums, uncovering, among other horrors, children as young as 3-years-old forced to work. She was passionate in her work toward the passage of laws making it illegal for children to work under the age of 14, with limits to the hours worked by children under the age of 16. She was also passionate regarding the right for children to have an education, convinced that all children could learn if provided with schooling. She lead legislators on tours of sweatshops. In 1893, she was appointed by the governor to be Chief Factory Inspector for the State of Illinois, and by so doing became the first woman in Illinois to serve in a statewide office. Then she chose five women and six men as her assistants. She was appointed Special Agent of the Illinois State Bureau of Labor Statistics; her report described workers in sweatshops laboring up to 16 hours a day, 7 days a week, and receiving wages insufficient to live on. Her many efforts paid off. In 1993, the Illinois legislature passed a factory law that limited work for women to 8 hours a day and prohibited children under the age of 14 from factory employment.

In 1899, Kelley moved from Hull House in Chicago to Henry Street Settlement in New York. There, Jane Adams and Josephine Lowell had chartered the National Consumers League, and Kelley was appointed general secretary, a position she held for 33 years. Here I will quote from the League's website, for the League continues to advance social action:

[Under Kelley's direction] the National Consumer's league exposed child labor and other scandalous working conditions. Kelley was to become one of the most influential and effective social reformers of the 20th century. During the early 1900s, she led the League in its efforts to:

protect in-home workers, often including whole families, from terrible exploitation by employers

promote the Meat Inspection Act of 1906 and the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906

write and then champion state minimum wage laws for women

defend and ultimately convince the US Supreme Court to uphold a 10-hour work day law in the landmark Muller v. Oregon case of 1908

advocate for creation of a federal Children's Bureau and federal child labor restrictions.

In 1907, Kelley organized New York's Committee on Congestion of Population, which ultimately lead to the first National Conference on City Planning in 1909. And in 1909, along with W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary White Ovington, Ida B. Wells, and others, Kelley was a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). With the mission "to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate racebased discrimination," she served on the board of directors. She was valued by the other members, yet in proposing social legislation she sometimes took a position different from that taken by the NAACP, wanting history-making legislation to be passed, thus securing the money, then to work toward changing the language to be more inclusive in terms of race.

After many years of discussion, work, and planning, in 1912 Lillian Wald, Edward Thomas Devine, and Florence Kelley were successful in getting the U.S. Government to establish the United States Children's Bureau under the United States Department of Health and Human Services.

The said bureau shall investigate and report to [the Department of Commerce and Labor] upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth-rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several states and territories.

She wrote the following:

The responsibility of the consumer. New York City: National Child Labor Committee, 1908;
The Present Status of Minimum Wage Legislation. New York City: National Consumers' League, 1913.;
Modern Industry: in relation to the family, health, education, morality. New York: Longmans, Green 1914; and Women in Industry: the Eight Hours Day and Rest at Night, upheld by the United States Supreme Court. New York: National Consumers' League, 1916.

The 1900 census reported that approximately 2 million children were working in mills, mines, fields, factories, stores, and on city streets across the United States, and many citizens were forced to face a reality that had been largely overlooked. In 1908, the National Child Labor Committee hired Lewis Hine as its staff photographer and sent him throughout the country to photograph and report on child labor. His compelling, devastating images seared the soul of America in a way that nothing before had. As an active member of the National Child Labor Committee, and as usual, Kelley took a leading role and actively lobbed for passage (as from afar did Karl Marx and Charles Dickens) of the first child labor bill, the Keating-Owen Act of 1916 (also called the Wick's Bill). The act banned the sale of products from any factory, shop, or cannery that employed children under the age of 14, from any mine that employed children under the age of 16, and from any facility that had children under the age of 16 work at night or for more than 8 hours during the day. For these to occur, the Act specified that the Federal Government's ability regulate interstate commerce would apply to regulate child labor. The Act went into effect in 1917 and It was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1918 on the grounds that it overstepped the purpose of the government's powers to regulate interstate commerce. Federal protection of children would not be obtained until passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938.

In 1920, Kelley, as general secretary of the National Consumer's League, along with twelve other organizations concerned with social reform (non-partisan and both Republicans and Democrats), supported the passage of the Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy Act (often referred to as the Sheppard-Towner Act). Their flyer to marshal support read:

Of more than 22,000 city babies studied by the Children's Bureau and representing every type of home in seven cities, more than three-fifths were born into families where the fathers' earnings were below the amount which was at that time the minimum for providing the bare necessities of existence. Only one in 10 was in a family where the fathers' earnings reached a fair minimum for comfort. Without the aid provided by the Sheppard-Towner bill they are in no position effectively to safeguard their children.

The problem is not local or sectional, but nationwide. Federal action, therefore, is urgently needed, and this bill provides a practicable method of cooperation between the Federal Government and the States. Such a method is successfully operating in promoting agricultural work, vocational education, and the building of good roads.

Do You Know

that in 1918 we lost 23,000 mothers from causes connected with childbirth?

Do You Know

that we lose annually 250,000 infants?

Do You Know

that this wastage, more than 3 times greater than our total battle death list in the war, can be stopped and stopped by you?

## How long are You going to let mothers and babies die?

There were, of course, opponents of the bill, with cries of "socialism" and "communism." The American Medical Association feared it would degrade their profession; they were especially concerned about the bill's support for midwifery and the training of midwives, more common in the Southern States, especially among African Americans and Hispanics. But the well-organized women's organizations were successful in their efforts. With large majorities in both the House and Senate, President Harding signed the bill and it became effective in 1921.

The Act was due for renewal in 1926, but the American Medical Association was ready. Although the Pediatric Section of the AMA House of Delegates supported the continuation of the Act, the main body, now well organized, was opposed. (The pediatricians started their own organization, the American Academy of Pediatrics.) A Senator of Utah provided some flavor of the opposition in his description of the groups in support of the bill, "neurotic women, . . . social workers who obtained pathological satisfaction in interfering with the affairs of other people, . . . and Bolsheviks who did not care for the family and its perpetuity." The bill was not renewed, although in the eight years if its existence, it established 3,000 child and maternal health care centers throughout the nation, with many in rural areas, and it demonstrated that a little money, smartly directed, can have significant effect on the heath and well-being of children, mothers, and entire families. Many parts of this bill were integrated into the Social Security Act of 1935.

In addition to the organizations identified above, Florence Kelley was active in the National Conference of Social Workers, the American Sociological Association, The National American Suffrage Association, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Florence Kelley played well with others. In 1932, in Philadelphia, at the age of 72, Florence Kelley died, leaving many organizations bereft of her vision and leadership skills and her effective social activism. (Her father would have been proud.)

**Belle Case La Follett.** A Wisconsin progressive and the first woman to graduate from the University of Wisconsin School of Law, Belle Case (1859-1931) lectured widely on women's suffrage, became first a teacher and then a journalist for *La Follett's Weekly Magazine* (which later became *The Progressive*), helped found the Women's Peace Party and the Women's Committee for World Disarmament, and was the wife of Robert La Follett Sr., journalist and politician (U.S. Representative, Governor of Wisconsin, U.S. Senator, Presidential candidate), the mother of Robert Jr. (U.S. Senator) and Philip (Governor of Wisconsin).

Julia Clifford Lathrop. A graduate of the first class of Rockville [Illinois] Female Seminary and Vassar College, Julia Clifford Lathrop (1858-1932) joined Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr at Hull House in Chicago. Building on her experiences at the settlement house, she went on to became, first, a member of the Illinois State Board of Charities, then the first bureau chief of the Illinois State Children's Bureau, leading the way to scientific approaches to motherhood, child care, children's physical and mental health, and juvenile justice.

**Edmonia Lewis.** Born in the mid-1840s of African American and Mississauga (Chippewa) parentage in the Albany area of New York, she suffered many tragedies as a child and when a student at Oberlin College in Ohio. Without a degree, she moved to Boston to study sculpture, with African American people, Native American people, and the freeing of enslaved people her subjects. Her success in her work enabled her to go to Europe, first, to Florence, then Rome. Rome was full of American expatriate artists, such as Nathaniel Hawthorn and William James and a large group of dynamic, independent women swirling around the remarkable American actress Charlotte Cushman. In Rome, Edmonia Lewis taught herself to sculpt in marble and became a noted neoclassical sculptor. She spent most of her future life in Rome, dying in London in 1907.

Annie Minerva Turnbo Malone and Madam C. J. Walker. Annie Minerva Turnbo Malone (1877-1957) and Madam C. J. Walker (1867-1919) are combined into one narrative because their professional lives were intertwined and in many ways almost mirror images of one another.

(Note: the reader may wonder why Minerva Turnbo Malone and Madam C. J. Walker would be included among U.S. women who were able to direct their own lives. It is true that both had multiple husbands; it is also true that at all times both were in charge of and directed their lives. A husband might support. A husband might assist. But there was never any doubt as to who had the energy, who had the vision, who had the skill, who had the power. Minerva Turnbo Malone and Madam C. J. Walker belong in this section.)

Because both Malone's and Walker's lives revolved around racism and hair care of African American women, I will start with a few words on those subjects.

Hair care of African American women was and is an ongoing problem with multiple causes. Racism was and is the major cause because it was racism that was and is the root cause of inequality in economics, in nutrition, in employment, in housing, in sanitation, in education, in medical care, in political power-and all within a climate of violence in the form of segregation, lynchings, Jim Crow laws, and police departments following in the footsteps of slave patrols. These oppressive conditions, all systemic, have resulted in widespread degradation within the African American population, with one manifestation being major haircare problems. Efforts to deal with these problems included the application of grease, extreme heat, and mixtures of various chemicals, herbs, and roots. These applications were frequent and involved scrubbing, pulling, twisting, braiding, and combing, all with the hope to remedy the problems. They often made the problem hair situations worse. It was a curse. Hair was both so personal and yet so public. It was not only in their conscious minds, but also in their scalp: they could feel the problems in their hair. The racism of White Supremacy conveyed the idea that white was better than black, and therefore that Caucasian hair was better than African hair. (*Peau noire, masques blancs* [Black Skin, White Masks] [1952] and Les Damnés de la Terre [The Wretched of the Earth] [1961], both by Frantz Fanon, an

intellectual and psychiatrist from Martinique, and *The Bluest Eye* [1970] by Toni Morrison, an African American novelist, have presented penetratingly perspectives on the impact of negrophobia and its twisted effect that causes anti-black hatred among Blacks themselves.) It is within this context that African Americans had problems with their hair, primarily the result of unequal access caused by racial inequality, resulting in trauma—both medical and psychological—among African American women especially, but also among men.

Annie Minerva Turnbo Malone and Madam C. J. Walker devoted their lives to helping African American women in their haircare. I will go back and forth to tell their stories. When a paragraph is headed with "Malone," this and succeeding paragraphs will be about Annie Minerva Turnbo Malone. When a paragraph is headed with "Walker," this and succeeding paragraphs will be about Madam C. J. Walker. When a paragraph is headed with "Malone and Walker," this and succeeding paragraphs will be about both.

Malone. Born Annie Minerva Turnbo in 1869 in southern Illinois, she was the daughter of formerly enslaved Robert and Isabella (Cook) Turnbo, and the 10th of 11 children. Her father served in the Union Army and her mother escaped with her children from Kentucky to southern Illinois. When Annie was still an infant, both of her parents died from illness. Also frequently ill, she was able to only sporadically attend school, but she was able to learn some high school chemistry. This bit of chemical learning played a major role in her later life. With many sisters, hair care was a major part of the family's life, and Annie was early recognized by her sisters and their friends as having a special knack. Her fingers, though small, seemed to know exactly the right way to bend and twist, to extract the tangles and the kinks. But their hair presented problems that were beyond her fingers to address. Annie decided to use what she learned of chemistry to experiment, hoping to develop a mixture less harsh than those commonly used in haircare. Her sisters were her test subjects, critics, and rooting section. She and they began to see success. Word spread quickly within the community, and even outside.

Malone and Walker. Annie Turnbo had more than a special knack with hair and more than a haircare mixture that had found favor with her sisters and friends, she had a drive to go into business, to be an entrepreneur. She bottled her product, called it "Wonderful Hair Grower," and sold the door to door. But she wanted a bigger market, so in 1902 she moved to the large and bustling city of St. Louis, where she started the Poro Company., and hired four assistants to help with sales. One of those sales assistants was Sarah Breedlove Davis. After a few weeks on the job, it was clear that Sarah Breedlove Davis was the best sales person among Annie Turbo's sales assistants.

Walker. Madam C. J. Walker was born Sarah Breedlove in 1867 on the Louisiana plantation where her parents, Owen and Minerva Anderson Breedlove, had been enslaved. Sara Breedlove was the first child in her family to be born into freedom, then when she was 7-years-old, she became an orphan and lived with an older sister and brother-in-law in Mississippi. With only a few months of formal schooling received through her church, she became a domestic servant. To escape the abuse of her brotherin-law, she married Moses McWilliams in 1881, when she was 14years-old. Three years later, she and her husband had a daughter, A'Lelia, and two years later McWilliams died. In 1888, she moved with A'Lelia to St. Louis, where three of her brothers, all barbers, lived. In St. Louis, Walker worked as a laundress, earning about a dollar a day. Walker suffered from multiple medical problems that caused her to have severe hair problems. Her brothers helped her with their knowledge of hair care gained from barbering. Sarah married John Davis in 1894, but left him around 1903. It was in 1902 that Sarah Breedlove Davis, with her involvement with hair care, took a new job as sales assistant with the new enterprise Poro Company, where she would go door to door and talk with women about their hair care and sell them the Poro haircare product. In 1906, she married Charles Joseph Walker and took the name Madam C. J. Walker. He became her business manager. Six years later they divorced.

Malone and Walker. Turnbo's Poro Company was a great success. Not only was Turbo and her assistants selling door to door, but they offered free treatments. The Poro Company began to prosper. With the elegant appellation of Madam C. J. Walker, and no doubt influenced—perhaps a bit awed and a bit envious by Malone's accomplishments, she decided that she had ideas of her own. In addition to selling Poro hair products, she could develop her own products and sell them. And so she and A'Lelia set off for Colorado and did just that: selling two lines of hair care products out of Denver. Malone was not at all happy with this arrangement. But Walker's products also began to see success, to the point that Walker decided to drop the sales of Poro Products and concentrate solely on her own. She knew she was a born salesperson and she again proved it in Colorado, not only selling her products door-to-door, but also taking the time to teach her customers in ways that they could better take care of their own hair—of course, with her own hair care products. In 1906, Walker put A'Lelia in charge of mail-order from Denver, and she and her husband set out to extend their sales into the southern and eastern states. She closed the business in Denver and relocated to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where she opened a beauty parlor and Lelia College, a training school. A strong advocate for African American women to be economically independent (She wrote, "Girls and women of our race must not be afraid to take hold of business endeavour and, by patient industry, close economy, determined effort, and close application to business, wring success out of a number of business opportunities that lie at their doors."), she wanted her sales force, now distributed throughout the States, to learn the "Walker Method." She paid them well and they were loyal. Walker's product sales soared.

Walker. Leaving A'Lelia in charge of operations in Pittsburg, Walker and her husband moved to Indianapolis, Indiana, and established the headquarters for the Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, along with a factory, research laboratory, beauty parlor, and beauty school. She employed many women. After her divorce, and just before the Great Migration and the Harlem Renaissance, she moved to the Harlem section of New York City and established a beauty salon and office. In 1917, the company said they had trained nearly 20,000 women. She pulled her sales agents in for annual meetings in Philadelphia for sessions on business and sales. Prizes were awarded to those who had made the most sales and to those who had brought in the most new sales agents. Prizes were also awarded to those who had most supported local charities. Walker, with increased wealth and prominence, attended an annual gathering of the National Negro Business League (NNBL), speaking from the floor:

I am a woman who came from the cotton fields of the South. From here I was promoted to the washtub. From there I was promoted to the cook kitchen. And from there I promoted myself into the business of manufacturing hair goods and preparations. I have built my own factory on my own ground.

The following year Walker was on the dais, as a keynote speaker.

She actively pursued philanthropy, by her support for a branch of the YMCA in an African American neighborhood in Indianapolis, scholarships to Tuskegee Institute, Indianapolis's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Mary McLeod Bethune's Daytona Education and Industrial School for Negro Girls, Palmer Memorial Institute in North Carolina, the Haines Normal and Industrial Institute in Georgia, and theatre in Indianapolis, among others. She commissioned Vertner Tandy, the first licensed Black architect in New York City, to design a home for her in Irvington-on-Hudson, for a price of \$250,000. She named it Villa Lewaro, and moved in in 1918. (It is now on the National Registry of Historic Places.) The opening event in her new and palatial home honored Emmet Jay Scott, at that time the Assistant Secretary for Negro Affairs of the U.S. Department of War. She had become more and more interested in political action, frequently giving lectures on social and political, as well as economic matters. Her associates included Mary McLeod Bethune, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois. In the Great War, she was a leader in the Circle for Negro War Relief. She joined the executive committee of New York chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and helped organize the Negro Silent Protest Parade on Fifth Avenue in New York City. (Note the similarities with the non-violent protests organized by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., nearly 40 years later.) For that Silent Protest Parade, fliers were given out, bearing such messages as the following:

We march because by the Grace of God and the force of truth, the dangerous, hampering walls of prejudice and inhuman injustices must fall.

We march because we deem it a crime to be silent in the face of such barbaric acts.

We march because we want our children to live a better life and enjoy fairer conditions than have fallen to our lot.

The Silent Parade was described the next day in *The New York Times* as follows:

To the beat of muffled drums 8,000 negro men, women and children marched down Fifth Avenue yesterday in a parade of "silent protest against acts of discrimination and oppression" inflicted upon them in this country, and in other parts of the world. Without a shout or a cheer they made their cause known through many banners which they carried, calling attention to "Jim Crowism," segregation, disenfranchisement, and the riots of Waco, Memphis, and East St. Louis.

Others estimated the crowd along Fifth Avenue to have been as high as 15,000. Jews, it was noted, with thoughts of their own suffering from pogroms and other anti-Semitic atrocities and killings, were especially moved. And the press, at least some of the press, carried favorable accounts of the March and even reported on current racial violence against African Americans.

Toward the end of her life, she continued her philanthropy. She helped preserve Frederick Douglass's Anacostia house in Washington, D.C., and she pledged \$5,000 to the NAACP's antilynching fund. She died in 1818, age 51. Two-thirds of future net profits from her estate were left to charity. A'Lelia Walker became president of the Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company. Products from her company remain on the market today.

Malone. In 1903, Annie Turnbo married Nelson Pope; the couple divorced by 1907. In 1914, she married Aaron Eugene Malone. Also by 1914, Poro Company had achieved such business success that Malone was able to build a four-story building in St. Louis as her company's headquarters and manufacturing plant. The building also had space to start a training school, Poro College, and a retail store, a 500-seat auditorium, meeting rooms, a dining room, a roof garden, a dormitory, a bakery, and—leaving nothing out—a chapel. Poro College taught about Poro products and how to walk, how to dress, how to speak—all to make the best impression on customers, all leading to more sales. In St. Louis alone, she

employed nearly 200 people, and in 1924, Malone paid nearly \$40,000 in income tax.

Unlike many in her position, she spent little on herself, but donated generously to the YMCA in the African American section of St. Louis, the Howard University College of Medicine in Washington, D.C. and the St. Louis Colored Orphans Home, later renamed the Annie Malone Children and Family Service Center, where she served as president of the board of directors for four years, and where she ensured that all staff, all of whom were African Americans, were paid well and given opportunities for advancement.

The competition and rivalry with Walker had led her to copyright her products. They also added to the strains in Malone's marriage. Aaron Eugene Malone divorced her in 1927 and wanted half of the value of her business, claiming his integral role. Things were messy, and it took Mary McLeod Bethune's help to get things straightened out, but Malone finally became sole owner of her business. Then deciding she needed an even larger sales base, she moved to Chicago and bought an entire block. Her legal problems were not over. She was sued by a former employee, forcing her to sell her St. Louis property to settle the lawsuit. She launched a robust advertising campaign in the Negro press, then went on a sales tour of many southern states, punctuated by news conferences. The many women who bought her haircare products were not disturbed by these personal problems. They liked her products and the sales of her products soared.

In 1957, Annie Minerva Turnbo Malone died of a stroke in Chicago, with her business and her wealth going to her nieces and nephews.

A final note: Sara Spencer Washington [1889-1953] was another African American women who pursued hair care and cosmetics to achieve great success as a business woman, and as an educator and a philanthropist—so reminiscent of Malone and Walker. But her career in hair care started in 1913, so she only receives this brief note here. However, that these three women were each able, against great odds, to achieve enormous wealth (many accounts say each was a millionaire) in the business of haircare—hair care of, for the most part, low-income African American women in the United States, highlights their great intelligence, business acumen, sales ability, and drive, not only to get ahead themselves, but also to help others get ahead.

**Virginia Minor.** Both she and her husband, Francis Minor, came from prosperous southern families. They moved to St. Louis, Missouri, and were active in support of the Union in the Civil War. Energized by her work in the Ladies' Union Aid Society, after the War she directed her activities toward women's suffrage, helping to found the Women Suffrage Association of Missouri, then becoming its first president. In cooperation with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Virginia and Francis Minor drafted and published 10,000 copies of resolutions which were widely distributed among suffragists throughout the United States, the Territories, and every member of Congress. In 1872, Virginia attempted to register to vote in St. Louis. After being refused from registering, Francis sued the registrar on his wife's behalf. (Virginia, as a married woman, had no legal authority to file a

lawsuit.) The case went from the Circuit Court to the Missouri Supreme Court to the United States Supreme Court as Minor v. Happersett. In 1874, the Court rules that "the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon anyone." It was this case that clarified the U.S. law prior to passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, under which Susan B. Anthony was arrested and put on trial.

Lucretia Coffin Mott. Born in 1793 to seafaring and Quaker parents on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, when 13-years-old Lucretia Coffin attended a Quaker boarding school in Upstate New York. On graduation, she became a teacher. (In her words, ""Learning, while at school, that the charge for the education of girls was the same as that for boys, and that when they became teachers, women received but half as much as men for their services, the injustice of this was so apparent, that I early resolved to claim for my sex all that an impartial Creator had bestowed.") On discovering the wage disparity between male teachers and female teachers, the direction of her life was set: she would stand up for women's rights and the rights of all people suffering from discrimination.

Her parents moved to Philadelphia. Lucretia Coffin also moved to Philadelphia, as did James Mott, a fellow teacher. In 1811, Lucretia Coffin and James Mott married at Pine Street Meeting in Philadelphia. They had six children. Having a husband, home, and family never slowed Lucretia Coffin Mott. In 1821, she became a Quaker minister and, with her husband's support, traveled widely. In 1833, James helped found the American Anti-Slavery Society; Lucretia Mott was the only woman to speak at an organizational meeting. But delegates urged her to found another anti-slavery group, which she did within days. The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society was started by both White and African American women and opposed both slavery and racism. The Society had close ties with the African American community in the Philadelphia area and Lucretia Mott often spoke in African American churches.

Her commitment to the anti-slavery movement lead her to join the Free-Produce Movement, an off-shoot of the anti-slavery movement which began in England and soon became international. The free produce movement called for the avoidance of all use of the products of slave labor, such as cotton cloth and cane sugar. (Elias Hicks, of Long Island, New York, was a traveling Quaker minister and the leader of the Separation of 1827-1828 which resulted in the formation of the Hicksite Friend; the Hicksite Friends were staunch supporters of anti-slavery activity. Hicks also lead the Free-Produce Movement among the Quakers. It has been reported that his dying concern was that no cotton blanket be placed over his dead body.)

Quakers, believing that every person has an "inner light," have traditionally encouraged women to speak out publicly. But that has not been the case with other religious groups within Christianity. Women who wanted to speak out against slavery were reminded of "1 Timothy 2:12" where Paul instructs women to be quiet in Church. (Mott's reply was "Many of the opposers of Women's Rights who bid us obey the bachelor Saint Paul, themselves reject his counsel. He advised them not to marry.") And women speaking to an audience of both men and women were considered as "promiscuous." Such restrictions against women speaking in public never affected Lucretia Mott, and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society went on record in urging women to speak in public. (See: Anna Elizabeth Dickinson, above.)

Mott, as a member of the Society of Friends, held passionately to her adherence to pacifism, and she attended meetings of the New England Non-Resistance Society in the 1830s.

In 1837, 1838, and 1839, there were national Anti-Slavery Conventions of American Women, which Mott attended and addressed. The second, held in Philadelphia, resulted in proslavery protesters burning down Pennsylvania Hall, a new assembly space built by abolitionists. Then the protesters attacked Mott's home and Black neighborhoods and institutions in Philadelphia. Friends protected Mott and her home and she was not injured.

In 1840, she attended as a United States delegate the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London, England. Abolitionists, especially abolitionists of England and the Continent, were almost exclusively men, because men dealt with the affairs of the world. (Women, i.e. wives, dealt with the affairs of the home, i.e., wallpaper, children, having dinner ready and on time.) So abolitionist were men. And the abolitionist men in charge of the abolitionist General Anti-Slavery Convention in London, England, fearing that in the proceedings women's rights would dilute their message concerning anti-slavery, refused women delegates from participating in the Convention. They could listen to the men, but they had to sit in a special section reserved for women. Some men, especially William Lloyd Garrison, protested, but to no avail. Garrison and some other men chose to demonstrate their allegiance with the excluded women by sitting in the segregated area.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton [see below] also attended this Convention and immediately bonded with Mott and her cause, and they discussed the possibility of a women's rights convention. Invigorated, Mott returned to Philadelphia and then set off on lectures in New York City and Boston, then to Maryland and Virginia, where she arranged meetings with slave owners. In Washington D.C., her lecture was attended by more than 40 Congressmen. Meeting privately with President Tyler, who was impressed by her speech, he said to her, "I would like to hand Mr. Calhoun over to you." (Mr. Calhoun was the Senator from South Carolina and a staunch opponent to the abolition of slavery.)

In 1846, Mott started and became president of the Northern Association for the Relief and Employment of Poor Women in Philadelphia.

Mott and Stanton were quite aligned concerning women's rights. Their immediate concerns were the need for equality in marriage, making divorce easier to obtain, and allowing mothers to have greater rights to the couple's children. These were explosive positions, even among some feminists, certainly for the majority of wives and mothers. Mott and Stanton were not deterred, they worked with others to establish the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, in Seneca Falls, New York. It was advertised as "a convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman" and it launched the woman suffrage movement in the United States. Later in 1848, Mott, her husband, and others hosted a meeting in Boston to discuss the importance of providing only one day a week (the Sabbath) free of work. In 1866, she joined with Anthony, Stanton, and Stone to establish the American Equal Rights Association, and Mott served as president. In 1867, she, along with Unitarians, Jews, and other Quakers, established the Free Religious Association.

Along with other Hicksite Quakers, in 1864 Mott incorporated Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania as a coeducational, liberal arts, four year college. It continues today as one of the finest liberal arts colleges in the U.S.

Lucretia Coffin Mott, at 87 years of age, died in Pennsylvania. Shortly before her death, she spoke the following:

> Weep not for me. Rather let your tears flow for the sorrows of the multitude. My work is done. Like a ripe fruit I admit the gathering. Death has no terrors for it is a wise law of nature. I am ready whenever the summons may come.

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton**. Elizabeth Cady was born in 1815 in Johnstown, New York, the fourth of six children to survive past early childhood. Experiencing the deaths of six children, her mother, Margaret Livingston Cody, suffered from depression. Her father, Daniel Cady, was a lawyer who worked with Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, and later with Abraham Lincoln. Elected as a member of the Federalist Party, he served in the 14th United States Congress before returning to his legal practice. Later, he was a justice of the New York Supreme Court. For all of his prominence in liberal legal and political circles, he was a sexist: when one of his sons died, he told 11-year-old Elizabeth, "Oh, my daughter, I wish you were a boy!" It fell to their neighbor, the Rev. Simon Hosack, to bolster her spirits and help her see herself as able, capable, and intelligent, with a bright future before her.

Elizabeth grew up reading her father's law books and arguing legal points with his law students. (Formally schooled at Johnstown Academy, unusual for girls at that time, she excelled in mathematics and Greek, thanks to her neighbor Rev. Hosack, who had begun teaching her Greek and encouraging her to read widely.) In her informal study of the law, she was drawn to one area in particular: that relating to implicit and explicit gender hierarchies. This legal disparity based on gender would become the focus of her life's work. She devoted herself to promoting equal rights for women.

After graduating from Johnstown Academy, Elizabeth saw her male classmates enrolled at Union College, but no females, because Union College did not admit females. She enrolled at Troy Female Seminary in Troy, New York, founded and run by Emma Willard. (Willard [1787 - 1870] was a pioneer in education for women.) Elizabeth greatly respected Willard and never regretted her education at Troy. It was very likely there that she learned about Iroquois women of the Six Nations Confederacy and the matrilineal culture of the Haudenosaunee. This knowledge could only have strengthened her commitment to promoting equal rights for women in the United States.

Henry Brewster Stanton, from Connecticut, knew one of Elizabeth's cousins and she met him through their shared involvement in the abolition and temperance movements. Henry was a talented orator and popular not only in the United States, but also in England and Ireland, and also a prolific writer—all for the cause of the abolitionist movement.

Frederick Douglass, at Henry Stanton's death, provided Stanton's son, Theodore, this memory of the first time he [Douglass] heard Henry B. Stanton speak in public:

When I was escaping from bondage I was received under the humble but hospitable roof of Nathan Johnson, an old colored man.... Nathan Johnson also told me all about Henry B. Stanton's wonderful oratorical powers, and took me one evening to hear him denounce the slave system. It was one of the first abolition lectures I ever heard, and this circumstance, combined with the eloquence of the speaker, left an ineffaceable impression on my mind. Your father was then unquestionably the best orator in the anti-slavery movement. I listened to him on many other occasions, but this first one, when I was fresh from slavery, naturally touched me the most deeply.

As a journalist, Henry Stanton wrote for the *Rochester Telegraph,* Rochester, New York; the *New York Tribune* when Horace Greeley was editor; William Lloyd Garrison's *Anti-Slavery Standard* and *The Liberator*; and the *New York Sun*. He studied theology for a few years, then left to work full time as an abolitionist. He would go on to be one of the founders of the Free Soil Party and also the Republican Party. In addition to writing articles for newspapers, he wrote pamphlets. In 1849, he published in New York, *Sketches of Reforms and Reformers in Great Britain and Ireland*. In 1885 he published in Johnstown, N.Y., *Random Recollections*. It begins with this paragraph, named "My Birth Place."

I was born on June 27th, 1805, on the margin of the river Pachaug in the part of Preston, which, in 1815, became Griswold, county of New London, Connecticut. I dwelt in the little hamlet of Pachaug till 1814 when my father removed to Jewett City in the same township, a pretty village, situated just where the Pachaug empties its pellucid waters into the more stately Quinnebaug, on whose banks I lived till the spring of 1826. These two beautiful streams flow lovingly along together some five miles southwesterly, till the Shetucket, which had already captured the Willimantic, pouring down from the north, regardless of the laws against polygamy, marries them all, gives them its own name, and leads them a rippling dance to Norwich. Here the Yantic having previously taken in small rivulets in the northwest, tumbles heedlessly over fantastic rocks, and joins the Shetucket. These five rivers and their accessaries, after working their way toward the sea by turning the wheels of hundreds of factories, form the Thames in front of Norwich, and it marches off with its Indian tributaries in lordly style as becomes its English name. After greeting Fort Griswold and New London, the Thames falls into Long Island Sound just below the Pequod House and never comes to the surface again.

This is followed by "My Ancestry," "Indians," "Extermination of Pequods," "Benedict Arnold—The Traitor," "The War of 1812-1815," and "Commodore O. H. Perry." Many other sections relate his young life, including his schooling, eventually including his travel to Ohio and attending a seminary, where an event of great consequence occurred. In the summer of 1832, 1 was passing through the hall of the Seminary and saw on the bulletin board of my club that the question for debate that evening was this: "\*If the slaves of the South were to rise in insurrection, would it be the duty of the North to aid in putting it down?" I glanced at the board and never dreamed there would be more than one side to the question, and that the negative. When the hot evening came, to my surprise everybody arranged themselves in the affirmative part of the room except myself.... This was the beginning of my life-work, and lent color to my whole future existence.... I never spoke with more fervor and satisfaction for three-quarters of an hour than on that occasion. This was my first anti-slavery speech.

His *Recollections* contain a wealth of information about his remarkable and very busy life in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. But it is all public, political, that is, men's business. Elizabeth Cady is mentioned only once, when they marry and she becomes his wife.

Henry was 35-years-old. Elizabeth was 25. Elizabeth, with Henry's agreement, had the minister omit the phrase "promise to obey" from the wedding vows, and she would always be addressed as E. Cady Stanton and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, never Mrs. Henry B. Stanton. After their marriage, Henry studied law with his father-in-law. When he passed the bar, the married couple moved to Boston. In Boston, they counted Frederick Douglass, Louisa May Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William Lloyd Garrison among their close friends and associates. They had six children. (The children's birth years were more widely spread than was usual at the time, leading to speculation that some contraceptive was involved, also unusual at the time.) During the years of their expanding family, Henry's health began to fail, and in hopes of a more favorable climate for him, they moved to Seneca Falls, New York. Their social and political thoughts and concerns were the same, with but one exception, women's suffrage: Elizabeth strongly supported women's suffrage; Henry opposed. But this disagreement never imperiled their marriage. They supported each other, and they both lead busy lives that even meant frequent periods apart. Nevertheless, they were married for 47 years.

Before moving from Boston, both Elizabeth and Henry had attended the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London (1840). There Elizabeth met Lucretia Mott, a meeting which would have long term effect on both of their careers. (For information on this Convention and meeting Lucretia Mott, see "Lucretia Mott" above.)

This might be a good time to call attention to the camaraderie and mutual support among Susan B. Anthony, Clara Barton, Virginia Minor, Lucretia Coffin Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, with a few others coming and going. Each was outstanding in the general field of women's rights and related social justice issues of the time (most prominently, the abolition movement, the temperance movement, and the movement for women's suffrage), but their joining together, maximizing their strengths and filling in any weaknesses, allowed their cumulative impact on the social fabric of this country to reach far beyond what this country has witnessed, ether before or after.

I am well aware of the dangers in quoting from Wikipedia, but as the reader may have noticed, on finding words both pithy and compelling, that I have, although infrequently, broken this "writer's rule" and quoted a phrase, a sentence, or a short passage from this unedited online source. (One additional note: I have sought and received few permissions for use of copyrighted material. This document is not intended for wide readership.) I am writing this now, because I am about to quote from Wikipedia again, and not just a phrase, a sentence, or a short passage, but extended paragraphs. I am doing this (on July 21, 2020) because it is not only pithy and compelling and also altogether remarkable in its in-depth research and the grace of its language, but because it explicates so well what I have learned about these remarkable women. The following comes from the article "Susan B. Anthony," under the subheading "Partnership with Elizabeth Cady Stanton."

After the Stantons moved from Seneca Falls to New York City in 1861, a room was set aside for Anthony in every house they lived in. One of Stanton's biographers estimated that over her lifetime, Stanton spent more time with Anthony than with any other adult, including her own husband.

The two women had complementary skills. Anthony excelled at organizing, while Stanton had an aptitude for intellectual matters and writing. Anthony was dissatisfied with her own writing ability and wrote relatively little for publication. When historians illustrate her thoughts with direct quotes, they usually take them from her speeches, letters, and diary entries.

Because Stanton was homebound with seven children while Anthony was unmarried and free to travel, Anthony assisted Stanton by supervising her children while Stanton wrote. One of Anthony's biographers said, "Susan became one of the family and was almost another mother to Mrs. Stanton's children." A biography of Stanton says that during the early years of their relationship, "Stanton provided the ideas, rhetoric, and strategy; Anthony delivered the speeches, circulated petitions, and rented the halls. Anthony prodded and Stanton produced." Stanton's husband said, "Susan stirred the puddings, Elizabeth stirred up Susan, and then Susan stirs up the world!" Stanton herself said, "I forged the thunderbolts, she fired them." By 1854, Anthony and Stanton "had perfected a collaboration that made the New York State movement the most sophisticated in the country", according to Ann D. Gordon, a professor of women's history.

In 1848, Stanton and Anthony established the Seneca Falls Convention, the first women's rights convention in the United States. Stanton opened this Convention with these words:

We are assembled to protest against a form of government, existing without the consent of the governed—to declare our right to be free as man is free, to be represented in the government which we are taxed to support, to have such disgraceful laws as give man the power to chastise and imprison his wife, to take the wages which she earns, the property which she inherits, and, in case of separation, the children of her love.

Stanton had written a "Declaration of Sentiments," based on the Declaration of Independence, and this provided the structure of the proceedings and also the Resolutions which the attendees (about 300) voted on. Some of the Resolutions caused little debate. One, on women's suffrage, caused considerable and heated review. But eventually all of the resolutions were affirmed. The attendees took the "Declaration of Sentiments" and the Resolutions home with them to spearhead activities toward rights for women throughout the country.

Other women's rights conventions and meetings followed, for example, the Rochester Convention of 1848, in Rochester, New York; the 1850 National Women's Rights Convention, in Worcester, Massachusetts (For this, because of pregnancy, Stanton did not attend, but submitted a written speech.); and the Women's Suffrage Convention in Washington, D.C., in 1868. (Note the gap during the War.)

After the Civil War, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were in the process of being ratified by the States. Although both Stanton and Anthony had been strong supporters for the abolition of slavery, they were not happy to see suffrage extended to freed African American men, but not extended to all women. These amendments just exacerbated the problems caused by the legal impotence of women. They had to choose between the full political rights of formerly enslaved men and the rights of all women. Stanton knew very well that her husband supported full political rights of formerly enslaved men, but like her father, he had never supported women's suffrage. In 1861, Anthony had conducted an anti-slavery campaign, "No Union with Slaveholders. No Compromise." In 1863, Anthony and Stanton had jointly written Appeal to the Women of the Republic, then they established the Woman's Loyal National League at Cooper Union, New York, campaigning for the Thirteenth Amendment to abolish slavery. (There was then a cholera outbreak in New York that kept many from attendance.) In 1866, following the abolition of slavery, they founded the American Equal Rights Association

(AERA), promoted universal rights and suffrage for all, regardless of gender and race. The AERA had a preponderance of men in leadership positions, and garnered the support of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, and Frederick Douglass.

But in 1869, the Fifteenth Amendment was up for ratification. Its language was simple and to the point. Section 1 stated, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Section 2 stated, "The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Simple, to the point, and deadly from the point of view of Stanton and Anthony. They believed if gender were omitted from this Amendment, it would be another hundred years of all women in the United States being legally subjugated to men. Their friend and compatriot Lucy Stone of Boston (along with her husband Henry Brown Blackwell, Henry Ward Beecher, and Julia Ward Howe) established The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in support of the Fourteenth Amendment. And as much as they supported the rights of men who had been enslaved, their allegiance to the rights of women, all women, was greater.

This was a busy time for members of the women's rights groups in the Northeast. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified. And what eventually emerged on the part of women's rights groups was, in 1869, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), founded by Anthony and Stanton, with Anthony as president and Stanton as vice-president, with headquarters in New York City, and with women solely in leadership roles, although men could join as members. The focus of National, as it came to be called, was the U.S. Federal Government, with the goal to secure the right to vote for women of the nation on equal terms with men. They even had a newspaper, although short lived; it carried the banner, "Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less!" (Stanton, ever helpful, had drafted an amendment to secure the right to vote for women for use by Congress.) In 1890, the National Association and the American Association merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), with Stanton as its first president. To further their cause in the South, they engaged in racist language.

During these many years of turmoil, Anthony and Stanton weren't sitting on their hands. Along with Matilda Joslin Gage, they published Volume I of the *History of Woman Suffrage* in 1881, Vol. II in 1882, Vol. III in 1885, and Vol. IV in 1902.

In 1892, she made her final speech to Congress. Here is an excerpt:

The isolation of every human soul and the necessity of selfdependence must give each individual the right to choose his own surroundings. The strongest reason for giving woman all the opportunities for higher education, for the full development of her faculties, her forces of mind and body; for giving her the most enlarged freedom of thought and action; a complete emancipation from all forms of bondage, of custom, dependence, superstition; from all the crippling influences of fear—is the solitude and personal responsibility of her own individual life. The strongest reason why we ask for woman a voice in the government under which she lives; in the religion she is asked to believe; equality in social life, where she is the chief factor; a place in the trades and professions, where she may earn her bread, is because of her birthright to self-sovereignty; because, as an individual, she must rely on herself.

In 1898, Stanton wrote *The Women's Bible*. Here is a short excerpt: "all religions on the face of the earth degrade her [women], and so long as woman accepts the position that they assign her, her emancipation is impossible."

The same year, she supported the Spanish-American War. Controversial? You bet. Still, a towering figure in American history for the breadth of her vision and concerns, the clarity and incisiveness of her writing, and her eagerness to join forces with other women (especially Anthony) to work toward achieving rights for all American women.

In 1902, she died of heart failure and was buried alongside her husband in New York City. Eighteen years later the United States established for women the right to vote.

Lucy Stone. As we have seen, different women took different pathways to maintain their lives as women apart from domination by men. Some decided to remain single and independent. Some decided to remain single and join with one or more compatible women. Some, once married, have, through a combination of determination, intelligence, and power, became the dominating person in the marriage. And then there was Lucy Stone.

Lucy Stone (1818-1893) grew up in a large family on a farm in central Massachusetts. The family included her father's sister, whose husband had abandoned her. The farm, with good farming land, grew enough food so no one ever went hungry, and her mother was even able to sell cheese and eggs for cash, allowing them to have necessities from the store, but never anything that caught her fancy or might bring pleasure to one of her children, never anything her husband would consider nonessential. Lucy came to realize when guite young that in this large family her father made all of the decisions that were to be made. Lucy, in seeing the plight of her father's sister, came to realize when quite young that men could not always be counted on to help or support their wives. Lucy came to realize when guite young that she would never allow herself to get into a situation in which this could happen to her. When she read the biblical passage, "and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee," she decided that, because the passage only referred to wives, she simply would not marry. If that was to be the case, she needed the best education she could get and she needed to earn her own means of support.

When 17-years-old, Stone began to teach in nearby schools, following the path of some of her older brothers. It wasn't long before she learned that, as a woman, she would be paid half or even less than that paid to men teachers. That was the woman's pay. Take it or leave it. That was it. There was little choice. She had to take it. (Everybody knew that teachers were supposed to be men. Men were intelligent and not given to fits of passion. They were strong and could deal with unruly boys. They didn't need to be excluded for a few hours or days to deal with their bodily processes. They were—well, they were men.) As she was

able to move to larger schools, her wages increased, but always half or less than the men teachers in the nearby classrooms. That was the woman's pay. She was learning some things while she taught, that was true, but earning her own means of support was tough going. And all of this was another learning experience for her, only intensifying when Congress rejected petitions to end slavery because they were signed by women. And intensifying further when Congregational ministers authored a pastoral letter censuring two sisters for speaking in public to an audience of both women and men, and not just women as was the approved convention. (One of these sisters was Sarah Grimké, daughter of a wealthy lawyer and plantation owner in South Carolina. As a young girl, she befriended her father's inherited enslaved people and taught them to read, an illegal act and totally opposed by her father. Sarah Grimké is especially remembered today by being guoted by the Supreme Court Associate Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg in *RBG*, the film documentary, "I ask for no favor for my sex. . . . All I ask of our brethren is that they take their feet off our necks." This quotation was taken from Grimké's Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman [1837].)

Her horizons broadened. Not only did she realize that she had to become active against gender norms, but also political and religious norms. It was time for her to get more formal education. She enrolled, age 21, at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, but, finding it, under Mary Lyon, inhospitable to both women's rights and antislavery sentiments, she left after a semester. She transferred to Wesleyan Academy (later Wilbraham Academy, later still Wilbraham & Monson Academy). It was closer to her home and, most importantly, congenial to her developing thoughts. After a year there, she learned that Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio had added women students along with men to become coeducational and had even graduated a few women. To pass the entrance examination, she spent a summer in serious study of Greek and Latin, and in the fall she enrolled at Oberlin.

The name "Oberlin" came from Jean-Frédéric Oberlin, who pursued social Christianity in France. Oberlin Institute was founded to bring social Christianity to the new States west of the Appalachian Mountains at a time when the founders considered slavery the greatest problem facing Christianity. It has been described as, at that time, "very keen on plain, straight living—no smoking, no chewing [tobacco], no coffee or tea; jewelry and tight dresses are explicitly renounced, as are fancy houses, furniture, and carriages." Oberlin continued in the tradition of the Oneida Institute of Science and Industry, in Oneida County, New York, famous for its communal principles and strong anti-slavery activity. African Americans were among the Oberlin student body, and the Institute became an important stop on the Underground Railroad. The Institute produced missionaries.

Along with a full course load, and determined to make her own way, Stone took a job teaching younger students at the school. But then she learned that men also teaching in that program received higher wages. She protested. The administration refused her demand. She resigned. Her students took up her protest. Again, the administration refused. But after three months, she was rehired. They paid her and the other women teachers the same as the men teachers. Stone was making her own way.

Stone decided that she wanted to become a public speaker, and learned that her friend Antoinette Brown wanted also to become a public speaker. They supported each other and both pushed against the custom of women learning by observing men speaking to men. In 1847, before graduating, she was asked to write a graduating essay which would be read by a faculty member. Because all male students asked to write a graduating essay read their essay themselves at the graduation ceremony, but not the women students, she petitioned the faculty to have all women chosen to write graduation essays be able, as were the men, to read their own essays. Most of the graduating students had signed the petition. The faculty refused to change their custom. She refused to write a graduating essay. She wrote instead that she could not support a principle that denied women "the privilege of being co-laborers with men in any sphere to which their ability makes them adequate."

With her baccalaureate degree, she now began her public speaking with the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. After some experience, she became recognized for her captivating speaking skills, able to move audiences from mirth to pathos with her storytelling abilities.

Henry Browne Blackwell was born in Bristol, England in 1825. His father was an abolitionist but his livelihood was the refining of sugar, clearly a conflict between his beliefs and his employment. His father tried to resolve the conflict by shifting to sugar beats, but it seems that wasn't successful for him. When Henry was 7-years-old, the family relocated to the state in the United States of New Jersey, where the father once again had a sugar refinery, and his life as an abolitionist continued in their new home. There William Lloyd Garrison and other leaders of the movement were frequent visitors. Henry's older sister, Anna, became active in the women's rights movement, just beginning in this country. In 1837, when fire destroyed the father's refinery and there was a national economic collapse, the family relocated to Cincinnati, only to face within weeks the untimely death of their father. Five females in their family started a school in their home and Henry, at 13, and a brother took jobs as clerks. Many jobs followed, from working in hardware to selling agricultural books to libraries in farming communities to selling packets of books to establish school libraries (Henry was a lifelong reader and also wrote poetry.) and to engaging in land speculation and investing in government bonds. Henry was not lazy.

In 1855, and after two years of courtship, Harry and Stone married. Their wedding ceremony was unlike any anyone in attendance had witnessed or heard tell of. Henry and Lucy had written a marriage agreement that was read during the ceremony:

While acknowledging our mutual affection by publicly assuming the relationship of husband and wife, yet in justice to ourselves and a great principle, we deem it our duty to declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of or promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man should possess. We protest especially against the laws which give the husband:

1. The custody of the wife's person.

2. The exclusive control and guardianship of their children.

3. The sole ownership of her personal and use of her real estate, unless previously settled upon her or placed in the hands of trustees, as in the case of minors, idiots, and lunatics.

4. The absolute right to the product of her industry.

5. Also against laws which give to the widower so much larger and more permanent interest in the property of the deceased wife than they give to the widow in that of the deceased husband.

6. Finally, against the whole system by which the legal existence of the wife is suspended during marriage, so that, in most States, she neither has a legal part in the choice of her residence, nor can she make a will, nor sue or be sued in her own name, nor inherit property.

We believe that personal independence and equal human rights can never be forfeited except for crime; that marriage should be an equal and permanent partnership and so recognized by law; that until it is so recognized, married partners should provide against the radical injustice of present laws by every means in their power.

We believe that where domestic difficulties arise, no appeal should be made to legal tribunals under existing laws, but that all difficulties should be submitted to the equitable adjustment of arbitrators mutually chosen. Thus, reverencing law, we enter our protest against rules and customs which are unworthy of the name since they violate justice, the essence of law.

If such a marriage agreement took place today if would be broadcast throughout the world within the first hour by social media.

In 1855, it was carried by newspaper after newspaper, and while it provoked no end of derision, numerous couples found it stated what they had come to believe and they followed suit in their own weddings.

Lucy used the name Blackwell for the first two years of their marriage. She then decided her name was Lucy Stone, only Lucy Stone. Henry's success in business enabled him to engage in affairs that he really cared about: the abolitionist movement and helping his wife to promote women's rights.

[This entry is cut short to get this on line.]

(Note: An example of the inflated male ego is the story (joke?) told of General Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle and his wife Yvonne Vendroux. De Gaulle had served in the French military in multiple battles in both World Wars; he had been the leader of the Free French in exile (1940-1944); he had served as chairman of the Provisional Government of the French Republic (1944-1946) and President of France (1959-1969). At some point in the tumultuous years, it is told, on getting into bed one night, Yvonne found the sheets especially cold and called out, "Oh, God!" To which de Gaulle replied, "Dear, when in bed, you may call me Charles.")

**Harriet Beecher Stowe**. Two years after the Fugitive Slave Act, which reconfirmed that people who were enslaved were the property of the slave owner and could be treated as chattel, and one year after Sojourner Truth's speech, "Ain't I a woman?", Stowe published Uncle Tom's Cabin, joining her writing to Truth's voice in emphasizing the human qualities that negroes share with all other people. This protest novel, selling 300,000 copies in the U.S. and 1,500,000 in Great Britain in the first year, greatly changed the way the world viewed negroes and slavery. On a trip to England, where slavery had been outlawed and where there was a strong movement to outlaw it elsewhere, Stowe helped inspire over half a million women to send a protest letter to the women of the United States, written by Harriet Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland. In the states where slavery was the basis of their economy and the underpinning of their social order, many people did not share Stowe's view on slavery. David James McCord, a planter, lawyer, statesman, and writer of South Carolina, wrote this about Stowe and her visit to London: "... that vulgar, ill-bred woman, Mrs. Stowe, have met with such a reception as she received from the proud, upturned noses of the British aristocracy? They have, no doubt, had their rooms fumigated and cleansed, as in case of a visitation of the devil." In addition to being a strong voice for the abolition of slavery, with her new financial security, Stowe was an active writer, lecturer, and philanthropist for social reform, the need for greater compassion among the Calvinist Protestants, and the rights of women, until her death in 1896.

Harriet Tubman. Harriet Tubman became her name after her marriage. She was born Araminta Ross sometime around 1820 in Maryland to enslaved parents. Her mother had to work inside the owner's home, so Araminta had to stay in the slave area to care for her younger siblings. That was before she was five or six, at which time she was forced to care for a White baby. Her job was to rock the baby when sleeping, but if the baby woke and cried, Araminta was beaten. Scars from lashings remained on her body for the rest of her life. Another job she had was checking muskrat traps for another White neighbor, but when she caught the measles and the case became severe, he sent her back. Then her job was hauling logs, driving oxen, and plowing.

During adolescence, she got hit in the head by a heavy metal weight that, as she said later, "broke my skull," and that resulted in episodes of loss of consciousness, narcolepsy, headache, and seizures that continued throughout her life. She also began having visions and vivid dreams, which she ascribed to be revelations from God. These religious experiences changed her personality and lead to her strong commitment to God. Her mother told her stories from the Bible and she was most attached to Old Testament tales of deliverance. She was convinced that God directed her to deliver her people out of slavery. It must have given her great satisfaction when, years later, people on the Underground Railroad referred to her as Moses.

In her twenties, she married a free Black man named John Tubman, and sometime later she took the name Harriet Tubman. Marriages between one free and one enslaved were not uncommon, but because Harriet was the one enslaved, any children born would also be enslaved. She never gave birth to any children, although in 1874, she and her second husband, Nelson Davis, adopted a girl.

In 1849, Harriet and two of her brothers escaped to freedom, but after hiding out for about three weeks, her brothers wanted to return, forcing her to return, also. (Their owner had placed an ad for her return in The Delaware Gazette that described her as "of a chestnut color, fine looking, and about 5 feet high.") But this escape taught her that escape was possible. She could do it again. And she did. The next time alone, when she was about 27. Then again and again, bringing her family members and trusted friends, even after Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, which made the journey much more risky. She didn't venture into the South beyond the Eastern Shore of Maryland, because that was the area and the people she knew and knew she had the greatest chance of moving through safely. She did this in the winter when the nights were long and, often, the stars were clear, allowing her to keep her eye on the North Star, which she had learned to use in navigation. She preferred to leave with the enslaved people on a Saturday night, because there wouldn't be a newspaper notice until Monday's edition, allowing them to travel far away before hunters could start. She carried a gun, both for protection from slave patrols and to prevent anyone on the northward journey endangering the group by wanting to go it alone. (And once the gun came in handy to knock out one of her teeth that had gotten infected.) She traveled by the Underground Railroad, often as far as Ontario, Canada. Over what was 8, 9, maybe 11 years, she lead about 70 people in something like 14 trips, and gave directions to approximately 70 more. Much later she spoke to an audience of abolitionists, "I

was conductor of the Underground Railroad for eight years, and I can say what most conductors can't say – I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger." Of the many people who made use of the Underground Railroad, no one else came near achieving Harriet Tubman's success. And none of the Whites along the Eastern Shore of Maryland ever figured out how their slaves kept disappearing. They certainly never suspected that that 5 foot, disabled woman who had disappeared those many years before might have had something to do with it.

Among the people who supported the Underground Railroad, she became famous and she started speaking of her experiences to groups of abolitionists. She met and became friends with Frederick Douglass, and he introduced her to John Brown in 1858. (She claimed to have had a previous prophetic vision of Brown before their actual meeting. Once met, Brown called her "General Tubman.") Brown's and Tubman's deep religious faith as well as their mutual commitment to the abolition movement cemented their efforts to work together. With her intimate knowledge of both the land and people of the eastern Border States, Tubman was invaluable to Brown's plans for his attack on the armory in Harpers Ferry, Virginia, but she was not involved in the attack itself. One account indicates that Tubman was then suffering from one of her recurrent spells of illness stemming from her head injury many years earlier. However, Tubman strongly supported Brown's efforts to free slaves, telling a friend, "He done more in dying, than 100 men would in living."

And almost 10 years later, Frederick Douglass would write of Harriet Tubman:

The difference between us is very marked. Most that I have done and suffered in the service of our cause has been in public, and I have received much encouragement at every step of the way. You, on the other hand, have labored in a private way. I have wrought in the day – you in the night... The midnight sky and the silent stars have been the witnesses of your devotion to freedom and of your heroism. Excepting John Brown – of sacred memory – I know of no one who has willingly encountered more perils and hardships to serve our enslaved people than you have.

But for Harriet Tubman, this was just a chapter in her life. About five months after Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation, she was asked by Massachusetts Governor John Andrew to volunteer to help the Union efforts in Hilton Head, South Carolina, an area which had already come under Union rule. There she opened a wash house, baked pies, and served as a nurse, even treating those with smallpox. (That she never came down with smallpox herself only added to her sense that she was blessed by God.) Then she was given an assignment to create a spy ring, a task for which she was eminently suited. In this, Tubman worked with Colonel James Montgomery, an abolitionist who commanded the Second South Carolina Volunteers, a Black regiment. Although she neither spoke nor understood Gullah, the Creole language of South Carolina's coastal low country, which includes the Sea Islands, she was able to readily establish a rapport with the enslaved people. And the fact that she was illiterate, plus her experience on the Underground Railroad, contributed to her having developed a phenomenal memory, especially a memory for characteristics of the natural landscape at night. She directed the making of maps

and, having learned from the local people the location in the river of torpedoes set by the Confederates, she safely lead the Second South Carolina Volunteers and their Union gunboats as they set sail from Beaufort on Port Royal Island and traveled up the Combahee River. The outcome of this raid was that nearly 800 enslaved men, women, and children were rescued from their slave owners. Of those, over 100 men joined the Union Army. This was a crushing defeat, both economically and psychologically, for the Confederate side.

After the war, Tubman returned to Auburn, New York, where she had settled her large family. There she continued her advocacy for civil rights, especially women's suffrage. She gave the keynote address at the first meeting of the National Federation of Afro-American Women in 1896. Her medical problems increased as she aged, and she underwent brain surgery at Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital. She refused anesthesia, instead biting down on a bullet, as she had seen soldiers undergoing amputation in the Civil War. Her involvement with and support for the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Auburn only increased, and in 1903 she gave property to the church to open a home for "aged and indigent colored people." It was in that home in 1930 that she, then impoverished, died, approximately 90 years old.

**Augusta Jane Evans Wilson.** Born in Georgia in 1835, one of 10 children, as a girl the family also lived in San Antonia, Texas, then Mobile, Alabama. Tutored by her mother, Evans was a voracious reader from an early age, and wrote her first novel at 15, relating a spiritual journey from skepticism to faith. Her second novel, *Beulah*, was written when she was 18 and it

established her major themes of the importance of female education, Christianity, and the Southern Cause, all relayed in turgid 19th Century prose. Her novel *St. Elmo* was written at age 31 and it sold over 22,000 copies in its first year. Wilson became the first American writer to earn over \$100,000. After the war, she married Confederate veteran Colonel Lorenzo Madison Wilson.

#### An Aside on Lesbianism

Lesbianism was certainly not a new phenomena, the name itself harkens back to the ancient Greeks. But (1) with the war causing a dramatic change in the ratio of men to women; (2) with the laws of most states at this time based on English Common Law and Blackstone's *Commentaries*, which stated, "By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage"; (3) with the efforts of strong-willed women determined to break out of their traditional male-determined roles, (4) with the prominence of women in the abolition movement's work to free enslaved people from bondage; and (5) with the rise of cities and the inevitable increase in social interaction, it is not surprising that, looked at from the perspective of Blanche Wiesel Cook ("Women who love women, who choose women to nurture and support and to create a living environment in which to work creatively and independently, are lesbians." The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader, 2012), the incidence of lesbian relationships also increased, involving some

of the notable women listed above. In the novel, *The Bostonians*, Henry James used the term "Boston Marriage" for such an arrangement (see under 1885, below).

# The U.S. Census: White Bias and the United States After the Civil War

The U.S. Census began in 1790. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, published in 1975, stated:

Through 1950, the figures showing classification by race were not ordinarily based on replies to census questions asked by enumerators, but were rather obtained by observation. The figures do not, therefore, reflect a clear-cut definition of biological stock. The population of Negro and other races consists of Negroes, American Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and some other groups. Persons of mixed white and other parentage were placed in the classification of the parent who was not white. Persons of Mexican birth or ancestry who are not definitely Indian or of stock other than white have been classified as white in all censuses except that of 1930. The lack of comparability introduced by this factor is substantial in the West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific Divisions.

After this confession of the U.S. Government bias toward White supremacy, the document revealed that after the Civil War there were more people living in urban centers where the industrial revolution was most transformative, than in rural areas of the country—vast as that was. Population density was especially seen in the Northeast and Midwest. Among the ten most populous cities, only one, Baltimore, was in the South, and one, Los Angeles, was in the West. New York City, the largest city, was twice the size of the next largest, Chicago. The dominance of the American agrarian economy had finally come to an end. The U.S., after decades of movement in that direction, now had an industrial economy.

**1862** President Abraham Lincoln signed "An Act for the Release of certain Persons held to Service or Labor in the District of Columbia," eliminated the stigma of the capital city of the U.S. allowing the ownership of enslaved people.

**1863.** The "Emancipation Proclamation," both a presidential proclamation and an executive order, had two key provisions:

(1) all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom;

(2) such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service. While this proclamation, to the distress of abolitionists in the North and the West, only pertained to the people enslaved in the "rebellious states," and not those in border states under the control of the Union, it did free more than 3,000,000. It also lead over 200,000 freed formerly enslaved men to join the Union military, thus bolstering the force's dwindling numbers and greatly increasing the prospect of a Union victory.

The Confederate States, correctly, saw this Proclamation, should the Confederate States lose the War, as the final blow to any chance of reestablishing the South's former economy. The Confederate States were agricultural States, dominated by the agricultural crops that best thrived with long hours of hot sun and laborers who would work hard for long hours in the hot sun to plant, weed, and pick those crops. Few Europeans, and certainly, few English were willing to submit to such conditions. The answer was to have African American people as slaves. Especially in the middle of this Civil War (curiously called by the Confederates the War Between the States), there were fears. The people they had enslaved were strong, clever, and --given half a chance-were untrustworthy: they would steal food or run away and try to reconnect with their family or reach a place where they could be free. The words of David Walker, "one good black man can put to death six white men; and I give it as a fact, let twelve black men get well armed for battle, and they will kill and put to flight fifty whites," kept churning in their heads, causing slave-owning families to most especially fear for their safety at the thought that their formerly enslaved people would come after them with weapons. But, as it turned out, historical research has identified almost no such incidents.

**1866.** "An Act to protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and furnish the Means of their vindication" (Civil Rights Act of 1866) defined for the first time in U.S. law what constitutes citizenship and the right and privileges thereof:

That all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Note that women are nowhere in consideration.

The outcome of the Civil War and the follow-up pieces of federal legislation had well known consequences throughout the United States and its territories on the status of the people who had been enslaved. What is less well known are the many consequences to the very texture of American society and culture. People who had been enslaved could now marry and create meaningful and functioning families. Schools were started, thousands became literate, and hundreds pursued higher education and professions. Banks and insurance companies sprung up. Political office became, for many, more than just a dream. Travel became a real option and many headed west to pursue good farm land and mining opportunities.

## **Changes**, **Changes**

Whereas the fast clipper ship, the Golden West, sailed in 1852 from Boston to San Francisco in 124 days, with the transcontinental railroad completed in1869, it took only six days to travel from New York to San Francisco, quickly leading to increased numbers of people from the east and from Europe to the western plains and the west coast for farming, mining, and "starting again," further pushing the Native American people further away from their traditional homes, economic bases, and ways of life.

It was "Manifest Destiny," the slogan from the early 1800s that combined opportunities for members of the U.S.'s burgeoning population, along with a messianic quest for greatness in size, in stature, and in economy, and the conquest of peoples considered as inferior (Mexicans, American Indians), and thus by so doing extending the "boundaries of freedom."

Manifest Destiny was a variation on the Enlightenment idea of progress. Events in the Nineteenth Century made it easy to believe in progress, what with its scientific advances; its inventions that made life, i.e., electrical lights, and death, i.e., the Civil War with its repeating guns, easier; the elimination of slavery and surfs in Europe and the United States, surfs in Russia, and feudalism in Japan; advances (especially in the United States) in medicine, sanitation, plumbing, travel, communication, and education. Events in the Nineteenth Century included the industrial revolution, and the industrial revolution made it possible even for those who did not inherit riches to accumulate great wealth. And because the government benefited from this increase in wealth and in the products this wealth produced, the government was more than happy to bend a bit here, push a bit there, to overlook the plight of workers, to overlook the polluting of rivers and the landscape, for this meant that America the beautiful was getting better and better every day. And this better and better America was both the creation of men who rose above others, and the very cause of the creation of these men. These men, these leaders, these "doers" in the United States who rose above others were confident that they were at the pinnacle of civilization, the goal of all progress. This accumulation of great wealth for men such as Cornelius Vanderbilt, J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, Jay Gould, and John D. Rockefeller created not just names for themselves and their families, but histories. These men were called tycoons. They liked that name. But because of the widespread corruption among them, aided by corrupt members of the government, they were also called "Robber Barons." They didn't like that name. In 1873, Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner published their book, The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today, describing in satirical terms this period of "progress" in America. They didn't like that book either.

Corruption, graft, kickbacks, bribes, who you know gets translated into Good Ol' Boy, along with the "spoils system" where the party winning an election was allowed to give political jobs to supporters (That practice had begun with the Presidential administration of Andrew Jackson.), all became a major part of doing big business, with government (following the "laissez-faire" relationship to business) adding its share of enabling. In the United States, we had the Tammany Hall political machine headed by William Marcy "Boss" Tweed in New York City; we had the Crédit Mobilier scandal that involved the Union Pacific Railroad Company for their part in financing the construction of the eastern part of the Transatlantic Railroad; and we had the Whiskey Ring Scandal that involved Jay Gould and James ("Diamond Jim") Fisk Jr.'s attempt to take over the gold market. (We would have to wait until the 1920s for the Teapot Dome Scandal that involved Interior Secretary Albert Fall with the petroleum industry, and the world would have to wait even longer for the Bernie Madoff scandal, the Enron scandal, the Deutsche Bank Scandal, and the other more recent scandals.)

This progress in the second half of the 1800s, this wealth, this good life, was not enjoyed or felt by all. Large numbers in the world remained untouched by these "uplifting" changes. Most people lived in crowded urban spaces without electricity or plumbing or they were forced to scratch out a hard scrapple existence to contend with extremes of weather and plagues of insects that would strip the land of anything and everything planted. Most people had to survive on meager and unsanitary diets. Most lived and died within a restricted area. Most worked long hours for little pay. Most died young.

One small example of the societal change caused by the oncoming industrial revolution was that it ended the economic underpinnings of the Shakers, formally known as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. The Shakers built Christian utopian communities with governance based on equality and democracy; personal behavior based on honesty, cleanliness, simplicity, frugality, hard work, pacifism, and celibacy; social behavior based on equality of sexes, communalism, selfsufficiency (they built their own houses and barns of materials from their own property and raised their own crops and animals for food, furniture, and textiles), and a welcoming spirit (they welcomed all who requested a meal or overnight stay, African Americans whose freedom they bought from slave owners, and wounded solders both from the Union and Confederate armies); economy based on working by hand, study of the latest scientific knowledge of agriculture and husbandry, invention (but without patents) and construction of labor-saving tools and devices (from flat brooms to clothespins to the circular saw), and the selling of their goods (known for quality of design, material, and workmanship) to the local population. Many industrialist made fortunes from the Shakers' unpatented inventions. At the same time, the rise of industrialization, the increase in availability of manufactured products, and the reduction in the cost of these products quickly put Shaker goods at a severe disadvantage, a disadvantage from which they could never recover.

#### **Aftereffects of the Emancipation Proclamation**

Although the people who had been enslaved were initially jubilant to be "free at last" and adored Lincoln for his action, they soon realized that emancipation without equality, and without a way to support themselves, led to new problems. For while the Proclamation did end slavery, at least in the Confederate States, it didn't end White supremacy, it didn't end being "less than."

There was no effective effort on the part of the now-securelyunited national government to provide the newly freed, the formerly enslaved people with either reparations or any kind of land ownership which would help them get on with their "freed" lives. Although Union General William Thaddeus Stevens "promised" the freed people who had been enslaved (about 40,000) would be given "Forty Acres and a Mule," the majority of people of the time, in the North as well as in the South, gave no credence to such talk, and after President Lincoln was assassinated by a southern loyalist, Vice-President Johnson became President Johnson and stopped any possibility of the United States acting on Stevens' "promise." Johnson, with his dyed in the wool Southern mentality, returned to all former slave owners the lands that had been confiscated by the U.S. Government, totaling more that 850,000 acres—not to the freed people who had worked them and made them productive, but back to the original slave owners who had benefitted from the slaves' toil.

Then through the Homestead Act of 1862, the U.S. Government was granting Whites from Northern States, along with immigrants from Northern Europe, free land to settle the Midwest and the Western Territories. As Martin Luther King, Jr. reflected many years later, "It's all right to tell a man to lift himself by his own bootstraps, but it is a cruel jest to say to a bootless man that he ought to lift himself by his own bootstraps."

## The Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution

In 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution declared that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." With this, the abolitionist were satisfied.

Instead of meaningful support allowing for self-maintenance, the insertion in the Thirteenth Amendment of the phrase "except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted" made it possible for states which had condoned slavery and involuntary servitude to quickly pass legislation of racial discrimination and segregation, such as the many Jim Crow laws, laws against miscegenation (although many powerful White men had long figured out how to get around that prohibition), lynchings, chain gangs, convict leasing, and the expansion of prison facilities—all designed to trap formerly enslaved people in a net of criminality and continue to promote White supremacy. The heart wrenching statement, "I was free, but there was no one to welcome me to the land of freedom. I was a stranger in a strange land," attributed to Harriet Tubman, was surely felt by many.

As the decades passed, small measures (usually for economic considerations) began to be made against discrimination and segregation and toward civil rights and racial integration. But racial segregation continued to be legal in the U.S. to within the memory of many people living today. Activists such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Rosa Parks, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Kwame Tura (born Stokely Carmichael), Malcolm X (born Malcolm Little) and, also, el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz (born Malcolm Little), and John Lewis were all involved in civil rights efforts, primarily in the South, but also in the North. (The frequent changes in personal names indicates the change from that name given by slave owners to one that expressed their true identity.) Their success in awakening hearts and challenging deep-seated thought patterns and behaviors, combined with works such as Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944), finally produced significant change: Brown v. Board of Education (1954), the Voting Rights Act (1965), Loving v. Virginia (1967), and, finally, the Fair Housing Act (1968).

But many hearts and patterns of thought and behaviors on the part of Whites resisted change. (Jim Crow laws mandated segregated seating in public transport, separate public schools, and separate public eating establishments and theaters, and separate water fountains, public telephones, and restrooms. No African American could enter a public park. A common Jim Crow practice applied selectively at polling stations to deny non-Whites the opportunity to vote was the requirement to correctly answer the number of beans in a jar.) The Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education, especially, caused many middle class Whites with school-age children to exit inner cities or set up White-only private schools. The debilitating effects of this de facto segregation continues to today. Town zoning laws regulating the minimum size of housing lot per family housing unit, while having the appearance of being non-racist, has the effect (and very likely the intention, regardless of the cries of "property" values" and "preserving the natural landscape") of creating segregated communities. The Voting Rights Act also caused a

strong reaction, one that even in 2020 in an increasing number of states with Republican governors, attorney-generals, and legislatures people of color and demographic groups more likely to vote Democratic (such as college students living in college communities) are systemically denied, through a multitude of devious schemes, their right to vote. (This phenomenon occurred in the South under the domination of the Democratic Party after the Civil War. It seem to be a factor of men in power, rather than something endemic to one party or another.)

## **Civil Rights Act of 1866**

In 1866, An Act to protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and furnish the Means of their vindication (Civil Rights Act of 1866) defined citizenship for the first time in U.S. law, and the right and privileges thereof:

That all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

(So much for "Indians." And for women.)

Some sense of the difficulty in achieving full equality for the freedmen can be seen by President Johnson's words in 1887 in his Message to Congress:

If anything can be proved by known facts, if all reasoning upon evidence is not abandoned, it must be acknowledged that in the progress of nations Negroes have shown less capacity for government than any other race of people. No independent government of any form has ever been successful in their hands. On the contrary, wherever they have been left to their own devices they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbarism.

Linked to these racist views, President Johnson always believed that, if the freed slaves would stay out of any political decision making, the Southern States could be trusted to manage their affairs without any oversight by the federal government. He would have been happy if the freed slaves had just gone away. Republicans in Congress wanted more support for the formerly enslaved people, they wanted the Freedmen's Bureau Bill's many facets to help them become able to live as fully free and fully responsible citizens. Johnson tried to counter the Congressional Republicans with the argument that they were voted into office by a small section of the United States, but he, as President who represented the entire country, was better positioned to know the wishes of the entire country. As one Republican remarked, this specious argument was from a man made President by an assassin's bullet.

Of the U.S. Congress, the Senate was controlled by the Republicans, the Party of Lincoln, the party of the Union. The House was controlled by the Democrats, the party of the Confederacy. After the Union victory, Reconstruction was designed to aid and assist the people who had been enslaved so they could live productive lives, both as full human beings with respect, honor and dignity, and as community members with political power. Reconstruction also had the goal to rehabilitate the South so it could once again be prosperous and the United States could once again be united and with all sections of the United States strong and all contributing to the well-being of the whole. But President Johnson, immediately on the assignation of Lincoln and his being sworn in, became the Confederates' champion. The idea that Reconstruction would turn the South to the Republican Party was unarguably impossible; the terror and violence of the Ku Klux Klan wiped out hundreds of freed people who were formerly enslaved and the Union Army was unable, and sometimes unwilling, to combat these forces. And what they could not accomplish, the Race Laws did.

The Republican Senate knew that if the outcome of the Civil War and the positive achievements of Reconstruction were to have any lasting effects, then laws would have to be crafted so that President Johnson could not tear them down, could not veto them. Congress knew they needed another amendment to the Constitution, an amendment that would have enough votes in Congress to override any opposing actions by President Johnson, an amendment that would have enough support among the States to become law.

#### An Aside on Edgar Cowan.

Should the reader get the idea that all of the people of Pennsylvania were Quakers, a few words about Edgar Cowan of Westmoreland County, far to the west of Philadelphia. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1861 as a Republican, serving for only one term. In office, he supported the Dred Scott decision which held that slavery should be allowed in the Western Territories and he opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 on the birthright citizenship clause: he opposed granting citizenship to people then called Gypsies and to the Chinese and he opposed any possibility that women could have any legal rights above that of their husbands. As he testified, "A married woman in no State that I know of has a right to make contracts generally.... I say that this bill ... confers upon married women, upon minors, upon idiots, upon lunatics . . . the right to make and enforce contracts." His Senate voice did win out on one point: "What was the involuntary servitude mentioned there.... Was it the right the husband had to the service of his wife? Nobody can pretend that those things were within the purview of that Amendment; nobody believes it." Largely as a result of his point, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 did not include gender, only race and color.

Cowan easily supported Johnson's actions during Reconstruction to ease the financial impact against former slave owners. About the Fourteenth Amendment, his was not a quiet voice.

What conceivable difference could it make to a citizen of Pennsylvania as to how Ohio distributes her political power? . . . To touch, to venture upon that ground is to revolutionize the whole frame and texture of the system of our government.

There is a race in contact with this country which, in all characteristic except that of simply making fierce war, is not only our equal but perhaps our superior. I mean the yellow race; the Mongol race. They outnumber us largely. Of their industry, their skill, and their pertinacity in all worldly affairs, nobody can doubt.... They may pour in their millions upon our Pacific Coast in a very short time. Are the states to lose control over this immigration? Is the United States to determine that they are to be citizens?

Cowan was pretty comfortable with the social structure before the War: "... after all is said and done [it] is pretty well arranged." He asked, "Who would black boots and curry the horses, who would do the menial offices of the world...?"

After leaving his Senate office, he became a Democrat. (He never became a Quaker.)

### The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution

In 1868, with sufficient votes in Congress to override President Johnson's veto, the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution. This Amendment has five sections, with the first section the most consequential and the most referred to in subsequent court rulings.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

In the first legal clarification of who is and who isn't a citizen of the United States, the Fourteenth Amendment starts off with what is referred to as the Citizenship Clause: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." By making federal citizenship primary, states could not prevent freed slaves from obtaining state citizenship and thus federal citizenship. Congress in this amendment made the 1857 ruling by the Supreme Court case Dred Scott v. Sandford null and void. This also eliminated the "three-fifth rule," where, in Article 1, Section 2, Clause 3 of the Constitution, enslaved people were referred to as "other persons" and, for purposes of political representation, were considered "three-fifths of all other persons." Significantly, the Citizenship Clause increased representation in the House of Representatives by the number of people formerly enslaved and now full citizens. Those called Indians, because not taxed, were not considered as "persons," and therefore had no political representation. This position was further supported by the 1884 Supreme Court ruling in Elk v. Wilkins. It would be 1924 and the Indian Citizenship Act that Indians would finally be grated United States citizenship.

The second clause, Section 1, referred to as the Privileges or Immunities Clause, declared: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States...." With that, Congress ensured that the Bill of Rights (the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution) applied equally to all citizens in every State, and included the right to travel.

The third clause, Section 1, referred to as the Due Process Clause, declared "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Note the use of the word "person," rather than the word "citizen" or a word specifying the male gender. And note that the term "due process" is limited to neither civil due process nor criminal due process, thus pertaining to both. In 1925, the Court, in Gitlow v. New York, stated that this clause protected the First Amendment rights of freedom of speech from infringement by the state as well as the federal government.

The fourth clause, Section 1, referred to as the Equal Protection Clause, declared: ". . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The Equal Protection Clause goes beyond the Fifth Amendment, which required the United States to practice equal protection, to require every State to practice equal protection, and as such, it plays a major part in cases involved in protecting civil rights, thus shifting the balance of power from individual states to the federal government. In so doing, this clause has had a major role in many cases, early on in Plessy v. Ferguson, when the court ruled that segregated public facilities did not violate the Equal Protection Clause (and give the green light to Jim Crow laws), then later the civil rights cases: Brown v. Board of Education (racial discrimination), Roe v. Wade (reproductive rights), Bush v. Gore (election recounts), Reed v. Reed (gender discrimination), and University of California v. Bakke (racial quotas in education). (Well, we'll see what a changed makeup in the Supreme Court does with those.)

Section 2 specifies the apportionment of representatives to Congress "according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians, not taxed." (American Indians had fought for the United States in the Great War [World War I] and those returning veterans were offered citizenship. It would take the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 for all members of American Indian tribes to be granted United States citizenship.)

This section also states for the first time in the Constitution mention of gender: ". . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twentyone years of age in such state."

Section 3 states that anyone "engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies

thereof" shall not hold federal office. (This makes me wonder. Aren't "aid or comfort to the enemies" currently being given by people holding federal office?)

Section 4 concerns political representation and federal debt:

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Many words to mean: (1) all federal debts shall be honored; (2) no state or federal government shall honor any debt incurred by the former Confederate states.

Section 5: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." So here the Federal Government is putting out the notice that they aren't just whistling Dixie. When necessary, enforcement can take place. (If it so please the Congress.)

# The Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and the Backlash in the South

The Fifteenth Amendment (ratified in 1870) states: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or

abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." And with this, African American men, formerly enslaved or not, shall be allowed to vote in the United States. And all men who are citizens, no matter what their race, shall be allowed to vote in the United States.

There were two groups to whom this amendment especially resonated. One group consisted of African American men who immediately sprung to action, running for office and voting. The other group consisted of White men in the formerly Confederate States, the states in the South. This group also immediately sprung to action, not just to vote for their favored candidates, but to ensure that the White politicians—very much in the majority—to pass what became known as Jim Crow laws, laws such as literacy tests, poll taxes, the need to own property, the need to correctly answer the number of beans in that here jar. And when the Jim Crow laws didn't do the job, well, vigilante groups such as the Ku Klux Klan would bring the point home. No matter what that 14th Amendment says, it wouldn't do for those Niggers to be uppity. Who do they think they are? If they want to act like that, they better go up East. But before they go, we'll have a little bit of fun with them.

The outcome of the Civil War and the follow-up pieces of federal legislation had well known consequences on the status of formerly enslaved people throughout the United States and its territories. What is less well known are the many consequences to the very texture of American society and culture. Formerly enslaved people could now marry and create meaningful and functioning families. Schools were started and thousands became literate and hundreds pursued higher education and professions. Banks and insurance companies sprung up. Political office became, for some, more than just a dream. Travel became an option and many headed west to pursue good farm land and mining opportunities.

But the flames of White supremacy burned brighter than ever.

When I was a boy in Texas, I lived next door to a Southern Baptist woman from Mississippi. She never missed a church service. Everyone said she was a good woman. She was born one year after the Civil War ended. One day she told me of an incident from her youth which made her proud. A White woman accused a black man of doing something she took offense to. I don't remember what. Maybe she didn't remember. But the point is that this White woman accused an African American man of something or other, and, whatever it was, that was enough to set off a posse. They caught the man and brought him to her, then they asked her what she wanted done with him. "Tie him up and skin him alive." And that's what they did, leaving him racked in pain to suffer a slow, agonizing death. My neighbor didn't mention any pain on his part, that was my realization. For my good Southern Baptist neighbor from Mississippi, any discomfort on his part didn't seem to register with her. For her, this story upheld Southern womanhood. I was horrified. That story was my introduction to lynchings. Later, as I learned more of the history of lynching, I learned, as common as lynchings were over many, many decades of American history, the act of skinning men alive wasn't the most common way vigilantes, including the Klan, meted out what they called "justice" (that was hanging: easier, less messy), but it wasn't so unusual either. After hearing that story, I didn't spend much time visiting with my good neighbor.

The backlash by White suprematists in the South was not the only horrifying force for the formerly enslaved people. The 2012 study of the Medical Division of the Freedmen's Bureau, *Sick from Freedom*, by historian Jim Downs of Connecticut College, reports that with emancipation, "African Americans seized the chance to move, migrating as never before. But in their journey to freedom, they also encountered yellow fever, smallpox, cholera, dysentery, malnutrition, and exposure."

Downs devotes a chapter to "The Healing Power of Labor: Dependent, Disabled, Orphaned, Elderly, and Female Freed Slaves in the Postwar South." Focused on "workmen," they were all excluded from the Freedmen's Bureau's concerns. Downs estimated the death toll to have been in the hundreds of thousands. "In the 19th century people did not want to talk about it. Some did not care and abolitionists, when they saw so many freed people dying, feared that it proved true what some people said: that slaves were not able to exist on their own." As Downs told *The Guardian,* "This challenges the romantic narrative of emancipation. It was more complex and more nuanced than that. Freedom comes at a cost."

### The "Old South," the "Lost Cause"

After the war was over and the federal policy of Reconstruction had ended, the Southerners realized, and realized without a doubt, that they had been sorely beaten and that there was no possible way to go back to their former life. There were efforts by some legislatures in Southern States to establish "home rule," an innocuous sounding code word for "White supremacy." It was then among the Southerners —wherever they lived—and especially among the more privileged, those whose ancestors had lost the most, that there was much talk about the "Old South," the "Lost Cause," the South of stereotypes, the South memorialized by *The Birth of a Nation*, the 1915 movie, and *Gone with the Wind*, the 1936 novel and the 1939 movie, and the Stone Mountain Memorial near Atlanta, Georgia, completed in 1972.

These dates are telling: it was during the early decades of the 1900s when the veterans of the Confederate who had survived the War and were then dying in increasing numbers that the people of the South, many of whom hadn't been born at the time of the War, started organizations with the names "Sons of . . ." and "Daughters of. . . ." (Formerly enslaved people, even if they had fought in the Confederate military, need not apply.) It was in these insular and self-serving organizations that Southerners would cry, "The South Shall Rise Again," although they knew it wouldn't, not really. It was in these organizations that these later generations began to rewrite their Confederate history, painting their Confederate leaders as of the highest moral character, showing the Christian benevolence of slavery, telling the world of the South's righteous actions in opposing the "tyranny" of the Northern States and the Republicans of the Union. Although the equestrian statue of General Robert E. Lee on horseback on an especially high pedestal was erected in 1890 in Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the Confederacy, it was primarily during the early decades of the 1900s that statues commemorating Confederate leaders were erected all over the southern states. (For a contemporary view, see: "You Want a Confederate Monument? My Body Is a Confederate Monument," by Caroline Randall Williams, The New York Times, June 26, 2020. An excerpt: "I have rape-colored skin. My light-brownblackness is a living testament to the rules, the practices, the

causes of the Old South. . . . If there are those who want to remember the legacy of the Confederacy, if they want monuments, well, then, my body is a monument. My skin is a monument. . . . I am a black [sic], Southern woman, and of my immediate white [sic] male ancestors, all of them were rapists. My very existence is a relic of slavery and Jim Crow." For an historical and especially nuanced view, see: "When Monuments Fall," by Kenan Malik, @nybooks Daily, September 9, 2020.) And it was at this time that, tragically, ten U.S. Army installations in the South were named for Confederate Army Officers. (Even more tragically, the Army still refuses to make a single name change.)

It is not incidental that that was the time of the Great Migration, 1916 to 1970, when an estimated six million African Americans fled the South for the Northeast, the Midwest, and the Western states, and the decedents of people who had been enslaved were beginning to gain a foothold, to reap the benefits of their labor, to acquire some property, to make their lives a little better than their parents and grandparents and greatgrandparents, to receive some respect for who they were rather than denigrated for the color of their skin or for who their ancestors were. Of course, threatened Whites were everywhere, and, being in the majority, they quickly made ordinances and laws restricting where African Americans could live, go to school, and in many other ways to thwart these newcomers' lives.

But those descendants of the "Grand Cause" would do what they could. They would do everything they could to support White supremacy. (Is that Dixie that I hear, getting louder and louder?) Jim Crow Forever! Ku Klux Klan Forever! Lynching Forever! The Birth of a Nation Forever! Gone with the Wind Forever! Race Laws Forever! Red Lines Forever! Sundown Laws Forever! (Yes, it is. Good ol' Dixie. Think I'll march around a bit, get my legs agoin'.) Not surprisingly, the news of this populous outcry, this fervor, this racist message was conveyed beyond our borders to Germany, where it was noted, taken to heart, and on a wider and more deadly scale put into effect by Hitler and his cohorts. Hitler had his own little list. Hitler didn't have the last word. Far from it. In 1963, Alabama Governor George Wallace raged, "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." And Wallace didn't have the last word, either.

But this Old South, so warmly "remembered" and spoken of with such great affection, was only a few decades old by the time of the Civil War. The Antebellum South was only old in the sense that involved the total forgetting of what those few now still living there or, and this was the far greater number, what their fathers and grandfathers had said they had done in the Glorious War; the total forgetting of that which enabled them to be in that land with that rich soil and, if they had enslaved people to do the work, live with some ease. (Ah, those refreshing mint juleps, those delicious mint juleps, made by one of your "loving" enslaved people and brought to you by another one of your "loving" enslaved people, enjoyed in the afternoon on the porch of your white home built by "loving" enslaved people, and with your Southern Belles looking on and smiling the prettiest smiles you ever did see, and looking out on the moss-hung trees. So peaceful. So very peaceful. And so good to go back, to experience again even if only in imagination with like-minded friends or reading a novel or seeing a movie. "Y'all come back! Yah hear!")

# An Aside on William A. Dunning and the Dunning School of U.S. Reconstruction Historiography

William A. Dunning was a professor of political science and history at Columbia University, where he had received his Ph.D. with his dissertation "The Constitution of the United States in Civil War and Reconstruction 1869-1867" (1887). In 1888 (2nd ed. 1904), he published Essays on the Civil War and *Reconstruction and Related Topics*. In 1907, he published Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865–1877. (Over his lifetime, he wrote 10 books; in addition to those on Reconstruction, he was also wrote on European history.) With his likable personality, interesting lectures, and his personal support of his students, the number of Ph.D. students under his advisement began to increase, largely from the South, and back to which, degrees in hand from a top-notch university in New York City, they returned. Under the name Dunning School, they wrote histories of the Reconstruction Era which told of the terror and destruction inflicted on the South by vicious, radical Republicans and vicious slaves and former slaves, and always emphasizing "negro incapacity" and the endless and noble efforts of the Southern White Democratic communities to raise them up.

W.E.B. Du Bois, in *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which* 

Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880 (1937), took on the task of addressing the work of Dunning and others of the Dunning School. And he did so with clear eyes and meticulous research and with surgical steel, finally giving African Americans their due: "One fact and one alone explains the attitude of most recent writers toward Reconstruction; they couldn't conceive of Negros as men." With the spread of Dunning School ideas into both academic and popular thought, along with the rampant racial acts of violence perpetuated by the Jim Crow laws and the Ku Klux Klan, all sung to the mellifluous tunes of the Old South, it took some time for Du Bois's ideas to be considered and to lead to a reexamination of Reconstruction and the dominant role played by the men and women who were African Americans.

John Hope Franklin, in his Presidential Address for the American Historical Association in 1979, *Mirror for Americans: A Century of Reconstruction History,* wrote the following:

IN TERMS OF THE TRAUMA and the sheer chaos of the time, the aftermath of the American Civil War has few equals in history. After four years of conflict the burden of attempting to achieve a semblance of calm and equanimity was almost unbearable. The revolution in the status of four million slaves involved an incredible readjustment not only for them and their former owners but also for all others who had some understanding of the farreaching implications of emancipation. The crisis in leadership occasioned by the assassination of the president added nothing but more confusion to a political situation that was already thoroughly confused. And, as in all similar conflicts, the end of hostilities did not confer a monopoly of moral rectitude on one side or the other. The ensuing years were characterized by a continuing dispute over whose side was right as well as over how the victors should treat the vanquished. In the post-Reconstruction years a continuing argument raged, not merely over how the victors did treat the vanquished but over what actually happened during that tragic era.

In 1913 William A. Dunning delivered his Presidential Address for the American Historical Association with the title, "Truth in History." It contained no mention of the Reconstruction Era, but it did contain this curious statement, "The crying need in the study of history to-day is humility."

In his Presidential Address, John Hope Franklin wrote this about William A. Dunning:

... he was as unequivocal as the most rabid opponent of Reconstruction in placing upon Scalawags, Negroes, and Northern radicals the responsibility for making the unworthy and unsuccessful attempt to reorder society and politics in the South. His "scientific and scholarly" investigations led him to conclude that at the close of Reconstruction the planters were ruined and the freedmen were living from hand to mouth—whites on the poor lands and "thriftless blacks [sic] on the fertile lands." No economic, geographic, or demographic data were offered to support this sweeping generalization.

For Columbia University, Tommy Song authored, in 2018, "William Archibald Dunning: Father of Historiographic Racism Columbia's Legacy of Academic Jim Crow." Here are excerpts.

Dunning's *Essays*, though informative in its discussions of constitutional changes during the era, was a despicably racist portrayal of the Reconstruction era and an equally detestable approval of the system of Jim Crow. When discussing black [sic] Americans, Dunning's scientific method lost relevance, or rather, lost necessity; the professor, now in his forties, believed racial inequality as natural, unworthy of supporting evidence since it was —and should be accepted as—an innate truism.

Compared to "The Constitution," *Essays* displayed the uncensored racism of the Columbia historian. The dissertation showcased its bigotry in a relatively subtle light, while the first volume on reconstruction—blatantly and confidently—justified, legitimized, and eulogized systemic oppression post-Emancipation. From his brief discussions of "the negro question" in "The Constitution," Dunning moved on to elaborate upon the inferiority of black [sic] Americans at greater lengths, the word "negro" appearing with a conspicuously increased frequency. The legal workings of the blooming Jim Crow, Dunning explained in *Essays*, were "too intricate for the average negro intelligence." Moreover, "the abolitionist fever," Dunning declared, "was the root of the trouble in the South." The Columbia professor argued that the institution of "slavery had been a modus vivendi," a societal arrangement necessary for the peaceful coexistence between two races of unequal standing. Thus, Dunning pronounced that with the abolition of slavery, the nation inevitably lingered in a state of confusion and could only return to peaceful coexistence with the creation of a new system that "must in essence express the same fact of racial inequality." Dunning's *Essays*, in short, was a clear rejection of color, humanity, and morality.

## An Aside: One Contemporary View on States Commemorating Heroes of the Confederacy

Alan Wallach, professor emeritus of Art and Art History, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, wrote in 2010:

The South lost the Civil War militarily but won it ideologically. Hence all those loathsome statues of men who were in fact traitors. For black [sic] people, those statues symbolized the forces arrayed against them. Indeed, the white southerners who put up those statues meant them to intimidate. When a regime is overthrown, the sculptures that symbolized the regime are pulled down. George III at the time of the American Revolution. Louis XVI during the French revolution. Lenin after the fall of the wall, etc.

A democratic regime doesn't put up statues to fallen dictators. There's no statue of Mussolini in Italy; no statue of Hitler in Germany. We'd view an attempt to raise a statue to either one an obscenity.

So it's long past time that statues of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee et al. bit the dust. Put them in a museum or better melt them down and erect statues to Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Ida B. Wells, W.E.B. Dubois [sic]—American heroes who spent their lives working to end slavery and Jim Crow.

(And see above: "You Want a Confederate Monument? My Body Is a Confederate Monument," by Caroline Randall Williams, *The New York Times*, June 26, 2020, for another contemporary view.)

**1870** This is the time of Social Darwinism, and the middle of the Reconstruction era.

There were 37 states in the United States, with Nebraska being the last admitted five years before. Ulysses S. Grant was president, Abraham Lincoln having been assassinated seven years before. Queen Victoria was monarch of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. She had ruled since 1837 (at the age of 18) and would continue to rule until her death in 1901, a reign of almost 64 years. While today many think of England's Victorian Age as one big and depressing monolith, it was in reality a series

[This entry is cut short to get this on line.]

**1872.** One aspect of railroad building was especially challenging, and that was the need to drill tunnels through mountains.

John Henry

[This entry is cut short to get this on line.]

**1873.** Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner published their book of social satire, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today.* This "Tale of Today" was, tellingly, titled *The Gilded Age* because the verb "gild" refers to the application of a thin layer of gold over a meaner material, causing it to richly shine and sparkle while hiding what is underneath. Their book told of people's thirst for riches, without any consideration of their own professed morality or the suffering they might cause upon others. "The Gilded Age" later became the appellation for the period of public corruption associated with the later decades of the 1800s through the early 1900s and before the Great War (now referred to as World War 1).

**1873.** Margarethe Schurz founded the first Germanlanguage **kindergarten** in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1856, and Elizabeth Peabody opened the first **American** English-language **kindergarten** in Boston in 1860. But both of those were private endeavors, certainly notable, but altogether of a different order of magnitude from what Susan Elizabeth Blow achieved in St. Louis in 1873. In that year, she opened the first kindergarten class in a public school in St. Louis, Missouri. It was such a success with parents, other teachers, and the school board, that 10 years later, every public school in St. Louis included a kindergarten, leading the nation in the new field of early childhood education.

Susan Elizabeth Blow (1843-1916) was descended from prominent politicians on both her father's and her mother's side. The family had wealth and social position and provided an excellent education for Susan. In 1870, Susan, her mother, and her siblings enjoyed an extended stay in Europe. In Germany, Susan learned of the German Friedrich Wilhelm Fröbel (or Froebel) and his groundbreaking work in educating young children. She found her calling.

## An Aside (Though Rather Long) On the Development of Education for Young Children

From the mid-1500s throughout Europe and the British Isles, children were given a paddle-shaped piece of wood with on one side a sheet of paper, toped with a cured and transparent sheet of horn. They were called hornbooks. The alphabet, prayers, a catechism, and related matters were written on the paper. Young children learned to read through memorization with the use of hornbooks. They were eventually superseded, even in the British Isles, by *The New England Primer*.

The New England Primer was first published between 1687 and 1690 for Puritan colonists in New England as an instructional text for children. It addressed the religious needs of children ("In Adam's fall / We sinned all." and "Thy life to mend, / This Book attend.") and the inculcation of virtue ("The idle Fool / Is whipt at school." and "Job feels the rod / And blesses God."), and it did so with simple verse and woodcut illustrations. It was intended that the child would learn the content by rote memorization before reading would occur. Repeated repeating. Over and over. This was the way to learning, for at that time the brain was thought to be a muscle, and like any other muscle, repeated exercise would led to, yes, learning. Understanding of the meaning of the individual words or the meaning of the whole was not considered important, therefore neglected. Children were not to ask any questions. Children were not to think their own thoughts. Repeat after me the answers in the catechism. Repeat. Repeat. Don't think. Repeat. Say it correctly. Repeat.

The New England Primer held as implicit John Calvin's belief that all children are born in sin, and that children's sinfulness was the cause of their willfulness. Children's willfulness had to be curbed, and curbing children's willfulness required whippings and beatings and repeated reciting of the Christian truths to be found in *The New England Primer*. This *Primer* could be found in almost every home, not only in New England, but throughout the country, and Europe, too. It stayed in print for about 180 years.

In England, John Locke (1632-1704) was key in igniting the Enlightenment and the movement toward liberalism. The English political and educational philosopher, physician, and a strong advocate for empirical approaches of the Scientific Revolution, Locke staked out his position in opposition to Calvin's view of Adam's fall being inflicted upon all children. Locke, most famously, held the concept expressed by the Latin phrase tabula rasa (often translated into English as "blank slate"). (This metaphor of the child's ideas of the mind can be traced back to Aristotle's *De* Anima and had been picked up by many philosophers in years since.) It is important to note that, for Locke, tabula rasa referred to the child's ideas of the mind; he recognized that children were born with temperament and ability, curiosity and the desire for liberty in the sense of independent actions, and, of course, inherited biological conditions such as wellness and disease.

(Note: Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* [1690] was a major influence on the Founding Fathers, and especially on Thomas Jefferson, in their conception of this new nation and their writing of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.)

Locke published two major works on the subject of education. Some Thoughts Concerning Education was published in 1684, with several revisions through 1705. Then he published in 1689/1690, An Essay *Concerning Human Understanding*; this starts off with the heading, "Neither Principles Nor Ideas Are Innate." Rather than the child's mind being impregnated with immorality, Locke believed that the child created her or his mental state through sensation by perception and thought by reflection. Through the combination of simple ideas would come complex ideas. The child can then learn to hold two ideas at once without combining them, but rather to see their relationship, one to the other. From this, the child can learn to abstract ideas, that is, to separate ideas from the particulars of time and place and allowing for general application. Then comes the value of memory, which allows for the storage of ideas.

Because of the fundamental importance of both perception and reflection in children's acquisition of knowledge, it was imperative that children be in environments rich in objects that can be safely and freely explored and manipulated and thought about: "external, sensible Objects...perceived and reflected on by our selves." While children can acquire considerable information through independent direct interaction with objects, the assistance of a knowledgable and caring adult will increase the knowledge acquisition and, most crucially, the quality and extent of the child's reflection. Optimally, the adult needs to engage in a mental ping-pong game in which the adult is aware of every twist and turn in the child's mental activities, with constant readjustment in response. For this to be achieved, Locke proposes schooling be not in a classroom, which reduces the teacher's opportunity to follow and respond to each child's thinking processes, but rather in the home with a tutor.

Originally based on letters written to a father on the education his son, Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education,* establishes that the goal of education is not to develop a scholar, but to develop a virtuous adult, a person who follows reason based on facts rather than passion or fanaticism. This is based on his opposition to authoritarianism and his strongly held belief that children should be free. Children need good role models rather than strict disciplinarians. Children need wide exposure. They need to play with objects in their world. They need to ask questions. For the parent or tutor, "the chief art is to make all that they have to do sport and play." The end goal of education is life as a citizen.

In Switzerland, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1826), when a young student, would spend his school holidays with his maternal grandfather, a clergyman, visiting schools and the homes of parishioners. Through these visits, he learned of the extent of poverty throughout the countryside and its crushing impact on people's lives. He saw the children as young as three and four working in factories, where their small hands could complete tasks that larger hands struggled with, and in mining, where their small bodies could enter crevices too small for adults. He saw how little the religious schooling did to help them in their poverty. These early experiences influenced the direction of his life.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was a bridge from the Enlightenment to the Romantic Age. (Similarly, Franz Schubert [1797-1828] was the bridge in music between the Classical to the Romantic Age.) In university, Pestalozzi learned of the romantic ideas of the Swiss philosopher, author, and composer. Rousseau wrote many works, and his *Emile, or On Education* (1762), with its emphasis on the primacy of young children learning through their interaction with the natural world and on their own terms, with the goal of education being life in general, fit with Pestalozzi's previous thoughts and lead him toward the goal of political justice and education for the poor and disadvantaged.

He bought 15 acres of waste land near Zürich, and then, with help from a Zürich banker, bought more land. In 1869, age 23, he married Anna Schulthess, and they started an agricultural and handicraft school in their home, called Neuhof. At that time, it wasn't unusual for landowners to take in stray and homeless children and for those children to become slaves to their keepers. But the Pestalozzis were different. They started with 20 children, and with support from the Bern Council of Commerce and the Bern Agricultural Society, the number of children increased to 50. They were taught to spin cotton in the winter, to farm in the summer, and year-round they were provided instruction in school subjects. But his land was unsuitable for farming. Hoping to increase their income, wool-spinning took the place of farming. It wasn't enough. Their financial backers withdrew. Three months later, they had a son, who he named Jean-Jacques. Adding to their distress, the son was prone to epileptic fits. In not so many years, parents, realizing that there children had become educated and productive, took them back into their own homes. The Pestalozzi school became bankrupt in 1779. The Pestalozzi family was destitute.

But it had been a learning experience for Pestalozzi. He learned that Rousseau's ideas on education were basically sound, but needed more emphasis on the psychological world of each child. He learned that children could be successfully educated in groups. He learned that children could learn skills and subjects simultaneously. He learned that through developing educated children, societies and nations would be developed. He learned that schools could never be profit making enterprises. And he learned that he could write about what he learned, and through his writing and through his teaching, others could learn and spread his ideas.

In 1774, Pestalozzi had already published *How* Father Pestalozzi Instructed HisThree and a Half Year Old Son. He followed this with Leonard and Gertrude in 1781 and Christopher and Elizabeth in 1782. From 1782 through 1784, he published a weekly newspaper, Ein Schweizer Blatt. in which he wrote about his educational system in editorials. In 1783, he published On Legislation and Infanticide, in when he condemned the practice of killing or abandoning unwanted children. He also wrote some books for children. In 1797, he published Researches into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race, a work which elucidated his educational ideas. Leonard and Gertrude sold fairly well, but none of the ventures brought much income. During this time, Anna was often ill, as was their growing son. It was a very rough time for all of them.

In 1798, serfdom was abolished in Switzerland. This was only one of the many changes to the political system in Switzerland. Pestalozzi submitted a plan for a school to the new Minister of Arts and Sciences; the plan was approved. While a suitable location was sought, Pestalozzi was asked to manage the running of a government newspaper. Then the Swiss town of Stans was stormed by French troops, leaving many children without family or home. Pestalozzi was given access to a 1635 convent in very bad shape for his school and the homeless children arrived, also in very bad shape, both mentally and physically. Pestalozzi became all things needed for making this opportunity a success. He was determined that here he would fully be able to demonstrate his educational principles. And this he did, and he realized that these principles, once freed of the schools need to earn income, paid off in the educational achievements of the children. These orphaned children were in remarkable shape and learning well. But their opportunity for growth, learning, and development did not last long. The French army returned and wanted this convent-turned-into-school building for their troops. Pestalozzi's school in Stans was over.

He was assigned by the Swiss government to a school in Burgdorf. In Burgdorf, a friend recommended to him a book by Johann Friedrich Herbart, the German philosopher, psychologist, and educational theorist. The book was in a French translation and Pestalozzi was limited in his knowledge of French, but he understood enough to realize that Herbart not only provided support for his educational efforts in Neuhof and Stans and now in Burgdorf, but also filled in areas that he had not yet come to realize. It built his confidence immeasurably. After eight months of teaching the 5- and 6-year-olds, school authorities found his students with superior reading and arithmetic abilities, as well as skills in writing and drawing. He was promoted and opened a second school in Burgdorf, a school for children of middle-class families; here he had two assistants, and his success as an educator continued. In 1801, he wrote another book about his teaching methods, *How Gertrude Teaches her*  *Children.* To Pestalozzi's good fortune, this book sold well and spread his educational ideas throughout Switzerland and Germany. But Pestalozzi was not entirely happy with his situation. He had not achieved his goal of teaching poor children. And in 1801, his son Jean-Jacques died.

Political changes lead to ending his stay in Burgdorf, and after a brief stay in Münchenbuchsee, the Swiss government decided his institute should be removed to Yverdon-les-Bains and Yverdon Castle. And in 1805, that took place. Thanks to a financial gift from the King of Denmark, he was able to spend his first few months there in literary study, and made great headway on his book *Ansichten Und Erfahrungen, Die Idee Der Elementarbildung Betreffend, 1805 - 1807* [*Views And Experiences Concerning The Idea Of Elementary Education, 1805-1807*]. The school opened and students and visitors arrived from all over Europe, with many representatives from various governments there as observers, wanting to open Pestalozzian schools in their own countries.

In 1807, a newspaper, *Die Wochenschrift fur Menschenbildung*, was begun at Yverdon, informing readers of activities and the progress at the institute. One change was that children of all ages were welcomed. And the number of subject taught were increased to include German, French, Latin, Greek, geography, natural history, history, literature, arithmetic, geometry, surveying, drawing, writing and singing. Pestalozzi's wife, Anna, died in 1815. There were periods of conflict among staff. Pestalozzi persevered. He continued to write books on his educational philosophy. He kept the institute going until 1825, when it closed for lack of funds. Looking back, he believed that his best work took place when he was for six months in Stans, working with the war orphans, the children others turned their backs on, the children who most needed him, the children who did so well.

(A note. Albert Einstein, born 1879, was slow in developing and suffered from frequent temper tantrums. He made the world of those who lived with him very difficult. When 5-years-old, he threw a chair at his tutor, and his tutor ran away, never to return. Eventually he was enrolled in schools, but they didn't suit him. At 12, he taught himself algebra and Euclidean geometry over a single summer, then he figured out a proof of the Pythagorean theorem, and this was followed by the study of calculus. At 13, his interest in music increased, as did his interest in philosophy, with Kant's Critique of *Pure Reason* his favorite. At the age of 15, he applied to the Swiss Federal Polytechnic School in Zurich, but they required students to be 17 to enter. So it was suggested to Albert that he attend the Argovian cantonal school [gymnasium] in Aarau, Switzerland to complete his secondary schooling. To Albert's delight, this school was influenced by Pestalozzi's teachings. Much later, Einstein remarked, "It made me clearly realize how much superior an education based on free

action and personal responsibility is to one relying on outward authority." When he was 17 [1896], he entered the Swiss Federal Polytechnic School in Zurich.)

Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (Froebel) was born in 1782 in Thuringia, Germany. His mother died before he reached one year, leaving him with his father, a pastor of a conservative Lutheran church, and two brothers. When he was four, his father married again, but Friedrich continued to receive little attention, not from his father and older brothers, nor from his stepmother. His father forced him to attend a girl's primary school, compounding his feelings of abandonment. But there was one good thing in his life, they lived in an area where the surrounding nature was recognized for its richness and diversity, and it was with nature where he found succor and healing. It was in nature that he began to learn, to learn by observing, to learning by following his own ideas, to learn by seeing the changes taking place all around him and also the changes that he made of his own initiative and his own actions. He was, in other words, playing, and he rightly considered all of this to be play, and throughout the remainder of his life this concept of play would be the foundation of his work, his teaching.

When ten, his father sent him to a nearby small town to live with an uncle. Fortunately for Friedrich, his uncle was warm and affectionate, and he finally received care from another human being. When there, he attended a local school with boys as well as girls. And he continued to spend time in nature. From age 15 to 17, he apprenticed to a woodsman and surveyor. (This experience lead him to believe that plants and animals received better care than did human children.) And from age 17 to 19, he attended the University of Jena, studying mathematics and botany. When he was 20, his father died.

In 1805, age 24, and after brief study of architecture in Frankfort, he was hired to teach at the Pestalozzian Frankfurt Model School. To help him learn to teach, he was sent to study with Pestalozzi at Yverdon. There, where the curriculum was based on respect for the dignity of the child and the learning environment was based on the emotional security for the children, Fröbel felt he had finally arrived at his true home. When he returned to Frankfurt and began teaching at the Pestalozzian Frankfurt Model School, he eagerly incorporated what he had learned into his own teaching. In 1808, he left the Model School and returned to Yverdon for two more years of study with Pestalozzi.

From 1810 to 1812, Fröbel studied studied science and languages at the University of Göttingen, and from 1812 to 1816, he studied mineralogy at the University of Berlin. About this experience, he would write,

I continually proved to be true what had long been a presentiment with me, namely, that even in these so-called lifeless stones and fragments of rock, torn from their original bed, there lay germs of transforming, developing energy and activity. Amidst the diversity of forms around me, I recognized under all kinds of various modifications one law of development. . . . And thereafter, my rocks and crystals served me as a mirror wherein I might descry mankind, and man's development and history. . . . Geology and crystallography not only opened up for me a higher circle of knowledge and insight, but also showed me a higher goal for my inquiry, my speculation, and my endeavour. Nature and man now seemed to me mutually to explain each other, through all their numberless various stages of development.

(Note the similarity to Darwin's comments on his delight in geology and "finding a fine group of fossil bones, which tell their story of former times with almost a living tongue." [See: 1882, below.])

In 1816, he established the Universal German Educational Institute at Griesheim, the next year moving it to Keilhau, where it continued until 1829. In 1826, he wrote *The Education of Man*, basically a book of philosophy, and it was here where he described his approach to teaching. The role of the teacher was to create an environment, encompassing the indoor classroom and the outdoor garden, in which the child feels secure and free to pursue a variety of activities of his own volition. As the child's learning proceeds, the teacher introduces subject matter that directly relates to the child's achieved learning and leads it forth, enabling the child to learn new and more complex principles, new and more complex skills, and thus providing basis for further growth in learning.

From 1831 to 1836, Fröbel was back in Switzerland, Wartensee, then Willisau, both in Lucerne, then Burgdorf in Berne. In 1837, he was once again in Germany where he decided to devote himself to preschool education. In Bad Blankenburg, Thuringia, he established an activity and play institute for preschool children and a factory to produce play and learning materials, materials which he named "Spielgabe" or "gifts" for the children in his institute.

These gifts to children from those who care for them are therefore to be joyfully received by the child. The first gift (They are in sequential order of presentation, starting with infancy.) was a box of crocheted yarn balls with yarn loops, representing Form, Color (red, yellow, blue, green, purple, orange), and Movement. Gift #2, and from here divided by Fröbel into Forms of Life, Forms of Beauty and Forms of Knowledge, was a box with a wooden sphere, cube, and cylinder. The sphere, a wooden ball, was to Fröbel a representation of God and of the child himself. (Fröbel always referred to children in the masculine.) No matter which way the ball rolled, it always retained its perfect essential being. Each gift is presented within a box and the child is to return each gilt to the box, thus providing each child repeated experiences in beginning, developing, and closing his activity. Using these gifts not only provide important learning experiences for each child, they also aid the parent and the teacher to observe what the child does with each gift, but how the child's activity with each gift changes and develops over time. Additionally, the teacher is aided by being able to compare each child's activity with the activity of the other children using the same gift. One essential aspect of each of the gifts is that they are open-ended, that is, they, unlike a jigsaw puzzle, allow for an array of possibilities, constrained only by the thing-ness of each item, i.e., the sphere rolls easily in every direction; the cube has six sides and does not roll, nor does it stand on a corner; the cylinder when set on its side will roll back and forth, and when set on either of its two ends, will not roll at all. Thus the child learns that he can impact the world, and the world, depending on the thing-ness of that part of the world, will respond in characteristic and repeatable ways. And it is in this way that the child learns of himself and of his world.

In 1840, he changed the name of his institute to "kindergarten," that is, a garden of children, a reference to the need for children to be nurtured when young, just as plants need to be nurtured in their garden. In addition to the play with gifts, his kindergarten included stories, singing, dancing, drawing, painting, gardening, and what he called *occupations,* such as paper-folding, paper-cutting, weaving, and clay modeling.

For some time, he had been writing pamphlets about his teaching methods, to little response. Then in 1843, he published *Mother's Songs, Games and Stories,* which sold well. His kindergarten began to receive many visitors from throughout Europe, and many were eager to establish kindergartens in their own countries. But Germany was a different matter. Germany was at that time controlled by an oppressive Prussian government which viewed all new ideas with alarm. In 1851, his kindergarten was banned. In 1851, Fröbel died. It would be eight years later that the State ban was lifted. The pity is the ban may not have had anything to do with Fröbel's kindergarten at all, but rather about some activity by one of Fröbel's enthusiasts.

Above, under Julia Ward Howe (Which see.), I remarked that the music which her words "Mine eyes have seen the coming of the glory of the Lord" were sung to had long legs, that is the music had also, at various times and places, been joined to words as diverse as "Say, brothers, will you meet us on Canaan's happy shore?" and "John Brown's body lies amouldering in the grave," and "When the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run," and "Little Peter Rabbit had a fly upon his nose." Now I assert that Fröbel's ideas had long legs.

I am not aware of any estimate of the number of children who attended Fröbel kindergartens, but it was surely in the millions. (See: Annie Lyon Howe, above.) But we do know of people whose childhood experience in kindergartens and with Fröbel's gifts in particular had decisive influence on who they became as adults and on the particular direction of their developing genius. I am thinking of the architects Frank Lloyd Wright, Buckminster Fuller, and Le Corbusier; the painters Pablo Picasso, Paul Klee, Josef Albers, Georges Braque, Wassily Kandinsky, and Piet Mondrian; the psychologist Alfred Adler and Lev Vygotsky; the educators Elizabeth Peabody, Marie Montessori and Rudolf Steiner. And also, for good measure, Helen Keller. Milton Bradley and Company of Springfield, Massachusetts, was the pioneer in the United States to produce Fröbel's gifts.

Fröbel's contemporary Friedrich Adolf Richter manufactured versions of Fröbel's blocks at his factory in Rudolstadt, Germany, with an artificial stone formula of quartz sand, chalk, and linseed oil. They were soon in middle-class German homes and soon after in middle-class homes throughout the world. Richter's Anchor Stone Building Sets extended far beyond Fröbel's blocks in a manner we have recently seen in the business model of LEGO of Denmark. Richter's factory continued after his death and survived both World Wars, but when Germany was divided, Rudolstadt was in Communist controlled East Germany, and the factory closed in 1963. In 1994, after the reunification of Germany, the Rudolstadt factory began making Richter's Anchor Stone Building Sets once again. And this happy state continues today. People

who connect with Fröbel's influence through the Anchor Blocks include Max Born, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Albert Einstein, Ivan Sutherland, and Walter Gropius.

It was as if there was a powder keg of energy just waiting for someone to set it off and release to the world preschool play and learning materials and it was Fröbel who lit the fuse, for in a matter of decades we had Tinker Toys, Patty Hill Blocks (bigger than the blocks included in Fröbel's Gifts), Caroline Pratt Unit Blocks (bigger than the Patty Hill Blocks), Erector Sets, Cuisenaire Rods, Color Cubes, Etch A Sketch, and, of course, LEGOs.

In the United States, Connecticut was famous for the high quality of its private academies (secondary schools), some of which were all-male, some co-ed, and some all-female, but all of which provided a classical education. They were "free" in the sense that all children could attend, however all academies charged a fee. These academies were local affairs, run by district committees, but eventually the state government began to support them in various ways that made the going easier. However, there was no overarching control by the state. Local funds for education stayed local, and the families and the local communities liked it that way, a state of affairs that would later become a problem when the state started to see the need for state action to improve the quality of education, not only in the academies, but-and most especially—for the common schools, the schools for the children before they entered the private academies, if they entered the private academies at all.

Henry Barnard (1811-1900) was born in Hartford, Connecticut, and, after unhappy experiences in the local common school, attended Monson Academy in Massachusetts before entering Yale University at age 15. At Yale he studied Latin, English, and Oratory; he had previously mastered Greek. It was at Yale that he learned about the educational work of Pestalozzi in Switzerland. With his own educational experiences, both happy and unhappy, he was drawn to Pestalozzi's educational work. On graduation, the president of Yale suggested that Henry teach in a public school in Pennsylvania and try out his ideas on education. He followed the president's advice, but only for a few months, finding the school to be a totally demoralizing experience, ranging from an inadequate building, a classroom devoid of appropriate teaching materials, the restricted curriculum, the lack of educational standards, the need for better trained teachers, and the almost total apathy concerning the school's educational program on the part of parents and the community. But his admiration of Pestalozzi and his eagerness to bring Pestalozzi's educational principles to the United States were undimmed. He returned to Yale, studied law, and passed the Hartford County Bar in 1835. After that, he spent some months traveling in the United States; in Washington D.C. he observed Congressional debates. Then he traveled to London where he was a delegate of the Connecticut Peace Society, after which he spent

over a year in Europe studying schools, both Pestalozzi's and Fröbel's, and school systems. This study would result in his 892 page book, *National Education in Europe: Being an Account of the Organization, Administration, Instruction, and Statistics of Public Schools of Different Grades in the Principal States,* published in 1854.

Back in Hartford, Barnard was elected, with Whigs and Republicans in the majority, to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1837. Once in the General Assembly, he wasted no time in drafting legislation to improve the system of education in Connecticut: in his first year he introduced the first legislation to create the Connecticut State Board of Commissioners of the Common Schools. (Also in 1837, Massachusetts created a Board of Education and appointed Horace Mann, also Barnard's friend, as secretary.) The Board would be staffed with a full-time secretary, who would be paid three dollars a day. After his friend the Rev. Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, the founder and principal of the Connecticut Asylum for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Persons (later renamed the American School for the Deaf) turned down the offered position, Barnard became the Board secretary, but for the first six months he worked pro bono, after which he accepted pay on a per diem basis until the position was abolished in 1842.

In 1838, Barnard initiated, edited, and wrote the Connecticut Common School Journal of the Connecticut Board of Commissioners of Common *Schools*. It was the first educational journal in the United States, and it continued to 1842, and again from 1851 to 1854.

Following along in the tradition of *The New* England Primer, it will surprise no one that education in later years in New England and elsewhere would continue its ties with religion. With the increase in population by various immigrant groups adhering to various Protestant denominations, these ties of education to religion caused great rifts in 1793 within the Connecticut General Assembly and throughout the State in relation to the proposed "An Act establishing a fund for the support of the Ministry and Schools of Education." Along with the constant drone of those against any taxation for any reason, these rifts continued until 1795, when a new, less ecclesiastical (not non-ecclesiastical, but lessened power given to the religious denominations) School Fund act was passed, providing each male teacher about \$36 for four winter months of teaching the school's children.

Also in 1838, Barnard organized the nation's first teacher-training institute, a six-week seminar designed to standardize teaching methods across the state. In addition to matters of the instruction and curriculum, he emphasized the importance of school libraries and upgrading the physical condition of the schools. (In too many cases, schools were held in buildings that were of little use for other purposes; that is the weren't good for housing or barns and storage.) In 1842, a dramatic change occurred in Connecticut's government. Jacksonian Democrats were elected as governor and as the majority of legislators. The Board of Commissioners was abolished and Barnard was out of a job. He didn't waste his time. He traveled from coast to coast, addressed legislatures in ten states, visited school districts, and collected materials for a projected history of American education.

Then in 1843, he was appointed as Rhode Island's first education commissioner, and immediately began to campaign for a state-supported normal school and public-school system. Not all of his goals for education in Rhode Island were achieved, but he introduced uniform textbooks to schools across the state and persuaded Rhode Islanders to pay higher school taxes in order to build new school houses and hire more qualified teachers. Because of ill health, he left Rhode Island in 1845 and returned to his home in Hartford. But he didn't cut all ties to Rhode Island; from 1846 to 1849, he edited the *Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction*.

Shortly after his return to Connecticut and in I'm proved health, he was once again elected to the Connecticut General Assembly.

Back to the Connecticut School Fund: in 1845, as Barnard recorded, Connecticut's School Fund provided \$1.40 for each child age four through sixteen, with no additional funds provided, at least during that year, by either parents of the children or any of the much lauded ecclesiastical societies. It was a disastrous situation for everyone directly involved. But, hey, in 1795, Connecticut was the first state to have such a law, so it was, for the state, a source of pride. But for Barnard, it was an abomination. The impoverishment of the majority of schools in Connecticut and the unwillingness to see the need for improvement, made Barnard's work most difficult. It didn't help that neighboring Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York were making significant gains in their public education systems. Connecticut wasn't called the Land of Steady Habits for nothing. But Barnard did what he could.

In 1848, Barnard founded the Connecticut State Teachers' Association and traveled throughout the State to lead training institutes for common school teachers. After political jostling by owners of private academies and fiscal conservatives, and with the example of Massachusetts and then New York, Barnard finally convinced a majority of the General Assembly in 1849 to pass the Normal School Act. This Act ruled that Connecticut would establish a normal school to train teachers for the state's common schools and that students would be admitted to the normal school with equal representation of the sexes. Barnard was appointed to become Connecticut's superintendent of all common schools and (surely to save the state's money) also principal of the Normal School. New Britain was selected to be the location for the Normal School because of its central location within the state and its easy access by transportation; it opened in 1850. (Barnard's book on school architecture was also published in 1850.) His annual reports to the General Assembly not only spread his ideas on education within Connecticut but throughout the nation and Europe when they were published in book form and became widely disseminated. Barnard remained the Connecticut Superintendent of the Common Schools and principal of the Normal School until 1853, when his health declined again.

But his ill health didn't stop him from starting a new project in 1855, the publication at his own expense of the *American Journal of Education*. This publication continued until 1881 for a total of 31 volumes. This *Journal* became an encyclopedia of education, and it has been considered as one of the greatest achievements in the field of education by one person. Now his reputation was worldwide.

In 1852, Barnard had been offered the position of President of the University of Michigan, which he declined in order to continue his work in Connecticut. The offers of prestigious positions continued, and in 1859 he was offered the position of chancellor of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, but for one year only. Then in 1866, he was president of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. Then, from Washington D.C. came an offer even greater than being president of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. In 1867, he was requested to come to D.C. to become the first United States Commissioner of Education, a position he held until 1870. In this position, he laid the foundation for the subsequent work of the Bureau of Education.

Barnard popularized Froebel's philosophy in his Common School Journal and the American Journal of Education, which continued to 1880 and his retirement.

In 1859, he published a collection of Pestalozzi's writings with his commentary, *Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism: Life, Educational Principles, and Methods of John Henry Pestalozzi; with Biographical Sketches of Several of His Assistants and Disciples.* 

In 1883, the State Normal School in New Britain, Connecticut, became the first normal school in the U.S. to be built to include a kindergarten. Even better, it included two kindergarten classrooms. They were under the direction of Clara W. Mingins, with the assistance of Fannibelle Curtis. So students of the Normal School were not only able to observe kindergarten children, but also practice teach in a kindergarten classroom. By including kindergarten in the State Normal School, Connecticut simultaneously became the first state to include kindergarten within its entire states' public school system. The kindergarten certainly attracted attention. When the artist Kenneth A. Larson was preparing to head a local group of preservationists to recommend a New Britain neighborhood of about 145 buildings dating from 1840 to 1930, immediately southwest of the central business district, for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (which was successfully achieved in 1975), he made a woodcut of the Normal School. (A copy of that woodcut can be seen on the website <u>www.hillsideplacecondo.com</u>, More History, "Reflections and Additional Information Concerning the History of 27 Hillside Place.") Very prominently in that woodcut, Larson wrote,

NEW BRITAIN NORMAL SCHOOL BUILT: 1881 • OPENED IN 1883 BUILT ON A "COMMANDING SITE OVERLOOKING THE CITY AND THE COUNTRY" (D.N.CAMP) SITE OF FOUNDING OF ONE OF THE FIRST KINDERGARTEN IN THE U.S.A. BY MISS CLARA MINGINS SUPERVISOR—CIRCA : 1883 (N.E. FOWLER)

Of the people who played key roles in the development of early childhood education up to the time of the Connecticut State Normal School in New Britain (Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Fröbel, and Barnard), it is interesting to note that all would agree with Einstein's comment, "... how much superior an education based on free action and personal responsibility is to one relying on outward authority."

Of those five, Pestalozzi, Fröbel, and Barnard had unhappy experiences when young. Of those three, Pestalozzi and Fröbel lived their lives devoted to directly providing children with joyful and playful learning experiences. Barnard devoted his life to improving the quality of teaching in the United States, and also tirelessly spreading the teaching philosophies of Pestalozzi and Fröbel.

(Note: for later developments in early childhood education in the United States, see 1893 and Mildred J. Hill and Patty Smith Hill, below.)

**1874.** The London School of Medicine for Women was founded.

**1874.** Ferdinand Braun, German physicist, and inventor, discovered the principle of crystal diode rectification, having two-years before gained his PhD. from the University of Berlin. Later his work lead to crystal radio receivers, the cathode-ray oscilloscope, television receivers, wireless telegraphy, and radio transmission and detection for navigation. In 1909, Braun and Guglielmo Marconi shared the Nobel Prize for Physics.

Braun and Marconi's work on telegraphy was far from the initial steps in communication over distances. This had been achieved by drums, smoke, lantern (as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow recounted about Paul Revere: "One if by land, two if by sea"), hoisting flags, and mirrors, but all of these auditory and visual methods required simultaneous involvement of sender and receiver. They were also restricted to fairly short distances. Communication over longer distances without simultaneous involvement of sender and receiver was achieved by runners, horseback riders, and by being carried on ships and railroads. And such communication over great distances might require days, weeks, months, even years. And there was always the chance, often a great chance, that the message would never reach its intended destination, with the sender never knowing the message was not received, and the receiver never knowing that a message had been sent.

Following the footsteps of many scientists over many decades, the American inventor Samuel F. B. Morse (1791-1872) became interested in the puzzle of combining electromagnetism to telecommunications and devised a code using short and long signals, called the Morse code. Although other scientists and inventors worked on electrical telecommunication, Morse is widely credited with inventing the single-wire recording telegraph. A few notes on Samuel F. B. Morse. He had an interesting life. He studied mathematics, philosophy, and electricity at Yale University. He became an accomplished landscape painter, studying in England with Benjamin West at the Royal Academy. (During this time, the States and England were engaged in the War of 1812.) On his return to the States after a three-year stay in England, he set up a studio in Boston, and he got married.

Unfortunately, he found that his large, sweeping landscapes were admired but rarely purchased. What sold were portraits. He began to travel about and to paint many portraits of political figures and successful businessmen, portraits that skillfully and romantically captured what was considered the spirit, the soul, and most certainly the importance of the people, mostly men, portrayed.

Once when he was working in Washington, D.C., he learned by way of horse messenger that his wife in Connecticut, following her giving birth to their third child, had taken a turn for the worse, and died. She was buried before he could get to her. He dedicated his life from then on to pursuing telecommunication in the hope that others, in the future, would not suffer as he had.

One additional point, this timeline has recorded many people who were active abolitionists. Morse was not. In 1863, he wrote "An Argument on the Ethical Position of Slavery in the social system, and its relation to the politics of the day" in which he stated:

Slavery per se is not sin. It is a social condition ordained from the beginning of the world for the wisest purposes, benevolent and disciplinary, by Divine Wisdom. The mere holding of slaves, therefore, is a condition having per se nothing of moral character in it, any more than the being a parent, or employer, or ruler.

He was also anti-Catholic (his father Jedidiah Morse was a pastor of the Calvinist faith) and anti-immigrant, especially opposed to the Irish and the Germans who "worshiped the Pope." He even ran for mayor of New York City in 1836 as a candidate of the Nativist Party. He was unsuccessful in the mayoral race, but he continued his politicking to have the U.S. refuse immigration from countries with large numbers of Catholics. Some states did begin to pass anti-immigration laws, but the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1875 that immigration was the responsibility of the federal government, not the individual states. And it was 1882 that, with the Chinese Exclusion Act, the U.S. enacted a law against any immigrant group based on race or nationality. Morse, if he had lived to see it, wouldn't have had much grounds to complain that the Chinese worshipped the Pope.

Now back to the telegraph. Interestingly, the first use for this new communication devise was to follow the movement of weather events. With the telegraph, people could state the current weather, others could discover that later they would experience the same weather pattern, while still others never saw that weather pattern. By the keeping of records and plotting this information on a map, the movement of weather patterns were revealed. Up to this time, information regarding future weather was sought by observation of current weather, the temperature, the winds, the sky, the cloud formations, the moon with its changing shape and color, tales told by those who could tell of past events, and the consultation of learned books. With the electric telegraph, the field of scientific weather forecasting had begun.

In 1861, Western Union Telegraph Company completed the transcontinental telegraph from Washington, D.C. to San Francisco, California, allowing President Lincoln in Washington D. C., to instantaneously receive a telegram from San Francisco. And with the electric telegraph spanning great distances, as it did along the transcontinental railroad, the information gathered for the records and the plotting and the map study, new and invaluable information on the weather became available to aid the farmer about when to plant, when watering was needed, when to harvest, when to ship. And it helped railroad companies to ensure the safety of their train stock and of their workers because most early rail lines were single, not double, that is there was one stretch of rail, requiring that a train going in one direction needed to be off the track before any train could go in the opposite direction. Before electric telegraphs were used, crashes were a constant concern and train stock and workers were always at risk.

**1875.** Francis E. Butler was born in 1847 in Ireland and immigrated with his family to the United States when he was 16. He later established himself as Frank E. Butler and a marksman in traveling variety shows. In 1875, as a public relations gambit in Cincinnati, he placed a \$100 bet that he could outshoot any local willing to compete with him. One person came forward, 15-year-old Phoebe Ann Mosey. Phoebe Ann had begun shooting when 8-years-old to provide food for her widowed mother and her siblings. Frank E. Butler was not expecting to see a girl take on his bet, and a 5-foot-tall, 15-year-old girl, at that. But the contest went on, and to Frank E. Butler's amazement, Phoebe Ann won after 25 rounds.

Surprises continued. After being publicly emasculated by this small, young girl, Frank E. Butler turned around and courted her: they married a year later. After changing her name to Annie Oakley, the two of them joined William Cody's "Buffalo Bill's Wild West," the extremely successful traveling extravaganza, where Oakley took star billing and collected the highest salary after Cody. According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Oakley never failed to delight her audiences, and her feats of marksmanship were truly incredible. At 30 paces she could split a playing card held edge-on, she hit dimes tossed into the air, she shot cigarettes from her husband's lips, and, a playing card being thrown into the air, she riddled it before it touched the ground.

**1875.** Classes began at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, with Ada Howard as president and dedicated to the goal of preparing women for "great conflicts, for vast reforms in social life."

**1875**. *The Gross Clinic* was painted by Thomas Cowperthwait Eakins. Born in Philadelphia, he studied drawing and anatomy at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and anatomy and dissection at Jefferson Medical College of Thomas Jefferson University, both in Philadelphia.

Dr. Samuel D. Gross was a famous Philadelphia surgeon and *The Gross Clinic* depicts him in the Medical College surgical amphitheater presiding over an operation, with medical students crowding around. Part of a bone is being removed from a patient's thigh. There is, to the side, a woman shielding her eyes; thought to be the patient's mother, it is the only show of emotion in the room. To our eyes, the painting reveals a lack of hygiene, what with the clustering of men in black frock coats over the patient on the operating table. (Surely, those frock coats had been worn everywhere the men had been that day, and very likely the preceding days as well.) But the picture depicts surgical environments of the time. Interestingly, because it shows the changes then occurring in science and medical practice, in 1889 Eakins painted *The Agnew Clinic*, which also shows an operation, but this time a more hygienic environment, with "white coats" being worn over regular clothing and with fewer people directly attending. *The Agnew Clinic* also includes a nurse.

At 96 by 78 inches, *The Gross Clinic* was difficult to overlook. Dark and uncompromising in its realism, few people found it to their liking; the college bought it for \$200. Over time, perceptions changed and people not only realized that it was an invaluable document of medical history, specifically Philadelphia medical history, but also perhaps Eakins' greatest painting. In 2006, Jefferson Medical College agreed to sell The Gross Clinic to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art in Bentonville, Arkansas, for \$68,000,000. That agreement may have been an attempt to marshal local philanthropists to match this amount to ensure that the painting would remain in Philadelphia. If, indeed, that was the goal of the College's agreement, it worked, but only after deaccessioning other Eakins works by the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The Gross *Clinic* can be seen today at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

And if that is not enough to satisfy your curiosity, you can find a reproduction hanging on a wall at Thomas Jefferson University.

**1875.** Darwin thought men's eminence over women was the outcome of sexual selection, a view disputed by Antoinette Brown Blackwell in her 1875 book *The Sexes Throughout Nature*.

**1876.** The appetite by the U.S. Government for increased land and riches in the western territories free of Indigenous Native people lead to many battles and the creation of, first, territories, then reservations where the Native people were allowed to live. But when the U.S. realized that there were still riches to be found in these reservations, steps were taken by political decree to mobilize the Indian Service or the cavalry to reclaim the now wanted areas of the reservations, thus pushing the Native people into more crowded and poorer land, often depriving them of their livelihoods, and causing more hunger, disease, and death.

After the United States was formed and its government up and running, the skirmishes and wars with the Indians continued, and also treaties and laws: all to deal with the Indian Problem. (There were even some private sales of land between individual Whites and individual Indians, people who had become congenial.) The indigenous people were most often pushed away so the new Americans could take what they wanted. This happened not only in the Northeast and the Southeast, but on the vast plains of the West. On the plains, Indian Territories and then reservations were created by law and treaty to contain the Indians and separate them from the newer arrivals. The Indian Territories were rather loosely organized areas. The reservations took their place and were smaller. The reservations were areas of containment for Indian Nations as they were decided upon by the U.S. Government; they were under the authority of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs provided Christian missionaries to "educate" and bring the Christian religion to the Indians. All of these efforts would take care of the Indian Problem.

Sometimes Indian Nations which were agrarian were pushed together with Indian Nations which were primarily hunters and gathers. Sometimes Indian Nations which had not always been amicable were pushed together into one reservation. Often the land designated for a reservation lacked the productivity to support the numbers of Indians there. But such details were not a problem for the U.S. Government. The Indians could deal with it. They have theirs. We have ours.

In 1868, the U.S. Government signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie in which they declared that the designated Indian Territory, one half of what is now South Dakota and included the Black Hills, belonged to the Sioux Nation, with both the Sioux and the Cheyanne living there. This meant that no White could claim any part of that territory. That is what the Sioux and the Cheyanne wanted. That is why they signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie. But sometimes events got in the way of this area is yours, Indians, and all of the rest is ours. Sometimes events would reveal that Territory land and that Reservation land, land that had been so carefully planned to exclude anything that the Whites would value, sometimes surprising events would happen. And such a surprising event happened in the Black Hills.

About five years after the Treaty of Fort Laramie was signed, scouts in the U.S. 7th Cavalry Regiment, under Custer's command, discovered gold in the Black Hills. This caused, inevitably, a gold rush. Custer, for the U.S. Government and in violation of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, wanted to buy the Black Hills from the Sioux. The Sioux and the Cheyanne refused to cede ownership to the U.S. Battles ensued. The most famous was the Battle of Little Bighorn along the Little Bighorn River in the Crow Indian Reservation in southeastern Montana Territory in 1876.

The Sioux Nation had long been enemies of the Crow Nation. There had been skirmishes between the Sioux and the Crow Nations over buffalo hunting. A buffalo could keep many families fed through a winter and the fur provided many with warm protection. A successful buffalo hunt was a matter of survival. But buffalo were big and powerful animals. And smart. It just so happened that in the Crow Reservation there was an area near the confluence of the Yellowstone and Little Bighorn Rivers where buffalo were often found and the geography was such that the Crow had success in hunting them.

Nearby, members of the Sioux Nation also wanted to benefit from this buffalo hunting success, but they were rebuffed by the Crow. Of course the White settlers wanted to benefit as well: they built a military fort to protect the increasing numbers of new homesteaders and also to trade. But beyond these local concerns, there was the U.S. Government's broader concern of how to reduce, if not end, the Indian Problem: if buffalo were eliminated from the western plains, then the Indians on the plains would stop their roaming and be willing to settle down on their reservations. (It is no accident that the proposed and eventual route of the transcontinental railroad went through the heart of the buffalo hunting area; it was envisioned that buffalo could be killed from the trains, and that is exactly what happened.)

When the Sioux continued their efforts to kill buffalo on the Crow Reservation, some of the Crows enlisted with the U.S. army

as scouts (and were referred to as "agency Indians") in an effort to push the Sioux from Crow land.

George Armstrong Custer had a military career. A West Point graduate, in the Civil War he participated in many battles, including Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, and Petersburg, and he rose in rank to Major General. He was present at Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox. In Reconstruction, Custer served the U.S. occupation forces in Texas, then he joined President Andrew Johnson in his "Swing Around the Circle," the disastrous campaign tour by Johnson to increase support among those in the North for his efforts to restore power and wealth to former slaveowners in the South and to reduce any rights given to formerly enslaved people. After that, he was put in command of the U.S. 7th Cavalry Regiment assigned to the West to scout the Indian Problem there, subsequently leading to fights against the Cheyenne, Lakota, and Sioux Nations.

Sitting Bull also had had a remarkable career. A Hunkpapa Lakota, one of seven branches of the Lakota Nation, he was a spiritual leader who had long led his people in resisting U.S. Government policies.

Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse led a group of Sioux against the U.S. Army, killing General Custer and many of his men.

In 1893, William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody changed the title to Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World. The show began with a parade on horseback, with participants from horse-culture groups that included US and other military, cowboys, Native Americans, and performers from all over

the world in their best attire. Many famous westerners participated in the show. For example, Sitting Bull appeared with a band of 20 of his braves.

**1876**. The Centennial Exposition was held in Philadelphia to celebrate the founding of the United States. Over ten million people attended. It featured the achievements of capitalism and (surely there was no intention here) failed to mention the current economic depression and the crushing conditions of factory workers. African Americans were recognized, but only by a Southern Restaurant with "a band of old-time plantation 'darkies." Women received a bit more attention: Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton burst upon the July 4th celebration to read their "Woman's Declaration of Independence." It was also in July that word of the battle between General Custer and the Army, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and the Sioux reached people at the Exposition. They learned—or were reminded—that Custer and the Army had acted on government broken promises. They were impressed by Sioux pertinacity in defending their way of life.

**1877**. Trinity Church, Back Bay, Boston, was completed by Henry Hobson Richardson. Richardson, educated at Harvard and the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, developed an architectural style that became known as Richardson Romanesque, which stimulated a host of followers who built in the style from coast to coast and throughout Europe. He, along with Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959), are considered to be the "holy trinity" of American architecture. Richardson's best known and most loved building is Trinity Church (1872-1877) on Copley Square, Boston, although it is not his most characteristic. In Connecticut, much more characteristic are his widely admired Cheney Building (1875-1876) in Hartford and the Union Station (1885-1887) in New London.

Amos P. Cutting built many churches in the Richardson Romanesque style in New England, including Trinity United Methodist Church (1891) in New Britain, at Main and Chestnut. This building consists of a tall, sturdy tower straddled by two unequal bowed wings, with exterior walls of rough-cut grey granite. The building presently houses Trinity-on-Main.

**1877.** With widespread fraud and corruption in Washington D.C. and most of the states, with disarray and weak leadership within both the Republican and Democratic Parties, with deep divisions among the Republicans concerning Reconstruction, with the Senate having Republicans in the majority and the House of Representatives having Democrats in the majority, the United States Presidential election was a mess. Held in 1876, it was still undecided well into 1877. Violence by thousands of "well armed men" was threatened; there was much talk of another civil war. Out of the Kansas Republican state committee came this prediction, "I think the policy of the new Administration will be to conciliate the white men of the South, Carpetbaggers to the rear, and niggers take care of themselves." The Chicago Tribune printed, "The long finality over the black man seems to have reached a finality." The Nation printed, The negro will disappear from the field of national politics. Henceforth, the nation, as a nation, will have nothing more to do with him." The Electoral Commission Law was enacted to create some order and, in the face of the Constitution's vagueness on the matter, try to figure out how to proceed in that highly contested race. But even the Electoral Commission was racked with threats and division,

resulting in what was called the Compromise of 1877: Republican Rutherford B. Hayes would become president of the United States and the Army would be withdrawn from all Southern States. And thus, Reconstruction came to its ignominious end.

Erik Foner, in his *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* quotes W.E.B. Du Bois, "the slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery." Then, in his own voice, Foner wrote, "Among other things, 1877 marked a decisive retreat from the idea, born during the Civil War, of a powerful national state protecting the fundamental rights of American citizens. Yet the federal government was not rendered impotent in all matters—only those concerning blacks." He continues,

What remains certain is that Reconstruction failed, and that for blacks its failure was a disaster whose magnitude cannot be obscured by the genuine accomplishments that did endure. For the nation as a whole, the collapse of reconstruction was a tragedy that deeply affected the course of its future development. For the nation as a whole, the collapse of Reconstruction was a tragedy that deeply affected the course of its future development. If racism contributed to the undoing of Reconstruction, by the same token Reconstruction's demise and the emergence of blacks as a disenfranchised class of dependent laborers greatly facilitated racism's further spread, until by the early twentieth century it had become more deeply embedded in the nation's culture and politics than at any time since the beginning of the antislavery crusade and perhaps in our entire history. The removal of a significant portion of the nation's laboring population from public life shifted the center of gravity of American politics to

the right, compelling the task of reformers for generations to come. Long into the twentieth century, the South remained a one-party region under the control of a reactionary ruling elite who used the same violence and fraud that had helped defeat Reconstruction to stifle internal dissent. An enduring consequence of Reconstruction's failure, the Solid South helped define the contours of American politics and weaken the prospects not simply of change in racial matters but of progressive legislation in many other realms.

**1878.** The University of London becomes the first university in the UK to admit women on equal terms with men.

**1878.** G. Stanley Hall, born in Ashfield, Massachusetts, studied at Harvard and, in 1878, earned the first Ph.D. in Psychology in America. He went on to become professor of psychology and pedagogics at Johns Hopkins University (1882), the founder of the *American Journal of Psychology* (1887), the first president of Clark University (1889), and the first president of the American Psychological Association (1892). His work was critical to the academic study of child and adolescent development and, in his later years, gerontology.

**1879.** Thomas Edison patented his incandescent lamp with a carbon filament.

**1879.** The U.S. Congress authorizes women lawyers to practice before the Supreme Court, with Belva Ann Bennett Lockwood being the first of many.

**1879.** The F.W. Woolworth Great Five-Cent Store opens in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Stocking a line of inexpensive merchandise in what came to be called "Five and Dimes," Frank Winfield Woolworth pioneered the purchase of goods directly from manufacturers, setting the specific selling price of items, and displaying items on counters in easy reach of customers, thus reducing the needs for large sales staffs and reducing the stores' overhead. Building the Woolworth Building in N.Y.C. in 1913, he died in 1919, owning more than 1,000 stores worldwide and valued at more than \$76 million.

For all of his good fortune, Woolworth could not have foreseen how his stores would play a part in civil rights history many years into the future. Inspired by the non-violent teachings of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and in an effort to put pressure on businesses and politicians to end racial segregation in the southern United States, a sit-in by college students took place at the lunch counter at the Woolworth store in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960. This was soon followed by sit-ins in Nashville, Tennessee, but not just at the Woolworth, in Nashville there were also sit-ins at S.H. Kress, McLellans, Harveys, Grants, Cain-Sloan, Greyhound, Trailways, and Moon-McGrath. When one student got knocked down or arrested, another would move to the counter. Again and again, day after day, week after week, month after month, hundreds of students (with John Lewis among them) in peaceful protest against racial injustice, and soon extending throughout the South. When jailed, they would sing "We Shall Overcome" and other civil rights songs to keep in touch with each other, to maintain their spirits, and to impress upon their jailers that they, and the whole injustice system of which they were a part, were losing, and would continue to lose, this fight for justice.

Despite many violent retaliations by Whites supporting segregation and White supremacy, eventually the lunch counters and other public spaces were desegregated, responding, surely, more to the impact of the economic loss than any moral or ethical decision on the various companies' part. Nevertheless, the sit-ins lead the way for many businesses to end their segregation practices.

**1879.** The term "anti-Semitism" was first popularized by German journalist Wilhelm Marr in 1879 to describe hatred or hostility toward Jews.

**1879.** The building of the Connecticut State Capital was completed in Hartford, next to the Bushnell Park, the first park to be publicly funded in the U.S. At this time Hartford was the center of a thriving, bustling community, living up to Gilded Age excess in every way. The governor and legislature had been holding their state business in Hartford and New Haven in alternate years, but the decision was made that this back and forth would end: they would do their work in Hartford and Hartford needed a Capital for them to do their work. The Capital that was build, a grand and ornate structure and reflecting many styles, was designed by Richard M. Upjohn, an architect who was born in England and whose practice primarily had been designing churches. However, he had had a competitor in the bid for this most important construction project. James Batterson was a Hartford insurance executive of great wealth and social standing in the community. He also had, on the side, a stone cutting business. The Capital was to be built of stone. Batterson was able to become the superintendent of the project, and this position enabled him, shall we say, to adjust, modify, and improve some of Upjohn's plans.

Many of the changes were fairly small. One was huge: Upjohn wanted a clock tower as the topmost element; Batterson wanted a dome. The Capital is capped by a dome. And I doubt there is anyone today who regrets that change.

**1879.** "La Marseillaise," the French national anthem, was composed in one night during the French Revolution (April 24, 1792) by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, a captain of the engineers and amateur musician stationed in Strasbourg in 1792. It was played at a patriotic banquet at Marseilles, and printed copies were given to the revolutionary forces then marching on Paris. They entered Paris singing this song, and to it they marched to the Tuileries on August 10th. Ironically, Rouget de Lisle was himself a royalist and refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new constitution. He was imprisoned and barely escaped the guillotine. Originally entitled "Chant de guerre de l'armeé du Rhin" ("War Song of the Army of the Rhine"), the anthem became to be called "La Marseillaise" because of its popularity with volunteer army units from Marseilles. The Convention accepted it as the French national anthem in a decree passed July 14, 1795. La Marseillaise was banned by Napoleon during the Empire, and by Louis XVIII on the Second Restoration (1815), because of its revolutionary associations. Authorized after the July Revolution of 1830, it was again banned by Napoleon III and not reinstated until 1879.

**1879.** Romualdo Pacheco, having previously served as governor of California, became the first hispanic elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served for over ten years. After that service, he became Envoy Extraordinary and

Minister Plenipotentiary to the Central American States, then to Honduras and Guatemala.

**1880.** Edwin Drake (b.1819) in 1859 drilled the first productive oil well in Titusville, Pennsylvania. But he never patented his invention that allowed for his successful drilling of petroleum oil from deep wells. And, after a series of imprudent business deals, he died penniless in 1880.

1880. The U.S. census counted 50,155,783 individuals.

**1880.** At Siloam, near Jerusalem, 16-year-old Jacob Eliyahu, a Sephardic Jew, set out on an adventure. With his friend Samson at the spring and him at the Pool of Sloam, he explored a water tunnel beneath the City of David, built on a mountain for strategic reasons. The tunnel, according to 2 Kings 20:20 in the Hebrew Bible, had been cut through limestone at the end of the eighth century BCE by King Hezekiah. This was part of a hydraulic system beyond anything achieved by engineers anywhere else at that time. It provided fresh water into the City from a spring on the plain below. In his exploration, with his hands moving along a wall, Jacob Eliyahu came upon an inscription in palaeo-Hebrew letters cut into the limestone, one that, seemingly, had hitherto gone unnoticed by previous explorers. He could not decipher the writing, that required the arrival of Professor Archibald Sayce, the Oxford Assyriologist.

As related in Simon Schama's *The Story of the Jews:* Finding the Words 1000 BC - 1492 AD (2013),

... and this is the story [dvr] of the tunnel ... while the men wielded the pickaxes, each man towards his fellow and while there were still three cubits to go there was heard a man's voice calling to his fellow for there was a fissure in the rock on the right and [on the left]. And on the day it was broken through, the hewers struck [the rock] each man towards his fellow, axe against axe. And the water flowed from the spring towards the pond for one thousand and two hundred cubits. And a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the heads of the hewers.

This is the earliest inscription by Jews known to us. Yet it is not the story of mighty kings and rulers, not an account of mighty armies and triumphant wars. Rather is a the story of a group of Jewish workers, laborers who far underground cut through limestone to bring fresh water to people in the City of David. And we know this because a 16-year-old named Jacob Eliyahu, with his friend Samson, decided one day in 1880 to go on an adventure.

**1880**. Baseball recorded the first perfect game. The lefthanded Lee Richmond of the Worcester, Massachusetts, Ruby Legs ball team, pitched a 1-0 shutout of the Cleveland Spiders in a National League game.

**1880**. Robert Louis Stevenson and his bride, Fanny Osbourne, honeymooned at Mount St. Helena in the Mayacamas Mountains of California, then moved to the Napa Valley where he worked on his novel *Treasure Island*.

. Cologne Cathedral, begun in 1248, was completed.

**1880.** Henry Draper took the first photograph of the Orion Nebula.

. The first ball-point pen was patented by Alonzo T. Cross.

. James A. Garfield was elected 20th president, with Republican James Garfield getting 48.27% to Democrat Winfield Hancock's 48.25%, a difference of less than 2,000 votes. Garfield was shot by a disgruntled office seeker four months into his presidency.

. French actor of Dutch Jewish heritage, Sarah Bernhardt (born Henriette Rosine Bernard), long the reigning stage figure in Paris and London, began her U.S. tour, topping her successes in Europe.

.. William Grace, a shipping magnate, was elected mayor of New York City, putting the Irish in control of the city politics.

. The number of workers engaged in industry exceeded the number of people engaged in agriculture in both the United States and in Germany.

. Death of Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky, Russian novelist (*Crime & Punishment, The Brothers Karamazov*). Known for their great psychological depth, his works have been translated into over 170 languages.

**1881**. The first African American nursing school opened at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia.

**1881**. The Offenbach (d.1880) opera, *Les Contes d'Hoffman* (T*ales of Hoffman*), had its premiere at the Opera Comique in Paris. The premier did not include the gondola scene. It was not until 1911 that this scene and this music, now the most famous music in the opera, was performed, the barcarolle by soprano and alto duet, "Belle nuit, ô nuit d'amour" ("Beautiful night, oh night of love").

**1881**. Kansas became the first state to prohibit all alcoholic beverages.

**1881**. California became the first state to pass plant quarantine legislation.

**1881**. The Richard D'oily Carte's Savoy Theatre opens in the City of Westminster, London, becoming the first public building to be entirely lit (both front of house and stage) by electric light bulbs, which were developed by Joseph William Swan and powered by the Swan Electric Light Company.

**1881**. The French impressionist painter Pierre-Auguste Renoir completed his painting *Le déjeuner des canotiers* (*Luncheon of the Boating Party*), a group portrait of his friends, including his future wife. It was sold to Duncan Philips in 1923 for \$125,000. and is now arguably the favorite work in The Philips Collection in Washington, D.C. In Jean-Pierre Jeunet's 2001 film, known in English as *Amélie*, this painting played a prominent part. **1881**. A tunnel wide enough for a stagecoach to drive through was cut into the base of a giant sequoia tree (227 feet in height, and 26 feet in diameter at the base) in Mariposa Grove, later a part of Yosemite National Park. Called the Wawona Tunnel Tree, it became a major attraction for tourists. In 1969, after particularly heavy snow cover, the sequoia, estimated at around 2,300 years old, fell. However, it remains a major tourist attraction with the name Fallen Tunnel Tree.

**1881**. Joaquin Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908), who wrote novels, plays, poetry, and short stories, is widely considered Brazil's greatest writer, with his novels and short stories among the greatest in the world. Assis published his ground breaking and influential work *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* (*The Posthumous Memoirs of Bras Cubas*) in 1881. Narrated by Cubas from the grave, it begins with his death, proceeds to his childhood, then on from there, with Assis often breaking through the "fourth wall" by speaking directly to the reader. This work, stark, philosophical, and devoid of sentimentality, has been a major influence on the works John Barth, Donald Barthelme, and Woody Allen.

**1881**. Augustus and Charles Storrs donated 180 acres of land in Mansfield, Connecticut, for the creation of the Storrs Agricultural School on a site that previously housed orphans who lost parents in the Civil War. In 1889, it changed its name to the Connecticut Agricultural College. Now it is the University of Connecticut. **1881**. Attempts had been made on his life in 1866, 1879, and 1880. In 1881 at age 62 and after a reign of 26 years, Alexander II (Alexander Nikolaevich Romanov), Tsar of Russia, King of Poland, and the grand duke of Finland, was assassinated.

All of these assassination attempts were executed by members of the Narodnaya Volya ("People's Freedom"), an idealist and, as they would become, an underground rebel and nihilist political group of young intellectuals in alignment with, they always hoped, the masses of peasants from throughout Russia. Their stated goal was to create a revolution that would insure, to quote one of their documents, "complete freedom of conscience, speech, press, assembly, association, and electoral agitation."

The history of Russia had long been one of long, cold, and hungry winters with the autocratic rulers aligned with the Russian Orthodox Church in opposition to anything not traditionally Russian, to any person of low rank, and to anything foreign. But there have been exceptions, at least to some degree. Alexander II was such an exception. However, the fact that Russia was still ruled by a tzar, that multitudes of peasants still went hungry, that Russia had not moved quickly toward being a democratic state as had many countries in Europe, all of this fueled the consciences and sparked the behavior of the Narodnaya Volya members.

In contrast to his father Nicholas I and many preceding rulers of Russia, Alexander II embarked on reform, with the most audacious and consequential being, in 1861, the emancipation of Russia's surfs who lived in private estates and those in domestic service. By so doing, more than 23 million were given their freedom. They could now marry without another's consent, and, for those who lived in private estates, they could buy and own property. In 1866, state-owned surfs were also freed, with good land allotments.

Unfortunately, many of the freed found themselves worse off than before. Not all former surf owners were happy with their new and reduced economic and social positions. Not all former surf owners were kind toward those who had previously been surfs. The emancipation did change the Russian economy, with the advent of capitalism and free trade modeled on that of many European countries. Local governments were established and the judiciary was reorganized on the model of that in France.

In 1855 there were 570 miles of railroad track in Russia. (Russia, it must be noted, was and is the largest country in the world. Next in size is Canada, then China, then the United States.) By 1880, there were 14,208 miles of track, thus increasing travel, communication, and the transport of grain for increased foreign trade. Alexander II also promoted university education and enforced universal military service. He supported Finland and the Finnish language, making it a national language there, along with Swedish. And in 1867, he sold Alaska to the United States for the price of \$7.2 million dollars.

But the assassination attempt in 1866 on his life and subsequent attempts had the effect of causing Alexander II to become increasingly conservative, more in line with his father. He removed liberal ministers and replaced them with conservative ones; he replaced university courses that promoted critical thinking with ones that were more conservative, ones more approved of by the Church; he had political offenders exiled and show trials held; separatist movements were suppressed with hundreds of Poles executed and thousands sent to Siberia; and Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Belarussian could not be used in printed texts. All of this made the Narodnaya Volya members more determined.

Alexander II's death was especially gruesome: bleeding heavily, with two shattered legs, his abdomen torn open, and his face violently disfigured. Both his son Alexander III and his grandson Nicholas II accompanied the Tzar that fateful afternoon. The horror was to drive the remainder of their lives. Alexander III became Emperor of Russia, and succeeding him, Nicholas became the last Emperor of Russia. Both of them were stern autocrats who promoted Russian Orthodoxy, that Russia have a single nationality, language, and religion. And both of them lived for the rest of their lives with the constant fear that they, too, would be assassinated. Would it be now? What is that movement over there? Would it be tomorrow? What if my children were also killed? Such thinking was forever the music they heard in their ears.

One of Alexander II's last acts before his death was to propose a new and liberal constitution for Russia. One of Alexander III's first acts was to bury that proposal.

Two years after the assassination, Alexander III had work started on The Church of Our Savior on the Spilled Blood. Completed in 1907, it is a church of great beauty, famed for its richly ornamented and colorful onion domes; its 7700 square meters of mosaics on the exterior and the walls and ceilings of the interior; its icon laden iconostasis, the screen which separates the sanctuary from the nave; and the Church's enclosure of the road on which the czar had been driving, with a ciborium covered with semiprecious stones marking the exact spot where Alexander III's father had been attacked. Looted and badly damaged during the Russian Revolution of 1917, it was closed as a church, only to reopen as a museum in 1997.

It had became clear that what the Narodnaya Volya only really hoped for was to kill the Tzar. And this they did. And this turned out to be their major, perhaps their only, accomplishment. They attempted to assassinate Alexander III, but the plot was discovered before they could act on it. The remaining members of the Narodnaya Volya moved away from terrorism and began to follow the leadership of Karl Marx.

But as they had hoped, Alexander II's assassination started widespread turmoil and terrorist activities in St. Petersburg and throughout Russia, including widespread pogroms against Jews (as always, the scapegoat when those in power experience a setback) leading, inevitably, to the Russian Revolution and the overthrow of the tsarist regime in 1917.

**1881.** The Russian composer, Modest Petrovich Mussorgsky, died. He was a member of the Mighty Handful, a group of largely self-trained amateur composers based in St Petersburg who sought to create a nationalistic Russian music, one in contrast to that of the elite conservatory based music exemplified by Tchaikovsky, but one based in the traditional folk music of Russia. Others in this group, sometimes called The Five, were Mily Balakirev, César Cui, Nikolai Rimsky- Korsakov, and Alexander Borodin. Mussorgsky's music, while strongly romantic, is especially adventuresome and unconventional, resulting in disparate reactions by his contemporaries and for long after. However, his *Boris Godunov*, along with Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* (see 1893), are now widely considered to be the greatest of all Russian operas. His piece for piano, *Pictures from an Exhibition*, a suite of 10 pieces that are connected by a "Promenade," was orchestrated many years later by the French composer Maurice Ravel; both the original piano and the orchestral versions are now concert performance standards. His *Songs and Dances of Death* ("Lullaby," "Serenade," "Trepak," and "Field Marshal") for voice and piano compares with the great song cycles of Schubert and Schumann.

**1881**. Billy the Kid was held in Lincoln County Courthouse jail, near Carrizozo, N.M., for the shooting of Sheriff William Brady, but escaped and killed two guards. He used an 1876 single-action army revolver made by Samuel Colt. The gun sold for \$46,000 in 1998.

**1881**. Less than four months after his inauguration, James Garfield, the 20th President of the US, was assassinated by Charles J. Guiteau, who wished to be appointed consul to France, at the Washington railroad station. Alexander Graham Bell made several unsuccessful attempts to remove the assassin's bullet with a new metal detection device. Garfield lived out the summer with a fractured spine and seemed to be gaining strength until he caught a chill and died on September 19. Guiteau was apprehended at the time of the shooting and, in spite of an

insanity defense, was convicted of murder. Chester Alan Arthur became the 21st President. Guiteau was hanged in 1882.

**1881.** In Alabama, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute opened and enrolled 30 students. It was founded by former slave Booker T. Washington. He based the curriculum on his belief that "colored" people with little or no formal schooling should be trained in the industrial arts, farming, and teaching. Washington, always of the position of accommodation by the "colored" to the Whites, believed they should forgo thoughts of equality and politics, and instead cultivate the virtues of patience and thrift. In contrast, W.E.B. DuBois, in his *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), called for full and equal rights for African Americans.

. Edward Berner of Two Rivers, Wisconsin, created the ice cream sundae.

. Sioux Indian leader Sitting Bull, a fugitive since the Battle of the Little Big Horn, surrendered to federal troops.

. New York State's Pure Food Law went into effect to prevent "the adulteration of food or drugs."

. The first U.S. tennis championships (for men, of course) were played in Newport, R.I.

. The Edison Electric Illumination Co. began building its 1st direct current electrical generating plant in Manhattan. The station was completed in 1882.

**1881**. Lewis Latimer invented and patented an electric lamp with a carbon filament.

**1881**. The Boston Symphony Orchestra opened its 1st concert in Boston's Music Hall with Georg Henschel conducting Beethoven's *Consecration of the House Overture.* 

**1881**. Under Samuel Gompers, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Union of the United States was formed—a precursor to the American Federation of Labor. Gompers led the AFL for 40 years, sometimes using strikes and boycotts to demand workers' rights. He successfully changed the unionism of the 19th century in the United States, uniting different labor groups and keeping away from political influence to guide American laborers.

**1881**. The Michigan Legislature required that the bodies of indigents, who would otherwise be buried by the state, to be turned over to the University of Michigan Medical School.

**1881**. Alice Freeman Palmer became the president of Wellesley College.

**1881**. The city directory of San Francisco indicated 233,959 residents, 428 restaurants, 342 oyster saloons, 18 oyster dealers, 90 coffee saloons, 299 bakeries, 254 retail butchers, 205 fresh fruit sellers, some 1400 grocers and an equal number of bars, 40 brewers and 15 champagne importers.

. The first complete census of India's population was conducted on a uniform basis providing the most complete and continuous demographic record for any comparable population.

**1881**. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was started in the Lower East Side of Manhattan by a group of American Jews who had previously immigrated from Russia. The Society was designed to assist those Jews who were later able to escape to this country from pogroms in Russia and Eastern Europe. The Society provided welcome and housing, meals, clothes, and transportation. Their success was such that over the years HIAS has expanded their activities worldwide, without restriction of faith or ethnicity, continuing to address one humanitarian crisis after another.

## In the World During 1882, When Construction **Began on the State Normal School in New Britain**, Connecticut

**1882**. Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), Italian architect and sculptor, created some of the finest and most loved works in Rome, i.e., Trevi Fountain and the sculpture Ecstasy of Saint

Theresa. He also created an ignominious disaster: two very ugly bell towers to the facade of the Pantheon, arguably the most beautiful building of ancient Rome. The bell towers were popularly called "asses' ears;" to great rejoicing, they were demolished in 1882.

**1882.** Dmitry Ivanovich Mendeleyev received the Davy Medal from the Royal Society of London for the periodic table of chemical elements, which was based on atomic weights. His table made it possible to correctly predict the discovery of previously unknown chemical elements.

**1882.** British physicist Sir James Dewar constructed a container with insulated inner (silvered) and outer glass walls sealing a vacuum. Later, covered with metal, it was named Thermos.

**1882**. To avoid anti-monopoly laws, the Standard Oil Trust began and issued its first stock signed by John D. Rockefeller. The trust was preceded by the Standard Oil Company. All pre-1920 stocks were printed by the American Banknote Co. John D. Rockefeller by this time had acquired 77 separate oil companies and controlled some 90 percent of the refinery and pipeline business in the country through the Standard Oil Trust.

**1882.** The Knights of Columbus, a benevolent society of Roman Catholic men, was founded in New Haven, CT.

**1882**. Death of Ralph Waldo Emerson (the "Concord Sage"), an American essayist, lecturer, and poet, who led the transcendentalist movement of the mid-19th century. He was a

major influence on Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman, along with many other American thinkers.

**1882.** President of the United States Chester A. Arthur signed the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field. This document was the result of many events, all starting with Henry Dunant. Swiss businessman and rights activist who had for years worked to help the poor and the incarcerated, Henry Dunant, in 1859, traveled to Italy for business and while there visited wounded military men from the Battle of Solferino in Northern Italy. He found thousands of men, who had fought of both sides, suffering from serious wounds, and left on the battlefield to suffer and die. Returning to his home in Geneva, he dropped his business plans and devoted two weeks to engaging other volunteers and working with them to provide food, water, and medicine to the wounded Austrian, Italian, and French soldiers. Based on his experiences, he wrote Un souvenir de Solférino (A Memory of Solferino); it was published in Geneva in 1862. This work vividly and emotionally showed the human experience in current warfare, arousing large numbers of people throughout Europe, especially, people who had never experienced war directly (The Battle of Waterloo, the previous battle in Europe, had been in 1815.), but also people outside of Europe. This work, which emphasized the essential components of humanitarian aid as impartiality and neutrality, was seminal in the establishment of two major advances for humanitarian aid. The first was based on his proposal for a permanent relief agency for humanitarian aid in times of war, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), based in Geneva, was established. (It is from this that Clara Barton was inspired to establish the American Red Cross.) The second was

based on his proposal for the adoption of a treaty which would guarantee the protection of wounded soldiers and any who attempted to come to their aid. To effectuate the second, he organized a group of a convention of leaders of European States and and the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field, Geneva, 1864.

[This entry is cut short to get this on line.]

**1882.** The Chinese Exclusion Act marked the first time that the U.S. Congress passed a law to block immigration by a specific ethnic or racial group. The law ushered in a new period of American history that was defined by skepticism and occasional public hostility toward immigration, especially toward immigrants of non-European backgrounds.

**1882.** The young Irish poet Oscar Wilde arrived in New York City to tour the U.S. with lectures on the aesthetic movement. Fluent in English, French, German, and Greek, and with a classic education at Trinity College, Dublin, and Magdalen College, Oxford, as always, his dress was the epitome of a dandy. To everyone's surprise and against a chorus of heckling critics, Wilde packed houses with paying audiences from Boston to miner's camps in the west. Nobody had seen anything quite like it.

Richard D'Oyly Carte, an English theatrical impresario, couldn't have been more pleased. He had backed the work of Gilbert and Sullivan in the popular comic operas. Following the London and New York successes of *H.M.S. Pinafore* and The *Pirates of Penzance*, the next Gilbert and Sullivan opera was *Patience,* a satiric view of the aesthetic movement in England. Carte knew it would be understood in London, but New York was a problem. He hit on the idea of sending this young poet/aesthete Oscar Wilde, who was fresh out of college and in his employ, to educate the Americans about the aesthetic movement. It did the trick. The original authorized New York production of *Patience* ran for 177 performances.

**1882**. John L. Sullivan defeated Patrick "Paddy" Ryan in front of Barnes' Hotel in Mississippi City, now incorporated into Gulfport, Mississippi, thus becoming the last bare-knuckle world heavyweight champion.

**1882.** New York Steam Company began distributing steam to Manhattan buildings.

**1882**. In the United States, The Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act of 1882, reinforcing the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862, made "unlawful cohabitation" a felony, removing the need to prove that marriages had taken place. In addition, the Act revoked the polygamists' right to vote, serve on a jury, and hold political office.

**1882**. German physician and bacteriologist Robert Heinrich Hermann Koch, in Berlin, discovered the bacillus responsible for tuberculosis. This achievement was six years after he had discovered the anthrax disease cycle.

**1882.** Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, poet ("Song of Hiawatha") who lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, died. He is

the sole American honored with a bust in the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey in London.

**1882**. The outlaw Jesse James was shot and killed at his home in St. Joseph, Missouri, by Robert Ford, a cousin and member of his own gang, for a \$5,000 reward.

**1882.** Charles R. Darwin (b. 1809), English naturalist, biologist, geologist, and writer, died at Downe, England, at age 73 and was buried in Westminster Cathedral. The son of a prominent doctor, he was enrolled at the University of Edinburgh Medical School. There he did learn the classification of plants, but didn't apply himself to his medical studies, and left without a degree. His father then enrolled him at Christ's College, Cambridge, hoping that he would become an Anglican parson. His interest was stimulated by dons and fellow students who saw natural science as "religious natural theology," and he graduated with good grades.

Shortly after, age 22, and through the recommendation of one of his dons, he was given the opportunity to accompany the HMS Beagle on a two-year trip to chart the coastline of South America as a "gentleman natural philosopher." The trip turned out to be five years in length. The crew of the Beagle charted the coasts and Darwin, on the land, studied the geology and collected fossils, leading to innumerable observations of major changes over time. As he wrote to his sister, "there is nothing like geology; the pleasure of the first days partridge shooting or first days hunting cannot be compared to finding a fine group of fossil bones, which tell their story of former times with almost a living tongue." In a daily journal, he kept careful and detailed notes, along with his theoretical thoughts and interpretations. These would be published in multiple editions, eventually with the title The Voyage of the "Beagle."

He accompanied gauchos on inland trips for more collecting, and by so doing gained insight into their social, political, and anthropological histories. This voyage then took him to the Falkland Islands, the Galápagos Islands, New Zealand, Australia, Mauritius, Cape Town, back to South America (Bahia), then Plymouth in England. His many learning experiences convinced him that, even in the great diversity of both, there was an unbroken line of evolution from animal to human.

Written for the non-specialist, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859). In the sixth edition, 1872, the short title was changed to *The Origin of Species*.

The "Introduction" included the following statement:

As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be *naturally selected*. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form.

*The Origin of Species* was, from first printing, a best seller and was soon translated into over 25 languages. His later book *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), also a best seller, contained the following two statements in his "Introduction." The first specifies Darwin's purpose in writing the book *The Descent of Man*:

The sole object of this work is to consider, firstly, whether man, like every other species, is descended from some preexisting form; secondly, the manner of his development; and thirdly, the value of the differences between the so-called races of man.

The second is a statement many today could benefit by learning:

It has often and confidently been asserted, that man's origin can never be known: but ignorance more frequently begets confidence than does knowledge: it is those who know little, and not those who know much, who so positively assert that this or that problem will never be solved by science.

Darwin's name became attached to a multitude of ideas and movements, some quite contradictory of those of Darwin himself. But at the time of his death, the large majority of scientists were firm believers in his basic conclusions. Helped greatly by the many people who wrote and lectured and drew cartoons and told jokes and, at least among the more liberal of churchmen, gave sermons, he has become a fixture of popular culture. One important aspect to his work was his leadership in explorations in science, thereby paving the way for other scientists to follow, and gaining unexpected results. As a scientist, his name, after Einstein, might today be the best known throughout the world. **1882**. Over President Arthur's veto, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred Chinese immigrants from the United States for 10 years. It was amended and passed by Congress on August 3 and was signed by the President. Renewals and amendments continued to 1904. The laws were repealed in 1943. In 2011, the US Senate passed a resolution expressing regret for the act.

**1882**. The Berlin Symphony Orchestra was founded in Germany, with Ludwig Von Brenner as conductor. Over the years, it has been conducted by many of the world's greatest conductors: Hans Von Bulow, Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Sergiu Celibidache, Herbert Von Karajan, Claudio Abbado, Simon Rattle, and, currently, Kirill Petrenko. The Berlin Symphony Orchestra is considered by many to be the greatest symphony orchestra in the world.

**1882.** An anti-Semitic League was formed in Prussia.

**1882**. An electric iron was patented by Henry W. Seely in NYC.

**1882**. A cyclone in the Arabian Sea at Bombay, India, drowned 100,000.

**1882**. This year was especially bloody and fatal between the Hatfields of south West Virginia and the McCoys of eastern Kentucky, engaged in a feud that dated back to 1865. To 1890, when the feud violence wound down, some 100 had been wounded or killed. Mark Twain satirized this feud in an episode in *Huckleberry Finn*. In 2007, medical evidence indicated that many of the descendants of the McCoys suffered from an

inherited disease that leads to hair-trigger rage and violent outbursts.

**1882.** Australia defeated England in cricket for the first time. The following day an obituary appeared in the *Sporting Times* addressed to the British team.

**1882**. Thomas Edison displayed the first practical electrical lighting system. He successfully turned on the lights in a one square mile area of New York City with the world's first electricity generating plant.

**1882**. The first Labor Day observance with a picnic and a parade was held in New York City. Local and regional Labor Day observances spread across the nation until, in 1894, just days after the end of the Pullman Strike, U.S. President Grover Cleveland signed it into federal law.

**1882** The 1st international conference to promote anti-Semitism (Congress for Safeguarding of Non-Jewish Interests) met in Dresden, Germany.

**1882**. Alexander Graham Bell made his historic telephone call to the mayor of Chicago.

**1882.** Boston's Bijou Theatre, the first American playhouse to be lighted exclusively by electricity, gave its first performance: Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe, Or The Peer and the Peri*.

**1882.** The first string of Christmas tree lights was created by Thomas Edison.

**1882.** Manhattan College athletic director Brother Jasper initiated the American tradition of baseball's seventh-inning stretch. Feeling sorry for restless students watching an 1882 baseball game between the college team and the semi-pro Metropolitans, Brother Jasper called a time-out during the seventh inning and asked the spectators to stand up and stretch a little while. This was repeated at another college game against the New York Giants baseball team. In honor of their coach, Manhattan College named their team the Jaspers.

**1882**. U.S. President Chester Arthur approved new borders for the Hopi reservation, a 1.6 million-acre site in the center of 17 million acres of Navajo land in the Four Corners area of the Southwest. A 3,863 sq. mile area was set up as a Hopi reservation. The stated intent was to keep Mormon settlers away from Hopi pueblos. As in all such arrangements between the Native Nations and the U.S. Government, this was a good deal for the U.S., a bad deal for the Hopi. The Hopi Reservation was formed on territory historically used by both Hopi and Navajo.

**1882**. Heinz began patenting ketchup bottles.

**1882.** Jigoro Kano (1860-1938), founder of judo, opened his first judo school, the Kodokan, in Tokyo. Some 40 years later he added a women's section.

**1882**. Beginning in 1882 and extending to 1968, records kept at Tuskegee University indicate 4,745 people, both men and women, were killed in the U.S. by mobs. Of these, 3,446 were Black. Because these are the reported cases, it is widely believed that the actual numbers were perhaps twice this count.

According to the 2020 report, "Reconstruction in America: Racial Violence after the Civil War, 1865-1876," by the Equal Justice Initiative, based in Alabama:

In 2015, the Equal Justice Initiative issued a new report that detailed over 4,400 documented racial terror lynchings of Black people in America between 1877 and 1950.

We now report that during the 12-year period of Reconstruction at least 2,000 Black women, men, and children were victims of racial terror lynchings.

Thousands more were assaulted, raped, or injured in racial terror attacks between 1865 and 1877. The rate of documented racial terror lynchings during Reconstruction is nearly three times greater than during the era we reported on in 2015. Dozens of mass lynchings took place during Reconstruction in communities across the country in which hundreds of Black people were killed.

Tragically, the rate of unknown lynchings of Black people during Reconstruction is also almost certainly dramatically higher than the thousands of unknown lynchings that took place between 1877 and 1950 for which no documentation can be found. The retaliatory killings of Black people by white Southerners immediately following the Civil War alone likely number in the thousands.

## In the World During 1883, When **Construction Was Completed** and Instruction Began at the State Normal School in New Britain, Connecticut

**1883.** Charles Stilwell patented a machine to produce paper bags which could stand open on their own and were easily collapsable and stackable.

**1883**. Death of Sojourner Truth. Born into slavery in upstate New York c. 1797, during the Civil War she was received at the White House by President Lincoln. She is best-known for her extemporaneous speech on racial inequalities, delivered at the Ohio Women's Rights Convention in 1851, "Ain't I a Woman?"

Here is an excerpt as printed by the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* of Salem, Ohio:

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mudpuddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman?

Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman?

I could work as much and eat as much as a man - when I could get it - and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman?

I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?

. . . . .

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again!

And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Obliged to you for hearing me, and now old Sojourner ain't got nothing more to say.

**1883**. The volcano on the Indonesian island of Krakatoa (or Krakatau) erupted. It destroyed 300 villages. The resulting crater was 4 miles across; it had plunged 900 feet under the sea, creating a tsunami 140 feet high, with the wave encircling the earth three and a half times. The dust, pulverized from rock by the explosion, remained in the atmosphere for three years, causing steep drops in temperature throughout the world. Worldwide deaths, directly or indirectly caused by the eruption, have been estimated at over 120,000 people.

**1883.** Scottish author Robert Louis Stevenson published in book form *Treasure Island*.

**1883.** Mark Twain, the pin name of Samuel Longhorn Clemens, publishes *Life on the Mississippi*. It is in this work that

he reveals that his pin name referred to the usage on Mississippi steamboats that indicated the water depth of six feet.

**1883**. Antoni Gaudi, Catalan architect, took leadership, in Barcelona, Catalonia, of Sagrada Família (Basílica i Temple Expiatori de la Sagrada Família), construction of which was started the previous year. Gaudi, in 43 years and to his death, with his church still only about a quarter completed, created a blend of gothic and art nouveau styles unique in the history of architecture. Consecrated in 2010, construction continues.

**1883.** The Metropolitan Opera, with funding from the New York nouveaux riche, such as the Morgan, Vanderbilt, and Roosevelt families, opens in New York City with Gounod's Faust. Twenty years later it would become the opera home of Enrico Caruso for 18 consecutive seasons, in which he sang 863 performances. Blessed with a voice which was congenial to the early recording technology, he also recorded more than 260 sound recordings for Victor Talking Machine Company (later renamed RCA Victor). Along with his many opera performances in Europe—especially Italy, but throughout Europe, including Saint Petersburg and Moscow—and also in Central and South America, he appeared in towns and cities throughout the U.S. (famously in San Francisco at the time of its earthquake and fire). He also appeared in newsreels, film, and in radio broadcasts. During the Great War, he participated in charity work, strongly supporting Liberty Fund drives. All such activities established him as the most famous singer in the world, a position which he likely continues to hold.

**1883.** German physician and bacteriologist Robert Heinrich Hermann Koch, in Berlin, discovered the bacteria responsible for cholera, having previously studied anthrax and tuberculosis. In 1905 he received the Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine.

**1883.** Richard Wagner, German opera composer, dies. His *Tristan und Isolde*, with both music and libretto written by him, established what he termed "music drama." This and his succeeding operas perhaps have more to do with musical contemplation and musical states of mind and being.

[This entry is cut short to get this on line.]

Mark Twain, as usual, gets the last word. "Wagner's music is much better than it sounds."

**1883.** In the expanded United States, the railroads spanned the coasts and also created confusion among passengers and crew in their efforts to know, at any point, what time it was. Local areas, in an effort to address the situation, created more than 300 time zones, hardly providing much clarity for people on trains. Finally, four standard time zones were created. Seeing the positive result of this, with strong leadership from England, Scotland, and Wales, there was international consensus for global time zones in 1884.

**1883.** *The Handbook of Texas* (1952) states the first record of the Marfa Lights, of Marfa, Texas, as follows:

The Marfa lights are often visible on clear nights between Marfa and Paisano Pass in northeastern Presidio County as one faces the Chinati Mountains. At times they appear colored as they twinkle in the distance. They move about, split apart, melt together, disappear, and reappear. Presidio County residents have watched the lights for over a hundred years. The first historical record of them recalls that in 1883 a young cowhand, Robert Reed Ellison, saw a flickering light while he was driving cattle through Paisano Pass and wondered if it was the campfire of Apache Indians. He was told by other settlers that they often saw the lights, but when they investigated they found no ashes or other evidence of a campsite.

Scientists have yet to solve the mystery of these lights. They continue to be seen on a regular basis, but apparently occur nowhere else on earth.

**1883.** Emil Kraepelin, German psychiatrist, published his major work, *Compendium der Psychiatrie*. During his career, he became known as the father of modern psychiatry and clinical psychology, the discoverer of schizophrenia and manic-depression, the co-discoverer of Alzheimer's disease, and pioneered psychopharmacology by using experimental methods to study the effects on human behavior of drugs, alcohol, and nicotine. According to Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil\_Kraepelin, November 11, 2017),

Kraepelin spoke out against the barbarous treatment that was prevalent in the psychiatric asylums of the time, and crusaded against alcohol, capital punishment and the imprisonment rather than treatment of the insane. He rejected psychoanalytical theories that posited innate or early sexuality as the cause of mental illness, and rejected philosophical speculation as unscientific.

**1883.** Joseph Mortimer Granville, English doctor and inventor with a patent for an electric vibrator, published *Nerve-Vibration and Excitation as Agents in the Treatment of Functional Disorder and Organic Disease*, which stressed the high-minded medical purposes of his device, based on the widely accepted "fact" that men could and should experience pleasure in their bodies, while women only experienced hysterics. However, Granville's medical practice included providing relief to women for "hysterics." The device became available in the U.S. through the *Sears Roebuck Catalog.* When men realized that it was widely sold to women, pressure was put on the retailer to withdraw the item from ordinary commerce. It was banned in many states (mostly in the religious South, but also Massachusetts). As far as I have learned, this is still the situation today.

**1883**. The Ben Nevis Observatory, on top of the highest mountain in Great Britain, opened, and, in conjunction with high observatories in France and America (Mount Washington, New Hampshire), long range weather predictions became possible.

**1883**. On June 5, 1883, the first Express d'Orient left Paris for Vienna. Four months later, with the help of ferries for crossing rivers, the train was able to reach Constantinople. Thus began what was to become the most romantic train in the world and the inspiration for numerous novels, plays, films, and TV programs.

**1883**. Brothers James Ritty, a saloon owner, and John Birch were both inventors in Dayton, Ohio. They received a patent for

the first mechanical "Cash register and indicator." Often called "the incorruptible cashier," it displayed and recorded the amount of the sale and contained a locked drawer to hold the money.

**1883**. Before the Statue of Liberty and Grand Central Terminal, before the New York Public Library, before the Flatiron Building, Pennsylvania Station, the Woolworth Building, the Empire State Building, and Rockefeller Center, the Brooklyn Bridge was built. It opened in 1883. Over the East River and connecting New York (now named Manhattan), New York, with Brooklyn, New York, it was originally called the New York and Brooklyn Bridge, and in 1915 it was officially renamed the Brooklyn Bridge. (In 1883, Manhattan and Brooklyn were two different cities. It would be 1898 before they became one.) This bridge was—and remains—an artistic and engineering marvel. And at that time, and for many years after, it was, at 1,595.5 feet, the longest suspension bridge in the world.

It was designed by the engineer John Augustus Roebling. He was born with the name Johann August Röbling in Mühlhausen, Kingdom of Prussia (now in Thuringia, Germany) in 1806. Roebling studied mathematics, science, surveying, architecture, engineering, bridge and foundation construction, hydraulics, philosophy, and languages. Then he worked for four years in road construction. But his primary interest was the study of suspension bridges, their mathematics and engineering, their design and construction. Even for someone with his background, economic opportunities in Prussia were poor. And in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, he feared that the political situation in Prussia might shift from democracy to authoritarianism. So he and his brother immigrated to the United States and purchased farm land in Butler County, Pennsylvania.

The two of them farmed and John married a local girl of German parentage. His brother died, his first child was born, and John Roebling gave up farming and returned to engineering, working on river navigation and canals, then on surveys for railroad construction. But he continued thinking about suspension bridges. He began making 7-strand wire rope, far superior to the hemp rope used to haul railroad cars over inclines. With this, and later, even bigger and stronger wire rope, he began to receive contracts for aqueducts and bridges.

Before receiving the contract for the Brooklyn Bridge, Roebling had designed and constructed the Allegheny Agueduct and two suspension bridges in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; the Lackawaxen Aqueduct in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania; the Delaware Aqueduct over the Delaware River from Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania to Minisink Ford, New York; four suspension aqueducts on the Delaware and Hudson Canal; a railroad bridge over the Niagara River, connecting NewYork State with Ontario Province; a railroad suspension bridge over the Kentucky River; and the Cincinnati-Covington Bridge in Cincinnati, Ohio. In each project he explored new materials, equipment, and engineering techniques, always seeking ways to increase the strength and safety while decreasing the weight, resulting in novel solutions and, often, beautiful works of architecture. The Brooklyn Bridge is his greatest achievement; he wanted it to be beautiful. And with its neo-Gothic stone towers and the predominant use of wire cables, it has become, for the millions who cross by car or, the

preferred way, by foot, something approaching a religious experience, the essence of what is best in America.

Roebling knew this bridge would make or break his reputation, so he wanted it to last. In the 1950s, aerodynamic tests were made and it was revealed that Roebling had constructed his Brooklyn Bridge six times stronger than was needed. He was not playing around.

Unfortunately, Roebling, his son, and many workers were not equally safe. In 1869, Roebling was surveying one of the river banks, when a ferryboat crushed his foot against a piling, resulting in amputation, tetanus infection, then, within a few weeks, his death. His 32-year-old son, Washington Augustus Roebling, was hired to continue the project. Construction began in 1870. A major obstacle in the construction was the depth of the bedrock, much deeper that originally thought. This required the caissons that would support the two suspension towers to be built to an unprecedented depth. Even with additional airlocks, workers who worked in the caissons came down with a condition previously unknown: caissons disease, now known as decompression sickness. Washington Roebling was among them. He and his wife, Emily Warren Roebling, who was also an engineer (they had spent their honeymoon in Europe studying caissons), created further design work in their apartment. Because of her husband's infirm condition, Emily provided the necessary construction overseeing with the labor force for 12 years.

## In the World After 1883

1884. Former Oberlin College star Moses "Fleetwood" Walker began his professional career with Toledo, Ohio, in the Northwestern League. A more than average hitter, Walker was among baseball's finest catchers almost from the beginning of his career. When the Toledo club joined the American Association in 1884, Walker became the first African American player to play with a major league franchise.

**1884**. The Bell Company built the first long-distance telephone line, connecting Boston and New York.

**1884**. First use of steel (stronger and lighter in weight than iron) in tall-building framing was by William Le Baron Jenney in the Home Insurance Company Building in Chicago. This project began the Chicago School of Architecture, comprised of engineers and architects, who developed the skyscraper.

**1884**. In Turin, Italy, Angelo Moriondo patented a "new steam machinery for the economic and instantaneous confection of coffee beverage," thus beginning the development of espresso.

**1884**. After being asked to run for president on the Republican ticket, General William T. Sherman, who led the Civil War's "March to the Sea," stated, "I will not accept if nominated and will not serve if elected."

**1884**. The first volume of *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by The Philological Society (NED)* is published by the Oxford University Press after 26 years in preparation. With the name change to Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the final volume was published in 1928. Since then there have been a second edition, and a third edition, along with its embrace of computer technology and the resources that it provides, is currently in the works.

**1884**. "The light has gone out of my life." This was written by Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt in his diary when, in less than 12 hours, both his mother and his wife, just two days following childbirth, died. His father had died in 1878.

Roosevelt had already attended Harvard and Columbia Law; written *The Naval War of 1812*, still the standard history of the war; and, a Republican, become a member of the New York State Assembly, building his reputation for anti-corruption efforts. He would go on to become an adventurer in the Dakotas, a family man with a remarriage and five additional children, and author of the history of the Westward Movement, *The Winning of the West*. But public life pulled him back into politics. Soon he would be a member of the United States Civil Service Commission (he was described in the *New York Sun* as "irrepressible, belligerent, and enthusiastic"), then president of the New York City Police Commission, where he instituted changes to professionalize the police force and personally checking up on them to be sure that they were doing their proper job. It was during this time that he met Jacob Riis, the muckraking journalist of the *Evening Sun* (see: 1890, below).

Roosevelt went on to become the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, formed the First US Volunteer Cavalry Regiment (called the "Rough Riders") and fought in Cuba in the Spanish American War, Governor of New York, vice-president of the United States, and the 26th president of the United States from 1901 to 1909. He had pledged in 1904 not to run for a third term, and he didn't. One of his reasons for that pledge was his belief that a limit on the number of terms served as a check on dictatorship.

As he wrote to a friend in 1911, "Fundamentally it is the radical liberal with whom I sympathize." and that had been the case during his presidency. His was the most "radical liberal" up to that time, with strong efforts against trusts and monopolies and toward the regulation of commerce and for working miners in a labor strike. On claims of corruption, he investigated, prosecuted, and indicted members in the Indian Office, the Post Office, and the Land Office. He set the maximum rates that the railroads could charge, and, especially dear to his heart, he lead the U.S. into the conservation of its natural resources by the creation of the Forest Service, establishing 5 National Parks, 18 National Monuments, 51 bird reserves, 4 game preserves, and 150 National Forests, with a total of 121 forest reserves: all on land he took from the indigenous Indians. (He would not be considered a radical liberal today.) He also made significant strides in public health by putting pressure on Congress to pass the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act. In foreign policy, Roosevelt started out as an imperialist and developed, through his experience in mediating a treaty between Japan and Russia to end the Russo-Japanese War (for which he received the Nobel Peace Prize), into an excellent diplomat, showing these skills in his subsequent work with Great Britain, Germany, France, Japan, and Panama. Doubtless, it was his diplomatic skills that lead to his effectiveness with the press. But this internationalism was based on his basic assumption that the world was there for thosewho-have to take from those-who-have-not. He was, as they say, a man of his time, both noble and ignoble, both forward looking and with his feet in the mud.

After leaving office, he resumed his life as an author and a world traveler and explorer, bringing back thousands of specimens to the Smithsonian and other museums of natural history. He found it hard to totally stay away from politics, even going as far as starting a new progressive political party and running again for president and losing to Woodrow Wilson. To get his mind off this loss, he embarked on another scientific exploration with backing by the American Museum of Natural History, this time to South America to trace the origin of the Amazon River. He survived the trip, but just barely, and he never fully recovered from his various jungle diseases. He died in 1919, age 60. His son Archibald telegraphed, "The old lion is dead." take Roosevelt sleeping, for if he had been awake, there would have been a fight."

1884. In 1848, the Illinois and Michigan Canal was built, connecting Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. With that northern extension, ships could travel between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. Midway on the Mississippi, where the Missouri River, the longest of its tributaries, empties into the Mississippi, St. Louis, Missouri, sits on a wide bend on the west bank, a position that affords great exposure to the many benefits of the river. This was terrific when distance transport was by water, but not after railroads became the preferred method of transporting, east and west, both people and goods. There was a ferry connecting St. Louis, Missouri, to East St. Louis, Illinois, but it fell woefully short of meeting their needs. Trains needed a way to cross the Mississippi safely and expeditiously. If St. Louis was going to survive as a city and compete with ever-growing Chicago in commerce, it needed a bridge to span the Mississippi River, high enough to allow for multi-decked steamboats with very tall smokestacks, and strong enough to carry trains.

Enter James Buchanan Eads (1820-1887), a self-taught engineer. (There were no schools for engineering in the U.S. at that time.) He had never built a bridge, but he had salvaged ships during the Civil War, and made a fortune doing so. Eads was given the job. Beginning in 1867, he designed the bridge based on the semicircular arch first used over 3000 years ago in the Roman Empire design for bridges and aqueducts, and now well remembered, because of so many of them still standing and in use. Instead of stone which the Roman used, he used cast chromium steel as the primary load-bearing component. Steel had been made for centuries, but recent advances in technology resulted in significantly strengthened steel and also enabled it to be mass produced. This project in St. Louis was the first use of the strengthened steel as building material.

The Eads Bridge was the longest arch bridge in the world, with an overall length of 6,442 feet. It was the first to depend entirely on cantilever construction for its superstructure. It had granite-faced piers which supported three arches, anchored to bedrock 123 feet below the water surface. And it was the first bridge to carry railroad tracks as well as vehicular traffic. It cost nearly \$10 million dollars.

But the people, expecting more bulk for a bridge to be safe, feared that their lives would be endangered should they attempt to cross. To demonstrate its strength, Eads first had an elephant with its trainer walk across. With the people relying of the folk belief that elephants have an inbred sense to avoid walking on anything that might cause them injury, this made a good case. Then shortly after, it was dedicated by President Ulysses S. Grant on July 4, 1874, with General William T. Sherman driving the gold spike, thus completing the bridge construction. To end the celebration, 14 locomotives squeezed on, carrying 500 dignitaries. It was quite a splendid affair and it ended all fears among the people of St. Louis and East St. Louis.

Alas, the bridge was undercapitalized and no supportive work had been done to prepare the two cities with train terminals for rail access. Within a year, the bridge was bankrupt and sold at auction for 20 cents on the dollar. Once again, ferries had a big business. Then in 1890, the Merchants Bridge was constructed for rail traffic. With the Panic of 1893, it, too, went broke. The Eads Bridge—still in use, but not for heavy trains—is nevertheless considered one of the greatest bridges ever built.

**1884**. The Bureau of Labor, Department of the Interior, U.S. Government, was established. Previously, labor-statistic bureaus were in the separate states, making comparison data difficult, and in many cases, impossible.

**1884.** Construction began in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, of Henry Hobson Richardson's design for the Allegheny County Courthouse and Jail, with a "Bridge of Sighs" (inspired by the 1580s Ponte dei Sospiri in Venice) connecting the two. This complex, Richardson's personal favorite, was completed in 1886, after his death, by his architectural associates.

**1884.** S.F. Vanni, a recent arrival from Sicily, opened a book store at 548 West Broadway in New York City to sell Italian language books. At that time, hundreds of thousands of people had arrived in the U.S. from southern Italy, most of them arriving in NYC. Starting an Italian language bookstore in the tenement area where so many Italian immigrants lived seemed like it would have been like laying a golden egg, a sure way to riches. But there was a problem. The people who were peasant farmers in Italy were, for the most part, illiterate, not steady customers for a bookstore.

But Vanni was creative. He wrote, printed, and sold a dictionary in Sicilian and Italian and English. These people, he thought, these would-be customers, they knew how to farm but

were limited in skills necessary to decode written language. What they really needed was to develop skills, not in reading, but in construction; construction was where the jobs were. NYC and other big American cities were booming and paying for construction workers to build buildings. So once again, Vanni was creative. Vanni drew and printed and sold a picture book that illustrated the essential details of construction. He also sold other items that featured pictures, such as post cards and calendars. Eventually, and slowly, customers started buying his books.

Later he joined forces with Andrea Ragusa, publisher and bookseller, first on Bleaker Street and then to 30 W. 12th Street, where S.F. Vanni prospered for decades, then not. The space was shuttered. Once again an Italian angel arrived, this time it was the organization Centro Primo Levi, reviving, continuing, and expanding the range of this remarkable Italian-American institution, established and guided by Vanni and Ragusa. "CPL fosters and supports those interested in Primo Levi's work, the Italian Jewish past as well as those interested in current perspectives and conversations about the Italian Jewish community today. It offers programs, publishing and networking activities and provides links to libraries and museums, academic and scholarly updates and a monthly newsletter. CPL offers a dynamic and informative English language portal offering information and resources on Italian Jewish culture and history to audiences around the world." Still at 30 W. 12th Street, S.F. Vanni, now transformed, in 2015 opened its doors once again.

(Note: Primo Levi, 1922-1987, of Turin, Italy, was a chemist, writer, and Auschwitz survivor. His 1975 work, *II sistema* 

*periodico* [*The Periodic Table*], was listed by the Royal Institution of Great Britain among the best science books ever written.

For many people, it is by reading Primo Levi that they have learned of the atrocities of Auschwitz, and by extension, the mass murder of the Jews in Europe. For those who seek more and more recent information on this subject, I recommend Timothy Snyder's 2015 book, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning*, The Bodley Head, London.

**1885.** Samuel Langhorne Clemens, under the pin name Mark Twain, published The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. This profoundly humane work of art tells, in Huck's voice, the intertwined story of Huck and Jim. Huck is a White boy in Missouri, a slave state, who is running away from a drunken father, Pap, and the efforts of two spinster sisters, the Widow Douglas and Miss Watson, hell-bent to "sivilize" him and thus, he is convinced, to destroy his spirit, that who he really is. Jim is a runaway slave owned by Miss Watson, now seeking safety and freedom in the hopes of being reunited with his wife and children. Their story takes place during the Civil War on the Mississippi River, that heart and backbone of American hope and tragedy. It is told against a picaresque background of all-too-real satirical pictures of the American South, always reminding both Huck and Jim that neither can fully escape from the worlds which caused their torment, their quests for escape.

Mark Twain planned *Huckleberry Finn* as a sequel to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Twain had solidly established himself as a supreme writer of humor and tall tales. That was easy for him to do. But Huck and Jim, they were something else. Slavery had been a part of Twain's family experience and the Mississippi had been a part of his work life: he worked on the Mississippi as a steamboat captain before and at the time that the war began. But Twain had gone west after serving for two weeks in the Confederate Army. After honing his writing skills in the west, and especially in California, he had gained enough money to allow him to travel and lecture throughout the world. These travel experiences lead to more writing, leading to more success. He returned, married, and had three daughters. He built a home in Hartford, Connecticut, next to his neighbor, Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Writing was pouring out of him. It was in Hartford that he wrote *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, Life on the Mississippi, The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

Huckleberry Finn was written eight years after Tom Sawyer. And once into the writing of *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain moved away from that mischievous spark exhibited by Tom Sawyer toward something darker, something with a wider horizon, something more ambiguous. Twain was changing and this change caused Huck to change. Huck was living together with Jim on a raft, going down the Mississippi River. That would cause change in anyone, and Huck could no longer be the same as he had been before. Jim, as he repeatedly reveals, is a man of great intelligence and compassion, knowledgeable about nature; and he shields Huck from what would be most upsetting, such as seeing Pap's (Huck's father's) corpse. Thus, Jim in many ways began to fill the vacancy that Pap had left in Huck's life. Huck and Jim really took care of each other; they truly cared for one another. Jim became the father figure that Huck needed. Huck filled in for one of Jim's children, allowing Jim the possibility, to some extent, of being a father. Even away from his wife and children, Jim, a real adult, represented the most normal family person in the book. And Twain presented these deep and intuitive character studies along with wild and outrageous adventures that threw light on all the various moral pretenses of all social classes that they met in their trip.

Toward the book's end there is a horrifying episode brought on by deceitful sham artists, in which Jim is captured and taken away. Huck wants to interfere and retrieve Jim. Here is the section where Huck it trying to figure out what to do:

I went to the raft, and set down in the wigwam to think. But I couldn't come to nothing. I thought till I wore my head sore, but I couldn't see no way out of the trouble. After all this long journey, and after all we'd done for them scoundrels, here it was all come to nothing, everything all busted up and ruined, because they could have the heart to serve Jim such a trick as that, and make him a slave again all his life, and amongst strangers, too, for forty dirty dollars.

Once I said to myself it would be a thousand times better for Jim to be a slave at home where his family was, as long as he'd got to be a slave, and so I'd better write a letter to Tom Sawyer and tell him to tell Miss Watson where he was. But I soon give up that notion for two things: she'd be mad and disgusted at his rascality and ungratefulness for leaving her, and so she'd sell him straight down the river again; and if she didn't, everybody naturally despises an ungrateful nigger, and they'd make Jim feel it all the time, and so he'd feel ornery and

disgraced. And then think of *me*! It would get all around that Huck Finn helped a nigger to get his freedom; and if I was ever to see anybody from that town again I'd be ready to get down and lick his boots for shame. That's just the way: a person does a low-down thing, and then he don't want to take no consequences of it. Thinks as long as he can hide it, it ain't no disgrace. That was my fix exactly. The more I studied about this the more my conscience went to grinding me, and the more wicked and low-down and ornery I got to feeling. And at last, when it hit me all of a sudden that here was the plain hand of Providence slapping me in the face and letting me know my wickedness was being watched all the time from up there in heaven, whilst I was stealing a poor old woman's nigger that hadn't ever done me no harm, and now was showing me there's One that's always on the lookout, and ain't a- going to allow no such miserable doings to go only just so fur and no further, I most dropped in my tracks I was so scared. Well, I tried the best I could to kinder soften it up somehow for myself by saying I was brung up wicked, and so I warn't so much to blame; but something inside of me kept saying, "There was the Sundayschool, you could a gone to it; and if you'd a done it they'd a learnt you there that people that acts as I'd been acting about that nigger goes to everlasting fire."

It made me shiver. And I about made up my mind to pray, and see if I couldn't try to quit being the kind of a boy I was and be better. So I kneeled down. But the words wouldn't come. Why wouldn't they? It warn't no use to try and hide it from Him. Nor from *me*, neither. I knowed very well why they wouldn't come. It was because my heart warn't right; it was because I warn't square; it was because I was playing double. I was letting on to give up sin, but away inside of me I was holding on to the biggest one of all. I was trying to make my mouth *say* I would do the right thing and the clean thing, and go and write to that nigger's owner and tell where he was; but deep down in me I knowed it was a lie, and He knowed it. You can't pray a lie—I found that out.

So I was full of trouble, full as I could; and didn't know what to do. At last I had an idea; and I says, I'll go and write the letter —and then see if I can pray. Why, it was astonishing, the way I felt as light as a feather right straight off, and my troubles all gone. So I got a piece of paper and a pencil, all glad and excited, and set down and wrote:

Miss Watson, your runaway nigger Jim is down here two mile below Pikesville, and Mr. Phelps has got him and he will give him up for the reward if you send.

## Huck Finn.

I felt good and all washed clean of sin for the first time I had ever felt so in my life, and I knowed I could pray now.uu But I didn't do it straight off, but laid the paper down and set there thinking—thinking how good it was all this happened so, and how near I come to being lost and going to hell. And went on thinking. And got to thinking over our trip down the river; and I see Jim before me all the time: in the day and in the night-time, sometimes moonlight, sometimes storms, and we a-floating along, talking and singing and laughing. But somehow I couldn't seem to strike no places to harden me against him, but only the other kind. I'd see him standing my watch on top of his'n, 'stead of calling me, so I could go on sleeping; and see him how glad he was when I come back out of the fog; and when I come to him again in the swamp, up there where the feud was; and such-like times; and would always call me honey, and pet me and do everything he could think of for me, and how good he always was; and at last I struck the time I saved him by telling the men we had small-pox aboard, and he was so grateful, and said I was the best friend old Jim ever had in the world, and the *only* one he's got now; and then I happened to look around and see that paper. It was a close place. I took it up, and held it in my hand. I was a-trembling, because I'd got to decide, forever, betwixt two things, and I knowed it. I studied a minute, sort of holding my breath, and then says to myself:

"All right, then, I'll go to hell"—and tore it up.

It was awful thoughts and awful words, but they was said. And I let them stay said; and never thought no more about reforming. I shoved the whole thing out of my head, and said I would take up wickedness again, which was in my line, being brung up to it, and the other warn't. And for a starter I would go to work and steal Jim out of slavery again; and if I could think up anything worse, I would do that, too; because as long as I was in, and in for good, I might as well go the whole hog.

These thoughts, so reminiscent of Shakespearean soliloquy, are remarkable for any 13-year-old boy. But Twain couldn't let Huck skew his book so far away from what this boy of the South had been. Tom Sawyer had to return to help him "go the whole hog." And with Tom Sawyer, he does exactly that. And as he had when they were neighbors, that is before Huck and Jim were on their raft together, Huck defers to Tom. Tom does not miss a step. Seizing this opportunity, Tom concocts the wildest, the most insane, the most outlandish scheme to free Jim, a scheme which nearly kills Jim in the doing. And what must have been scandalous in the mid-1880s, Jim winds up in a calico dress. Even Tom gets shot in his calf. The telling takes up multiple chapters in Huck's book and it goes far beyond Tom's scheme of whitewashing the fence. Tom's plan to free Jim recalls the wild adventures Miguel de Cervantes dreamed up for the romantic chivalry-smitten Don Quixote de la Mancha and it also recalls the adroit and hilarious finales in Mozart's and Beaumarchais's exquisite opera Le Nozze di Figaro. And, of course, this scheme of Tom's fails, the scheme which presented him in his full glory and which took Huck chapters to tell. It failed. Tom, Huck, and Jim are discovered before they can get Jim to safety. Jim is again locked up, and even more securely. It is after all of this mayhem that we learn, that we learn that Tom, that we learn that Tom all along, that we learn that Tom knew, that all along Tom knew that Jim, that Jim was no longer, no longer a runaway slave. Tom knew-he knew-that when Miss Watson died two months previously she had written in her will that Jim was to be free. All of this long rigamarole, every bit of this escapade to free Jim when he was already a free man was finally, finally explained by Tom, "Why, I wanted the *adventure* of it."

Twain was, after all, a writer of humor, and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is a comedy. The end comes quickly and the end is happy for all. After Huck learns that he has inherited \$6,000, a vast sum of money, the book harkens back to the beginning with this ending:

But I reckon I got to light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me, and I can't stand it. I been there before.

## THE END. YOURS TRULY, HUCK FINN.

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn was the first major literary work to be written entirely in vernacular English, and it paved the way for many others to explore the use of the vernacular in their writings. While initial sales of *Huckleberry Finn* were brisk, from the outset it was considered by many to be too "crude," with many librarians in high schools and public libraries refusing to add it to their collections. There were also objections to the frequent use of the word "nigger," and these objections have only increased as efforts concerning race and civil rights have increased. Explanations that the term "nigger" was common in the mid-1800s, especially in the South, have had limited success; this book remains the book most often banned from public libraries in the U.S. In spite of its detractors, Twain's *The* Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and Melville's Moby Dick (1851) are widely considered the two greatest American novels of the 19th Century. Ernest Hemingway once wrote, "All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called Huckleberry Finn."

**1885**. Samuel Langhorne Clemens, with the pin-name Mark Twain, acquired great wealth through his writings, his marriage, and his lectures. He was a man with a wide-range of interests, and those interests included investments in new technology and inventions. Unfortunately, his investments lost money, not only the money he had made from his writing and lectures, but much of his wife's money as well. He also had a publishing house, and that company declared bankruptcy after 10 years. However, in that 10-year period, a wonderful thing happened. He published Ulysses S. Grant's *Personal Memoirs*.

After Grant's years as Four Star General and commander in chief of the Union Army and two terms as president, Grant took a vacation, with a bit of diplomacy along the way; in all a two and a half year trip around the world. On his return to the States, he considered running for a third term as president. At the Republican convention, the delegates voted time after time, Grant and Blaine, with neither gaining the majority. In desperation, a compromise candidate, James A. Garfield, was chosen, and he went on to win the general election. Less than four months later, he was shot. After eleven weeks of intensive care, he died. He was succeeded by his vice-president, Chester A. Arthur.

Grant was in financial trouble. His efforts to engage in profit making ventures were unsuccessful. And one venture by his son Buck turned out to be illegal; Buck was found to be innocent, but his business partner was imprisoned. Wealthy friends loaned funds to Grant, and Grant turned the funds toward his business ventures, but the businesses failed. Grant was penniless. And he had a sore throat. The sore throat was indicative of cancer, and *The New York Times* tells the world. Gtant wasn't worried so much about himself, but he did worry about how his wife would manage without any income. Now Grant had always been good at telling stories, so he asked *The Century Magazine* if they would publish his memoirs; indeed they would and pay him a 10% royalty fee.

Here is where Clemens steps into the picture. Clemens offers Grant 70% fee for his memoirs. He gets busy and writes of

his military life in the Spanish American War and the Civil War. He writes the final chapter and dies a few days later, age 66. The *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant,* published in two volumes, soon becomes a best seller and Grant's widow was able to live comfortably for her rest of her life.

Clemens had this to say about Grant's work:

I had been comparing the memoirs with *Caesar's Commentaries*.... I was able to say in all sincerity, that the same high merits distinguished both books—clarity of statement, directness, simplicity, unpretentiousness, manifest truthfulness, fairness and justice toward friend and foe alike, soldierly candor and frankness, and soldierly avoidance of flowery speech. I placed the two books side by side upon the same high level, and I still think that they belonged there.

**1885**. Wilson A. Bentley, who lived in Jericho, Vermont, had a curious mind and this curiosity centered on snow crystals (snowflakes). He fitted a bellows camera to a microscope and, after years of trial and error, successfully took a photograph of a single crystal; the first to have done so. He went on to photograph over 5,000 snow crystals, finding no two alike. In 1935, he published his book *Snow Crystals*, which contained images of 2,400 crystals. This book is available today in a reprint from Dover Publications, Inc.

**1885**. The British House of Commons passed "An Act to Make Further Provision for the Protection of Women, Girls, the Suppression of Brothels and Other Purposes." MP Henry Du Pré Labouchère added an amendment, "Any male person who in

public or private commits or is a party to the commission of or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of any act of gross indecency with another male person shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and being convicted thereof shall be liable to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years with or without hard labor." The vagueness in the language and the lack of any reference to "consent" lead to widespread despair and suicide.

The person most famously imprisoned by the amendment was Oscar Wilde. Wilde had long mocked Victorian society in his dress, his lectures, his many writings, and his personal behavior. It was his personal behavior, especially with the much younger Lord Alfred Douglas, and through Douglas, with the underground of male prostitutes, which got him into trouble. Wilde had had skirmishes with the law before, particularly over his publications, but this time it was different. Douglas's father was the Marquess of Queensberry, and shall we say, he was not pleased: he didn't like what Wilde was doing —and so publicly—with his son. He went after Wilde, and finally Wilde met his match.

It was at this time that Wilde was readying his new play to open. And *The Importance of Being Earnest: A Trivial Play for Serious People* hit London like a firestorm, immediately becoming recognized as one of the greatest comedies written in English. Allan Aynesworth, who played the role of Algernon, recalled the opening night, "In my fifty-three years of acting, I never remember a greater triumph than [that] first night." Within days, the London papers were filled with ecstasy about *The Importance of Being Earnest* and outrageous depictions of Wilde's private life. Wilde refused his friends' advice to immediately leave for France and quickly found himself in court. And there, his accustomed arrogance and famous ability to use language to cut down all opposition only served to increase the case against him. He was incarcerated just over three months after the opening in London of his greatest play. He served two years hard labor in Reading Gaol. After that, his illustrious career was ended.

It was not legal until 1967 that adult gay men in Britain could consensually engage together in sex.

**1885**. An archaeological excavation on Rome's Quirinal Hill revealed two Hellenistic bronze statues by Greek sculptors, a gilded bronze nude male, larger than life, from the third to second century BC, and a life-size seated boxer from the third century BC, both significant additions to the small number of bronzes that have survived from the ancient world. These sculptures reveal the remarkable artistry and skill of the sculptors, the early development of metalworking, and the celebration of the intimately observed human figure as a subject for large art works.

**1885**. In Cannstatt (now Bad Cannstatt, a suburb of Stuttgart, Germany), Gottlieb Daimler and Wilhelm Maybach, building upon a previous invention of Nicolaus Otto, patented an engine with gasoline-injected carburetor and a vertical cylinder.

**1885**. Henry James began publishing *The Bostonians*, first as a serial in *The Century Magazine*, then in book form in 1886. This novel viewed the world of feminism in the later years of the 19th century in Boston and provided the name "Boston marriage" for a longterm intimate relationship between unmarried women.

**1885**. The Washington Monument on the National Mall in the District of Columbia was dedicated and became the tallest structure in the city, at 555 feet 7 11/32 inches. It even surpassed the Cologne Cathedral, in Germany, to become the tallest structure in the world. But not for long. In 1889, the Eiffel Tower, at 984 feet, was built in Paris.

**1885**. Since the creation of urban spaces, there have been urban myths. One such myth this year concerned Chicago. There had been a particularly heavy rainstorm that caused the Chicago River with all of its pollutants to flow far enough into Lake Michigan that it contaminated the city water supply. This event subsequently gave rise to the urban myth that there had been 90,000 deaths from cholera and typhoid in Chicago. Fortunately, factually there were only a few more deaths from typhoid than normal for the time and there was no cholera in Chicago at all. Chicago had welcomed, first, the immigrants escaping from the famine in Ireland, and later it was skilled workers from Germany, Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands, England, and Sweden, then the immigrants from Italy and Poland, and also Jews, exiled from Russia and Eastern Europe. Chicago had become the fastest growing city in the world. But like other growing American cities, Chicago had not kept up its infrastructure to care for its escalating population. Clean water was scarce. Sanitation was hard to maintain. Disease was widespread.

The aftereffects of the rainstorm in Chicago were severe, but they did have a positive result. The Illinois General Assembly decided to act. In 1887, the Sanitary District of Chicago was directed to begin a major feat of civil engineering to reverse the direction of flow of the Chicago River from Lake Michigan and toward the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Mississippi River.

**1885**. In the Russian Orthodox Church, Easter is the primary event in the religious year, and Russian celebrants have a long tradition of giving Easter eggs, elaborately decorated and blessed in the Church, as a symbol of Christ's rebirth, an emblem of love and prosperity. In this year, Czar Alexander III ordered an elaborate gold egg from goldsmith and jeweler Peter Carl Fabergé as a gift for his wife, Empress Maria Fedorovna, thus beginning the line of Fabergé's Imperial Eggs, which continued until 1916.

. In Mannheim, Germany, Karl Friedrich Benz, working independently of Gottlieb Daimler, patented a three-wheeled motor car with a four-stroke 0.9 internal-combustion gas engine.

. In Egypt, the Gospel of Peter was recovered in the tomb of a Christian monk. It was the first of the non-canonical gospels to be found. Thought to have been destroyed, it had been referred to by writers as early as the second half of the second century. This gospel, along with other non-canonical gospels recovered later, caused a major review of the early history of Christianity.

. In Luxembourg, Henri Owen Tudor developed and manufactured the first practical lead acid battery and, in 1928, died of lead poisoning.

. With the increasing economic disparity between the richest and the poorest members of society, this was a time of

labor strife, termed by historians as "the Great Upheaval of 1886." Railroads were the major industry in the United States and the Knights of Labor, which included railroad workers, were the largest union. Labor strikes were the labor leaders' political action of choice. Pushing for an eight-day work week, a series of strikes culminated in the Haymarket Riot,

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**1886.** According to the present company, "a pharmacist named Dr. John Pemberton carried a jug of Coca-Cola® syrup to Jacobs' Pharmacy in downtown Atlanta, where it was mixed with carbonated water and sold for five cents a glass."

**1886.** Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing, a psychologist in Vienna, published *Psychopathia Sexualis*, one of the first medical works on deviant sexual behavior for use by doctors, psychiatrists, and judges. Fearing that his work would gain wide interest among laymen, a situation which he wanted to avoid, he wrote in academic style and with the title and sections of the text in Latin. Krafft-Ebing's basic view was that sex had one purpose and one purpose only: procreation. Any sex not for the purpose of procreation was deviant. However, in *Psychopathia Sexualis* he wrote at length—case after case, with the cases overwhelmingly concerning men—about homosexuality and bisexuality. And he kept writing about homosexuality and bisexuality to finally produce twelve editions. From these editions, the English language gained the following terms: "sadist," "masochist," "necrophilia," and "anilingus." The terms

"homosexuality" and "heterosexual" had been coined and published by Karl-Maria Kertbeny in 1869 in a pamphlet, but when Krafft-Ebing used these two terms in his works, they became a standard part of the English language.

Krafft-Ebing postulated that while some cases of homosexuality were the result of early masturbation, all deviant sexual behavior essentially resulted from genetic anomalies occurring in gestation that caused "sexual inversion" of the brain. These ideas had great impact at the time, but not for very long. Sigmund Freud, also in Vienna, soon propounded his idea that all humans were basically bisexual and that all humans fell between extremes of being totally heterosexual and being totally homosexual, an explanation which not only the medical community but also the general public found to be much more credible. Krafft-Ebing and his *Psychopathia Sexualis* quickly became a curiosity.

**1886**. Charleston, South Carolina, is the center of earthquakes on the Southeast coast of the United States. The earthquake, at 7.3 magnitude, and a delayed outcome of the raising of the Appalachian Mountains, was the largest in recent record to hit the eastern seaboard and it destroyed much of the city. The earthquake was felt in 30 states and as far away as Ontario, Canada; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and the Bahamas. An African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church was one of the local structures destroyed. This church, established in 1793, was burned twice in 1822 by racists. The congregation met until 1834, when South Carolina outlawed all-Black churches. They met in secret until the end of the Civil War in 1865, when they legally reorganized and adopted the name Mother Emanuel. After being

destroyed in the earthquake of 1886, it was soon rebuilt; President Grover Cleveland contributed \$10. to its rebuilding.

During the Civil Rights era of the 1960s, it was visited by Martin Luther King, Jr. According to its website, "The roots of Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church run deep in Charleston and its history is one of perseverance in the face of racial hostility. It was borne of discrimination, burned to the ground in hate, and rose again." The oldest A.M.E. church in the south, it was the scene of a tragic massacre in 2015 by a White supremacist terrorist during a prayer service, leaving Reverend and Senator Clementa Pinckney and eight other parishioners— Cynthia Hurd, Depayne Middleton-Doctor, Sharonda Coleman-Singleton, Susie Jackson, Myra Thompson, Tywanza Sanders, Ethel Lance, and Daniel Simmons—dead.

**1886**. Seibert Dairy was founded in New Britain. Fifty-one years later, the Seibert Dairy was purchased by the Guida brothers, Alexander Jr. and Frank, and renamed the Guida Seibert Dairy Co. The company expanded to serve the entire Southern New England area, as it continues to do today. The only recent change was in 2012 when the ownership shifted to a large national co-operative. It continues to operate on the original land in New Britain.

**1886**. Josephine Cochrane, of Illinois, upset with her servants' frequent breaking of her fine dinner dishes, invented, patented, and manufactured the first mechanical dishwasher. She was not the first inventor in her family; her maternal grandfather, John Fitch, was awarded a patent for a steamboat.

**1886**. Emily Dickinson died in Amherst, Massachusetts, after which her sister found more than 1,000 poems in Emily's bureau. Of a prominent and well-to-do family, Emily Dickinson was private in life. Her poems are now considered, along with Walt Whitman's, the greatest American poetry written before the 1900s. Here is one:

I'm Nobody! Who are you" Are you - Nobody - too? Then there's a pair of us. Don't tell! They'll advertise - you know!

How dreary - to be - Somebody! How public - like a Frog -To tell one's name - the livelong June To an admiring Bog!

**1886**. Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch, the first permanent triumphal arch to be built in America, was dedicated on the anniversary of the Battle of Antietam and the bloodiest day in U.S. history, in Hartford, Connecticut. Designed by George Keller, Hartford architect, it honored the more than 4,000 Hartford citizens who served in the Civil War and the nearly 400 who died for the Union. It also honored the freed enslaved people.

**1886**. At the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the director, Thomas Eakins (see also: 1875) gave a lecture to a class that included female students, during which he removed a loincloth from a male model so he could illustrate the line of a

pelvic muscle. Subsequently, he was asked to resign from the Academy. He and 36 of his students left and established the Art Students League of Philadelphia. At the Art Students League, he continued to move American art away from concentrating on landscapes and back to the European model of the primacy of portraiture (especially of the nude, including male nudes), candidly, without any sense of social enhancement. Important people did not request to model for him; no one with any class wanted one of his works in their home.

After Eakins' death in 1916, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York held an exhibit of 60 of his paintings and the Pennsylvania Academy, the home he was thrown out of those many years before, held an exhibit of 139 of his works. With those important exhibits, he came to be considered one of America's greatest artists, and he continues to be so considered today.

**1886**. Avon Calling was started by David H. McConnell, a door-to-door salesman. Realizing that women were best able to sell to other women, Avon became a major force supporting working women in the U.S., and later throughout the world. The company now ranks first in cosmetic sales nationwide.

**1886**. Georges Seurat, a French painter, completed his *Un dominate après-midi à l'Île de la Grande Jatte (A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte)* in a style of painting now referred to as pointillism. This large painting, now owned by the Art Institute of Chicago, was the basis for the story and set of the 1984 Broadway musical *Sunday in the Park with George* by Stephen Sondheim and James Lapine.

**1887**. The Edmunds-Tucker Act increased the actions by the United States Congress against the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church) by increasing the penalties regarding the practice of polygamy and by dissolving the corporation of the church. The Act was repealed in 1978.

**1887**. The Boston Beaneaters paid the Chicago White Stockings \$10,000 for baseball player Michael Joseph Kelly. In Boston he gained the nickname "King."

**1887**. Looking Backward: 2000-1887, a utopian science fiction novel by Edward Bellamy, is published. It was the third-largest bestseller of its time, after Uncle Tom's Cabin and Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ.

**1887**. Supposedly an effort to support American Indians (the always considered alternative was annihilation), the U.S. Congress passed the General Allotment Act (the "Dawes Act"). This Act

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**1887**. Mount Bayou was established as a self-segregated all-Black town in the Yazoo Delta, northwest Mississippi, based on the principles of self-help, race pride, economic opportunity, and social justice. It continues to this day.

**1887**. Under the pen name of Nelly Bly (taken from the popular Stephen Foster song), Elizabeth Cochran, working as a journalist for the New York World, on her first assignment posed as a mental patient in the infamous asylum at Blackwell's Island (now Roosevelt Island) in New York City. Her work revealed horrendous neglect and abuse, and ultimately stimulated a large-scale investigation of the facility and widespread change to New York State laws and practices regarding mental patients.

She had already established herself as a trailblazer. In 1882, at age 18, in response to an article in *The Pittsburg Dispatch* decrying the "monstrosity of working women," she wrote a blistering letter supporting the abilities and rights of women. This letter resulted in a job offer at the paper and subsequent articles on women's rights and working conditions of women in sweatshops, before being shipped off to "women's pages" where she would rattle fewer cages. This was not what she had in mind for herself, so she relocated to New York City and the New York World. After her asylum exposé, she investigated conditions in jails and factories and wrote pieces on Emma Goldman and Susan B. Anthony. Picking up on the fame of Jules Verne's imaginative novel Around the World in Eighty Days, her paper supported her feat to compete in 1889 with the fictional account, which she did in 72 days, 6 hours, 11 minutes, and 14 seconds. And by so doing, she set a real world record.

**1887.** Arthur Conan Doyle published *A Study in Scarlet*, the first of many stories featuring Sherlock Holmes. Doyle's works were strongly influenced by the "sensation novels" of Wilkie Collins, of whom *The Lady in White* and *The Moonstone* are most remembered, and also by his association at the Royal Infirmary of

Edinburgh with the medical lecturer, Dr. Joseph Bell, well known for his skills in deductive reasoning. Dr. Bell had some experience, and success, in forensics, but it was largely the amazing body of work of Doyle's character Holmes that lead the way to the modern science of crime detection.

**1887.** Spencer F. Baird died. He was an American naturalist, ornithologist (learning from John James Audubon), ichthyologist, herpetologist, and museum curator, the first Assistant Secretary, and later Secretary, of the Smithsonian Institution. His work at the Smithsonian became intertwined, quite remarkably, with that of Solomon G. Brown.

Solomon G. Brown was born in Washington D.C. in 1829 as a free man when slavery was legal in the capital city. After working for the Post Office, he joined the Smithsonian staff as a general laborer. Baird and Brown soon developed a close working relationship, with Baird supporting Brown to take on increasingly important responsibilities. These included, when Baird was Secretary, managing the Institution when Baird needed to be away. Although Brown lacked a formal education, according to a Smithsonian publication,

Brown embodied a Renaissance Man. Not only did he excel as a naturalist, but he was an illustrator, lecturer, philosopher, and poet. He illustrated maps and specimens for many of his lectures—including his first "The Social Habits of Insects," which he delivered to church organizations and civic groups. Brown also gave public readings of his poetry, which focused on religion and the social issues of the day. . . .

A man of limitless energy, Solomon G. Brown continued to work at the Smithsonian, write, draw, and serve his community until his retirement on February 14, 1906. Not long afterward, Brown died at his home on June 24, 1906. Over a century has passed, yet Brown's devotion to the foundation of the Smithsonian is still remembered today. In 2004, trees were planted around the National Museum of Natural History in his honor.

**1888**. Edward Lear, a British artist, illustrator, author, and poet, best remembered for his many limericks and his lyrical nonsense poem, "The Owl and the Pussycat," died, age 75.

**1888**. The first of a series of brutal murders of London prostitutes by the Whitechapel Murderer, a.k.a. Jack the Ripper. While mystery still surrounds these murders, Scotland Yard, in their investigations, developed significant scientific techniques still in use today.

**1888**. The French sculptor Auguste Rodin exhibited his 6foot bronze sculpture, *Le Penseur* (*The Thinker*), a nude male in a pose suggesting deep thought. As described by *Britannica*, "Still and pensive . . ." and "The nude form is seated on a rock, his back hunched forward, brows furrowed, chin resting on his relaxed hand, and mouth thrust into his knuckles." Rodin produced many copies of his works, often in both monumental and smaller sizes, and this practice continued after his death in 1917. Large copies can be seen in museums throughout the world; small size versions have become popular paper weights on desks. A monumental bronze of Le Penseur was placed over the graves of Rodin and his wife at their home outside of Paris.

**1888.** "A great exhibition of pianos took place in Warsaw that year, and the [4-year-old] boy was brought to see the rows of grand pianos. He chose the most elaborate one and began to play piece after piece. Those attending the exhibition applauded wildly. A charity concert was arranged, and soon he was on a tour of performing through Russia, where he played for the Imperial family. Concerts were arranged in cities all over Europe." This was a period of fabulous musical prodigies ("Signale für die Musicalische printed information about [five] musical prodigies who had made their first public appearances that year."), with fathers who wanted to follow the paths of the young Mozart and his father. Just the previous year, Josef Hofmann had made a whirlwind and fortune-making tour in the United States. But Hofmann had been eleven, Raoul Koczalski was four. Raoul's father guit his law "career to devote himself to exhibiting his prodigy son" with "Barnum-like promotional abilities," leading Gregor Benko to conclude, "Some of the puffery sounds too familiar, a lot of it cannot be verified, and at least a portion of it is not true." This was a period when people's appetite for the fabulous was great. (Gregor Benko, "The Mystery of Raoul Koczalski," The Complete Raoul von Koczalski, Vol. 2 Pre-War Recordings 1930-1939," Marston, 2015.) (Thanks to Marston for granting reprint permission.)

1888. The National Geographic Society was founded as a club for academics and weathy men interested in travel and exploration. (An early club president was Alexander Graham Bell.) Later, they started a magazine featuring photography of far-off "wild" lands and people. Well aware that it was improper to show White women in states of nudity, and illegal to put them in

the mail, in an effort to increase readership by men, the magazine featured photographs of "native" women (e.g., women of color) in the nude. This marketing strategy was so successful in selling subscriptions that it has been estimated that there are now multiple millions of attics with stacks of old copies.

**1888.** The United States suffered two major winter storms: the January storm in the Midwest, now called the Children's Blizzard of '88, and the March storm in the Northeast, now called the Great Blizzard of '88. (Note: the Great Blizzard and Children's Blizzard rank 3rd and 5th, respectively, in the current list of top ten deadliest blizzards worldwide.)

**1888**. Attending to the needs of the growing Jewish community, Rabbi Dov Behr Manischewitz, an immigrant from Russia, founded a bakery in Cincinnati to make matzo, unleavened bread based on a 5,000-year-old recipe. Expanding their offerings to many kosher foods, but remaining most famous for its matzo and its wine, it moved to New Jersey to better serve the large Jewish population in New York City. Two major events happened in 1990. They were fined \$1,000,000 for price fixing, and the company ceased being under family control. Still under the brand name Manischewitz, the business is bigger than ever and they sell more matzo than any other company in the world.

**1888**. The San Francisco Daily Examiner published, under the pen name "Phin," Ernest Lawrence Thayer's poem, "Casey at the Bat." This poem quickly became a major addition to American folklore, making many careers in theatrical presentations. 1889. The first public coin telephone, invented by William Grey, was in a bank in Hartford, Connecticut.

**1889**. More than 2,200 people were killed when, following 24 hours of from 6- to 10-inches of rain over a multi-state area, the South Fork Dam broke, sending water rushing through the steeply mountainous area of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, completely destroying 4 square miles of Johnstown's downtown. Rescue efforts were hampered by the steel produced in the many industries along the banks, including barbed wire. Clara Barton was among the first to arrive, and the Johnstown Flood was the Red Cross's first major disaster relief effort.

The back story of this flood is a little complex. The state of Pennsylvania built the South Fork Dam to aid in developing a canal system, but about the time the construction was completed a railroad system had been built and the canal was not needed. So the state abandoned the project, leaving it open to damage. A private developer wanted to create a private membership club around a lake that would be created if repairs and modifications were made in a certain way to the dam. All went well and the club was a success until torrential amounts of water built up in the lake, causing the dam to break.

The real cause of the failure was the modifications to the dam after its initial construction. They were substandard, and made in an absence of knowledge about the dam's design. Because of the failure, flood prevention measures were implemented in the Johnstown area, and the Johnstown inclined plane was built, saving many lives in floods that followed. The biggest effect on the actual practice of engineering was the change in liability law that occurred after the disaster, making more people liable for damages caused by modifications to natural land, such as a dam. This look at the Johnstown Flood of 1889 highlights the importance of engineering ethics and the catastrophic consequences that can result from the failure of an engineering project. (Abstract, "The Johnstown Flood of 1889," Aaron Miller, March 30, 2010.)

**1889**. The Simmons Company manufactured mattresses with spiral coiled springs.

**1889.** This year marked the 100-year anniversary of the beginning of the French Revolution, and in honor of this epic event, Paris held an Exposition Universelle (World's Fair). It was decided that a suitable entrance monument was needed, and over 100 plans were submitted. The commission was awarded to Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel and Eiffel et Compagnie, and the Eiffel Tower, 986 feet high, became the tallest structure in the world, a distinction it held until the Chrysler Building was built in New York City in 1930. The original plan was that the structure would be demolished at the end of the Exposition, but, realizing the tower's value as a radiotelegraph station, City officials decided to let it stand, and it has, providing invaluable support to the French as a communication station in both world wars and now receiving about 7 million paid visitors a year for its viewing platforms and restaurants. It has truly become, along with Notre-Dame Cathedral, the visual symbol of Paris.

**1889**. This year marked the 200-year anniversary of the opening, in Boston, of the first coffee house in North America, following the lead of coffee houses opening in France, England, and Italy. But tea remained the hot drink of the colonists. Things

changed quickly following the 1773 Boston Tea Party, when colonists protested the imposition by the British Parliament of a tax on tea although the colonists had no representation in Parliament. (This was the spark. The basic grievance, increasing over decades, was who could determine life in Colonial North America: the colonial governments or the English King and Parliament.) In reaction to the "destruction of the tea," by the colonists, Parliament quickly clamped down on the people of Massachusetts in a variety of ways, one of which prevented mass gatherings. Coffee houses proved to be places to drink the new, favored drink and, not incidentally, to share political concerns and plans. In 1775, with the Battles of Lexington and Concord, the American revolution began.

**1889**. After the U.S. Congress paid \$1.40 an acre to the Cherokees, the Oklahoma Land Rush began. This was the first of five land runs, a land lottery, a land auction, and a Supreme Court decision that, altogether, created what is today the state of Oklahoma.

**1889.** After Edward FitzGerald's death in 1883, the 5th edition of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyám* was published. (Previous editions were in 1859, 1868, 1872, and 1879.) This was a translation of poems written by the medieval Muslim mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher Omar Khayyám, full name: Ghiyath al-Din Abu'l-Fath Umar ibn Ibrahim Al-Nisaburi al-Khayyami, born 1048 and died 1131 in what was then Persia and is now Iran. FitzGerald's work was a landmark of romantic English literature and came to be viewed as a litmus test of the reader's proclivities, with, among other interpretations, some viewing it as mysticism, some—to quote a recent translator—as

"an assault on petty-minded orthodoxies," and some as a secular call to a life of pleasure. Its impact was worldwide. In proof of the idea that it is known by people who don't know that they know it, here is Quatrain XII in his 5th edition:

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough, A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou Beside me singing in the Wilderness— Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

Even without having written any poetry, Khayyám would be famous among astronomers for devising a calendar based on his measurement of a year that was so accurate, although introduced in 1079, it remained in use until the 20th century.

**1890**. Wounded Knee Massacre and the death of Sitting Bull, near Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota.

L. Frank Baum was a newspaperman in South Dakota. There he wrote an editorial that had respectful words about Sitting Bull, but not respectful words for Sitting Bull's followers. He also presented his solution to the Indian Problem, one that strikes us today as eerily prescient of World War II and the Nazi goal to annihilate all Jews and also homosexuals, gypsies, and those disabled. Here is a section of Baum's editorial:

The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians. Why not annihilation? Their glory has fled, their spirit broken, their manhood effaced; better that they die than live the miserable wretches that they are. History would forget these latter despicable beings, and speak, in later ages of the glory of these grand Kings of forest and plain that Cooper loved to heroism.

["Cooper" refers to James Filamore Cooper, the author of *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and other romantic tales set in upstate New York.]

Ten years later, L. Frank Baum published *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*.

**1890**. As a condition of Utah becoming the 45th state of the United States, which occurred in 1896, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints issues the Manifesto ending church-sanctioned polygamy.

**1890**. Begun in 1377, Ulm Minster, in Ulm, Germany, was completed. At 530 feet, it became the tallest church in the world. Begun as a Roman Catholic church, during the Reformation the congregation converted to Lutheranism, and it remains as a Lutheran church today. In 1763, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart played its large organ. An air raid in 1944 devastated most of the city, but, amazingly, the church was missed and survived with almost no damage.

**1890.** William Kemmler, who was convicted of killing his common-law wife, became the first American executed by electrocution. This took place in Auburn, New York.

**1890.** In 1790, President George Washington had two reasons for visiting the various new states. The first reason was two-fold: he wanted to better know the people and lands of the various states, and he wanted the people to get to know him as president and not just as a military man. The second reason was to encourage the people of each state to encourage their state representatives to ratify the amendments (later to be referred to as "The Bill of Rights").

In each state he was greeted by representatives of the citizenry, including representatives of various religious groups. Where states included Jews, Jews were included among those greeting the president. Washington was especially keen to convey that the United States, unlike European countries, supported religious liberty. Washington wrote letters to each greeter in each of the states he visited, including each Jew who spoke with him. Considering the untold abuse, scapegoating, and atrocities heaped upon Jews throughout history, Washington's response to Jews in this new nation is not only of great historical impact but also it went far to position this nation's commitment to freedom of religion.

Although it was read in the Touro Synagogue each year, in 1890, the citizens of Rhode Island held a special celebration for the centennial anniversary of the exchange of letters between Moses Seixas of the Touro Synagogue Jeshuat Israel in Newport, Rhode Island, and President George Washington. Of all the letters that Washington wrote to representatives of various religious groups in the various States, the Letter to the Hebrew Congregation of Newport, Rhode Island, 1790, stands out. Here are its salient sections:

## Gentlemen:

While I received with much satisfaction your address replete with expressions of esteem, I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you that I shall always retain grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced on my visit to Newport from all classes of citizens....

It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights, for, happily, the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my administration and fervent wishes for my felicity.

May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants— while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid.

May the father of all mercies scatter light, and not darkness, upon our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in His own due time and way everlastingly happy.

G. Washington

Born in 1744 in Newport of immigrant parents from Portugal, Moses Seixas was the warden of Touro Synagogue. The building of Touro Synagogue was completed in 1763 and it is the oldest synagogue still standing in North America. Originally Sephardic, the members are now primarily Ashkenazi, but the Sephardic Ritual is maintained.

**1890**. Maurice Denis, French painter and designer, published the article "Definition of Neo-Traditionalism" with the now-famous statement "Remember that a picture—before being a war horse or a nude woman or an anecdote—is essentially a flat surface covered with colours assembled in a certain order." This statement became a foundational bridge connecting impressionism (Gauguin, Monet, van Gogh) with the modern art movement, and, especially, cubism (Braque, Picasso).

**1890.** The Forth Bridge, a rail bridge that spans the Firth of Forth between the villages of South and North Queensferry, Scotland, is 2,529 meters long and 100 meters high, making it at the time it was built the largest cantilever span in the world.

**1890**. Jacob Riis, an emigrant from Denmark, became a photo-journalist in New York City and made use of the recently invented flash photography, and published his work in *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements in New York*. (The name comes from, "one half of the world does not know how the other half lives" ["la moitié du monde ne sait pas comment l'autre vit"] in François Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.) Riis's work exposed the dangerously crowded and unhealthy living conditions for thousands of emigrants in the Lower East

Side. Aided by his impact on Theadore Roosevelt's efforts as a reformer, Riis was instrumental in initiating widespread social reforms.

**1890.** Herman Hollerith designed a punch card system to calculate the 1880 census, accomplishing the task in just three years, saving the government \$5 million. He established a company that would ultimately become IBM.

**1890.** Dutch painter of *Starry Night* and *Sunflowers*, Vincent van Gogh shot himself at age 37. Art was only one of the career paths that he followed, but it was the one which allowed him the most opportunity for the development of his ideas and feelings. Highly productive in both paintings and drawings, his work is known for his imaginative and emotional use of color and his vigorous brush work. Many of his works show his interest in art from Japan. Beginning in 1885, he collected ukiyo-e prints (Japanese woodblock prints which were highly colored with vigorous, asymmetrical compositions, then available for little money in Paris shops), even including them as backdrop in some of his portrait paintings.

Van Gogh was what we would describe as a loner, uncomfortable around most other people, with the on again/off again exception of his brother, Theo, and the workers, the toilers, those who the world depended upon, but generally ignored. He understood these people because he had read their stories, the stories of their lives. For van Gogh was a reader. He was a voracious reader of literature, reading in Dutch, French, and English. He read and reread the Bible, Shakespeare, Dickens, Zola, à Kempis, Stowe, Homer, de Maupassant, and Balzac. As Timothy Snyder reminds us, "Any good novel enlivens our ability to think about ambiguous situations and judge the intentions of others." Novels allow us to get outside of ourselves, to see the world from a different vantage point, from a different world, from a different frame of reference. Van Gogh's rich reading experiences lead to his understanding and sensitivity toward the range and depth of human experience, the interaction of life and nature, the relationship of the smallest to the most vast.

Especially in his last two years, he suffered from mental illness, and this, combined with the compelling emotion in his paintings (where some see evidence of mental instability: those whirling stars, the wild gardens), his life and work stirred the popular imagination of the romantic, unlucky in love, and misunderstood artist. Always leeringly eager to see genius come to an early and tragic end, with van Gogh the craven masses got all that they could hope for. And more. He only sold one painting during his lifetime, *The Red Vineyard* for 40 francs, about \$2,000 in 2018 dollars.

But time has a way of changing one's place in history. Now posters of his works are on thousands, perhaps millions, of college dorm walls and his original works (and, doubtless, a few forgeries) are in museums around the world, with the largest collection (over 200 paintings, 500 drawings, and 750 written documents) at the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. The cherished painting, *Starry Night*, can be seen at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City. And his paintings and drawings can still be found in private collections, and sometimes they come up for sale. The painting *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* sold at auction in 1990 for \$82.5 million. All far, far beyond what he could have dreamed of during those days and nights, when he was hurling paint, tears, sweat, and life in Nuenen and Antwerp, Paris and Asnières, Aries and Saint-Rémy, then, finally, in Auvers-sur-Oise, where he so tragically died.

**1891**. Eastman Kodak in Rochester, N.Y., installed the first air conditioning system for industrial use, to protect the storage of photographic film.

**1891.** The Trans-Siberian Railroad begins construction from the Yaroslavsky Terminal in Moscow, Russia. It was completed in 1916 at the station in Vladivostok, eight time zones and 5,772 miles away.

**1891.** Phineas Taylor "P.T." Barnum died at age 80. He had had a very full life, encompassing at various times, being a businessman; book auctioneer; lottery promoter; newspaper owner; a two-term Republican Connecticut legislator; mayor of Bridgeport, Connecticut; a temperance lecturer; hospital administrator; museum owner and developer, including the first aquarium in the U.S.; major benefactor of Tufts College; showman and entrepreneur of such actors, exhibits, and crowd-pleasers as the dwarf Tom Thumb, the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind, and baby contests; theater builder and owner (his theater in New York initiated theater matinées); real estate developer; circus owner, first "P. T. Barnum's Grand Traveling Museum, Menagerie, Caravan & Hippodrome," and finally "Barnum & Bailey Circus." His circus featured Jumbo the elephant. It was the first circus to travel by train.

**1891.** The French state purchases American artist James Abbott McNeill Whistler's *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No 1* (popularly known as *Whistler's Mother*). It can be seen in Paris at Musée d'Orsay.

**1891.** Financed by Andrew Carnegie, Carnegie Hall in New York City opens with a piano recital by Franz Rummel playing Couperin, Rameau, Beethoven, Chopin, Schubert, Brahms, Raff, Jadassohn, Floersheim, and Liszt. Acclaimed for its superb acoustics, it quickly became—and remains today—the premier auditorium in New York for solo, chamber, and orchestral performance, the venue of choice by the world's finest musical artists, and a few others who can pay the fee.

(There is a joke that has become well known: "How do you get to Carnegie Hall?" "Practice, practice, practice.")

**1891**. An earthquake (8.0 to 8.5 on Richter Scale) occurred in Gifu and Aichi Prefectures, Japan, with extensive damage in Nagoya and Osaka, with over 7,000 people killed, and over 17,000 injured. There were over 3,000 aftershocks in the first 14 months after the quake and three or four per year into the 1970s.

**1891**. Sixteen peach growers in Connecticut formed a fruit society with John Smith of New Britain as president. Soon they started growing apple trees among the peach trees.

**1891**. Pope Leo XIII (born Vincenzo Gioacchino Raffaele Luigi Pecci) issued the encyclical, Rerum nova rum or "Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor, on the condition of the working classes." Below are some of the topics addressed. The impact of the industrial revolution:

... in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvelous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; the increased self reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy.

The condition of the working class:

... some opportune remedy must be found quickly for the misery and wretchedness pressing so unjustly on the majority of the working class ... by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been surrendered, isolated and helpless, to the hardheartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition. The mischief has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different guise, but with like injustice, still practiced by covetous and grasping men. To this must be added that the hiring of labor and the conduct of trade are concentrated in the hands of comparatively few; so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.

It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the impelling reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and thereafter to hold it as his very own. If one man hires out to another his strength or skill, he does so for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for the satisfaction of his needs; he therefore expressly intends to acquire a right full and real, not only to the remuneration, but also to the disposal of such remuneration, just as he pleases.... Socialists, therefore, by endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community at large, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, since they would deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thereby of all hope and possibility of increasing his resources and of bettering his condition in life.

[This entry is cut short to get this on line.]

**1891**. The Dutch paleoanthropologist Marie Eugène François Thomas Dubois, discovered the first remains of hominid life outside of Africa and Europe. On the island of Java, Dutch East Indies (now part of Indonesia), Dubois found a tooth and a skullcap; the following year he found a thighbone. Thinking they were the "missing link" between apes and humans, he gave their species the scientific name Anthropopithecus erectus (or "manape"), then later Pithecanthropus erectus (or "ape-man"), commonly referred to as Java Man. They were from the Pleistocene Age.

In 1950, the German biologist Ernst Mayr renamed them Homo erectus (or "upright man"), establishing them as a direct ancestor of modern humans.

**1891**. According to Henry J. Sayers, the manager of an American vaudeville show, he heard the song, "Ta-ra-ra-Boom-de-

ay" sung by an African American woman in a brothel in St. Louis, Missouri. He was so attracted to the song that he added it to one of his shows. Sayers then sold the rights for Lottie Collins to perform the song in London. The music refrain could hardly have been simpler: "Ta-ra-ra- Boom-de-ay" repeated eight times, and there was a heavy accent on "Boom" each time it occurred. And Collins' dance was given this description by a reviewer, "she turns, twists, contorts, revolutionizes, and disports her lithe and muscular figure into a hundred different poses, all bizarre." To the delight of thousands of men in London for the remainder of her performing life, each accented "Boom" was synchronized with a revealing kick. The song and dance, but not Lottie Collins, quickly crossed the channel to Paris, France, becoming a staple at the Folies Bergère.

**1892**. As famous as "Ta-ra-ra-Boom-de-ay" became, its success could not compare with "After the Ball" by the American composer Charles K. Harris. Where "Ta-ra-ra-Boom-de-ay" was loud, brash, and titillating, "After the Ball" was smooth, sentimental, and a waltz.

After the ball is over, After the break of morn – After the dancers' leaving; After the stars are gone; Many a heart is aching, If you could read them all; Many the hopes that have vanished After the ball. In its first year, the sheet music sold over two million copies, and went on to sell over five million copies. For a particularly dramatic moment in *Show Boat*, Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II used "After the Ball" as a sing-along. Esthetically, this was a perfect selection for this scene that starts out as both hesitant and forbidding, then with the communal singing of "After the Ball," it turns into a warm, communal embrace around a nowreunited father and daughter. And historically, this song also was a believable selection considering the popularity of this song and the fact that the song reinforces the historical period of *Show Boat* as the early 1890s.

**1892**. The individual states of the U.S. controlled immigration until 1890, when it became a federal responsibility. But the existing New York immigration station was ill equipped to handle the increasing numbers of Immigrants arriving in New York Harbor. Ellis Island, located in the upper bay just off the coast of New Jersey, was designated as the first Federal immigration station by President Benjamin Harrison. It opened this year and quickly became the most popular port of entry to the United States. Adjacent to the Statue of Liberty, it was here that the dreams of millions of immigrants (mostly from northern and western Europe) became reality. Tragedy struck five years later when fire burned the wooden structure and immigration files dating back to 1855. In 1900, a new fireproof building was opened; on that first day 2,251 immigrants were received.

**1892**. Grover Cleveland was elected U.S. President and oil is discovered in Los Angeles. The full relationship between these two events has yet to be determined.

**1892**. The May 28 issue of *Scientific American*, page 343, printed "Speed of Elevators" about the rising development of elevators:

The maximum speed of the fastest passenger elevators which have ever been built, the New York Journal of Commerce says, is 1,500 feet a minute, a rate of one mile in three minutes and a fraction. Before the fire in the Western Union building in New York City occurred [in 1890, the world's first large fire in a tall building; the building had been designed to be fireproof] that company had a machine which could run 1,500 feet a minute. It was the only one of its kind in the East.

These machines are of the water balance type—that of the original hydraulic elevator, the invention [1872] of Cyrus Baldwin. Owing to its expensiveness, and the fact that it could not be controlled automatically, it went out of use. The speed was regulated by its engineer, and it went fast or slow as he pleased.

With the modern elevator almost any speed desired can be obtained; it all depends of the power used and the distance traveled. In a building which has a shaft of 250 feet, a speed of 850 to 1,000 feet a minute can be obtained. On a rise of 150 feet it is easy to get a speed of 750 feet per minute with a weight of 1,000 pounds aboard the elevator. In New York the fastest elevators are in the Union Trust Company's building on Broadway, near Wall Street. They shoot up or down, carrying 3,000 pounds, at a speed of 600 feet a minute. When tested with lighter weights, they have traveled from 800 to 900 feet a minute. But the average speed of elevators in office buildings in and around New York is 300 feet a minute. The largest elevator cars in the world are at Weehawken [New Jersey]. These elevators, of which there are three, are designed to carry 135 persons on each trip, the equivalent of ten tons. They are owned by the North Hudson County Railway Company. A viaduct, 875 feet in length, has been built out from the Palisades to a point above the ferry depot. From the rails on the viaduct to the river level the distance is about 150 feet. The railroad company's contract calls for a speed of 200 feet a minute. The common elevators of small business buildings are worth at least \$3,000. From that they range up to \$13,000 for the same class of buildings.

From an elevator point of view, the new Masonic Temple building in Chicago will be the most important in the world. It will have 24 elevators built into a circular shaft have a 250 foot rise. There will be express elevators, way and freight trains. The first will go to the top floor without stopping, while the others will stop either at every floor or at the 5th, 10th, 15th, and so on. They will not run at full speed, probably, because passengers don't like the sensation of flying. With the present safety devices it is just as safe to run fast as slow.

The Masonic Temple building in Chicago was completed in this same year, the largest building in the world. Topped with a roof garden which could accommodate 2,000, the building height was comparable to the height of the Statue of Liberty. It was demolished in 1939, not because of any lack of building integrity, but because of market forces.

Before elevators, buildings of more than one level were equipped with stairs. Crowded cities caused multistory housing to be built and the wealthy lived on the lower floors, with the less wealthy getting the upper floors and the more arduous stair climbs. When elevators made possible tall buildings designed for living quarters, there was a quick revision in the locale of living spaces. Now the less wealthy lived on the lower floors and the weathy lived on the upper floors, enjoyed the fresher air and the views, and, if they were very wealthy and very lucky, a penthouse.

**1892**. The Sierra Club was incorporated in San Francisco. John Muir was elected president. They began efforts to protect the area of the eastern side of the California Sierra Nevada mountains that the indigenous people Ahwahneechee Paiutes called "Ahwahnee," but called "Yosemite" by Muir, the Club members, and the United States Government. Their protective efforts eventually paid off; in 1916, Yosemite became the first U.S. National Park.

**1892**. Sir James Dewar, British physicist, invented but didn't patent, a vacuum bottle for use by scientists for keeping vaccines and serums at stable temperatures. Later it was adapted for home use under the name Thermos.

**1892.** In downtown Philadelphia under the Reading Terminal, the Reading Terminal Market was opened. Bassetts Ice Cream, which was first established in 1861 in Salem, New Jersey, by Lewis Dubois Bassett, a Quaker teacher and farmer, became the first merchant to sign a lease with the Market. Over the years, it has developed a huge and growing number of satisfied customers, including, in 1959, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev and, in 2010, U.S. President Obama. With an international distribution, it is headed by a fifth generation Bassett family member, with two sixth generation Bassett family members near at hand. Bassetts Ice Cream celebrated its 125th anniversary in 2018. It also became the last of the original merchants operating out of the Reading Terminal Market.

**1892**. Homer Plessy, a "Creole of color," was arrested and fined for refusing to leave a "Whites-only" car of the East Louisiana Railroad. This case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, where it was upheld by the doctrine of "separate but equal" racial segregation, a concept later overturned in 1954 by Brown v. Board of Education.

**1892.** The Mass in E-flat major by Amy Beach (Mrs. A.M.C. Beach) )1868-1944) was performed in Boston in 1892 by the Handel and Haydn Society. Since its foundation in 1815, the Handel and Haydn Society had never performed a piece composed by a woman. Newspaper music critics responded to the Boston performance of the Mass by declaring Beach one of America's foremost composers, comparing the piece to Masses by Cherubini and Bach. Both Cherubini and Bach suffered from long periods of neglect by the music-loving public, but their neglect would occur after their deaths. For Beach, as a woman composer, neglect stalked her from the start, making premier performances of her works, and even more important, succeeding performances of her works, very rare. She was also a talented pianist and, because women were generally accepted as performers, she could get work (with her husband's approval, but for only two concerts a year, with proceeds going to charity) as a pianist. But as a composer, well, that was really going beyond the pale. Antonin Dvorak, the Czech composer best known for his Symphony #8 ("From the New World") in New York in 1892, stated his view about women composers, "They have not the

creative power." Beach responded, "From the year 1675 to the year 1885, women have composed 153 works, including 55 serious operas, 6 cantatas, 53 comic operas, 17 operettas, 6 sing-spiele, 4 ballets, 4 vaudevilles, 2 oratorios, one each of fares, pastorales, masques, ballads and buffas."

In 1894, her "Gaelic" Symphony was premiered by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, to much acclaim. it was the first symphony composed and published by a female American composer. Still, no music agents came begging her husband to loosen his strings over her performances. There was no need. There was no demand.

After her husband died in 1910, she traveled to Europe and began to have some success there. The sales of the sheet music of one song, "Ecstasy," (1892) had such success on both sides of the Atlantic that it enabled her to purchase a five-acre property on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. She composed constantly, returned to teaching music lessons (this activity had to stop when she married), and supported other women to pursue musical competition. For over 20 years, she composed choral and other music for St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church in New York City, N.Y. She was the first president of the Society of American Women Composers. Finally, she had achieved fame as a composer, and certainly the most famous American woman composer.

In 2017, the New York Times reporter William Robin wrote,

Sept. 5, her 150th birthday, will not be widely celebrated with performances of that pioneering symphony [the "Gaelic"].

No major American orchestras have programmed her works this season. Indeed, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the last time the Boston Symphony performed one of her orchestral works in full.

**1892**. When the Royal Geographical Society debated the possibility of female fellows in 1892 and 1893, an angry dispute between council members was conducted via the letters page of *The Times*. The Society finally admitted women in 1913.

The panic of 1893, which actually began in 1892, was a serious economic depression in the United States.

[This entry is cut short to get this on line.]

**1893.** Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky died, aged 53, having become the most famous Russian composer, not only throughout Russia, but throughout the world. Especially gifted in creating memorable melody, his largely relied on repetition for their effect, as opposed to those in the European classical tradition of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, which were primarily built of phrases that could be developed, most commonly in sonata form. This characteristic of Tchaikovsky's melodies—and by extension his dance music—didn't diminish their ability to create great beauty as well as heightened tension and strong emotion. Supported by harmony and orchestration, they achieved heights and depths that, ever since, have ensured his works to become the entry point into concert music for people all over the world.

Tchaikovsky wrote successfully in many forms (This is most unusual.) and works in many forms remain listener favorites. Examples are (with titles given in English or the language of the titles that English speakers are most familiar): the opera Eugene Onegin, based on scenes from the Pushkin novel); the ballets Swan Lake and The Nutcracker; the Fourth Symphony, with the strings playing pizzicato for the entire third movement; the *Fifth* Symphony, with the theme first articulated by the clarinets at the beginning of the 1st movement and that recurs in each succeeding movement, and the 2nd movement with the plaintive horn solo, then taken up, triumphally, by the strings; the Sixth Symphony (Pathetique), with the 2nd movement in 5/4 time and, unusual in a large orchestral work, the final movement in a slow tempo with the ending, even more unusual, very, very quiet (pppp); the three *Piano Concertos* and the *Violin Concerto*; the song "Songs My Mother Taught Me;" the Piano Trio in A minor; the fantasy-overture *Romeo and Juliet*; the orchestral fantasy recalling his trip to Italy *Capriccio Italien*; the *Serenade for Strings*; the String Sextet (Souvenir de Florence); and the fireworks favorite 1812 Overture, with booming cannons at the end.

Tchaikovsky continues to be revered in Russia where he is widely considered their greatest composer, their Beethoven. However, his apparent homosexuality has always caused alarm; Russia has always dealt with it by governmental deletion of any hint of such from the Russian historical record. Some western writers have claimed to have found evidence of his sexuality in his music. Most people outside of Russia don't care. **1893.** James Stephen Hogg, governor of Texas, on the subject of Deadly Weapons, stated in his Message to the Texas Twenty-Third Legislature,

The practice of carrying concealed deadly weapons marks the unmanly spirit and cowardice of those who indulge in it, or points to radical defects in the machinery of justice. Everyone who engages in the business of selling or offering for sale any deadly weapon capable of being carried concealed on or about the person should be required to pay a high State tax annually, and to enter into solvent bond conditioned that he will not sell or offer to sell or give away any such weapon to any minor, madman or person in a state of wrath or intoxication. The fee bill should be so amended as to materially increase the fees of all the officers who may perform duties in the arrest and conviction of every person for violating the law prohibiting the carrying of deadly weapons, Intent to murder, and not the spirit of selfprotection, lies in the heart of most men when they deliberately violate this law, and no quarter should be extended them in the application of severe penalties. The mission of the concealed deadly weapon is murder. To check it is the duty of every selfrespecting, law-abiding man.

In 1882, James Hogg had a daughter who he named Ima, from a poem written by his brother. He also had three sons. (He did not have another daughter who he named Ura; that was an urban myth.) Ima Hogg, who always had to contend with the public about her given name, had a long life that she devoted to support for the arts and community programs in Texas. In 1906, James Hogg died and she and her brothers wanted to sell his cotton plantation. But there was a catch. His will forbade a sale for 15 years. In 1918, oil was discovered and she used all of her profits to establish the Houston Child Guidance Center and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health at the University of Texas at Austin.

As a child, Ima Hogg learned German, attended the opera, and, starting when she was three, was a gifted pianist. She attended a Froebelian kindergarten, then private classes before her two years at the University of Texas in Austin. After her father's death, she traveled to Europe, emerging herself in concerts and art museums. While there, she began to buy paintings. Her taste was remarkable for the time; works by Pablo Picasso, Paul Cézanne, and Paul Klee were among her acquisitions. Back in Houston, she taught piano. She started a theater group, then the Houston Symphony Orchestra, serving as president of the board for 12 years. She was elected to the Houston School Board and served one year, but in that year she was able to remove gender and race as criteria in teacher pay, and she started an art program in the schools for Black students. After the deaths of her brothers, she made major donations of art (European modern, Frederick Remington's art picturing the American West, and American Indian) to Houston's Museum of Fine Art.

She had long been known as the First Lady of Texas, even after there were other wives of Texas Governors. She had suffered from long periods of ill health, both physical and mental —as had others in her family, but she always pulled through and continued with her philanthropy and community development. She died in 1975, at age 93, while vacationing in London, England. Through her will, her philanthropy continues today in the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, providing mental health services to children in Harris County, which includes Houston, Texas.

**1893**. Benjamin Jowett, British academic in the classics at Balliol College, Oxford, dies, aged 86. He is best known today as translator into English of Plato, Aristotle, and Thucydides. He wrote of his approach to translation in the introduction to his translation of Thucydides:

If Greek Literature is not to pass away, it seems to be necessary that in every age some one who has drunk deeply from the original fountain should renew the love of it in the world, and once more present that old life, with its great ideas and great actions, its creations in politics and in art, like the distant remembrance of youth, before the delighted eyes of mankind.

Jowett was also a distinguished theologian and university administrator. His work as an administrator often caused those comfortable with the status quo to be in opposition. His work as a translator and a don brought light and fire to the study of the classics, both at Oxford and throughout the world. He was in essence a moral force. An indication of the warmth and esteem with which he was held by his students at Balliol College is this bit of doggerel:

Here come I, my name is Jowett. All there is to know I know it. I am Master of this College, What I don't know isn't knowledge! **1893**. In New Orleans, Andy Bowen boxed Jack Burk for 110 rounds in 7 hours and 4 minutes, the longest recorded boxing match.

**1893**. World's Fair: Columbian Exposition ("The Chicago World's Fair"), held in Chicago to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World, was mainly designed by Daniel Burnham and Frederick Law Olmsted. The Connecticut Building was designed by Warren R. Briggs, architect of The State Normal School, New Britain, Connecticut. Muybridge lectured on animal locomotion at the Columbian Exposition's "Zoopraxographical Hall."

On the fair's "Colored American Day," Frederick Douglas gave a speech. In the audience was a young student of printing trades at Hampton Institute in Virginia, Robert Sengstacke Abbott. Inspired by Douglas, Abbott decided, after graduation, to live in Chicago. Later, relocated, he received a law degree from Kent College of Law. Repeatedly unable to gain clients in Gary, Indiana; Topeka, Kansas; and Chicago, Illinois because of racial prejudice, he decided to start a newspaper. In 1905, with the slogan, "American race prejudice must be destroyed." The *Chicago Defender* was born. The newspaper was started with, literally, pennies, but soon became the leader in the field, noted especially for its pivotal role in encouraging the Great Migration and fighting segregation. The Defender played an important role in drawing attention to segregation in the U.S. Military in the Second World War. It presented the work of outstanding authors to its readers, including Langston Hughes, Ida B. Wells, and Gwendolyn Brooks. Before he died in 1940, Abbott had become

a millionaire. With circulation over 250,000 and a much larger audience online, *The Chicago Defender* remains in publication.

**1893**. A jury in New Bedford, Massachusetts, found Lizzie Borden not guilty of the ax murders of her father and stepmother.

**1893.** The Great Barrier Reef of Australia; its Products and Potentialities by William Saville-Kent (1845-1908) was published in London. It became famous primarily for the remarkably beautiful photographic plates, both mono and chromo. Saville-Kent was a scientist of considerable stature. The title page lists the following after his name: F.L.S. [Fellow of the Linnean Society], F.Z.S. [Fellow of the Zoological Society], F.I.Inst. [Fellow of the Imperial Institute], and past president Royal Society of Queensland, formerly assistant in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum, Commissioner of Fisheries to the Government of West Australia and late of Tasmania and Queensland. As a scientist, he was a prominent believer in Darwin's theory of evolution. In The Great Barrier Reef of Australia, he provided detailed scientific descriptions and also suggestions on how the rich resources of the Reef could be developed for the benefit of England.

Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919) was a German scientist who, with his *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* (*The History of Creation: Or the Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes*) published in 1868, was largely responsible for bringing Darwin's theories to Germany. Like William Saville-Kent, Ernst Haeckel was also an artist, but his artistic talents were drawing and painting, and these artistic qualities were largely responsible for the continuing fame of his *Kunstformen Der Natur* (*Artforms in Nature*), 1904.

**1893**. Mildred J. and Patty Smith Hill, sisters in Louisville, Kentucky, taught at the Louisville Experimental Kindergarten School, and with words and music copyrighted and published their *Song Stories for the Kindergarten*. In this collection was their song "Good Morning to All."

Good morning to you, [With a nod to one side.] Good morning to you, [With a nod to the other.] Good morning, dear children, Good morning to all.

With this song, they began their kindergarten day.

Later, the melody of "Good Morning to All" was given new words and it became "Happy Birthday to You." With birthday celebrations all over the world, someone figured out that it was the most frequently sung music in the world. And as if that wasn't enough, during the start of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, "Happy Birthday to You" became additionally popular. With the need for thorough washing of hands, medical scientists decided that a thorough washing of hands required two minutes. Then someone realized that singing "Happy Birthday to You" took one minute. Eureka! Wash your hands for the time it takes to sing "Happy Birthday to You" twice. Surely now no one can doubt that this is the most frequently sung music in the world.

Sometimes one event in a person's life shines with such brilliance that all other events, even when laudatory, are forgotten.

I think this was the case with both Mildred J. Hill and Patty Smith Hill.

The Hill sisters' father, William Wallace Hill was born in Kentucky in 1833 and later gained a doctorate in theology from Princeton University. He dedicated his life to the Presbyterian ministry and to education. He edited a number of Presbyterian newspapers and taught in colleges in Missouri and Texas, as well as in Kentucky. As his contribution to the Reconstruction effort following the Civil War, he started Bellewood Female Seminary, near Louisville, for "Women of the South" to help them develop professions and become independent citizens in their own rights. This Seminary continued for 10 years.

Martha Jane Smith Hill, the Hill sisters' mother, was born in Pennsylvania and as an adolescent moved with her brother to their aunt and uncle's plantation in Kentucky, whereupon she started to teach the slaves to read and write. She knew it was against the law, yet she continued, so firm was she committed to learning and teaching. Her own education had stumbling blocks, too. She was refused matriculation at a nearby college because of her gender. She solved the problem by engaging teachers and professors from the college to tutor her, but she never gained her degree. After their marriage and living near Louisville, she wrote for the Louisville *Currier-Journal,* a position which made her husband very happy.

The Hill home was a happy place. There were six children and both parents liked to laugh and play and encouraged their children to do the same. Open-ended, vigorous outdoor play among large trees and a growing garden, with a workshop with lumber and saws and hammers and nails, they were each given encouragement to follow their imaginations, their thoughts, their dreams—all in the fresh air, in the sunshine, in the night sky, and with no discrimination, whether boy or girl. As a young girl, Patty knew what she wanted to do when grown: a kindergarten teacher. That way, she could continue to play the rest of her life.

Of the two sisters, Mildred, with early instruction by her father, became a skilled musician. She taught music, composed music, and wrote about music, most sadly under the name "Johann Tonsor," thus joining the long list of creative women who, to achieve any possibility in success in the wider world, assumed a male name as their pseudonym. Her most notable writing was her 1892 essay, "Negro Music." This essay made the point that any true American music would have to be based on music brought to this country by the people originally from Africa. Not only was this position concerning African American music remarkable at the time—and especially coming from a state that had been slave-owning, but also remarkable in that it came to the attention of Antonín Dvořák, the Czech composer who was in New York City at the time, directing the National Conservatory of Music. Her ideas gained increased resonance with Dvořák when he heard the National Conservatory student Harry Burleigh sing spirituals, songs which Burleigh had heard and sung all of his life. Dvořák had hoped that while in this country he could capture something of what was the traditional American music. He had been thinking of the music of native Americans, and now his vision had expanded to include African American music as well. The result of these experiences and his increased vision resulted in two of the greatest compositions Dvořák ever wrote: his Symphony No. 9, popularly called "From the New World," and his

String Quartet No. 12, called "The American Quartet." (The slow movement of the symphony was popularly given the words, "Going home. Going home. Now I'm going home.") Mildred Hill died in 1916.

Patty Smith Hill, the sister who as a young girl decided she wanted to be a kindergarten teacher when grown, it was she who not only achieved her dream, but she lead the way for hundreds of other teachers in the changing field of early childhood education in the U.S. And her leadership was an important key to this changing field. She was a progressive. This was progressive education.

The Louisville Experimental Kindergarten School, where both sisters taught, lived up to its name. It was truly a school which encouraged experimentation, especially in the area of classroom procedures. As previously mentioned, Patty and her sister Mildred were supported in their creative work to bring song into the very structure of the school day, with "Good Morning to All" only one of many such pieces included in their *Song Stories for the Kindergarten.* 

Patty Hill stayed on at the Louisville Experimental Kindergarten School for a total of 12 years, with the later part as principal and supervisor. And during those years, in her quest to increase her understanding of and her competency in this rapidly changing field, she studied child psychology with G. Stanley Hall at Clark University, the philosophical underpinnings of the educational ideas with John Dewey at the University of Chicago, and curriculum work with Francis W. Parker, also in Chicago. And she implemented all that she learned at her Experimental Kindergarten School in Louisville. She also traveled to participate in teacher training institutes and workshops, stressing the need to study Froebel's writings and not just follow his methodology. She also stressed the need for children to be encouraged by parents and teachers to engage in free play, open-ended play, not to limit their activities to that they think might please the parent or the teacher. Her leadership and her school became known throughout the nation by those in the field of progressive early childhood education.

In 1892, she was a founding member of the International Kindergarten Union (IKU). In 1905, she was invited to join the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University. It turned out that there was a specific design to her hiring. At that time, Teacher's College was filled with faculty who were staunch Froebelians, and the dean wanted to introduce an alternative view. Patty Hill did not find her fellow teachers congenial. But things began to change after John Dewey was made head of the Philosophy Department and Edward Thorndyke was made head of Teachers College. The change was great. In 1910, Patty Hill was made head of the College's Department of Kindergarten Education. In 1922, she was given full professor status. In 1924, she helped create the Institute of Child Welfare Research at Teachers College.

She was, of course, very familiar with the blocks within Froebel's Gifts. But she found these blocks, designed for use by an individual child at a desk, to be too restrictive. This was America. American children needed big blocks, blocks to be used on the floor, that would invite social interaction and discourse; that would encourage dramatic play and group problem solving; and that would help strengthen the large muscles. That's what young children needed. So that is what she designed and had made. They were called the Patty Hill Blocks.

Also while at Teachers College, she worked with psychologist Agnes Rogers to develop a "Tentative Inventory of Habits," which consisted of 84 kindergarten habits toward which instruction should be directed. Schools in New York, Chicago, and many other locations through the country where it was implemented, found the Inventory to be very helpful.

In the mid-1920s, Patty Smith Hill contacted as group of 25 people who were vitally interested in kindergarten and nursery education. (Her list included Arnold Gesell, Lois Meek, and Abigail Eliot.) A conference of the National Committee for Nursery Education was held in Washington D.C. in 1926, and in 1929, the name was changed to the National Association for Nursery Education (NANE). It also had its first published book, *Minimum Essentials for Nursery School Education*. Then the Great Depression hit. But NANE continued to function, and in 1945 the first volume of the *Bulletin of the National Association for Nursery Education was* issued. Patty Smith Hill died in 1946 at age 78. In 1956, the *Bulletin* was renamed *The Journal of Nursery Education*. In 1964 NANE gave itself a new name: National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC).

It is appropriate to end here, for here I am able to look back on my life. Early childhood education was my field and I have been involved with many of the organizations mentioned above. I won't go into that. This is that moment in time, that is: NOW.

## An Epilogue, Perhaps a Reminder

In 1882, construction began on the new State Normal School in New Britain, Connecticut, with funds both from the State of Connecticut and the City of New Britain. New Britain was selected because it was centrally located in the State, had three railroads, and multiple hotels. (The first State Normal School in New Britain, from 1849, was housed in rental quarters.)

This new and impressive building was located on the west side of Walnut Hill Park. It overlooked the Downtown, with vistas far to the north, south and east.

It was designed by Warren Briggs, an architect based in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

In 1883, construction was completed and the State Normal School opened. Warren Briggs was paid \$5,000. (Today this would be equivalent to \$126,927.50.)

The term "normal school" comes from the French "école normale." In the United States in the 1800s, it referred to a

teachers college where prospective teachers could learn the basics of curriculum and pedagogy.

The new State Normal School was the first to incorporate public classrooms, including kindergartens, allowing for practice in directly teaching lessons to classes of children, as an addition to the lecture classes and laboratory work.

No one had anticipated the high enrollment figures that accompanied this new school. and early on spaces were used for instruction which were never intended for such use.

In 1891, an annex was added in the rear to provide a gymnasium and additional classrooms. Enrollment continued to increase.

The School moved to a larger campus on the east side of town in 1924 and is now Central Connecticut State University.

In 1975, the Briggs' designed Normal School, along with its neighbors from the same era located east of Walnut Hill Park, was placed on the National Register of Historical Places as the Walnut Hill National Historic Landmark District.

In 1991, having been converted into 30 housing units, opened as Hillside Place at New Britain Condominium Association, Inc. It so continues today.

And this ends an Idiosyncratic timeline.