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Understanding the Past



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Cover: National Woman's Party leader Alice Paul and Seneca Falls officials with the Wesleyan Chapel marker at the 75th anniversary celebration of the first women's rights convention, 1923. See story page 9. Photo from the slide files of Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York.

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Josie Fernandez

Practicing History in the Public Interest

All human beings are practicing historians. As we go through life we present ourselves to others through our life story; as we grow and mature we change that story through different interpretations and different emphasis. We stress different events as having been decisive at different times in our life history and, as we do so, we give those events new meanings. People do not think of this as "doing history," they engage in it often without special awareness. We live our lives; we tell our stories. It is as natural as breathing...

*Being human means thinking and feeling; it means reflecting on the past and visioning into the future. We experience; we give voice to that experience; others reflect on it and give it new form. That new form, in its turn, influences and shapes the way next generations experience their lives. That is why history matters.**

Cultural resource managers mediate the relationship between the viewer and the past. They determine historical significance; they preserve structures to a particular period of significance; they interpret this understanding of significance to the public. Yet while historians, anthropologists, curators, archivists, historic architects, and educators agree about the importance of preserving the past, commemorations open the question of what the past means to visitors who frequent historic sites and museums. As Gerda Lerner, former president of the Organization of American Historians and author of many books on women in history, points out in the passages quoted above, "all human beings are practicing historians."

This issue of *CRM* uses case studies to consider how cultural resource managers can facilitate commemorative celebrations that are respectful of historical fact while leaving room for visitors to frame and understand the past from their own perspectives. The essays by David Glassberg and Dwight Pitcaithley provide a framework for understanding memory and history. If the past is contested terrain, perhaps the best we can do is provide a safe place to speak. Managers can use Glassberg's analysis of history as politics, popular culture, and place to determine what to emphasize as they plan commemorative events.

The sesquicentennial of the California Gold Rush, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the opening of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and the Seneca Falls women's rights convention were all celebrated in 1998. Articles about the last three begin this issue, along with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech unveiling the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.'s new cultural resource management badge. Efforts to commemorate the centennial of the Civil War, and the dedication of the Robert Shaw memorial statue are considered in following articles. Robin Bachin discusses the continuing importance of a monument to 1886 May Day strikers dedicated this year as a national historic landmark. The Spanish-American War centennial, observed internationally through conferences, publications, and preservation efforts, is covered in four articles. Significant anniversaries of important events in Canadian women's history are examined by Luce Vermette, a Parks Canada historian.

The 50th anniversary of President Truman's executive orders ending racial segregation in the Armed Forces and federal employment, and of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly were also marked in 1998. Three articles consider the historic cost of racial segregation during World War II, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt's essential role in the creation and adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights, and the civil rights struggle led by Martin Luther King, Jr.

Three articles remind readers that the future contains the past. Brit Allan Storey returns us to the concerns of citizens of Illinois and Michigan, who moved earth to contain water in canals for their use—much as the 100-year-old Bureau of Reclamation's dams and water projects have made gardens in the wilderness. An article by Roger Launius deals with the impending centennial of the first flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, and what is being done to keep that commemoration on track. Cynthia Orlando reviews the 10-year commemoration plan of Fort Clatsop National Monument, where the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition serves as a focus for renewed preservation, research, and educational efforts.

Cultural resource managers have a particularly important role in making the past accessible and understandable to today's audiences. I hope that the philosophical essays and the case studies presented here will serve *CRM* readers grappling with commemorative events.

Note

* Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 199, 211.

Josie Fernandez is Superintendent of Women's Rights National Historical Park.

David Glassberg

Presenting History to the Public
The Study of Memory and the Uses of the Past

In the past decade, there has been an explosion of new scholarship examining the uses of history in Western culture. Ranging from broad overviews such as David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) and Michael Kammen's *Mystic Chords of Memory* (1991) to monographs such as Karal Ann Marling's *George Washington Slept Here* (1988) and my *American Historical Pageantry* (1990), the new scholarship explores the various ways that the "memory" of a society is created, institutionalized, disseminated, and understood. The current fascination with memory among a wide variety of disciplines, including history, shows no sign of abating.

This new scholarship on memory offers a common intellectual framework for those working in museums, historic sites, and historic preservation agencies, as well as those in academe. Comprehending the various ways in which societies think about the past and use it in the present can illuminate the institutional contexts in which cultural resource managers operate as well as the ideas about history with which the public approaches their work. Moreover, the insights preservation and interpretation professionals gain from working with the public in a variety of settings, the first-hand understanding of how historical knowledge is created, institutionalized, disseminated, and understood, can help revitalize the entire profession and practice of history.

What is meant by memory? By and large these studies seek to understand the interrelationships between different versions of history in public. They investigate what anthropologist Robert Redfield termed "the social organization of tradition"; how various versions of the past are communicated in society through a multiplicity of institutions and media, including school, government ceremonies, popular amusements, art and literature, stories told by families and friends, and landscape features designated as historical either by government or popular practice.

Following this approach, scholars have moved from studying the institutions that produce history—colleges and universities, government agencies, mass media—to studying the minds of the audiences where all these versions of the past converge and are understood. Rather than assuming that audiences more or less understand the same historical images the same way, new approaches emphasize the many different meanings audiences derive from the same historical representation. The meaning of a historical book, film, or display is not intrinsic, determined solely by the intention of its author. Meanings change as audiences actively reinterpret what they see and hear by placing it in contexts derived from their diverse and personal backgrounds. But if each person creates his or her own past, how and when does a shared understanding occur?

Much of the new scholarship investigates how individual memories of the past are established and confirmed through dialogue with others. An individual memory is the product of group communication, intimately linked to a "collective" memory of the community. Those working with community groups are in a good position to investigate how stories about the past are handed down within families, or circulate among friends. They are also in a good position to compare the memories that circulate among family and friends to the historical representations that circulate in public on a wider scale, in towns, regions, nations, and mass media. A second look at the many oral history projects connected with the 50th anniversary of World War II, for example, reveals how family stories told about the War were more than solely personal reminiscence, but also reflections of the larger political culture and mass media.

This leads to a larger question, at the core of much recent scholarship on memory: with all the possible versions of the past that circulate in society, how do particular accounts of the past get established and disseminated as the public one? How do these shared histories change over time?

Politics

One approach to these questions is to analyze how the prevailing images of the past reflect political culture. In the wake of controversies over the Smithsonian exhibit on the end of World War II or the content of national history standards and textbooks for schoolchildren, few can deny that the question of whose version of history gets institutionalized and disseminated as *the* history is a political one. Contemporary debates over the politics of history have only increased the importance of being familiar with new work on the political

uses of history in the past, as reflected in the establishment of war memorials, civic celebrations, museums, archives, and historic sites.

For some, history supplies the myths and symbols that hold diverse groups in political society together. In the words of Benedict Anderson, a shared history—elements of a past remembered in common as well as elements forgotten in common—is the crucial element in the creation of an "imagined community" through which disparate individuals and groups can envision themselves as members of a collective with a common present—and future. One strand of analysis has portrayed the politics of public historical representation as essentially consensual, embodying an underlying civic or national faith beneath ethnic and class divisions.

Others argue that history is a tool in the political struggle for hegemony among various social groups. This strand of analysis sharply delineates between an official history used to maintain the status quo, and the many "vernacular" memories used by ordinary citizens to sustain family and community ties. These authors believe that when government and mass media use historical imagery to advance an imagined national community, then authentic local and group memories are suppressed.

Pitting official history against vernacular memories oversimplifies the play of forces shaping a shared history. Concern that depictions of the nation's "collective" beliefs and values might endanger minority rights leads these works to overlook the apparent spontaneity and depth of emotion associated with a shared history. In fact, there are multiple official histories as well as multiple vernacular memories. Analyses of the politics of history must not only explain how elites appropriate and transform vernacular memories into official history, but also how national imagery acquires diverse meanings in the local contexts in which it appears, such as rituals of ethnic, fraternal, and labor organizations, and the conversation of family and friends.

Cultural resource managers not only strive to balance competing political forces but also local and larger-scale interpretive frameworks as they place a local story in larger context. Since it is nearly impossible to reach a consensus on the meaning of a historical event that anyone still cares about, cultural resource managers often make exhibits, war memorials, and commemorative ceremonies deliberately ambiguous to satisfy competing factions. The products of this ambiguity are examples of what James Young has termed "collected memory"—discrete and often conflicting memories brought to converge in a common space, much like the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington. In this role, the task of cultural resource managers may be more to create spaces for dialogue about history and for the collection of memories, and to insure that various voices are heard in those spaces, than to provide a finished interpretation of events translating the latest professional scholarship for a popular audience.

Popular Culture

When history appears in the commercial mass media and in tourist attractions, it is primarily the marketplace and the desire to appeal to large numbers of people in their leisure hours that are the driving forces. Popular appeal is the lifeblood of commercial historical ventures; with the decline of government and foundation funding for history, all but the most exclusively scholarly of historical institutions have been increasing their marketing and promotion to bring more visitors through their doors or to broaden the constituency for their work. As museums and historic sites seek larger audiences and cater to popular expectations, will the conventions that shape other popular media play a greater role in shaping the form and content of their work? Roy Rosenzweig documented how the popular journalistic convention of the human interest story permeated the presentation of history in *American Heritage* magazine in the 1950s and '60s. In the future, will every historical documentary or exhibit need a happy ending to compete for mass audience? Will historic sites and districts more and more resemble theme parks such as the one Disney proposed in Virginia?

The new scholarship on memory argues that individuals neither passively accept nor actively challenge the historical information encountered in television docudramas, music, film, novels, and tourist attractions. Rather, as George Lipsitz has shown in his *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (1990) they "negotiate" between mass culture and their own particular subculture. To appeal to the widest possible audience, popular historical representations, like other pop culture forms, incorporate a variety of possible characters and themes with which diverse audiences can identify. Even the most commercial of history products contain the submerged collective memories of subordinate groups. Through close analysis, historians can recover the hidden meanings and memories present in these stories. But do individuals really interpret history based primarily on social characteristics such as gender, class, and ethnicity? Or is education and ideological stance a better determinant of how popular presentations of history are understood? How competent are most people to recover the hidden meanings in popular representations of history by reconfiguring the information present and supplying what is left out? And what about the role of intermediaries in guid-

ing reception? We not only see the film but read the review. Doesn't being told that the historical account they will see is "true" affect a visitor's understanding of the past as much as race, class, or gender?

If individuals actively analyze and interpret the historical interpretations they receive, we need to find out what other stories they might have heard, and what sources they consider reliable. I would guess that most Americans trust the presentations of history at historic sites and museums more generally than those of a commercial television network—though recent controversy over the Smithsonian's Enola Gay exhibit demonstrates how fragile that trust can be.



Hiroshima survivor Yasui Kouichi posed in front of a photo mural of the Enola Gay *crew on the opening day of the Smithsonian exhibit, 1995. Photo by Ed Hedemann of the War Resisters League. Originally published in* Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, *April-June 1995.*

Managers and interpreters understand that historical meanings are not only created by the authors of history books, but are also shaped by the institutional bureaucracy in which they work and reinterpreted by various audience members. Audience research aimed at understanding the preconceptions about history with which audiences approach historic sites would assist everyone who works with historic preservation and interpretation and the general public.

Consider, for example, a family visiting a National Park Service historic site. What at first glance seems a historical interpretation handed down from a central office in Washington, Denver, or Harpers Ferry turns out to be a product of the interaction of national and regional offices, between park personnel and local interest groups, as well as between NPS and the visitor in the field. Park Service personnel have a lot of autonomy in the selection of what information to tell visitors, and park visitors continue to interpret and reinterpret the history they see and hear in terms of family and other contexts. Even in an era of declining resources and government performance and results mandates, visitor education and satisfaction remains one of four major operational goals. While each layer of NPS bureaucracy offers a context that shapes the meaning of the past, all remain committed to the overarching goal of visitor education. Cultural resource managers and interpreters who work in multilevel cultural agencies are in a position to recover these various contexts and meanings, as well as those brought by visitors.

Or consider viewer response to popular historical documentaries such as Ken Burns's *The Civil War*. During March 1991, I read the letters Burns received at his home in New Hampshire as a way to begin to understand how audiences constructed the meaning of what they saw and heard. Many writers were prompted to discuss how they learned about the war from their families. Nearly one-third of the letters Burns received mentioned family members, suggesting that these viewers saw the national history presented in the film through the lens of their family history.

Place

History can not only be used to communicate political ideology and group identity, or to make a profit, but also to orient oneself in the environment. Historical consciousness and place consciousness are inextricably intertwined. We attach histories to places, and the environmental value attached to a place comes largely from the memories and historical associations we have with it. Connecting stories of past events to a particular present environment occurs whether showing a film of a Civil War battlefield; designating, preserving, and interpreting a local historic site or district; or placing a statue or marker. What cognitive changes occur when an environment is considered as "historical," either by government designation or popular practice? When civic organizations, such as a local chamber of commerce, create maps and historical atlases that recognize some historical places but not others? The scholarship on how memories attach to places has special relevance for cultural resource managers helping communities to define and protect their "special places" and "character" through historic preservation strategies.

Over the past decade, just as historians have studied the making of historical consciousness—how ideas about history are created, institutionalized, disseminated, understood, and change over time—other disciplines have investigated place consciousness, what scholars in environmental psychology, folklore, and cultural geography call "sense of place." Psychologists have explored how children, as they develop, bond emotionally with places and memories of childhood places, particularly environments explored between ages of 6 and 12, which remain a crucial anchor for personal identity in adulthood. One's sense of place is fur-

ther developed and reinforced by the social networks participated in as an adult; the longer one lives in a place, the more likely that the environment becomes saturated with memories of significant life experiences with family and friends. Psychologists have also explored the emotional consequences when the bonds between people and places are broken, the grieving for a lost home that occurs among the elderly or exiles forcibly deprived of their familiar environment and memory sites. In studying the relocation of 500 Boston residents to make way for an urban renewal project in the 1950s, Marc Fried noted that nearly half exhibited symptoms of depression even two years after the move. Boston's "West End" gained an intelligibility in memory that it might never have had in experience—a destroyed collection of streets became a single "neighborhood" or place primarily through the memory of its destruction.

While psychologists connect sense of place to personal identity and recollection, cultural geographers and folklorists connect it to group communication and collective memory. Through conversations among family and friends about past local characters, about the weather, about work, local residents transform ordinary environments into "storied places." Wallace Stegner notes, "No place is a place until the things that have happened in it are remembered in history, ballads, yarns, legends, or monuments." Unlike early folklore studies that sought to capture and preserve the romanticized "spirit of place" of the natives in rural areas, recent research has focused on the often conflicting meanings for the same environment communicated among social groups, and how the invention of a "collective" sense of place, like the invention of a public history, is part of the struggle for cultural hegemony, the product of power relations between various groups and interests. Geographers concerned with the ideological aspects of place-making seek to supplement psychological and folklore studies of the subjective experience of place with critical analysis of the social production of space—how sense of place is affected by larger social, economic, and political forces that determine, for example, the distribution of slums and suburbs in a locale and who gets to experience which place. The established meaning for a place, and the land-use decisions that stem from that meaning, are negotiated not only between various residents of a town or neighborhood, but also between local residents and the outside world.

The scholarship on sense of place in psychology, folklore, and geography reminds us that managing cultural resources is inevitably also an effort to manage the multiplicity of environmental perceptions, values, and meanings attached to a place; when certain places are bound and marked as "historical" and distinguished from ordinary places, or stabilized, restored, or even reconstructed, which (and whose) version of community, place, and character will prevail? This is an especially important question when it comes to considering the tourist relationship to historic sites and cultural resources. By and large tourists look for novelty in a landscape, what is not back home, while local residents look at the landscape as a web of memory sites and social interactions.

Research on memory and place should be a regular part of CRM work. Resource managers can initiate programs to identify and protect a community's memory sites, places unintentionally preserved or made special by popular practice, in addition to sites designated by governments as important to a collective political identity, such as battlefields and presidential homes, and those local chambers of commerce designate as appealing to tourists. In 1991, I investigated how the concept of "town character" was used in three New England communities: Northfield, a post-card New England village; Wilbraham, a sprawled out post World War II suburb; and the McKnight historic district of Springfield, a racially diverse urban neighborhood. In a series of public meetings, residents discussed the "special places" in their town or neighborhood. Historic landmarks and community memory sites were different. For example, the restored Victorian facades of the McKnight Historical District in Springfield held different meanings for middle-class African-American residents moving up from the ghetto and middle class whites moving in from the suburbs.

Among the other kinds of public programs that evoke a community's sense of place and history are photographic projects, neighborhood walking tours led by local residents, or public art projects such as "Arts in Transit" in Boston, in which neighborhood oral historians collaborated with artists in developing the public art that was installed at each station along the Orange Line. Cultural resource managers are in a position to contribute to local residents' sense of place by adding national context to local residents' sense of emotional attachment. They can help residents and visitors alike to see what ordinarily cannot be seen: both the memories attached to places and the larger social and economic processes that shaped how the places were made.

CRM and the New Scholarship on Memory

The new scholarship on memory has the potential to provide a new collective framework for cultural resource managers and academic scholars. The new approach to memory, with a focus on how individuals and groups create an understanding of their pasts, can be used as a basis for operating in three historical endeavors. Political or official his-

tory, popular history, and history of place all engage the public as participants in the history being made at these sites. Cultural resource managers and interpreters play essential roles in these three endeavors. This discussion of how historical meaning is created will hopefully serve CRM professionals and academic-based scholars in the accurate, effective, and inclusive presentation of the past.

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Vivien Ellen Rose

Seneca Falls Remembered

Celebrations of the 1848 First Women's Rights Convention

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, daughter of lawyer and New York State Supreme Court Judge Daniel Cady, founded the women's rights movement in the United States. Her birthplace, Johnstown, New York, recognizes this important heritage. Carefully preserved in the Johnstown Historical Society, along with her father's cane and bedstead, are the Chickering piano he purportedly gave her on her 16th birthday, her gilt chair, and ephemera associated with her life as a reformer and speaker. Commemorative articles, including a political button for the 1915 New York State woman suffrage campaign, held in the centennial year of Stanton's birth, and a gubernatorial proclamation of a statewide "Elizabeth Cady Stanton Day" in 1975, round out the displays.[1]

One piece of associative memorabilia held by the Johnstown Historical Society directly reflects Stanton's involvement in organizing the July 1848 women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. At this convention, the first in the United States to demand equal rights for women as citizens, Stanton's considerable rhetorical and organizational talents were revealed. That convention's Declaration of Sentiments—a list of grievances, resolutions, and action plans following the language and model of the U.S. Declaration of Independence—continues to provide a framework for action in the late-20th century. Stanton's "inauguration of a rebellion" is represented in Johnstown Historical Society research files by a tissue box produced by the Kleenex Company for the 90th and 140th anniversaries of the Seneca Falls Convention. On the bottom of the box, Stanton's image heads text explaining her role "leading the way in women's rights." Perhaps the manufacturer wished to attract a predominantly female buying population, and to simultaneously avoid offending cold sufferers who disagreed with Stanton's women's rights agenda.[2]

Kleenex's marketing of Stanton and the Seneca Falls Convention demonstrates that cultural resource managers cannot control the ways that others use tempting opportunities to revisit important historical events. Managers face other challenges, as well. Increased media attention and visitation can result in higher sales, more fees, and infusions of funds for restorations or other CRM work, and overuse of precious resources, stretched staff, and debates over the meanings of the past. Interpreting events as one single story may embroil managers in controversy when visitors and descendants hold other meanings. As historian David Glassberg argues, interpreters, curators, and preservationists can choose to "create spaces for dialogue about history and for the collection of memories, and to insure that various voices are heard" rather than "provide a finished interpretation of events."[3] At the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention this past July, fostering such a diversity of voices and interpretations made for a very successful commemoration.

The tissue box also exemplifies the ways anniversary celebrations change when the event commemorated passes out of living memory. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, her life-long co-agitator, seized on decennial anniversaries of the Seneca Falls Convention to reaffirm ties with long-time allies, reinvigorate current campaigns, and prepare for future efforts, all within the context of annual meetings of women's rights organizations founded by them. Only as leaders aged and died did celebrations gradually incorporate pictures and artifacts to carry the memory of the Convention. In Rochester, NY, in 1878, and in Washington, DC, in 1888 and 1898, icons replaced the actual presence of conference organizers Lucretia Mott and the M'Clintock family.[4]

After the deaths of Stanton in 1902 and Anthony in 1906, various wings of the women's movement used quarter-century and decennial anniversaries to claim direct descent, and therefore legitimacy. Absent the voices that rang out in Seneca Falls, new leaders returned there as inheritors of the women's rights movement. Anniversary commemorations held in Seneca Falls in 1908, 1923, and 1948, respectively hosted by Harriot Stanton Blatch (Elizabeth Cady's Stanton's daughter), by the National Woman's Party, and by the

community of Seneca Falls, all shared this tendency. Blatch, a member of the New York Suffrage League, began the process of marking buildings, gathering artifacts, sponsoring speeches, and asking direct descendants to endorse particular strategies for political change.[5]

By contrast, this year's events included forums for exchange of ideas and collection of memories. Women's Rights National Historical Park, created in 1980 to preserve and interpret the sites associated with "the beginning of the struggle of women for their equal rights," holds the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, remnants of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, site of the Seneca Falls Convention, and the M'Clintock House, where Quaker activists hosted the drafting of the Declaration of Sentiments, revised and adopted by the Convention as its statement of purpose. Each became a venue for commemorative events. Scholars and activists met in panels and roundtables at the Stanton House. First Lady and Honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America Hillary Rodham Clinton unveiled the new Girl Scout badge, "Honor the Past, Imagine the Future," with the same logo as the White House Millennium Council's "Save Our Treasures" tour at the M'Clintock House. (See speech page 16.) Celebrate '98, a consortium of community organizations, sponsored a re-enact ment of the 1848 Convention in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, where Mrs. Clinton met with descendants of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments. Women's Rights NHP, Celebrate '98, and Forum '98, a coalition of national women's organizations, each played a distinct role: the park interpreted the Convention, Celebrate '98 celebrated the anniversary, and Forum '98 created an agenda for the future.

In Living Memory: 19th-Century Celebrations

Nineteenth-century observances of the Seneca Falls Convention took place within the context of active organizing for women's rights. In 1878, the National Woman Suffrage Association called the first recorded celebration, held at the Unitarian Church in Rochester, NY, in place of its regular annual convention. In addition to Stanton, delegates included Sojourner Truth, who had been speaking for women's and African-American civil rights for 27 years, Frederick Douglass, publisher and statesman, and Quaker minister and anti-slavery activist Lucretia Mott, Stanton's mentor and role model. With the character of "a reunion...of near and dear relatives...which help to sustain reformers while they battle ignorance and prejudice in order to secure justice," it was also an occasion to call for change. Stanton returned to an early theme of the women's rights movement: the "perverted application of the scriptures" which denied women equal rights. Stanton spent much of the 1870s travelling as a popular speaker, and repeatedly found the Bible used to refute her arguments about women's equality with men. She encouraged women to decide for themselves what the Holy Scriptures said about women's equality, sponsoring three resolutions on self-development. The first called it the "duty of every individual" to develop herself; the second appealed to women to exercise their own critical thinking in analyzing the



1888 International Council of Women. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton seated second and fourth from left, first row. Photo from the slide files of Women's Rights National Historical Park.

Bible and other religious works, and the last criticized ministers who focused women's attention on the hereafter rather than the present. Lucretia Mott traveled to Rochester against the wishes of her family to attend this, her last public meeting, and when Frederick Douglass escorted her from the hall, onlookers and coworkers wept.[6]

Ten years later, in 1888, Susan B. Anthony and the National Woman Suffrage Association hosted an international meeting in Washington, DC. The call for the meeting began with allusions to Seneca Falls:

> The first public demand for equal educational, industrial, professional and political rights for women was made in a convention held at Seneca Falls, New York in the year 1848.
>
> To celebrate the Fortieth Anniversary of this event an International Council of Women will be convened...

In her opening remarks, Anthony introduced a picture of Lucretia Mott as "the mother of the movement" before the keynote speaker, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, recalled "the merciless storm of ridicule" that greeted "those who inaugurated the movement for woman's enfranchisement." Still, this movement, though "wandering in the wilderness of prejudice and ridicule for 40 years," had "cleared away much of the underbrush of false sentiment, logic and rhetoric intertwisted with law and custom which blocked all avenues." Stanton claimed that the experience of subordination had taught women "the open sesame to the hearts of each other," and that women working together would recreate society to include "a just government, a humane religion, a pure social life..." Creating an international women's movement would hurry the new society along.[7]

Stanton also presided over the meeting of "the pioneers." At a session featuring eight male and 36 female Seneca Falls survivors, Frederick Douglass rather modestly reported that he had "done very little in this world in which to glory" except "to support Mrs. Stanton's resolution for woman suffrage" at the Seneca Falls Convention. Anthony, who had not attended the 1848 Convention, still gathered many of the Declaration of Sentiments signers and representatives of every kind of women's group to demonstrate their combined support for her agenda. Anthony built alliances which allowed the takeover of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) by the rival American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Both the AWSA and WCTU cosponsored the international event. After the meeting, they joined the U.S. umbrella organization, the National Council of Women. Anthony wanted to make suffrage respectable, and the international meeting was the first step in bringing the AWSA and the NWSA together into one organization, the NAWSA, by 1890.[8]

In 1893, the NAWSA met at the Women's Pavilion of the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago. No special observance marked the 45th anniversary of the Convention, although Anthony commissioned marble busts of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and herself to display throughout the exposition. Icons had replaced living memory.

In 1898, Anthony opened the NAWSA convention by displaying the M'Clintocks' parlor table, and distributing the Declaration of Sentiments. "You will notice," she said, "that those demands which were ridiculed and denounced from one end of the country to the other, all have now been conceded but the suffrage...." Stanton, whose 1895 *The Woman's Bible* commentaries had been roundly denounced by the NAWSA, firmly disagreed. In an address read in her absence, she exhorted NAWSA members to "make a brave attack on every obstacle which stands in your way....There are new fields for conquest and more enemies to meet." Although the meeting celebrated "the semi-centennial anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention" and reaffirmed "every principle then and there enunciated," the resolutions did not reflect Stanton's demands for equality in church, state, and home. The "pioneers" evening was now dominated by the children of the organizers of the Seneca Falls Convention. No one who had actually attended it was present. While the NAWSA claimed the legacy of the Seneca Falls Convention by displaying the M'Clintock family's parlor table and revisiting the Declaration of Sentiments, no new action agenda marked its 50th anniversary.[9]

Stanton's autobiography, *80 Years and More*, published late in 1898, reminded Anthony and new generations of women's rights supporters of their common history: whenever challenging the status quo, they were ridiculed and ostracized. The 1848 meeting was reviled,

> ...but now many conventions are held each year...to discuss the same ideas; social customs have changed; laws have been modified;...school suffrage has been granted to women in half of our States, municipal suffrage in Kansas, and full suffrage in four States....That first convention, considered a 'grave mistake' in 1848, is now referred to as 'a grand step in progress.'

Stanton's then radical demands of the 1850s and 1860s, for alcohol regulation, more liberal divorce laws, and more women in the ministry, had been partially achieved by 1898. Her parting shot

occupied the last page of her autobiography. Far from believing that all but suffrage had been won, she wrote: "Seeing that the religious superstitions of women perpetuate their bondage more than all other adverse influences, I feel impelled to reiterate my demands for justice, liberty, and equality in the Church as well as in the State."[10]

Remembered by Descendants: 20th Century

Stanton and Anthony, the longest-lived of the early women's rights reformers, died in the decade between 1898 and 1908. The origins of the 19th-century women's movement passed out of living memory. Their followers and children attempted to commemorate them and to move forward. After 1898, celebrations became spectacles increasingly divorced from particular organizations or agendas. By 1948, these ceremonies were no longer held under the auspices of a women's rights organization, or within the context of an active movement.

In late May, 1908, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's daughter and a woman suffrage activist in her own right, organized the first Seneca Falls Convention celebration actually held there. Speeches by descendants of the Seneca Falls signers, and the installation of a bronze commemorative marker on the substantially altered Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, returned the issues of women's rights to the town. The marker's text illustrated Blatch's commitment to work with every group to gain the franchise for women. It recalled Stanton's resolution calling for woman suffrage, and Frederick Douglass' support. The formal program included a speech by Mary Church Terrell, founding member of the National Association of Colored Women, on the contributions of Frederick Douglass to the 19th-century women's rights movement.[11]

Yet this was the annual meeting of neither the state or nor the national woman suffrage association. Four months later, the NAWSA met in Buffalo, New York. In her welcoming speech, New York suffragist Emily Howland argued that the Declaration of Sentiments embodied the maxim, "greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, NAWSA president, also lauded the convention-callers: "We are scarcely able today to understand what those brave pioneers endured to secure the things which we accept as a matter of course." The "great evening of the week was devoted to the Commemorative Program in Honor of the 1848 Convention." Presided over by Eliza Wright Osborne, daughter and niece of two of the organizers of the Seneca Falls Convention, the program consisted of revisiting the resolutions of the 1848 convention and comparing and commenting on current conditions. In most cases, commentators treated the resolutions, which called for everything from equal educational opportunities to property rights to divorce law to employment options to religious belief, as self-evident truths.[12]

Marking the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in 1908 gave a visible presence to the early history of the women's rights movement. Once the building was marked, celebrations of the 1848 Convention returned to Seneca Falls, and organizations used the town and the building to extend the achievements of the past into the future. After winning the suffrage amendment in 1920, the National American Woman Suffrage Association became the League of Women Voters. Arguing that the suffrage amendment had completed the agenda of the Seneca Falls Convention, Carrie Chapman Catt, NAWSA president, encouraged women to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens and voters. Meanwhile the movement's radical wing, the Congressional Union, became the National Woman's Party. Alice Paul, NWP leader, looked to the Declaration of Sentiments for an agenda for the future. In 1923, she celebrated the 75th anniversary of the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls. Paul announced a new strategy: the Equal Rights Amendment— "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Introduced into Congress in December of that year, it has never been ratified.

The marker on the Wesleyan Chapel, which had disappeared in the 1910s, resurfaced for the 75th anniversary celebration. Friday evening's dance dramatized the progress of women through the ages. On Saturday, Paul formally announced the Equal Rights Amendment, followed by an evening program entitled "Celebration of Anniversary of First Equal Rights Meeting," with a chorus, processional, and speeches by NWP officers and Harriot Stanton Blatch. Paul then led a pilgrimage to Susan B. Anthony's home and grave in Rochester, some 50 miles away. Clearly the NWP intended to claim its place as the rightful heir of the Seneca Falls Convention and Stanton and Anthony's activism. Paul even recast the 1848 meeting as an "equal rights" convention, rather than a "woman's rights" meeting.[13]

The ERA attracted little support from the League of Women Voters and from activists concerned with protective labor legislation and child and maternal health. By 1948, a century after the Convention, the ERA remained "in the doldrums." However, the New York State Department of Education did erect historical markers in front of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel and the Stanton house in the early 1930s, making them permanently visible.[14]

Local organizers, determined to control the 1948 centennial celebration, created their own



Dedication of Commemorative Plaque, 1908. Photo from the slide files of Women's Rights National Historical Park.

committees to welcome various luminaries to Seneca Falls. Noticeable by its absence was the National Woman's Party; in fact, organizers urged guest speakers to avoid mention of the ERA. President Truman sent a letter of congratulations. The U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative stamp. Descendants honored Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony as leaders, but disagreed about the future agenda. Anna Lord Strauss, Lucretia Mott's great-niece and president of the League of Women Voters, urged celebrants to "think in terms of women's opportunities instead of women's rights," rather than "promoting a woman's block or proclaiming a new woman's movement." Nora Stanton Barney, daughter of Harriot Stanton Blatch and granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, claimed that Stanton "would no doubt be a champion of civil rights and just as many unpopular causes as in 1848. She would be demanding the full emancipation of woman and equality of rights under the law...." Susan B. Anthony II, the great-niece of Susan B. Anthony, delivered a "Declaration of the Women of 1948 to the Women of 2048," signed by Pearl Buck, Margaret Sanger, and others who promised to "liberate our sex, and various races, from the economic, political and social bonds that still cripple us, 100 years after the women of 1848 started their long battle to loosen them." Dorothy Kenyon, U.S. representative to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, decried "complacency over past achievements, great as these may have been," and called for "ways and means of implementing human freedom in the future." These separate calls for civil and equal rights, for economic, political and social equality, and for women's leadership occurred in the context of President Truman's executive order ending segregation in the armed forces, the Fair Housing Act, and the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights.[15] The women's movement in the United States remained marginal during the 1950s. In the late 1970s, renewed demands for equal treatment under the law and support for the Equal Rights Amendment led activists and historians to seek out and find roots in Seneca Falls. The 1977 Houston convention observing the start of the U.N. Decade for Women, officially opened with a torch from Seneca Falls entering the hall. Millicent Brady Moore, Seneca Falls resident and descendant of a Declaration of Sentiments signer, handed the torch to the first runner. Susan B. Anthony II received it in Houston. In 1978, a local activist, Mary Curry, observed the 130th anniversary of the Convention by creating a small exhibit and opportunity to sign on to the Declaration of Sentiments under the historical marker near the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel. The creation of Women's Rights National Historical Park in 1980 added buildings to the visible markers of the history of the women's rights movement in Seneca Falls, even as the park's grand opening in 1982 followed the defeat of the ERA by two weeks.[16]

Creating A Space For Dialogue: 1998

Planning for the 1998 sesquicentennial for the Seneca Falls Convention began as early as 1993. By 1996, a coalition of local groups, incorporated as Celebrate '98, formed to host several days of celebratory events in Seneca Falls. The National Women's Hall of Fame moved its honors ceremonies from early June to mid-July. The Seneca County Historical Society and Seneca Falls Heritage Area sponsored special exhibits on early women's rights activists. Headed by former New York lieutenant governor MaryAnn Krupsak, who had been instrumental in the park's creation, Celebrate '98 planned concerts, forums, dramatizations, craftshows, panels, memory tents, and other events.

State and national attention supported these local efforts. Governor Pataki formed the New York State Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women, which funded educational materials, special exhibits, a partial grant to filmmaker Ken Burns for a feature on Stanton and Anthony, a life-sized statue of Susan B. Anthony meeting Elizabeth Cady Stanton, slated for unveiling in fall 1999, and a website. The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, created by Executive Order on July 2, 1998, held the first of many national hearings during the Seneca Falls observances. Legislation was intro-

duced into Congress in early July and passed in October creating the Women's Progress Commemoration Commission. These two commissions will report to the White House and Congress, respectively, about appropriate ways to commemorate and preserve sites associated with women's part in the development of the nation. Honoring the Seneca Falls Convention, has, in effect, resulted in a national reassessment of the ways that women's pasts are preserved and interpreted.[17]

Although events commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention occurred throughout the nation, Seneca Falls focused on the tangible remains and the important meanings of the historical event. Shortened tours allowed more visitors in the Stanton House and Wesleyan Chapel, while limiting weight on historic floors. Mrs. Clinton announced a $10,000 grant to assist with interior restoration of the M'Clintock House, while the M'Clintock family table and suffrage busts from the 1893 Woman's Building, on loan from the Smithsonian, occupied prime exhibit space in the park visitor center. The National Women's Party loaned historic suffrage banners whose colors, purple, white, and gold, graced every publication and event. Descendants of Convention organizers also were resources, giving interviews on the meaning of the Convention for park research files and to the media, and wearing buttons identifying them as special guests.

As in 1908, national women's associations held conventions in Seneca Falls or nearby to honor the 1848 Convention. The park co-sponsored a one-day conference on "women's rights around the world" at the National Women's Studies Association Conference and a weekend conference on "The Stuff of Women's History" with the Organization of American Historians. Unitarian Universalist Women and the National Organization for Women met in Rochester. Each conference sent delegates on pilgrimage to Seneca Falls. Representatives of the National Women's Party celebrated the 75th anniversary of the first call for the ERA.

Unlike the 1923 celebration, no one political organization staged the 1998 event. Instead, Celebrate '98 and the park provided places for the discussion of many perspectives on the meaning and importance of the 1848 Convention. The park issued special use permits for events hosted by a variety of groups. The National Organization for Women called for a re-dedication to the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments and demanded a National Women's Equality Act to address issues of equal rights for women. The AFL-CIO sought equal pay for equal work and equal access to the trades and professions. Comparing women's rights and lesbian rights, the Coalition for Lesbian Visibility demanded that all women have basic rights to jobs and housing, which are currently denied homosexuals in many states. Feminists for Life argued that women's rights began in the womb and access to safe abortions hurts women. Girls '98 issued a Declaration of Sentiments for girls' rights. Finally, Forum '98 representing 110 women's organizations nationwide, issued an action plan for the 21st century encompassing legal, economic, professional, and social goals. Rededicating themselves to the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments, they also publicly signed the Declaration for the 21st Century. Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Betty Friedan, founding NOW member, Eleanor Smeal, past president of NOW, and other illuminati appeared to sign the new declaration. Not surprisingly, various events drew counter-demonstrators, who were offered free speech permits in nearby locations.

Only Hillary Rodham Clinton, keynote speaker at opening ceremonies, issued an official vision for the future. On behalf of Celebrate '98, she called on listeners to "imagine a future that keeps faith with the sentiments expressed here in 1848."[18] Yet the celebration, held over several days in various locations, encouraged discussion of various meanings of the Seneca Falls Convention. Both the National Organization for Women and the Feminists for Life claimed Stanton as their foremother. Activists and scholars examined and critiqued the relationship between Stanton and others. Stanton's likely position on current issues was the subject of lively debates captured on CNN and CSPAN. Nor did dramatizations of the 1848 Convention, of the contested relationships between 19th-century women's rights leaders, and of the



Women's Rights NHP Supt. Josie Fernandez, Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna E. Shalala, and author and women's rights activist Betty Friedan sign Forum '98's Declaration for the 21st Century. Photo by Carol Ash, NPS.

1923 introduction of the ERA avoid the controversies present in those pasts.

Historical agencies have special opportunities when planning anniversary commemorations. Women's Rights NHP, as steward of the Stanton and M'Clintock houses and the Wesleyan Chapel, provides basic interpretation about the people who created and sustained the early women's rights movement. In partnership with other cultural agencies, Women's Rights NHP provided a place for assessing the past and planning for the future. Although the summer's events are past, that dialogue continues in websites maintained by the U.S. Information Agency, by the park, by the National Women's History Project, by the Susan B. Anthony Center at the University of Rochester, and others, and in the work of the state, national, and presidential commissions.

If judged by sheer volume of visitors and liveliness of discussion, this sesquicentennial celebration continues to be a success. No Kleenex boxes featuring Stanton made their way onto the mass market during this sesquicentennial year, but neither could the park or the village of Seneca Falls control the many ways in which the Convention was commemorated throughout the county, state, country, and world. Curators, interpreters, and historic site administrators no more own the past than do vendors who use it to sell products while educating the public. But like vendors, cultural resource managers can use anniversaries to "sell" historic preservation and interpretation.

Notes

1 "Vote for Woman Suffrage November 2, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Centennial, 1915" campaign button; Proclamation of Elizabeth Cady Stanton Day in New York State, September 18, 1975. Both in collections of the Johnstown Historical Society, Johnstown, New York. Thank you to Heather Huyck, Patricia West, Harry Butowsky, and Ron Greenberg for their helpful comments on a previous version of this article.

2 "Leading the Way in Women's Rights," Kleenex box, copyright 1938, 1977, Johnstown Historical Society.

3 David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18 (Spring 1996), 14.

4 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *80 Years and More* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993).

5 Linda Norris. "Politics and Place: Celebrating Women's Rights in Seneca Falls," Exhibition Planning report, March 1996.

6 Various sources, cited in Judith M. Wellman, "The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Women's Rights Convention," unpublished manuscript.

7 *History of Woman Suffrage* 4: 125-139.

8 Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford Press, 1984), 192-193.

9 *History of Woman Suffrage* 4: 288-298.

10 Stanton, *80 Years and More*, 465-468.

11 *History of Woman Suffrage* 6: 444.

12 *History of Woman Suffrage* 5: 212-221.

13 Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls, Afterward*, 43-45; National Woman's Party Celebration Program, July 20-22, 1923, from the collections of the Seneca Falls Historical Society.

14 Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

15 "Women's Rights Project Wins President's Praise," *Syracuse* (NY) *Post Standard*, July 21, 1948.

16 Enabling Legislation, Women's Rights NHP. See also Judith M. Wellman's article on the creation of the park and Gail L. Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming).

17 See www.govpataki4women.org for NYS Commission; www.gsa.gov/staff/pa/whc.htm for information on the President's Commission.

18 First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Seneca Falls, NY, July 16, 1998. See <www.whitehouse.gov/wh/eop/first_lady/html/treasures> for the full text of the speech.

Vivien Ellen Rose, Ph.D., is the historian at Women's Rights National Historical Park. She is also guest editor of this issue of CRM.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Honor the Past,

Many years ago, more than I care to remember some days, I was a Girl Scout myself. I can remember how special it felt and how much work was involved in adding each new badge to my sash. And I am delighted that you have this new badge, the "Honor the Past, Imagine the Future" patch, to work toward, because it represents a real commitment to learning and service on behalf of the community That's one of the reasons that I am so proud to be associated still, after all these years, with the Girl Scouts of the United States of America. You are teaching and learning new lessons every day about what it means to be a citizen and I think that is one of the most important roles any of us can possibly fill.

That is, in fact, what motivated the women who came to M'Clintock House. They wanted to be citizens, they wanted to feel that their contributions and opportunities would be considered equal to those of their husbands and fathers and brothers and sons. And we're on the Millennium Council Save Our Treasures tour, that ends here at Waterloo and Seneca Falls, because we want to help all Americans honor the past and imagine the future. We want all Americans to think about how to protect the sites and monuments that really tell us the story of who we are as a nation.



From left to right, Senior Girl Scout Carrie Logan and Junior Girl Scouts Elyse Pfeiffer and Gabrielle Wadhams with Elinor Ferdon, National President of the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, and the newest Girl Scout badge.

So for all of you who are Girl Scouts, you're helping to remember and perpetuate the ideas and values that make America such a great country. And at the center of that is the idea of being a citizen, something that no one can ever take away from you. I am delighted that we could come here to the M'Clintock House because I cannot think of a better place to unveil the Girl Scout "millennium patch" than right here. We all owe a debt of gratitude to those courageous women who met in this house, especially those of us who are girls or women. Imagine, if you will, how much courage it took to come together, to write out the Declaration of Sentiments, to say loudly and clearly that women deserve to have equal rights. That was a very radical idea in 1848.

When this house is restored, everyone who passes through it will know more about MaryAnn and Thomas M'Clintock, two very exemplary Americans. In addition to their efforts on behalf of women's rights they organized anti-slavery events, wrote and signed anti-slavery petitions, and cared for African-American children in this house, perhaps as part of the underground railroad. Everyone who passes through this house will see the parlor where Elizabeth Cady Stanton, MaryAnn M'Clintock, and others drafted the Declaration of

Imagine the Future

Sentiments, where they poured over speeches and reports and resolutions for inspiration, and where they decided to model their effort after the Declaration of Independence. Everyone who passes through this house will hear loudly and clearly what they did to make the Declaration of Independence apply to us all. They will be able to imagine in their heads these voices that say, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men and women are created equal."

In order for that to happen a lot of work has to be undertaken and, yes, a lot of money has to be raised. In order to restore the M'Clintock House, nearly a million dollars has to be raised and yet I think that it is a million dollars very well invested. Restored, this house will draw people here, and it will serve as a reminder for generations to come of those brave women and men who decided to take a stand on behalf of the right of a woman to become a citizen of this country.

The National Park Service, the Seven Lakes Girl Scouts Council, and so many of you here today are part of the effort to restore the M'Clintock house. I'm also pleased to announce that Anne Bartley of San Francisco will be making a generous contribution to the restoration of the M'Clintock house that will move us toward our goal of restoring this house to serve as a reminder of what happened here 150 years ago.

Part of the reason I am on this tour and going from place to place is to remind all Americans that every community has a place that should be saved and remembered. When we think about our history, we want to see it as it truly was: a history that included the contributions of all kinds of people. And we want to be able to make sure that those contributions are memorialized and that the legacy of brave men and women of all races, backgrounds, and experiences are remembered for generations to come.

So let's be sure that just as Girl Scouts will be doing their part to earn their badges that those of us who are no longer Girl Scouts will do our part to earn, if you will, our badge as a citizen who honors the past and imagines the future. Let us be good care takers, let us be good ancestors of those who come after. Let us be good citizens and honor the work of the women and men who met at Seneca Falls 150 years ago and let us also, along with these young girls and women, imagine the kind of future that we want for all our children.

M'Clintock House
July 15, 1998

Official White House photos.



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton unveils the "Honor the Past, Imagine the Future" badge, which is identical to the "Save America's Treasurers" logo.

George D. Berndt

Celebrating the Illinois and Michigan Canal

The long-awaited day finally arrived. Almost 12 years earlier, on July 4, 1836, construction had begun on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. And now on April 16, 1848, the passenger packet *General Fry* would be the first boat to lock through the canal and arrive in Chicago. The hard work of many laborers—mainly Irish—in digging the 97-mile canal by hand had finally come to an end. The new waterway connected Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, almost 100 miles to the west, thereby linking the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River for navigation. It quickly became a vital link in the growing gridwork of water transportation routes across the continent and changed the course of history for the former swampy outpost of Chicago, for much of Illinois, and for a large part of the Midwest.

The editor of the *Gem of the Prairie* (the weekly sister of the *Chicago Tribune*) proclaimed with pride that ". . . the finishing of the Canal was a glorious triumph, and we may justly be proud of it. Proud that we have met successfully all the difficulties incident to its completion, the lukewarmness of friends and the ceaseless hostilities of enemies. A proud day, we say, and we look forward to the future with hope and confidence, that the predictions of its friends will be fully verified."

The canal's impact on the landscape of Northern Illinois was irreversible. The direction of commerce changed from St. Louis to Chicago, thus opening the way for the latter town to become a great national hub. In the five years after the waterway opened, the population of Chicago grew by 400%. The canal promoted settlement, agriculture, and manufacturing along its corridor. Towns sprang up along its banks, each having a unique identity and contribution to the waterway, collectively dependent on it for commercial and economic growth. By the time the digging had stopped in 1848, no less than six towns had been founded along one 14-mile stretch.

Though passenger traffic soon declined and finally gave way to the speedier railroads, the canal continued to be profitable until the 1880s carrying bulk cargo such as household furnishings, lumber, stone, and grains. But, by the late 19th century, the canal's glory days were behind it. Too small to accommodate the larger barges then plying the nation's rivers, its decline accelerated until 1933 when the parallel and larger Illinois Waterway opened and the I&M Canal closed for good. Soon thereafter, through the efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps, it experienced a revival as a linear recreational corridor. This transformation was cut short by the pressing needs of the World War II and the canal sank back into obscurity. A more permanent solution to its future gathered steam in the late 1970s. This momentum culminated in the rebirth of the historic waterway in 1984 as the backbone of a then unique concept—the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor.



The Illinois and Michigan Canal marked its 150th anniversary in 1998. It presented us with a rare opportunity to spotlight a historic moment and a historic landmark that forever changed northeastern Illinois. Recognizing the significance of the canal to the state, the region, and the nation, the I&M Canal National Heritage Corridor Commission planned for a year-long sesquicentennial celebration to build enthusiasm and to market the Corridor. Planning for this commemoration opened the way for communities to celebrate the area's shared heritage through commemorative activities, educational programs, exhibits, and recreational endeavors. It also showed how neighboring communities can work together for the benefit of everyone concerned.



Part of the crowd at the April 18, 1998, Illinois and Michigan Canal "birthday party." Photo courtesy Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor.

In 1994, the commission formed a committee including representatives from Corridor Commission partners, both public and private, and from citizen boosters, to plan the commemoration. Everyone hoped that the 49 Corridor communities would produce their own sesquicentennial events. Such celebrations could bring needed capital improvements, tourism dollars, and a renewed interest in the importance of the I&M Canal to the region.

Committee members and interested citizens proposed numerous projects for celebrating the sesquicentennial. They included special events and interpretive programs, teachers' workshops using an existing elementary curriculum on the history and impact of the I&M Canal, school participation in the Chicago Metro and the Illinois History Fairs with prizes funded by the Commission, various ribbon cuttings, and creation of quilts by community quilting groups featuring I&M Canal related themes.

In an attempt to have the year-long commemoration begin as closely as possible to the 150th anniversary of the opening of the I&M Canal, the committee picked Saturday, April 18, for the official birthday party and Chicago's Navy Pier as the site—at the eastern end of the Corridor. The Heritage Corridor Convention & Visitors Bureau, the Commission's marketing arm, primed regional and national media about the upcoming sesquicentennial. Numerous articles on the canal's 150th anniversary and ensuing festivities appeared in Illinois newspapers.

The event was a success. The weather turned out great and the public responded in good numbers. Several communities chartered buses to bring residents to Navy Pier for the event. Many groups arrived with community banners created just for the occasion and there was a generous amount of good-natured cheering whenever their town was mentioned. Volunteers in period clothing, portraying men and women important in the canal story, circulated among the crowd. Patriotic airs and songs preceded speeches, the unveiling of a special permanent public art project focusing on the canal, and the sealing of items donated by the Corridor communities in a time capsule added to the festive atmosphere. Finally, befitting the spirit of the event and playing on the cooperative nature of the Corridor, one bakery generously donated a birthday cheesecake large enough that everyone attending was able to enjoy a slice. This event set the tone for the year; the celebration had officially begun.

Activities in the year-long commemoration have taken different forms, with many developed by Corridor communities. Our "Sesquicentennial Plan" indicated that each of the 49 communities in the Corridor designate a "community sesquicentennial coordinator." After getting to know one another, these coordinators developed a number of unique special events for the year-long celebration. The I&M Canal was directly responsible for putting many towns on the map in the first place. These 49 communities grew because of the canal, but after the waterway deteriorated and closed, many towns forgot the important role it had played in their history. The enthusiasm generated by the community coordinators allowed many people, from politicians to ordinary citizens, to reflect on the canal—in some cases now just a dry ditch—and to realize it's regional and national significance. With this greater awareness, the communities came together to develop and produce the numerous activities scheduled for 1998-99.

The sesquicentennial commemoration will officially end in April 1999, at Starved Rock State Park—at the western end of the Corridor. It will focus on the accomplishments of the sesquicentennial year and will urge individuals and organizations to continue working together.

The Illinois and Michigan Canal has made a strong comeback in the past few years; heavy use of the trail along its length attests to that. But the best part of this comeback may be psychological. In a region that has pitted communities against each other, the resurgence of the canal has brought people together from Chicago to LaSalle-Peru. Cooperation, in regard to the I&M Canal, is its own reward. And that is an achievement comparable with the old canal's original impact.

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A complete list of activities can be viewed on the Corridor's web page <http://www/nps.gov/ilmi>.

Art Gómez

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo

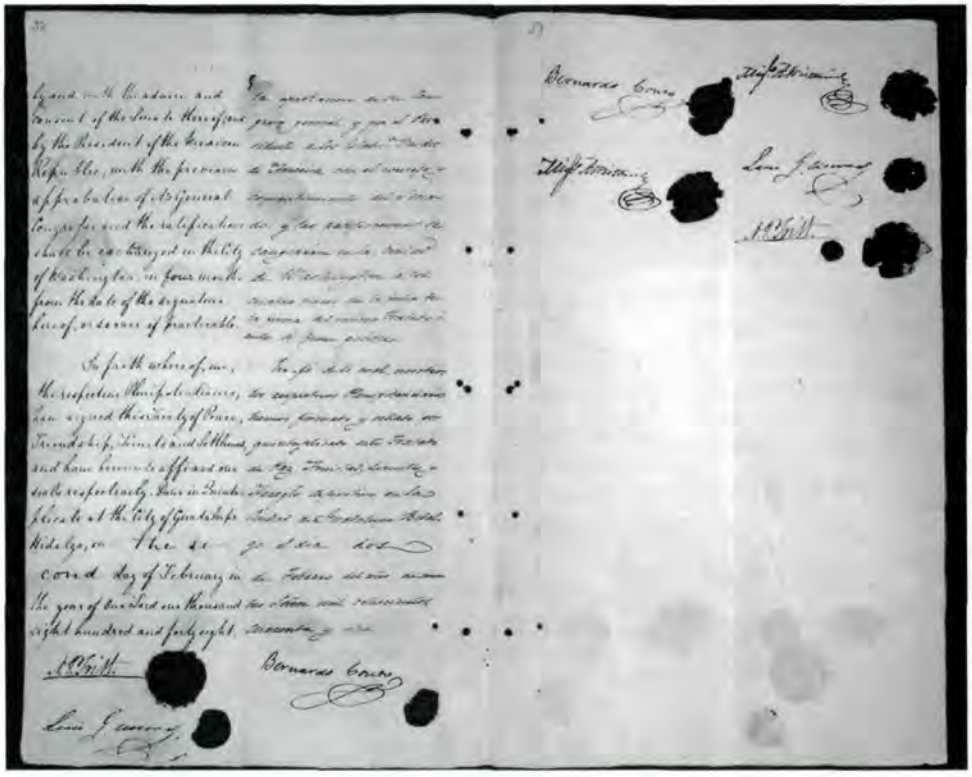
Forgotten or Remembered?

In December 1997, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC, informed Chamizal National Memorial in El Paso, Texas, of its selection to exhibit portions of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Park staff received the news with understandable ambivalence. On the one hand, they were honored to host an exhibit commemorating the sesquicentennial of the document terminating the war between Mexico and the United States. On the other hand, some were justifiably wary that the presence of this document—representing a tragic moment in the history of two bordering nations—so near to Mexico might prove offensive.

Indeed, officials on both sides of the border voiced concern about the purpose of hosting the exhibit. *Cual es el punto?* some Mexican skeptics asked. Why would the National Park Service wish to commemorate the defeat of Mexico and the disenfranchisement of thousands of former Mexican citizens who remained in this country? Why, El Paso critics queried, out of the 385 units in the National Park System, was Chamizal National Memorial in the El Paso/Juárez metro area selected as the site to host this controversial document? Why, some emphatically challenged, should the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo be commemorated at all? This essay attempts to address these very poignant questions.

As steward of numerous national treasures, the National Park Service has a responsibility to educate the general public through the interpretation of its protected resources from various points of view. A recent example of this was the redesignation of Custer Battlefield in Montana to Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument. In redesignating the park, the National Park Service recognized its responsibility to honor all combatants—American Indian as well as non-Indian—who participated in this momentous engagement on the American western frontier.

In 1992, the National Park Service actively endorsed the 500-year observance of Columbus' voyage to America. Again, this event was greeted with disdain and, in some cases, hostility demonstrated by indigenous people in the United States as well as in Latin America. Clearly, it was never the intent of the National Park Service to appear insensitive to the American Indian point of view by participating in the Columbus quincentenary. Rather it was the agency's responsibility to recognize the significance of this landmark historical episode, while cognizant of the many negative aspects associated with early European contact on native dwellers. Thus, in its desire to promote a more balanced understanding of European arrival to the New World, the National Park Service hosted numerous symposia within as well as outside the boundaries of the United States, encouraging the participation of indigenous peoples to present their point of view. For all of its negative connotations, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo rep-



These signature pages represent a portion of the actual Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which was on exhibit at Chamizal National Memorial from January to May 1998. Photo courtesy Chamizal National Memorial.

resents a similarly pivotal historical moment deserving of commemoration.

The conflict of 1846-48, which culminated with the signing of the treaty, is in fact a definitive point of departure in the history of United States-Mexico relations. From that point forward, both nations pledged a commitment to the resolution of their differences by diplomatic rather than military means. During the tempestuous years of the Mexican Revolution, both nations violated the territorial sovereignty of the other. Diplomacy rather than armed conflict, however, prevailed in the effort to ensure quiescence along the international border. In August 1963, Mexico and the United States resolved a 100-year-old conflict over Mexican loss of territory to the United States as the result of the unpredictable meandering of the Río Grande. The Chamizal Treaty resolved the long-standing controversy to the satisfaction of both governments.

When asked what he considered the most significant accomplishment of his six-year term as president of Mexico, Adolfo López-Mateos responded, "My greatest satisfaction was in having solved the centenary problem of the re-incorporation of el Chamizal into national territory." Indeed, by anyone's measure the United State's return of the Chamizal, land located in downtown El Paso, was a prestigious diplomatic moment for Mexico. At the astounding cost of $48 million, the U.S. government, in cooperation with the State of Texas, removed railroads, public utilities, industrial sites, and relocated nearly 5,000 residents to other quadrants of the city in order to transfer the lands to rightful ownership. In the spirit of international cooperation, Mexico and the United States combined finances and technical expertise to construct four new bridges across the newly-channelized river marking the international boundary, which facilitated customs and immigration inspections on both sides of the border. Finally, the signatory nations mutually agreed to establish national memorials on both sides of the Río Grande to commemorate the success of the peaceful resolution. In Ciudad Juárez, where the official transfer of lands took place on October 28, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson summarized the significance of the moment saying: "Too many times has the world seen attempts to change boundaries through force. Let us be thankful that today we celebrate an example of how such matters should be settled."

For this reason, it is appropriate that the NARA selected Chamizal National Memorial—out of all other units in the National Park System—to host the first public exhibit of this historic document. What more fitting location than a national park dedicated to the harmonious coexistence of bordering nations and the mutual understanding of their diverse cultures to promote greater understanding of the treaty and its historical complexities? This is not to suggest, however, that relations along the 2,500-mile international border are without disharmony. All the more reason in 1998 to restate the ideals of peaceful resolution and harmonious coexistence espoused in 1848, and again in 1963 when Congress enacted the enabling legislation to create Chamizal National Memorial.

Thus, the question: Should the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo be remembered or forgotten? The American and Mexican combatants in the War of 1846—whether history ultimately determines their cause to be just or unjust—should nevertheless be remembered. The sesquicentennial commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, in my judgment, presented a timely opportunity to gain new perspective on past and more recent international border history.

Upon reconsideration, the question should more appropriately be stated: How will the Treaty of Guadalupe be remembered? The 150th anniversary of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo offered the opportunity to evaluate how far relations have progressed since 1848. The objective of the exhibit at Chamizal National Memorial, therefore, was not to dwell on the past; rather, it was to focus upon the bi-national achievements of present and future years.

The National Park Service, Mexican Affairs Office, and the Center for Spanish Colonial Research, for example, have cooperated with Mexico on numerous meaningful projects. Both nations have sponsored symposia, intercultural exchange programs, and public celebrations in conjunction with the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and the Quartocentenary of the Colonization of New Mexico. Big Bend National Park has taken the lead role among our border parks in promoting the establishment of a bi-national park along the U.S.-Mexico Border. Chamizal National Memorial also serves as a venue for international friendship. It is in this spirit of mutual cooperation and bicultural understanding, that the park proudly hosted the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

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Mary Munsell Abroe

Observing the Civil War Centennial

Rhetoric, Reality, and the Bounds of Selective Memory

Americans of the early cold war period beheld an eminently usable past as they anticipated the centennial of the Civil War. Popularized in the 1950s through the narrative wizardry of Bruce Catton and Allan Nevins, the distant struggle offered heroic images that could comfort and inspire as they provided diversion from an uneasy present. With citizens' attention fixed upon subversive threats—real or imagined—to democratic institutions, the vision of a United States tested and fortified in the crucible of civil conflict offered reassurance that the nation could meet any crisis and emerge victorious.

Such use of the Civil War legacy placed Americans at mid-century squarely in the tradition of other generations of commemorators who employed that legacy—or a selectively remembered version of it—to promote a contemporary agenda. Like veterans who led the crusade to create federal battlefield parks in the 1890s, centennial planners found their philosophical base in a celebration of reunion and the glorification of American martial courage and devotion to principle. The need to articulate ideals that could unite northerners and southerners while circumventing potentially disruptive issues was essential to the success of both memorial enterprises, thus shaping the way in which each exploited America's Civil War heritage. Battlefield preservationists at the turn of the 20th century appealed to the decade's nationalistic spirit to generate bipartisan backing. Latter-day commemorators found the road to consensus rougher in the 1960s.

In the vanguard of centennial planning at the national level was the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission. Authorized by Congress in 1957, the commission capped a lobbying effort supported by a network of study groups called Civil War round tables and directed by a cadre of civic, professional, and political leaders. Such elites were conspicuous in the body as first constituted by President Eisenhower and other officials. Perhaps none was more conspicuous than chairman U.S. Grant III, a career soldier and grandson of the Civil War military leader. With General Grant and executive director Karl Betts, a Baltimore businessman, at the helm, the commission sought to foster social cohesion by championing themes of national unity and American bravery under fire. As the commemoration unfolded, the goal of promoting that ideology endured; the reality of racial discrimination and the dissension that it generated, however, proved substantial stumbling blocks along the way. In fact the centennial was just a few months old when the choice of segregated facilities for an official function of the federal commission drew wide media coverage and resulted in swift presidential intervention. It also brought an end to the leadership of Grant and Betts, who had failed to avert the public relations disaster, by late 1961.

Observance of the Emancipation Proclamation's centennial offered a microcosmic view of the rhetoric and reality of American race relations 100 years after the Civil War. Columbia University's Allan Nevins, who replaced General Grant, planned the main ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial on September 22, 1962, the centennial anniversary of the document's promulgation soon after the battle of Antietam. Although Nevins thought that President Kennedy had agreed to deliver the main address, Kennedy refused the invitation at the 11th hour—apparently in concern over negative political fallout from an appearance that might affront white southerners.[1] Adlai Stevenson, then ambassador to the United Nations, filled in for the chief executive. Kennedy sent his brother Robert and a recording in which he admitted that "vestiges of discrimination and segregation" endured but also listed much about which to be encouraged: "...progress in education, in employment, in the evenhanded administration of justice, in access to the ballot...[and] in public and private life."[2] Keynote speaker Stevenson, however, did not share the President's optimism. Instead he asked if citizens who might cast the cold war struggle in terms of good and evil, perceiving their nation as "the land of the free" and their adversaries as "pitch black," deserved the title "pure-souled defenders of freedom" when many African Americans still were denied the vote and access to equal opportunity.[3]

Nor was Judge James Parsons, the first African American appointed to a federal district

judgeship in the continental United States, as sanguine as President Kennedy in his assessment of black "progress." Speaking before crowds at Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, Illinois during ceremonies sponsored by the American Negro Emancipation Centennial Authority of Chicago, Parsons concluded that Lincoln would be "aflame with anxiety and impatient concern that emancipation of the American Negro has been but half completed—when there lies ahead of us shockingly so little time in which to complete it." Judge Parsons predicted doom for a civilization whose technology had far outstripped its morality unless blacks were "accepted in every facet of life—not merely with a pretense toward equality—but with a feeling of identity."[4]

While the federal centennial commission attended to commemorations of general importance like that of the Emancipation Proclamation, it urged states and localities "to plan and commemorate the chief events of...[their] history during the great national crisis."[5] Most states formed energetic commissions that followed this recommendation by fostering the involvement of communities, organizations, and individuals in the discovery of their Civil War past. Activities for schoolchildren, encouragement of grass-roots searches for documents and relics, and the development and promotion of sites with Civil War ties were common features of state programs.

Heritage tourism flourished during the early 1960s as the public converged on war-related areas of local import and especially on federal battlefield parks. Scenes of commemorative rituals that typically included monument dedications and performances by politicians who used the opportunity to offer their own version of the Civil War's meaning, historic combat sites attracted record numbers of American visitors. In battlefield venues, however, the activity that kindled the most intense interest was re-enacting, which emerged in its modern form during the 1950s to become a popular commemorative and interpretive vehicle during the centennial and beyond.

While sham battles usually climaxed with pretend enemies striking a conciliatory pose, re-enacting generated its share of opposition and controversy during the early 1960s. National commission member Bruce Catton, for example, expressed the troubling side of the activity for himself and others when he asked rhetorically of a Richmond audience: "Is it proposed to re-enact the burning of cities, the march to the sea, the appalling bloodshed of this most sanguinary conflict."[6] Neither U.S. Grant III nor Allan Nevins favored the practice. Nevins stated flatly that "if the National Commission tries to re-enact a battle, my dead body will be the first found on the field."[7] General Grant was uncomfortable with re-enacting in the abstract, but conceded that such exercises were effective in sparking young people's interest in history. For that reason, perhaps, his name appeared on the letterhead of the First Manassas Corporation, organizer of the first major re-enactment of the centennial.

The national commission did not formally sponsor the event, but it cooperated with planners and so became identified with the July 1961 simulation of the battle of First Bull Run. National Guardsmen and members of re-enactment groups presented phases of the contest over three days for 70,000 spectators who paid $4.00 for grandstand seating, $2.50 for rental of a folding chair, or stood at no charge.[8] Although the spectacle culminated with "Federals" and "Confederates" joining to sing "God Bless America," the superficial harmony belied a problem-filled affair. Heat exhaustion as well as bayonetings and other accidents in the midst of "battle" felled a number of "soldiers." A more fundamental issue was that many on both sides appeared intent on refighting the Civil War. One participant noted his fear that some "drunken hothead would decide to really let fly with a Minie ball"[9] during the re-enactment.

Subsequent media condemnation of the event reinforced reservations about further involvement in re-enactments on the part of the Civil War centennial commission and the National Park Service, which permitted the mock battle to be held in Manassas National Battlefield Park. The fact that some injured re-enactors tried to sue the NPS for failure to take safety precautions no doubt contributed to the agency's misgivings about hosting similar events. Criticism that re-enactments trivialized the loss of human life and basic tragedy of war converged with issues of resource protection and persuaded the service to institute its current policy prohibiting battle simulations in national parks.[10]

In their report to Congress, federal commissioners summarized the bounds of contention over re-enacting as a commemorative and educational device:

> Defenders asserted that re-enactments provided realism, color and pageantry, that they enabled a great many people to take a direct part in the Centennial, and that they brought authentic sights and sounds of the Civil War to even greater numbers of people. The opponents...deplored the intrusions of commercialism and a carnival atmosphere which, they stated, were an affront to good taste and an abuse to history. The debate over this question was never resolved.[11]

Sponsorship of re-enactments was in many cases the province of state commissions, while

local committees or private organizations oversaw the planning and execution of numerous such events that marked the anniversary. The federal centennial commission distanced itself from the practice but had no authority to prevent sham battles, which enjoyed substantial popular support.

Ironically, commission members who collectively stressed martial valor as a centennial theme were individually among the most outspoken critics of re-enacting. Commissioners thus found themselves in a situation to which they contributed (if not one of their making) by promoting American bravery under fire as a principal motif. As for participants and their goals, re-enacting enabled them to memorialize what they found most meaningful or reconstruct the image of the Civil War that they found most appealing. The practice allowed those so inclined to shun painful truths and lose themselves in theatrics. Recreating the sensory experience of combat facilitated avoidance of such visceral issues as slavery, racism, and the meaning of disloyalty, while focusing the attention of spectators and re-enactors on communal virtues—physical courage, commitment to principle, devotion to duty—of which all could be proud. The heroic and inspirational past that mainstream America sought from the centennial came to life as re-enacting captured the popular imagination.

At the same time, a chorus of voices emerging from the anniversary observance revealed other ways in which citizens employed their Civil War past to serve the present. Against the backdrop of a peaking civil rights movement, those who took the podium on occasions like the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation reminded white Americans about the war's unfinished business and urged them to live up to ideals of equality and justice. The following summer, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama invoked a different memory of the Civil War when he addressed those gathered in July 1963 to dedicate South Carolina's new monument at Gettysburg. Wallace capitalized on his battlefield appearance to vindicate his own resistance and that of other southern states to federal desegregation efforts then underway. He thus informed Americans that "South Carolina and Alabama stand for constitutional government and thousands of people throughout the nation look to the South to restore constitutional rights and the rights of states and individuals."[12]

Vice President Hubert Humphrey drew the centennial observances to a close with a 1965 speech at ceremonies at Bennett Place near Durham, North Carolina, where Joseph Johnston and a decimated Confederate army of 15,000 surrendered to William T. Sherman two weeks after Appomattox. In a period of mounting American entanglements elsewhere in the world and intensified racial turmoil at home, Humphrey asked listeners for restraint, equating the "radicalism" of Reconstruction with a "senseless, revengeful extremism that even today, if left unchecked, could bring our great democracy to its knees."[13] At a time when the Dunning interpretation of Reconstruction was undergoing thorough revision, the vice president used that longstanding view of the era to cultivate a southern audience and so advance the solidarity that was essential as the nation confronted serious problems at home and abroad.

The 1950s saw citizens increasingly apprehensive about imperiled freedoms and national security in a seemingly alien and unfamiliar postwar world. Such fears prompted Americans to embark on a quest for an epic, reassuring and, above all, recognizable past—one that they hoped to find in the Civil War. As the anniversary ran its course, however, the difficulties inherent in memorializing a war that validated nationhood and abolished slavery but left racism intact emerged clearly. The fact of a racially divided society and the discord that it spawned were genuine impediments to the unity of purpose and civic harmony sought by anniversary planners of the mid-20th century. The commemoration of 1961-1965 illustrated well Americans' diverse centennial perceptions of the Civil War and testified to the historical amnesia still prevalent in some quarters after 100 years of remembering.

Notes

1 Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 599; and John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 210-11.

2 *New York Times*, 23 September 1962, p. 50.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, *Guide for the Observance of the Civil War Centennial* (Washington, DC: U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, 1959), 5.

6 *Richmond News-Leader*, 2 May 1961, p. 10; quoted in Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 605.

7 Quoted in U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, The Civil War Centennial: A Report to Congress (Washington, DC: U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, 1968), 14.

8 *New York Times*, 24 July 1961, p. 8.

9 Quoted in Jay Anderson, *Time Machines: The World of Living History* (Nashville: American Association of State and Local History, 1984), 143.

[10] See NPS Director Conrad With's memorandum to Regional Director, Region One, 14 August 1961, Bureau Historian's files, History Division, National Park Service, Washington, DC. for the inaugural policy statement on re-enacting within national parks. At present the National Park Service permits living history presentations of camp life or military evolutions (i.e., maneuvers) within the confines of its properties; the agency forbids re-enactments that include simulations of casualties being taken or weapons being fired at opposing lines (i.e., at human beings). James D. Bigley, "Living History and Battle Reenactment: The Dilemna of Selective Interpretation," *History News*, November/December 1991, 16; and Edwin C. Bearss, telephone conversation with author, 14 March 1991.

[11] Civil War Centennial Commission, Report to Congress, 44-45.

[12] "Gettysburg: 'The Task Remaining,'" *Newsweek*, 15 July 1963, 18.

[13] "Newsletter" of North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, 1962-1965, Records of the Civil War Centennial Commission, box 85, [RG 79, National Archives]; quoted in Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 224.

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Martin Blatt

Hope and Glory

The Centennial Celebration of the Monument to Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment

In May 1997, Boston celebrated the centennial of the installation of the Augustus Saint-Gaudens Monument to Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, located on the Boston Common. It proved to be a highly successful and stirring public history program.

Background of the 54th Massachusetts

Shortly after President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the abolitionist Massachusetts Governor John Andrew received permission to organize the first regular army unit of free blacks in the North. Because his own state's African-American population was too small to fill the regiment, Andrew gained the cooperation of scores of black recruiters, most notably Frederick Douglass, to enlist volunteers from virtually every northern state. Supporters of the project faced blistering racism and scornful opposition to the idea of placing blacks in uniform.

The heroism of the first Union regiments of former slaves, such as those in Louisiana or the First South Carolina Volunteers, commanded by the Massachusetts abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson, began to break down prejudice against the idea of using black troops. Yet it remained the task of the 54th Massachusetts, as it was called, led by Boston's Shaw, to prove conclusively the wisdom of black recruitment. The success of the state's most important black regiment, especially its valor at Fort Wagner, South Carolina, on July 18, 1863, where many, including Shaw, died in a heroic but failed attempt to take the fort, paved the way for the enlistment of the 179,000 blacks who wore Union blue and helped win the Civil War.

Saint-Gaudens Monument

In 1865, some black veterans and citizens of South Carolina attempted to create a monument to Shaw near Fort Wagner itself. Though the plan failed, a group of Bostonians, including Governor Andrew, Senator Charles Sumner, Colonel Henry Lee, and Joshua B. Smith (a former fugitive slave who once worked with the Shaw family), began raising funds for a monument in Boston. It took several years before Saint-Gaudens was commissioned to do the work and several more years for the work to be completed and installed on May 31, 1897.

The Monument is an extraordinary piece of public art, one of the most important and powerful in the United States. The bronze sculpture portrays Shaw and 23 black infantry volunteers. The three-dimensional figures of Shaw and his horse emerge from a bas-relief background of marching men.

The Shaw Monument was the first in the nation to show African-American soldiers in full uniform. Initial planning and the artist's first design called for a traditional equestrian statue. However, a series of developments, in particular, the Shaw family's insistence that the troops be represented, led to the abandonment of Shaw alone for the creation of a relief panel, which led to a unique war memorial, still unmatched today.

Booker T. Washington, one of the principal speakers at the 1897 unveiling, reminded those in attendance that the "full measure of the fruit of Fort Wagner" would not be realized until full opportunity was available to everyone, regardless of race.

Centennial Celebration

In 1897 the Monument was dedicated to Shaw. In the early 1980s the Monument was restored and the names of the black soldiers who died at Fort Wagner were added to the back. In 1997 the "re-dedication" fully transformed the Monument. In the centennial the entire frame of reference was the Monument to Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment. We demonstrated clearly that blacks were not passive slaves freed by President Lincoln but rather a vital force in the Union victory. The sculpture evokes the reality and possibilities of racial cooperation. Our centennial involved a rededication to the ideals that the Monument represents—a struggle for social justice and unity between blacks and whites to advance common ideals.

The two-day symposium at Suffolk University was well-attended by a varied audience. The local public television station's black public affairs program produced a half-hour documentary and two other video productions are in process, all based on the centennial and the symposium. Tom Brown of the University of South Carolina, Donald Yacovone of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and I are co-editing a book of essays based on the symposium to be published by the University of Massachusetts Press.

The symposium featured historians, African-American Civil War re-enactors, public figures, and others in a lively two days of discussion. The one topic that every symposium session addressed, often with strongly divergent viewpoints, was the movie *Glory*. Released in 1989, the film has certainly accomplished a great deal in bringing to a broad public the story of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment and the fact that African Americans played a significant role in the Union Army. *Glory*, starring Matthew Broderick, Denzel Washington, and Morgan Freeman, and directed by Ed Zwick, depicts Shaw and an ensemble of fictionalized black characters.



Robert Gould Shaw/54th Massachusetts Regiment Monument. Photo courtesy NPS.

Several symposium presenters—in particular, Ed Linenthal, author of *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* and other books—argued that the film had great value in that it brought this vital chapter in American history to a vast audience. Others, notably the distinguished historian Barbara Fields, featured in the Ken Burns public television series on the Civil War, were highly critical.

While acknowledging its value, there are indeed disturbing aspects to the film. The filmmakers could have drawn on historical evidence to portray actual historical black troops but chose not to do so. The only character based on such documentary evidence is the white commanding officer, Shaw. The great abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who actively recruited men to join the regiment and whose two sons served in the Union Army, is barely present in the movie, a historical and dramatic lost opportunity. There are several other problems as well.

Symposium presenters wrestled with these issues: What is the movie *Glory*'s contribution to our understanding of the history of the regiment and of blacks fighting for freedom in the Civil War? How does the movie serve to advance public consciousness about this history, and how does it create harmful distortions? Is *Glory* good history? If not, how much should it matter to us? In a larger context, what does *Glory* have in common with other commercial movies that focus on significant moments in African-American history and how might *Glory* be different? What are the inherent limitations of the film industry, where the bottom line is always profit, in the portrayal of challenging social issues?

The movie *Glory* led directly to a movement of African-American Civil War re-enactors. This group remains tiny compared to the number of white re-enactors, who have been active in American culture since the 19th century. Still, the centennial brought together the largest gathering ever of Civil War re-enactors with dramatic impact. Pride was the dominant theme communicated by the African-American re-enactors—a pride in the men of the 54th who were historical agents, and also, pride in being an integral part of the United States.

General Colin Powell's keynote address should take its place in history alongside Booker T. Washington's 1897 speech at the original dedication:

> I doubt if bronze has ever spoken more eloquently than in this celebrated work. What a powerful image we see before us, the proud, young, fatalistic Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his Negro soldiers, heads high, rifles on their shoulders, resolution in their every step, marching southward with fortitude looking just as they did when they passed this very spot on May 28, 1863, on their way to hope, on their way to glory, and for many of them, on their way to death.
>
> ...A private soldier of the 54th infantry whose name is unknown wrote a marching song that summed up the spirit of his regiment. It was not written by a professional songwriter or poet, just an average private, and like so many other barrack ditties, it was ragged, it was cocky, it was irreverent, but it was heartfelt. Perhaps it was the song that the soldiers of the 54th sang on that fateful evening in July of 1863. And the little marching song ends like this,
>
> *So rally boys rally, let us never mind the past,*
> *We had a hard road to travel, but our day is coming at last,*
> *For God is for the right, and we have no need to fear,*
> *The Union must be saved by the Colored volunteer.*
>
> That soldier believed in the Union. That soldier believed in America. The Union was saved by the Colored volunteer and by hundreds and thousands of their white brothers, all of whom believed in freedom, all of whom came together to preserve a dream of hope and a dream of glory. This is the enduring message that this memorial has for us today. Be as proud of America as that soldier was. Believe in America as that soldier did.
>
> Look at them. Look at them one more time. Soldiers are looking to the front, marching solidly and straight ahead on a perpetual campaign for righteousness, led by their brave colonel. So let us too follow these heroes. Let us carry on the work to make this God-given beloved country of ours an even more perfect Union. A land of liberty and justice for all.

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Robin F. Bachin

Structuring Memory
The Haymarket Martyrs' Monument

What is the role of memory in shaping our understanding of history? The answer to this question crosses the disciplinary boundaries of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and history and links together academic scholarship with local public history efforts. This connection can be illustrated through the the National Park Service's Labor History Theme Study which attempted to negotiate the terrain between preservation, memory, and labor history in order to determine labor history sites that qualified for designation as National Historic Landmarks. The site of the 1886 Haymarket incident in Chicago was especially interesting and offered an example of the difficulties in combining our understanding of memory, history, and authenticity.

Historians consider Haymarket one of the seminal events in the history of American labor. On May 1, 1886, close to 300,000 strikers nationwide and 40,000 in Chicago took part in demonstrations for the eight-hour workday. This movement was part of an international struggle for workers' rights, and the heart of the movement was in Chicago, where the anarchist International Working Peoples' Association (IWPA) played a central role in organizing the May Day strikes. These strikes coincided with a strike and lockout at the McCormick Reaper Works, where workers had been protesting the hiring of Pinkerton detectives and replacement workers to keep strikers at bay. When peaceful picketing at the shops was met with police brutality, labor and anarchists groups organized a meeting in Haymarket Square to protest. At the conclusion of this May 4 meeting, as the last speaker finished his remarks, police marched in and demanded an end to the gathering. Then an unknown assailant threw a bomb into the crowd, killing and wounding several police officers and protesters. Police apprehended eight anarchists on charges of conspiracy to commit murder. All were tried and convicted although no evidence linked them to the bomb, and many of the accused were not even present during the time of the bombing. The trial and subsequent execution of four of the men, Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolf Fischer, and George Engel, have served as an enduring symbol of the struggles waged by labor in the face of police brutality and a public fearful of challenges to the social order. As historian Paul Avrich explains, "Haymarket demonstrated, in more dramatic form than any other event of the post-Civil War era, both the inequities of American capitalism and the limitations of American justice."[1]

The importance of recognizing Haymarket's national significance for labor history required that the Labor History Theme Study recommend a suitable site to commemorate this event. There were two possible candidate sites. The first, the site of the Haymarket meeting and bombing in Haymarket Square on the corner of Des Plaines Avenue and Randolph Street, lacks physical integrity, as the construction of the Kennedy Expressway in the 1950s resulted in the razing of many of the buildings in the area and the destruction of the environment associated with the market. The second and the one eventually recommended for National Historic Landmark designation was the Haymarket Martyrs Monument and surrounding grave site at Forest Home Cemetery (originally part of German Waldheim cemetery) in Forest Park, Illinois to serve as the physical reminder of the importance of Haymarket. The decision to recommend the latter site was made because the monument itself has become an icon of the labor movement and has taken on international historical significance beyond its role in commemorating the events of 1886.

The first example of the iconic role the site would come to serve in American labor and radical history came after the November 11, 1887, execution of the Haymarket martyrs. The funeral procession on Sunday November 13 reflected the pervasive sense of tragedy and injustice over the deaths of the accused. Over 200,000 people reportedly lined the streets. The marchers went to the homes of each of the dead to retrieve their coffins, then proceeded down Milwaukee Avenue into downtown Chicago, where close to 10,000 boarded a train at Grand Central Station and headed to the cemetery in Forest Park, ten miles west of Chicago, the only cemetery which would accept the bodies of the martyrs.[2]

The initiative for dedicating a statue to the martyrs came from the Pioneer Aid and Support Association (PASA), incorporated on December 15, 1887, with the purpose of "providing for the families of the executed men and of erecting a monument to their memory."[3]

On October 12, 1890, PASA opened its design competition, with prizes offered to the top three designs. The Association had raised close to $6,000 from sympathizers nationally and throughout the world. On February 14, 1892, the monument committee announced that the commission

would go to Albert Weinert (1863-1947), a German-American who had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. The cornerstone to the monument was laid on November 6, 1892.[4] The dedication ceremony took place on June 25, 1893 and was attended by over 8,000 people.

In the years since the dedication, the monument has become an icon to both the labor and radical movements. The emotion inspired by a visit to the monument was expressed most clearly during the 50th anniversary of the executions. In 1937, PASA organized a 50th Commemoration of the Haymarket tragedy and executions, setting up a Memorial Committee which contacted labor and radical groups throughout the world (except in the Soviet Union).

PASA continued to sponsor ceremonial tributes to the martyrs and the cause of social justice throughout the next few decades. By 1960, though, PASA had diminished to only three members. The group turned over whatever funds it had to Waldheim Cemetery for the perpetual care of the monument. Then, on May 2, 1971, PASA held a public ceremony at the monument to turn over the title to the newly-formed Illinois Labor History Society (ILHS). ILHS sponsored an even larger celebration to commemorate the Centennial of the Haymarket Affair on May 4, 1986.

Perhaps the greatest testimony to the enduring legacy of the Haymarket incident, symbolized by the monument is the continued desire of those associated with the labor movement to be buried alongside the Haymarket martyrs. This appeal extends far beyond Chicago; many of those buried here are people from throughout the nation and even the world captivated by the memory of the martyrs and what they symbolize. Among the first to do so were Joe Hill (1882-1915), another martyr in the labor movement, and William Haywood (1869-1928), one of the founders of the IWW; both had their ashes scattered next to the monument.



The Haymarket Martyrs' Monument. The sculpture represents Justice, in the form of a woman, placing a wreath on the head of a fallen worker, an image sculptor Albert Weinert took from a verse of La Marseillaise, *the French national anthem. Photo courtesy NPS.*

Haymarket has provided a symbol through which various groups have been able to create a usable past and shared pride in radical heritage. Indeed, activists worldwide continue to invoke the history of the Haymarket martyrs in their struggles for labor and civil rights. Workers visit the monument in tribute to its central role in labor history. In the early 1980s, visitors marked the monument with the label "Solidarity," linking the monument to Polish struggles for political freedom. Similarly, South African workers during apartheid fought for the right to have May Day recognized as the official commemoration of workers, as it is in most nations throughout the world.

On May 3, 1998 the Haymarket Monument was dedicated as a National Historic Landmark for American Labor History. In conjunction with the official dedication and awarding of a bronze tablet by the National Park Service, the Illinois Labor History Society (ILHS) organized a ceremony at the site which drew over 1,000 people. . To highlight the legacy of the Monument as a site of struggle and the expression of diverse opinion, the ceremony witnessed heckling by a group of young anarchists protesting the role of the Park Service—an agency of state power—in dedicating the Monument. After a brief scuffle, the anarchists let the ceremony proceed, though they left a symbol of their protest on the base of the statue: graffiti stating "Down With Power." This scuffle serves to reiterate the central role of the site in providing a place for the struggle of workers and the fight for workers' rights to continue.

The process of nominating the Haymarket monument forces us to rethink our understanding of authenticity as we select sites to preserve for labor history. The Haymarket Martyrs Monument has taken on international significance through its role as an icon of labor and radical history. While the site where the Haymarket incident took place may be more "authentic" in its relationship to the event itself, the monument and cemetery symbolize the process of creating cultural heritage through a poignant, enduring legacy of collective identity. Thus, it is the function the legacy of Haymarket has served throughout the 20th century, with its ability to structure social memory and link present-day struggles to the past, that makes the Haymarket Monument historically significant and an authentic symbol of labor heritage in the United States.

Notes

1 Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p.xii.

2 Ibid., p. 396. See also Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited*, pp. 23-24, and *Haymarket Scrap Book*, pp. 121-26.

3 Melissa Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments of Chicago: The Haymarket Affair," *Prospects* 19 (1994), p. 113.

4 Ibid., pp.113-115.

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Teresa Prados-Torreira

Women and the Spanish-American War

One hundred years ago, the United States and Spain engaged in a military confrontation in Cuba known as the Spanish-American War. By the time this conflict ended in August 1898, Spain had lost the last remnants of its empire, while the U.S. had acquired its first imperial possessions— the Philippines and Guam in the Pacific and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean.

This centennial gives us a good opportunity to re-examine not only the conflict itself, but also its impact on women, both Cuban and American. In the U.S., references to the Spanish-American War bring to mind images of Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders, of sea battles and land scuffles in tropical lands, in which brave young men demonstrated their manliness. Seldom do we think that women played a role in this "splendid little war." Were American women affected by the war? How were notions of womanhood used during this period by both promoters of the war and by its detractors? Is there anything for women to commemorate during this centennial?

While the Spanish-American War has been reduced in the American imagination to a brief confrontation between Spain and the U.S., in reality the conflict spanned more than 30 years and two generations, while Cubans fought desperately to rid themselves of colonial rule. Cuban woman played a highly active part in their island's struggle for independence from Spain. The rebel army's poverty made it imperative to rely on women's active involvement. Women became true symbols of Cuba's determination to break away from the colonial yoke, and joined the fight in a variety of ways: they fed the soldiers and sewed their uniforms; they wrote political pamphlets and carried correspondence across enemy lines; they raised funds, served as nurses, and fought on the front lines with the rebel army. This active role in their island's struggle for independence failed to be translated into significant political gains for women after the war. Freedom, when it came for both Cuba and its women, fell short of expectations raised by the war.

At the dawn of the 20th century, Americans confronted important challenges. The economic growth of the late 1800s transformed the U.S. into an industrial society of urban dwellers. As more Americans abandoned the rural environment their parents and grandparents had created, they began to occupy professional ranks required by the emerging corporate society. Office work constituted a less active, less physical life than previous generations of male workers had experienced. Critics wondered whether this sedate lifestyle, exacerbated by labor-saving technological innovations, was having a detrimental effect on American manhood. Were American men becoming effeminate as a result of progress?

The increase in popularity of male competitions of physical and athletic prowess in this period indicated a return to manly values. For Theodore Roosevelt, the antidote to over-civilization was to offer men renewed opportunities to display the traditionally masculine virtues of bravery and physical skills that wars had required of them in the past. In military conflicts, men would regain their manhood.

If the impact of modern civilization on men was worrisome, so too was its impact on women. By the turn of the century, women were rapidly expanding their roles in society. From factories to colleges, from the labor movement to the suffrage movement, women increasingly demanded more freedom and greater participation in society. Abandoning traditional notions of Victorian womanhood, the younger generation of "new women" challenged the confining roles that had limited their mothers and grandmothers, and began to live more active lives. Were American women losing their femininity? Were they becoming too free, too active, too much like men? A significant drop in birthrates among educated women seemed to confirm the worst fears of defenders of traditional Victorian values, who argued that so much freedom and education rendered women incapable of reproducing. Theodore Roosevelt, recently awarded a posthumous Congressional Medal of Honor for his attack on San Juan Hill, was one of these defenders of Victorian values.

The Spanish-American War reflected tensions embedded in late 19th-century cultural values about gender. It offered an opportunity for

American men to regain their sense of manhood, tattered by the ease of modern life and by pushy "new women." In combat, men once again would prove their worth by testing their moral and physical fiber. Women would stay at home and tend the hearth, waiting for their men to return.

But at home, women could also play an important political role. No one saw this more clearly than the leading representatives of the yellow press, Joseph Pulitzer and his *New York World*, and more significantly, William Randolph Hearst and his *New York Journal*, both of which used traditional notions of womanhood to incite war fever, and, in the process, triple their profits. The best example of this kind of manipulation came with the *Journal*'s campaign to save a Cuban woman, Evangelina Cisneros, from imprisonment.

Evangelina Cosio Cisneros, a young Cuban woman, had been sentenced to 20 years in prison by the Spanish colonial government for her participation in a Cuban rebel plot. Reporters for William Randolph Hearst found Cisneros while incarcerated in Las Recogidas, the Havana jail for women. Hearst had been searching for a cause that Americans could rally around to support the war and, incidentally, to increase the paper's circulation. The young and beautiful Evangelina had all the trappings of a romantic heroine. Within months of her discovery, she was the darling of the American media, portrayed in best Victorian fashion as a pure, innocent maiden sent to jail for refusing the advances of a lascivious Spanish officer. The *Journal*'s campaign, a sophisticated media extravaganza aimed mostly at American women, turned Evangelina into the personification of Cuba itself, someone who needed to be rescued. The *Journal* "enlisted the women of America" to collect thousands of signatures demanding Evangelina's release. As might be expected, newspaper sales soared, particularly when the Journal managed to plot the prisoner's escape. Brought to the United States, Cisneros was showered with honors and receptions, including one at the White House. The message conveyed seemed to be that, just like Evangelina, Cuba would one day be brought under U.S. protection.

The ideal of womanhood, however, was not always put to the service of war, as Jane Addam's writings reveal. Addams believed that women were natural pacifists. Women's nurturing role, she argued, gave them a greater appreciation of human life, and made them more tolerant. While men tended to solve their differences by resorting to force, women's loving natures recoiled from militarism. War, the result of brutal male instincts, was a step back in the march toward a civilized society based on reason and cooperation. When the Spanish-American War broke out, Addams found it's creeping influence everywhere. In her neighborhood, she noticed a sharp surge in crime. War propaganda affected individual behavior and threatened the security of Hull House, the settlement she had founded in Chicago. The programs for immigrants from all backgrounds could only survive in a climate of tolerance. What American society needed, Addams claimed, was to embrace a feminine, caring approach to politics.

The ambivalence with which American society treated two groups of professional women—news reporters and nurses—exemplifies both the opportunities and obstacles women faced in the last years of the 19th century. In the years before the war with Spain broke out, women journalists, for the first time in U.S. history, were sent to report on the scene of a potentially dangerous situation. In acknowledgement of the power of female readership, women correspondents went to Cuba to cover what was characterized as the human angle of the story. Once the war began, however, women reporters were sent home because it was considered inappropriate for them to be so close to battle. Female nurses also had to struggle to be allowed to serve in Cuba, and were only admitted to the Medical Corps after overcoming resistance from military personnel and after thousands of American lives had been lost for lack of good medical attention. Though performing a nurturing role, American nurses who went to Cuba did so as professionals.

The Spanish-American War can be seen as a sign of things to come. For Cuban women, the war meant exile, imprisonment, and, in some cases, death. The fruits of so many years of fighting were disappointing, but their participation in the struggle for independence forced Cuban women in to the public arena and prepared them for the increasingly active role they would play in the 20th century. As for American women, the war marked the beginning of a "new womanhood" which, though still without the ballot and still subject to manipulation, was emerging as a political and moral force.

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Mark R. Barnes

American Women Nurses in the Spanish–American War

The National Register Programs Division of the National Park Service's Southeast Regional Office is currently working with the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office on a number of projects to commemorate the Puerto Rico Campaign of the Spanish-American War. Our joint research has uncovered a number of primary documents, photographs, and letters associated with the human experience of this historical event — including American women nurses who served in Puerto Rico during that conflict.

American women first served their country as nurses, in 1775, when General George Washington asked for, and Congress authorized, the creation of a Medical Department to support the Continental Army. After this conflict, the size of the U.S. military was greatly reduced and hospital care was provided to soldiers by male hospital stewards at small Army posts throughout the country. During the Civil War large numbers of women were recruited as nurses in both northern and southern hospitals. The pay for these women came from government and volunteer agencies. With peace, male stewards again took over all military hospital duties.

Mrs. Colonel Rice and Miss Sadie Parsons tended to the sick of the 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment in Puerto Rico.



Miss Sadie Parsons.

The conflict with Spain in 1898 found the War Department scrambling to obtain the services of female nurses, as the army mushroomed from a Regular Army force of 25,000 to a figure 10 times that number in just under two months. Fortunately, in the last half of the 19th century, religious orders, professional nursing schools, and the Red Cross Society had provided excellent training to thousands of women willing to volunteer for government nursing jobs.



Mrs. Colonel Rice.

Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, Vice President of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), was appointed by the Surgeon General to select female nurse volunteer applicants of the highest caliber and training. Between May and July 1898, almost 1,200 Red Cross nurses, Catholic nuns of the Orders of Sisters of Charity, Mercy and Holy Cross, and graduates of nursing schools were selected as "contract nurses" for the United States Army.

In the years between 1898-1901, while America established its overseas empire, slightly more than 1,500 female nurses signed government contracts to serve in the United States, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, and Hawaii, and briefly in China and Japan, in support of U.S. Army troops committed to the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Fifteen contract nurses died of typhoid fever—the major killer during the Spanish-American War—while attending U.S. soldiers.

George M. Sternberg, Surgeon General of the United States during the Spanish-American War, had at first been unconvinced that female contract nurses should be organized into a permanent Nurse Corps at war's end. He believed that it would be too expensive to provide women with the "luxuries" they would require to serve in the Army. However, the outstanding record of the contract nurses changed his mind, as he noted in his annual report of 1899,



Miss Muriel Galt served with the 6th Massachusetts as a contract nurse during the Puerto Rico campaign.

> American women may well feel proud of the record made by these nurses in 1898-99, for every medical officer with whom they served has testified to their intelligence, and skill, their earnestness, devotion and self-sacrifice.

At Sternberg's request, Dr. McGee wrote a bill to establish the Army Nurses Corp, which was enacted in 1901, as part of the Army Reorganization Act. Miss Dita H. McKinney, a Spanish-American War contract nurse, received the first appointment as Army Nurses Corp Superintendent in 1901, with control over a mere 100 nurses. This was the beginning of women in the military.

American women who served in Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War did so as concerned individuals and as contract nurses. The commander of the 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment, Colonel Edmund Rice, was an old time Regular Army officer whose wife accompanied him to Utuado, Puerto Rico and pitched in to tend the sick in the Regiment. As noted by the Army Chaplain Captain Thomas E. Sherman, SJ, son of General William T. Sherman,

> I found the Colonel's wife very busy in making egg-nog, wine jelly and other delicacies for the sick, and I am sure her name will be in benediction for many a long day in the homes of the 6th Massachusetts. There has been a "lack of woman's care" in our hospital this Summer. But this want has been recently supplied and quite abundantly, by those who came to the front, like Mrs. Rice, and did the work of many in a motherly way, deserve the highest praise from the American people.

Mrs. Rice would be joined by two contract nurses Miss Muriel Galt and Miss Sadie Parsons. These professional nurses established three hospitals in coffee houses in the town of Utuado, Puerto Rico, where half of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment were ill with typhoid fever. The soldiers had acquired typhoid from unsanitary conditions at Camp Alger, in northern Virginia, and brought it with them to Puerto Rico. The contract nurses were also aided by male hospital stewards, the ladies of the Massachusetts Volunteer Aid Society, and the Red Cross in tending to the 6th Massachusetts. A testament to the efforts of these women is that, of the more than 600 typhoid cases of this regiment, only 13 died.

Not all who served in Puerto Rico were "Old Army Campaigners" like Mrs. Rice or trained nurses like Misses Galt and Parsons. Some were society women, like Miss Margaret Chanler, who volunteered as a Red Cross hospital administrator in Ponce, Puerto Rico. Fluent in Spanish, from her many trips to Europe, she was instrumental in getting American and Puerto Rican Red Cross workers to cooperate. She organized several hospitals on the island to attend to both American and Spanish soldiers. Miss Chanler later served in China, in the Boxer Rebellion, as a nursing administrator, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Army Nurses Corp. Miss Chanler — called by some the Angel of Puerto Rico — received a long-overdue Congressional Medal from President Franklin Roosevelt in 1938 for her efforts in helping the sick in Puerto Rico.

American history is made up of the names and deeds of many heroic individuals who have served their country, but whose work becomes less distinct through time. The National Park Service has prepared a computerized slide presentation on the Puerto Rico Campaign of the Spanish-American War which highlights the human side of this conflict, such as the experience of American women as contract nurses. It was recently previewed at the Public History Meetings, Austin, Texas, and future plans call for it to be placed on the Internet.

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All photos by Lt. Frank Edwards from his book on the Spanish-American War, *'98 Campaign of the 6th Massachusetts, USV* (1899).

For more information on this article or the Puerto Rico Campaign, the reader may send email to the author <Mark_Barnes@nps.gov>.

For more information about the history of the Army Nurses Corp, check out their website at <www.army.mil/cmh-pg/anc/Highlights.html>.

Milagros Flores Román

A Spy Named Whitney

The ongoing international commemoration of the centennial of the Spanish-American War has offered opportunities to reassess preservation efforts on the island of Puerto Rico, host international symposia on the history of the conflict, and revisit research relating to U.S. involvement in the war.

Captain Henry H. Whitney's service as a spy shaped the invasion and occupation of the island of Puerto Rico by U.S. Armed Forces in 1898. Information gathered by Whitney resulted in the alteration of U.S. Army General Nelson A. Miles' original invasion and occupation plan.

Revisiting Whitney's involvement in occupation plans included an exhaustive historical investigation. Beginning with an entry in Rivero's *Chronicles of the Spanish-American War in Puerto Rico*, a very important Puerto Rican source, the search included Whitney's maps and sketches, held by the Military Archives of Fort San Cristobal, as well as documents in the National Archives. The Archives of the U.S. Armed Forces in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, held a third Whitney sketch of the island of Puerto Rico. His student records, including graduation papers, were found at the Military Academy of the U.S. Armed Forces in West Point, New York. Finally, his gravestone in the National Cemetery in Arlington, Virginia, not far from the mausoleum of General Nelson A. Miles and from the monument to the Fallen Soldiers of the Spanish-American War, provides interesting information.

The new documents uncovered in the course of my research prove that Henry H. Whitney was a professional in the field of military intelligence. Born in Glen Hope, Pennsylvania on December 25, 1866, he was admitted to West Point Academy in June, 1889. He graduated in 1892, and received a commission as Second Lieutenant of the 4th Artillery.

An 1897 report noted Whitney's knowledge of six languages, including Latin, classical Greek, modern Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish. He was also interested in the use of various technologies, as evidenced by his June 1897 report, "Adaptation of the use of the bicycle for military purposes." I could not find this report, which might shed light on the military campaign in Puerto Rico.

Second Lieutenant Henry H. Whitney received orders on January 22, 1898 for training at West Point in the use of photographic equipment to gather reconnaissance data for the creation of maps.

Departing May 5, 1898 from Cayo Hueso, Florida, on the battleship *Indiana*, he transferred to the war correspondent ship *Anita*, from which he witnessed the bombardment of the city of San Juan on May 12, 1898. He returned on the *Anita* to the port Charlotte Amalie on the Caribbean island of Saint Thomas, and then changed ships again, this time to the English merchant ship *Andarose*. With the help of the American Counsel, Phillip C. Hanna, he obtained passage on the *Andarose* to the city of Ponce, Puerto Rico, arriving May 15, 1898. He paid $60 to the Captain of the *Andarose* to disembark at each stop along the coast. In this manner, he managed to travel to all of the suburbs of the city of Ponce, the largest city of the island of Puerto Rico, and other suburbs within the jurisdictions of the towns of Arroyo, Yauco, Salinas and Guánica. He learned of the latter's favorable conditions for landing and wide, deep, and unmined harbor, as well as its close proximity to Ponce, which was identified with a strong opposition to the Spanish regime and with sympathy toward the "Yankees."

From Ponce, Whitney travelled to various island towns, disguising himself as an English crew member of *Andarose*, as a crude oil traveling salesman, or as an amateur fisherman. In these roles, he spent long hours along the coast collecting information about the topography, location of defenses and mines in and around ports and bays, character of the population, means of communication, lighthouses, and roads.

Whitney's maps included a sketch of the north coast of the city of San Juan, stretching eastward to the town of Loíza. This signed sketch, dated May 28, 1898, shows the defenses of the walled and fortified district of the city. A second map, a general sketch of the island of Puerto Rico, includes notations about various towns. Ponce had a population of 35,000, defended by 800 regulars, of which 400 were volunteers and 80 were calvary. Twenty-three Howitzer rifles provided the city's defenses, and the town was strongly anti-Spanish. Guayama was strongly pro-Spanish and possessed a good road leading to the town of Cayey. Maunabo had 5,000 strongly anti-Spanish residents, while the municipality of Vieques could serve as a good base for soldiers and hospitals.

Whitney returned to New York City on June 1, and delivered a detailed report to President McKinley in Washington, DC on June 8, 1898. As a result of his successful mission, he was promoted to the rank of Captain and assigned to the expedition of General Nelson A. Miles to occupy the island of Puerto Rico.

Miles reported to the naval commander in a letter dated July 22, 1898,

> Our goal has been the port of Fajardo or Cabo de San Juan; but ... undoubtedly the enemy is informed of our purpose .... As it is recommendable not to do what the enemy expects done, I believe it convenient to ... continue immediately to Guánica, and land at Ponce, the largest city of Puerto Rico ... we will get great reinforcements that will put us in condition to continue on in any direction or to occupy other populations of the island ... the knowledge of the island and the reports obtained by Captain Whitney during his dangerous travels through the island of Puerto Rico, were in all concepts entirely exact and of great value to me.

Whitney's maps became key to the American plan for the occupation of the island of Puerto Rico. Based on the new information, General Nelson A. Miles altered his landing plans. Instead of landing in the east, in Fajardo, he decided to continue southward, landing in the port of Guánica. Brief maneuvering in Fajardo and the taking of the lighthouse there distracted the Spanish authorities, who had learned of the primary plan of the invasion through Fajardo and distributed their main defensive forces along this area and the principal port of San Juan.

Whitney's grave, placed near the Spanish-American war memorial in Arlington National Cemetery, reflects his important role in the successful occupation of Puerto Rico by the U.S. Army in 1898. The epitaph, while noting lifelong service, stresses this early and important contribution:

> Henry Howard Whitney, No. 3640 Class of 1892, died on April 2, 1949 in Madison, New Jersey, at the age of 82. The 32 years of service Brigadier General Henry Howard Whitney gave to the United States Army and his country were repleat with many valorous exploits, one of which led to the successful conquest of a country and saved thousands of lives without endangering that of anyone except his own.

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This article is a condensed version of one presented at "The International Congress of the Army and Fleet in 1898: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Phillipines," in the cities of Madrid and Avila, Spain in March 1998.

Alan Sweeney

A Splendid Little War



Participation by members of the Lackawanna (County) Historical Society, located in Scranton, Pennsylvania, in the Save Our Sculpture (SOS) initiative sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution provided the impetus for commemorating the Spanish-American War and specifically the sinking of the battleship *Maine*. We focused on restoring the city's Maine Memorial monument and on a public presentation we titled "A Splendid Little War." While conducting the SOS assessment of all sculptures and monuments in Lackawanna County, we realized that the Battleship Maine Memorial, in a local park, did not fall under the SOS project guidelines. As a commemorative work, it could not be included in the national initiative. We thought that this and other memorials were special to our local area, so we included them in a county level assessment of sculptures and monuments.

From this background, we formed the Spanish-American War Centennial Committee as a working committee of the Lackawanna Historical Society. Made up of local historians, military history buffs, and a few collegiate history majors, the committee planned a two-part event which we felt would create an awareness for this part of American history and would result in the eventual restoration of the Maine Memorial. We planned a re-dedication of the Memorial including speakers and a re-enactment contingent. We also began a fund-raising campaign for the monument's restoration.

The first desire of the committee was to commemorate the loss of life on the night of February 15, 1898, when *Maine* sank in Cuba's Havana har-

bor. Fourteen years later, the ship was raised from the harbor and relics distributed to cities around the U.S. The city of Scranton was included in this largess. The local chapter of the Naval League, Admiral Dahlgren Section secured a port cover and a ten-inch shell from *Maine*. The artifacts were then mounted on a custom designed granite base. The shell was held in place on the monument's top section by three amphibious serpents. The ports cover was affixed on the west face and the east face bore a raised seal of *Maine*. A bronze tablet was mounted on the front.

The tablet states:

> This ten inch shell and bronze port cover, recovered from the wreck of the Battleship Maine, after having been submerged fourteen years in the waters of Havana Harbor, are here mounted as a memorial to the brave officers and seamen who lost their lives on the night of February 15, 1898 as they slept awaiting the call to duty. Presented by the U.S. Government to the Admiral Dahlgren Section, Navy League U.S. Dedicated to the City of Scranton on Memorial Day 1913.

Scranton was one of 400 communities to receive artifacts from the sunken warship, according to the May 31, 1913 Scranton *Tribune—Republican*. More than 20,000 people attended the memorial's dedication in Nay Aug Park on Memorial Day 1913. Of course, many veterans of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War were still living and active in the Grand Army of the Republic or the Military Order of the Serpent.

Our 1998 President's Day Weekend re-dedication ceremony brought out more than 100 people to Nay Aug Park. We chose Sunday, February 15th because it coincided with the date on which the *Maine* sank in 1898. Our local Marine Corps League and Naval Reserve units presented the colors and conducted the naval bell ceremony to honor the dead. This was followed by a volley of fire, then taps. Laying a wreath on the monument concluded the ceremony.

The second half of the program moved indoors to the University of Scranton. About 175 people attended this segment of the memorial program. Robert Hueston, Professor of History, presented an overview of the war from a national perspective. He supported the theory that an internal explosion caused the warship to sink. I then gave a slide presentation on the formation of the local 13th Regiment from its beginning in 1877 as the Citizens Protection Corps. The Regiment was called to active duty at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Attached to the First Division, Second Army Corps at Mount Gretna, PA then ordered to Camp Alger, VA, then on to Camp Meade, PA, the regiment mustered out of service on March 11, 1899, at Camp MacKenzie, GA. It was a sore disappointment to every man in the regiment not to see active service at the front.

Local historian Joseph Long presented a display of Spanish-American War artifacts and memorabilia housed at our local Grand Army of the Republic Museum. He then introduced military reenactors representing circa 1898 National Guardsmen or regular Army who explained their uniforms, arms, and accouterments to the audience. As the program drew to a close, representatives from Lackawanna County and the City of Scranton presented proclamations declaring the week of February 15, 1998 "Remember the *Maine* Week." Scranton Postmaster Timothy B. Primerano presented the organizing committee and the Lackawanna Historical Society with a framed enlargement of the "Remember the Maine" stamp scheduled for first-day-of issue the next day in Key West, FL. The monument re-dedication ceremony received extensive television news coverage. The lecture portion was written up in the Scranton newspaper.

Our purpose was not only to create awareness of the Spanish-American War, but also to bring to the forefront the need for caring for our community's public sculptures and monuments. The Maine Memorial has deteriorated since its creation in 1913. The granite base needs new joint compound and cleaning while the patina on the bronze plaque needs evaluation. The port cover and serpents have been painted an odd yellow-beige and the ten-inch shell is in a silver paint. The Spanish-American War Centennial Committee has adopted the monument and we have begun a grass roots fund raising project to obtain the $2400 needed to rehabilitate the monument. School children, Scout troops, veterans organizations, service clubs, and the public have participated in contributing to this restoration project. Our hope is to raise the necessary funds to have the Battleship Maine Memorial restored during this centennial year. We believe that with a little work today, the monument will be around for future generations to enjoy and commemorate that "Splendid Little War."

Alan Sweeney is a local historian and currently president of the Lackawanna County Historical Society located in Scranton, Pennsylvania.

Photo courtesy Ella Rayburn, Curator, Steamtown NHS.

Luce Vermette

Great Events in Canadian Women's History

Celebrations and Commemorations

Anniversary celebrations play a large role in maintaining the historical consciousness of people everywhere. In Canada, the women's movement has not escaped this phenomenon. Thus, at the twilight of the present millennium, the country is experiencing numerous anniversary celebrations. Among these, three related to women's history have caught the attention of the public. In 1997, two institutions, the first Women's Institute and the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada, celebrated their 100th anniversaries. In 1999, an event, the Persons' Case, will celebrate its 70th anniversary. These institutions and this event have in the past been designated of national historic significance by the government of Canada.

At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, important steps had been made in support of the women's movement. It was a period which saw enormous social and economic changes, such as industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. These changes were perceived as affecting women's role in the family. Women realized that they should group themselves together to meet these changes. Two ideological trends were followed by women at that time: there were those who believed that traditional values had to be strengthened, while others felt that it was the condition of women—higher education, universal suffrage, equal rights for men and women—that had to be improved. The latter perceived that it was by political means that the recognition of equality between women and men would be achieved, thus improving the condition of women which, in turn, would improve society as a whole.



Adelaide Hunter Hoodless and her three eldest children. She was enjoying a comfortable rural middle-class life when, in 1889, an infant son died after drinking impure milk. Thereafter she devoted herself to women's causes—specifically to better education of women for motherhood and home management. Photo courtesy National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

The creation of women's groups during the second half of the 19th century was a response to the social problems of the time: health care, poverty, and the well-being of families. Working in these groups, women also became familiar with management, notably of community organizations and the power of collective action. The National Council of Women, founded in 1893 by Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Governor General of Canada and President of the International Council of Women, was the end result of a widespread effort to unite the various women's groups. Within this context, two associations destined to become widely known were born: the first Women's Institute and the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada.

Challenging the place and role assigned to women in society, other women dedicated their efforts to the advancement of women's rights as citizens. They first demanded the right to vote. This was followed by demands for the legal recognition of equality between men and women. They perceived that women could not change society without the assistance of the state, and to obtain this, women had to have the right to vote. This right was won in 1918 at the federal level of government. Women however still could not be appointed to the Senate and they regrouped to claim that right. The fight to obtain it led to the famous Person's Case.

The First Women's Institute

Adelaide Hunter Hoodless (1857-1910), reformer and educator from St. George, Ontario, founded on February 19, 1897, the first Women's



Adelaide Hunter Hoodless Homestead, St.George, Ontario. Built in the 1830s, this house, a wood frame building, is representative of a vernacular type widespread in eastern and central Canada during the first half of the 19th century. This house tells the story of the rural domestic experience. It was the hard labour and the isolation of the rural Canadian woman's lot that Adelaide Hunter Hoodless tried to alleviate. Photo courtesy National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Institute with the help of Erland Lee of Stoney Creek, Ontario, a well known member of the Farmer's Institute. Their goal was to foster women's education in rural communities and to encourage their involvement in national and world issues. The organization's motto, For Home and Country, was a statement of its objectives: value rural life; inform women through the study of issues, especially those concerning women and children in Canada and around the world; and foster joint projects to achieve common goals. This group was especially focused on education, notably on domestic science and home economics. It was sometimes called the "university for rural women".

By 1913, there were Women's Institutes in all provinces and, by 1919, they had joined to form the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada. One hundred years later, it is still known as the organization that pioneered women's issues, strengthened family life, and enriched rural communities, not only across Canada but internationally. Seen as female public activists, its members spoke in public, learned parliamentary procedures, and lobbied governments for change.

In 1997, in the week of June 15-22, the Women's Institutes Centennial Celebration was organized in conjunction with the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada Convention in Hamilton, Ontario. There, amidst hundreds of Branch banners, thousands of delegates from women's institutes from around the world as well as from Canada, all holding miniature lights, ushered in the start of their Canadian members' second century in a moving and grand display of women's solidarity. This had been preceded by pageants, parades, tours, choirs, conferences, fashion shows, banquets, and a multicultural concert. Delegates came from as far as New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong, South Africa, and Great Britain, as well as from the United States and all over Canada.

Part of the centennial celebration was the launching of the book *For Home and Country: The Ontario Women's Institutes History*, by Dr. Linda Ambrose, professor at Laurentian University and published by the Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario. The book relates the story of women throughout a century of work in rural communities across Ontario. The book is well documented with research from archives, government records, collections of correspondence, and policy manuals. It is also based on a survey of 900 branches and 100 hours of interviews with institute members.

Adelaide Hunter Hoodless is a household name among Women's Institute members. It is synonymous with important accomplishments in the women's cause. Founder of the first Women's Institute, a movement which spread throughout Canada and the world, she is also associated with the foundation of the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada. She also campaigned for the teaching of domestic science and hygiene courses in schools, for which she published the text book, *Public School Domestic Science* (1898). For her important contributions to Canadian society, she was designated to be of national historic significance by the Government of Canada in 1962. Three years earlier, her homestead had been acquired by the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada. It was restored as a memorial to Adelaide Hunter Hoodless and as an historical museum interpreting women's role in rural family life during the 19th century. In 1995, the homestead was designated a National Historic Site by the Government of Canada.

The Victorian Order of Nurses

During 1997, numerous celebrations across Canada brought the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada into its second century. This order was founded by Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, President of the National Council of Women of Canada, President of the International Council of Women, and wife of Canada's Governor General, the Earl of Aberdeen. Its foundation was intended as a memorial for the 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria's ascent to the throne of Great Britain. The idea was endorsed by the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Lady Aberdeen was nominated president of the new Order.

Originally named the Victorian Order of Home Helpers, it was conceived by Lady Aberdeen in the purest Christian tradition of visiting the poor and the sick, as a corps of women who would go from house to house to provide "all sorts of mercy and kindnesses." After a short training period, the helpers would provide first aid, nursing, basic



Lady Ishbel Aberdeen (Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks, 1857-1939), was instrumental in forming the Canadian Branch of the National Council of Women and in founding the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada. Photo courtesy Victoria Order of Nurses for Canada, Ottawa.

cookery, and assistance in midwifery. However, this concept of home nursing ran counter to the aims of women who wished to establish nursing as a full profession within the field of medical services. At that time, some nursing leaders who were establishing new hospital training schools were trying to change the generally-held view, which Lady Aberdeen initially shared, that nursing was part of the traditional female domestic role which could be carried out by any middle class woman who volunteered her time. The newly professional nursing field viewed it as work to be performed by specially trained, remunerated, and professional nurses. Lady Aberdeen was soon convinced of the advantages of a professional status for women in nursing and the Victorian Order of Home Helpers became the Victorian Order of Nurses.

The vehement opposition of physicians over the practice of midwifery nearly derailed the project entirely. However, by 1900, many of the initial fears concerning the competition of nurses had dissipated and medical officials recognized the Victorian Order of Nurses as a dedicated and useful health care institution. Although geography and lack of funds constrained the organization's early efforts, the Victoria Order of Nurses helped pioneer prairie women in areas which were devoid of any medical services. It also helped provide for the health needs of the urban poor who could not afford heath care. By 1904, 36 nurses belonging to the Victorian Order of Nurses worked in cottage hospitals which the Order had founded or helped establish in many isolated areas of the country. Some 61 other nurses were involved in urban communities providing bedside care to people at home, and public health or educational services. As years passed, the Victorian Order of Nurses came to specialize in infant care and children's health, emphasizing traditional preventive measures such as a strict application of hygienic standards in the home. To do so, it ran an active program of immunization, school nursing, and well-baby clinics in some communities. During both world wars, many nurses from the Order served overseas with the Canadian forces while others saw to the health care of workers in the war industries. The Victorian Order of Nurses has always felt that its chief role was to look after the health care needs of Canadians. As well, it has always been a powerful advocate of nursing as a profession within the health care community.

Celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the Victorian Order of Nurses were held in all branches of the organization. Exhibitions, lectures and banquets were held throughout the year 1997. At the Centennial Annual Meeting held in Halifax, attended by over 400 volunteers as well as employees of the Order from coast to coast, lecturers recalled the Order's outstanding achievements and pondered the new directions for a second century of service to Canadians. In attendance were two special guests from Great Britain, the great granddaughters of Lady Aberdeen. The observances were marked by the introduction of a new book on the order, Sheila Penney's *A Century of Caring*.

Lady Aberdeen was commemorated by the Government of Canada in 1987 as a person of national historic significance, in recognition of her numerous accomplishments, amongst them the foundation of the National Council of Women, the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada and the Aberdeen Association. The Order itself, although it was not the first nor the only association of visiting nurses in Canada, became the leader in the promotion of home nursing, public health services to all citizens, and the professionalization of nursing. As a result of its beneficial activity in Canadian society over the last 100 years, the Victorian Order of Nurses was designated of national historic significance by the Government of Canada in 1997.

The Person's Case

The third event which will be the object of great celebration at the end of this century, is the Person's Case. Although its purely legal effect was limited, its social and political effect has a relevance which continues to unfold. Having the merit of removing a barrier, that of the nomination of women to the Senate, the Person's Case symbolizes the rallying point of Canadian women, going beyond the women's movement itself and having implications in the broader sphere of human rights.

This event goes to the very heart of the struggle of women for fundamental rights: the right to vote, the right to higher education, and the right to full participation in political activities—in sum, equal rights between men and women. In 1918, the right to vote in federal elections had been granted to Canadian women (between 1916 and 1925 in all provinces except Québec which con-

Who's Who

Emily Murphy (1868-1933): instigator of the Persons Case. She pioneered married women's rights, was the first woman magistrate in the British Empire, president of the Canadian Women's Press Club, vice-president of the National Council of Women, and first president of the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada.

Nellie McClung (1847-1951): novelist, journalist, suffragist, and temperance worker. She was a member of the Alberta Legislative Assembly (1921-1926), the only woman on the Dominion War Council, and the first woman on the CBC Board of Governors. She was also the only woman in the Canadian delegation to the League of Nations in 1939.

Louise McKinney (1868-1931): politician and temperance campaigner. She was president of the Dominion Women's Christian Union and elected to the Alberta Legislature in 1917 as a representative of farmers' organizations, and served until 1921.

Irene Parlby (1878-1965): suffragist and politician. She was elected president of the Women's Branch of the United Farmers of Alberta in 1916 and became a member of the Alberta Legislature in 1912. She held her seat until 1935. She was president of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Temperance Union for 20 years.

Henrietta Muir Edwards (1849-1933): journalist, suffragist, and organizer. She started the Working Girls' Association in Montreal in 1875 which was a forerunner on the YWCA. She edited a paper for the working women of Canada. Later, while living in Alberta, she compiled two works on Alberta and federal laws affecting women and children.



Unveiling the plaque dedicated to the Famous Five Alberta women and the Persons' Case. In 1929, Canadian women were recognized as "persons" within the meaning of section 24 of the British North America Act. The case which led to recognition is commonly referred to as the "Persons' Case" and involved women's eligibility for appointment to the Senate. To commemorate the five Alberta women, Magistrate Emily F. Murphy, Henrietta Muir Edwards, Nellie L. McClung, Louise C. McKinney, and the Honourable Irene Parlby, a plaque was installed by the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and unveiled by the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, on June 11, 1938. In this picture: the Honourable Irene Parlby (left), the Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, Mrs. Nellie McClung, (right) and three representatives of the Women's Clubs. Photo courtesy National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, C-54523.

ceded it in 1940). In 1921, the year the first elections in which women voted, Agnes McPhail became the first woman to be elected Member of Parliament in Canada. However, while women could now sit in the House of Commons, all requests to nominate a woman to the Senate were rejected. Women's associations, including the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada and the National Council of Women, had asked the government at various times to appoint women to the Senate. After all, Article 24 of the British North America Act did declare that the Governor General would name to the Senate only "persons having the required qualities." If they were to be excluded, women would have to be declared not "persons."

Emily Murphy of Alberta, the first woman to be a judge in the British Empire and instigator of the now famous Person's Case, renewed the demand to appoint a woman to the Senate. When the government refused, she decided to use a little known right which permits a group of five Canadians to ask the Supreme Court for a reinterpretation of the law. By doing so, she wished to obtain a definition of the term "person" as applied to women in the British North America Act. She called on four Alberta women who all enjoyed a national reputation for their political and social work. They were Nellie McClung, Louise McKinney, Irene Parlby, and Henrietta Muir Edwards. Following their petition of August 27, 1927, the Supreme Court ruled against the five women in April 1928. They decided to appeal the case to the Judiciary Committee of the Privy Council in London, then the highest court in Canada. On October 18, 1929, the Judiciary Committee of the Privy Council overruled the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada and declared that, according to article 24 of the British North America Act, women were, indeed, persons and thus eligible to be named to the Canadian Senate. On February 20, 1930, Cairine Wilson became the first female senator in Canada as well as in the British Empire.

The efforts of the Famous Five were immortalized in 1938 by the dedication of a commemorative plaque at the Senate Building in Ottawa by the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and unveiled by the Prime Minister William MacKenzie King. In 1979 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Persons' Case, the Government of Canada created the Governor General's prize in commemoration of the Persons' Case, awarded to individuals in recognition for longstanding and substantial contributions to promoting the equality of women in Canada. Each year in October, this prize is presented at a ceremony in Ottawa, and five awards are usually presented each year.



A group of nurses of the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada in front of their cars in the 1920s. Women driving automobiles were rare sight in Canada up to the 1920s. But a visiting nurse driving a car could make twice as many visits. Thus VON nurses were among the first Canadian women to get behind the wheel for their work. Photo courtesy Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada, Ottawa.

To celebrate the 70th anniversary, five Alberta professional women, called the Famous 5 Foundation, established a charitable non profit organization to honour the Famous Five and other Canadian women, commemorate the Persons' Case, and inspire women to improve their quality of life. The Foundation hopes to raise $1.1 million dollars in order to erect a monument to the Famous Five in Ottawa and a similar one in Calgary. The monument has been commissioned by the Foundation and designed by Edmonton sculptor Barbara Paterson, will consist of five figures showing Henrietta Muir sitting at table with her teacup raised in salute to Emily Murphy inviting the others to sit down. A newspaper announces the news of their victory.

The Foundation asked the Government of Canada to allow a statue of the Famous Five on Parliament Hill. Although the National Capital Commission rules state that only the deceased prime ministers, monarchs of Canada and fathers of Confederation can be honoured in this way, in December 1997, the House Of Commons passed an unanimous motion to put a statue honouring the pioneering women on Parliament Hill.

Foundation plans include leadership programs, awards, exhibits, and a Canadian version of the successful "Take our Daughters to Work" program created by the U.S. National Organization for Women.

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Luce Vermette, PhD, historian, System Development Branch, National Historic Sites Directorate, Parks Canada, Canadian Heritage, is presently managing a project enhancing women's history in national historic sites.

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Allida M. Black

Human Rights Declaration Turns 50

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights turned 50 in 1998. Observances throughout the world focused on remembering the creation and adoption of the Declaration and on its continuing implications. In the United States, symposia, conferences, essay contests, and other activities from the town to the national level marked this anniversary. To commemorate the essential role former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt played in this world event, the Washington National Cathedral in Washington, DC, dedicated a statue of Eleanor Roosevelt in early December. This nearly three-foot icon will stand in the narthex next to similar representations of international human rights leaders, including El Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero. Neil Estern designed both this and the Eleanor Roosevelt statue now housed in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides the intellectual framework in which current international human rights issues are debated. Adopted by the United Nations' General Assembly on December 10, 1948, the Declaration has served as a model for more government constitutions worldwide than even the U.S. Declaration of Independence.

Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt shepherded the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from its inception in 1946 to its adoption by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948. Her appointment to the first U.S. delegation to the United Nations by President Harry Truman recognized her leadership and negotiation prowess, and her importance to the liberal coalition that held the Democratic party after her husband's death. Male members of the delegation appointed her as the U.S. representative to the U.N. Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee, believing its workings would attract little attention. However, the committee quickly became the site of the most heated international issue of the postwar world—refugee resettlement. Roosevelt deftly brokered debates on repatriation, refugee camp conditions, and ethnic identities. When the committee determined to codify its concerns, members unanimously asked her to chair the process.

Modeled on the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the Magna Carta, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reflected Roosevelt's vision of the world. Drafting the document was a politically perilous process involving three years of contentious committee debate. Roosevelt chaired these meetings, often challenging grandstanding critics to make their points quickly or be ruled out of order. From the first sentence of the preamble—"the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world"—to the last article—"everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible"—the document resonates with Roosevelt's commitment to human rights and citizen participation.

In the midst of the negotiations, Roosevelt wrote a friend that if she convinced even one person of the validity of the Human Rights Declaration, her work would not be in vain. Conceding that the Declaration carried no sanctions for nations violating its provisions, she nevertheless thought it of "outstanding value" because it "put into words some inherent rights" necessary for individual "security and prosperity." By making



Eleanor Roosevelt displays a Spanish version of the Human Rights Declaration. The Declaration was printed in the languages of all signatory countries. Photo courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

rights more "tangible," the Declaration set "before men's eyes the ideas which they must strive to reach" and gave them standards which "could be invoked before the law."

When the committee had a unanimously supported document to present to the General Assembly, Roosevelt "mapped out...strategy very carefully," reviewing every word of the document with each voting member. Her diligent marshalling of support convinced the Soviet Union to abstain from the General Assembly vote rather than be the lone voice in opposition to the adoption of the Declaration.

Calling its creation "a great event in the life of mankind," Eleanor Roosevelt considered the Universal Declaration of Human Rights her finest achievement. During the last 14 years of her life, she was its most outspoken champion at home and abroad. Roosevelt challenged audiences with the question, "When will our consciences grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?"

"Where Do Human Rights Begin: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," will be on display in the Cathedral Gallery through mid-January. This exhibit of more than 100 photographs and excerpts from Eleanor Roosevelt's writings introduces visitors to her efforts to promote peace, address issues of concern to refugees, labor, women, and people of color, and to develop comprehensive housing, education, and diplomatic policies.

Allida M. Black is the author of Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar Liberalism *and curator of "Where Do Human Rights Begin: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." She teaches at George Washington University and the Franklin and Marshall College.*

For more information, browse <http://www.udhr50.org>.

Eugene Fleming

On the Road to Equality

On July 26, 1948, President Harry S. Truman signed Executive Orders 9980 and 9981, directing the military and federal government to end more that eight decades of segregation in the armed forces. The Pentagon marked the occasion with public events under the title "Executive Orders 9980 and 9981: 50 Years on the Road to Equal Opportunity."

The National Park Service's newest interagency partnership, Port Chicago Naval Magazine National Memorial, preserves and interprets a significant event in the history of race relations in the U.S. Navy. Administered in partnership with the Navy, Port Chicago Naval Magazine National Memorial honors the memory of black and white munitions handlers and officers who gave their lives and were injured in an explosion on July 17, 1944, recognizes those who served at the magazine, and commemorates the role of the facility as a transhipment point for arms during World War II.

Construction at Port Chicago began in 1942. By 1944, two ships could be loaded with arms simultaneously. African-American Navy ordnance battalions headed by white officers were assigned to munitions loading at Port Chicago. They received cargo handling training, but no special training in handling highly explosive materials. The Navy had no clear direction for handling munitions, and Coast Guard instructions, published in 1943, were often violated because they were neither safe enough nor fast enough for Port Chicago's specific environment. Due to tight schedules at the new facility, deviations from these safety standards occurred. Under orders to move faster in order to fill quotas, officers and men experimented with new procedures. Competition developed for the most tonnage loaded in an eight-hour shift.

On the evening of July 17, 1944, the empty SS *Quinault Victory*, less than a week old, prepared for loading on her maiden voyage. The SS *E.A. Bryan* had just returned from her first voyage and was loading across the platform. The holds were being packed with high-explosive and incendiary bombs, depth charges, and ammunition—4,606 tons of munitions in all. There were also 16 rail cars on the pier, containing another 429 tons. 320 cargo handlers, crewmen, and sailors wereworking in the area.

At 10:18 p.m., a hollow ring and the sound of splintering wood sounded from the pier, followed by an explosion that ripped apart the night sky. Witnesses said that a brilliant white flash shot into



Black sailors assemble munitions. Photo courtesy U.S. Navy.

the air, accompanied by a loud, sharp thundering. A column of smoke billowed from the pier, and fire glowed orange and yellow. Flashing like fireworks, smaller explosions went off in the cloud as it rose. Within six seconds, a deeper explosion erupted as the contents of the *Bryan* detonated as one massive bomb. A seismic shock wave was felt as far away as Boulder City, Nevada. A pillar of fire and smoke stretched over two miles into the sky above Port Chicago.

The *Bryan* and the structures around the pier were completely destroyed. The largest remaining pieces of the 7,200-ton ship were the size of a suitcase. A plane flying at 9,000 feet reported seeing chunks of white hot metal "as big as a house" go flying past them. The shattered *Quinault Victory* spun into the air. Witnesses reported seeing a 200-foot column on which rode the bow of a ship, its mast still attached. Its remains crashed back into the bay 500 feet away. All 320 men on duty that night were killed instantly. The blast smashed buildings and rail cars near the pier on the base. People on the base and in town were sent flying or were sprayed with splinters of glass and other debris. The air filled with the sharp cracks and dull thuds of smoldering metal and unexploded shells as they showered back to earth as far as two miles away. Damage was reported as far away as 48 miles across the bay in San Francisco.

Men from nearby units, along with local and regional emergency crews, and civilians quickly responded to the disaster. They sprang into action when a fiery inferno erupted in a nearby railway boxcar filled with high explosives. Their quick and decisive action prevented further casualties or damage to the facility. Five were cited by the commanding officer, Capt. Merrill T. Kinne, "for their heroic effort in fighting the fiery inferno in the ammunition boxcar after the explosions...." Effus S. Allen, William A. Anderson, James A. Camper, Jr., John A. Haskins, Jr., and Richard L. McTerre were awarded the Navy's Bronze Star.

The men of Port Chicago were vital to the success of the war, and yet they are often forgotten. Of the 320 men killed in the explosion, 202 were the African-American enlisted men assigned the dangerous duty of loading the ships. In addition to those killed, 390 were wounded. They were evacuated and treated, and those who remained were left with the gruesome task of cleaning up. Less than a month after the worst home-front disaster of World War II, Port Chicago was again moving munitions to the troops in the Pacific.

After the explosion, the Navy instituted a number of changes in munitions handling procedure. Formalized training became an important element, and certification was required before a loader was allowed on the docks. The munitions themselves were redesigned for safety while loading.

The explosion caused workers to examine their society. Nearly two-thirds of the 320 men killed were African-American sailors from division of the ordnance battalion. What had been minor grievances and problems before the explosion began to boil as apprehension of returning to the piers intensified. On August 9, less than one month after the explosion, the surviving men were ordered to begin loading munitions at a different facility. Of the 328 men of the ordnance divisions, 258 initially refused. In the end, 208 who eventually relented, faced summary courts-martial and were sentenced to bad conduct discharges and the forfeiture of three months' pay for disobeying orders. The remaining 50 were singled out for general courts-martial on the grounds of mutiny. The sentence could have been death, but they received between eight and fifteen years at hard labor. Soon after the war, in January 1946, all of the men were given clemency and an opportunity for discharge "under honorable conditions."

The explosion and later mutiny proceedings helped illustrate the high costs of racial discrimination. Pushed by the progressive press and public criticism in 1945, the Navy reluctantly began working toward desegregation, creating some mixed units and ships. When President Truman ordered that the Armed Forces and the federal work force be desegregated in 1948, the Navy could say that Port Chicago had been a very important milestone in assessing the costs of racial segregation.

Port Chicago, California was later condemned to make room for the expansion of munitions handling for Korean, Vietnam, and Cold War operations in the Pacific. The Magazine became Concord Naval Weapons Station.

Compiled by Eugene Fleming, a visual information specialist in the Pacific West Region and San Francisco Pacific Great Basin Support Office. Also a Navy veteran, and photojournalist, he currently serves in the Naval Reserve in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Carol Ash

Celebrating the Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.

In the center of the exhibits at the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site Visitor Center, eight statues stand on the gradual slope of Freedom Road that overlooks a large window. Visitors can walk past the statues and look out the window, up and over a garden of red, pink, and yellow roses, past a cascading waterfall and across the street to the white marble tomb where Dr. King is buried.

Walking among the statues, visitors can look into the faces of the life size statues. Cast from molds of actual people, the statues represent the anonymous women and men who marched, sat at lunch counters, rode buses, went to jail, and died demanding their constitutional rights. They were young and old, male and female, black and white, healthy and physically challenged. They represent the people of today who continue to seek non-violent solutions for today's social problems and who seek the world that Dr. King envisioned in his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Dr. King touched people in different ways while he was alive and when he died; he continues to touch people through his legacy. His was a new voice in 1955 at the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott. It grew from that of a pastor influencing his congregation at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church to that of a leader of the civil rights movement influencing people around the world. His voice grew in strength and eloquence as he lead campaigns in Albany, Georgia, in Selma and Birmingham, Alabama, and in Chicago, Illinois. The civil rights movement, with Dr. King as one of its principal leaders, influenced other movements of the period—women's rights, Native American rights, and gay and lesbian rights.

As a spokesperson for the civil rights movement, Dr. King became the target of threats and hate calls. His home in Montgomery, Alabama was bombed, he was stabbed in Harlem, New York, and he went to jail many times. He continued to speak out against injustice until his voice was silenced in Memphis, Tennessee.

People were stunned and angered by Dr. King's death on April 4, 1968. The reaction was swift and violent. In the five days after his death, 43 women, men, and children died in the rioting that broke out across the nation in more than 100 cities.[1] Plate glass windows were broken, stores looted, and fires set. Federal troops were assigned to protect the White House and the United States Capital. The baseball season, basketball playoffs, and the Academy Awards ceremony were delayed, docks were shut down, and schools, libraries, and businesses were closed.

On April 9, over 500,000 people gathered on Atlanta's Auburn Avenue near Ebenezer Baptist Church and along the funeral route to Southview Cemetery. They said goodbye to Dr. King as his casket was carried on a simple wagon pulled by two mules to his alma mater, Morehouse College, and later to the cemetery where he was buried near his maternal grandparents. Millions of people watched the funeral and procession on television.

Marches, eulogies, and memorials took place across the country. Coretta Scott King, in her book, *My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr.*, writes of the tribute made by two of Dr. King's closest friends, Harry Belafonte and Stanley Levinson. They said "When an assassin's bullet ended Martin Luther King's life it failed in it's purpose. More people heard his message in four days than in the 12 years of his preaching. His voice was stilled but his message rang clamorously around the globe."[2]



NPS rangers conduct daily tours of Dr. King's brick home. On April 9, 1998, visitors experienced a silent walk through the house to reflect upon the 30th anniversay of his funeral.



Family members and visiting dignitaries place wreaths on the gravesite to commemorate Dr. King's birthday in January and his death in April. President Clinton joined Mrs. King and family members in placing a wreath during King Week festivities in January 1995.

In the 30 years since his death Dr. King has enjoyed continued popularity. Individuals, communities, governments, and organizations have celebrated his message by creating physical monuments, conducting research, instituting programs, and holding yearly commemorative events. Scholarly interest in his work remains high. The interpretation of his legacy often leads to controversy over his role and his methods but the physical and intellectual monuments continue to grow.

The museums and monuments are constant reminders that the hard fought gains won by the movement in the 1950s and 60s can be lost or curtailed. The creators of the enduring monuments and yearly events believe the movement is not yet finished. Some Americans still face discrimination, unequal opportunities, and violence. Many individuals dedicate themselves and their organizations to carrying on King's message of nonviolent social change. The visible reminders of the movement challenge the nation to narrow the gap between the ideals of equality and the reality of today's society.

The best known of the physical monuments is the Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta. Established in 1968 by Coretta Scott King to preserve her husband's legacy and continue his principles of nonviolence, the Center attracts more than one million visitors a year including heads of state, foreign dignitaries, diplomats, and tourists from around the world. Visitors can view exhibits containing personal memorabilia of Dr. and Mrs. King, his crypt in the center of the "Waters of Life" pool, and the eternal flame nestled in the trees directly opposite the crypt. The site on Auburn Avenue was chosen because of its links to Dr. King's childhood, his ministry at Ebenezer Baptist Church, and the Southern Christian Leadership Council headquarters down the street.

The King center is part of a larger monument to Dr. King. In 1980 President Jimmy Carter signed legislation creating the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site to "...protect and interpret for the benefit, inspiration, and education of present and future generations the places where Martin Luther King, Junior was born, where he lived, where he worked and worshiped, and where he is buried." Visitors sense the forces that shaped Dr. King's childhood as they tour his birth and boyhood home, walk the streets of his "Sweet Auburn" neighborhood, and meditate in the historic sanctuary of Ebenezer Baptist Church.

The house at 501 Auburn Avenue was the first birth home of an African American to be placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The church is also listed on the National Register and the business section of Auburn Avenue is included in the Preservation District of the site. Twenty buildings and Fire Station No. 6 on the birth home block have been restored to the 1930s time period that Dr. King lived on Auburn Avenue.

In addition to the statues on freedom road, the National Park Service Visitor Center contains six exhibit areas that trace the history of the civil rights movement and Dr. King's role as its spokesperson. Two videos shown in the auditorium describe the Sweet Auburn community during Dr. King's childhood and chronicle his influence within the movement.

Other physical monuments to his legacy include the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee where the room he occupied on April 4th has been restored and visitors can reflect on that fateful evening. Exhibits in the lower level of the Lincoln memorial in Washington, DC, tell the story, visually and with sound, of the March on Washington and the "I Have a Dream" speech of August 28, 1963. In Montgomery, Alabama, a simple black marble wall and black disc with water cascading over it preserve for future generations the names of people who died during the civil rights movement beginning in 1955 and ending with Dr. King's death in 1968.

Another memorial to his legacy is the federal holiday legislation signed by President Reagan in 1983 and first celebrated in January 1986. Black history month activities during February often center on Dr. King's speeches, life, and contributions to the movement and American life.

In 1998 we marked the anniversaries of two significant events: the 35th anniversary of Martin Luther King's March on Washington and the 30th anniversary of his death on April 4, 1968.

Special events took place in Atlanta and Memphis to commemorate the 30th anniversary of his death on April 4th and the funeral on April 9th. In addition to private wreath laying ceremonies at the gravesite, special video presentations were offered at the National Park Service Visitor Center

auditorium. The movie, *At the River I Stand*, was featured from April 3-9 and Dr. King's funeral procession as seen in the movie, *Montgomery to Memphis*, was featured from April 9-12.

Visitors had the opportunity to hear his "I've been to the Mountaintop" speech in historic Fire Station No. 6 and on April 9, they heard the "Drum Major Instinct" sermon as they entered the historic sanctuary of Ebenezer Baptist Church; this was the last sermon Dr. King preached from Ebenezer on February 4, 1968.

Also on April 9, visitors were invited to participate in a silent tour of Dr. King's Birth Home. After a short introduction by park rangers, visitors walked silently through the home reflecting on his childhood there, on his life and death and on his continuing legacy.

A commemorative service at the Masonic Temple, site of Dr. King's "I've been to the Mountaintop" speech delivered the day before his death, was the highlight of activities in Memphis, Tennessee. Events also included a morning march through downtown, a candlelight vigil at the Lorraine Motel, now the site of the National Civil Rights Museum, and a series of adult and youth forums.

The eight statues on Freedom Road symbolize the reasons why we commemorate Dr. King and, through him, all the warriors who marched. We commemorate to learn and relearn the lessons they taught us about perseverance, courage, and nonviolence. We commemorate to celebrate the great strides that have been made. We commemorate so that we will remember.

Notes

1 Lerone Bennett, Jr., *What Manner of Man* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1976).

2 Coretta Scott King. *My Life with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Avon, 1970).

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Elliot, Jane. *Anatomy of Prejudice.* Address given at Kennesaw State University, January 1998.

Carol Ash is a park guide at Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site.

Photos are from the park's collection.

Future Anniversaries

Brit Allan Storey

Centennial 2002
Bureau of Reclamation

The Bureau of Reclamation is in the process of planning activities to commemorate and celebrate its 100-year anniversary and its role in western water development and to direct attention to its future. This will include recognition of 15 years of accomplishments in shifting the Bureau's mission/focus.

Planning is still in process, but among the activities under consideration are: a centennial symposium on the history of Reclamation; national, regional, and local anniversary events; exploring the possibility of a commemorative postage stamp; photographic, art, and museum exhibits; a video on Reclamation's history; poster(s); use of Reclamation's website for centennial materials and announcements; books on the history of Reclamation Projects, the history of Federal dam construction (a joint project with the Corps of Engineers and the National Park Service with support and involvement of the Public Works Historical Society, faculty at Princeton University, Lafayette College, the University of Houston, and History Research Associates of Missoula, Montana); Reclamation oral history; and the papers presented in the centennial history symposium.

Reclamation's centennial celebration was first championed by Joe D. Hall, Deputy Commissioner of Reclamation in 1992-3, and planning and institutional support have been building since then. Because of the long lead time and active involvement of the bureau's history staff, centennial plans include both major history activities and celebratory activities looking to Reclamation's future. Work on centennial activities



Congressional party gathered in a circle during speeches at the opening of Truckee-Carson project at head of main Truckee-Canal.

is concentrated in the history and public affairs staff of Reclamation, and the cultural resources management staff at the Bureau recently began exploring options for appropriate activities.

The history publications proposed for the centennial have broad applications within Reclamation for management, environmental statement, and CRM applications and are being considered for development primarily because of their usefulness to Reclamation. Because of the early recognition of Reclamation s pending 100-year anniversary the bureau was able to fund relatively large research projects in manageable increments over a period of years. In addition, a small celebratory publication on Reclamation's future will include statements from selected political figures and water users.

As Reclamation's management and staff become increasingly aware of the upcoming centennial, we anticipate that new projects and activities will develop at all levels of the Bureau.

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Roger D. Launius

The 2003 Centennial of Flight
Aerospace Historians and the Challenge of Commemoration

Have you ever stood on a railroad track and seen a freight train in the distance, whistle blowing and diesel wailing, rumbling directly toward you at high speed? That is how I feel when I contemplate the December 17, 2003, centennial of the first flight of the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. The centennial commemoration of the Wright's first tentative powered flights and the beginning of a century of flight in both air and space seems to be inescapable. Equal parts of enthusiasm and dread animate many of those interested in the development of flight in America at the prospect of this centennial. The communities we serve seemed thrilled with commemorations in general and the 100th anniversary of flight is tailor-made for hoopla, historicism, and perhaps hysteria.[1]

Since this is the case, cultural resource managers, interpreters, scholars, and community members in the field must leap aboard the centennial train and help to drive it. Not to do so, I fear, will lead to being run over by it. As a public historian specializing in flight, I want to use the centennial to accomplish worthwhile objectives not otherwise attainable because of the lack of resources, interest, or resolve.

This may not be easy. The 2003 centennial of flight shows signs of being transformed from an educational and civic opportunity into something that has little to do with furthering historical understanding. Various organizations, companies, and individuals are seeking to turn a handsome profit on memorabilia and tourism. The descendants of Wilbur and Orville Wright, for instance, have licensed the use of the name and the brothers photographs for commercial purposes.

Additionally, the Congress has just passed legislation to create a Centennial of Flight Commission at the national level.[2] In the fall of 1997, members from the House and the Senate introduced the Centennial of Flight Commemoration Act, which resolved that "it is appropriate to celebrate and commemorate the centennial year through local, national, and international observances and activities."

To plan and assist in centennial events, the bill establishes a commission that includes administrators of NASA and the Federal Aviation Administration; the Director of the National Air and Space Museum; the chairperson of the First Flight Centennial Commission in North Carolina; the president of the First Flight Centennial Foundation; and an advisory committee with representatives from many other organizations.

The Centennial of Flight Commission is charged with:

- Planning and developing programs and activities that are appropriate to commemorate the 100th anniversary of powered flight.
- Assisting in conducting educational, civic, and commemorative activities related to the centennial of powered flight throughout the United States.
- Providing national coordination for celebration dates to take place throughout the United States during the centennial year.

The Centennial Commissions charter could provide a framework to accomplish several related ends connected to the three broad goals of collecting, preserving, and disseminating the history of flight.

Those of us in the federal agencies who are heavily involved in flight— NASA, the FAA, the Air Force, etc.— are already collecting preserving, and disseminating the history of flight as part of the centennial observance. For instance, we are making special efforts to collect the papers of organizations and individuals related to flight to ensure their availability for future historians. The downsizing of the aerospace industry in the 1990s, especially through corporate mergers and divestiture of aerospace operations from corporate giants, places the archival sources of this important and dynamic sector of the economy at risk. A permanent repository for these documents is needed. Equally important are the oral histories of key personnel involved in the development of flight. The centennial provides an opportunity to collect these before they pass from the scene.



Orville and Wilbur Wright conducted the first flight on December 17, 1903. Photo courtesy NPS.

As part of the effort to preserve historic aerospace sources, artifacts, sites, and places, we are beginning to flesh out several possible projects for the centennial of flight, among them the following:

- **Union List of Aerospace Artifacts**. This project would create, probably on the World Wide Web, a master list of aerospace artifacts and their location, condition, and availability for trade for all museums wanting artifacts for collections.
- **Historic Airplane and Spacecraft Restoration Project**. There are many historical flying vehicles that are in dire need of restoration or they will be lost in a few years. This effort would assess those craft and their relative merit and seek to acquire resources for their preservation.
- **Workshops for Aircraft Restoration**. A set of seminars conducted at leading aerospace museums aimed at presenting those with artifacts of the most useful methods of restoration and preservation.

This is not an exclusive set of possibilities. The projects are among several under active consideration by centennial planners.

We all have war stories about commemorative events turned sour, and there are pitfalls with this one to be sure, but there are also possibilities. Our pro-activity in turning them to our advantage will probably mean the difference between helping to drive the train coming toward us or being run over by it. I much prefer the first of these two options. The more concrete efforts that can be put into place before that inevitable day when senior leaders ask what is being done for the centennial of flight, the greater likelihood of concentrating efforts on projects useful for the preservation of resources related to flight and the expansion of historical knowledge about flight and its social effects.

Notes

1 David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996). Lowenthal argues that we are in the midst of a worldwide nostalgia craze that has a fundamental heritage component.

2 The details of the legislation are drawn from the bill, S 1397, 105th Congress, 1st session, "Centennial of Flight Commemoration Act," introduced in the Senate on November 1997, by Jesse Helms (R-NC), John Glenn (D-OH), et at.

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Cynthia L. Orlando

A Decade of Rediscovery at Fort Clatsop National Memorial

Lewis and Clark Winter Encampment Bicentennial

Commemoration helped to create Fort Clatsop National Memorial. During the 150th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the local community constructed what is today the fort replica; the park was established three years later. To make the most of the bicentennial, Fort Clatsop National Memorial is sponsoring a "Decade of Rediscovery." Beginning with the 40th anniversary of the park in May, 1998, the "Decade of Rediscovery" will lead into the millenium and culminate in May 2008 with the park's 50th anniversary. Our strategy is not to focus on only the bicentennial years but to highlight a decade. In this way we hope to mitigate resource impacts and ensure quality interpretation/visitor services. This strategy appears to be working: visitation is up 28% over last year.

Many special activities and programs are planned spanning scholarly, interpretative, and preservation needs. Congresswoman Elizabeth Furse has introduced legislation in accordance with the 1995 park General Management Plan to expand the park boundary to include a 5.5 mile segment of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail linking the park to the Pacific coast. A collaborative proposal to provide a county-wide transportation system and the donation of 100 acres of county property would supplement the bill. The third field season of archeological investigations of the original fort took place in September in what is planned as a multi-year project.

In summer 1999, Dr. Gary Moulton will condense his 13-volume transcription of the Lewis and Clark journals into one book. As a scholar-in-residence at Fort Clatsop, Dr. Moulton will share his research and understanding of the Lewis and Clark expedition in a series of public lectures. Scholarly investigations in archival and archeological resources will serve as the basis for a new effort to reach new audiences, as Fort Clatsop staff use a Memorandum of Understanding with the Department of Education through the Northwest regional Educational Laboratory to identify and develop internet-based educational resources and programs.

This new research will also form a basis for the planning and development of a Clatsop Indian village in cooperation with the Chinook Nation. To be located in close proximity to the fort, the village will be a site for interpreting the history of cultural exchange between Lewis and Clark and the people already living in the Northwest.

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Dwight T. Pitcaithley

The American Way of Memory

The Pulitzer Prize winning historian, Michael Kammen, wrote in his introduction to *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, that "we arouse and arrange our memories to suit our psychic needs." While Kammen was describing a very human trait, that of dredging up and shaping collective memory to suit specific situations and eras, he also was making the rather obvious observation that memory is shaped one way or the other depending on whose recollections one is evoking. Americans don't view the present through a single lens so why should they be expected to view the past in a unified way. This fracturing of public memory is evident, for example, in the public debate over the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb in 1945, the development of National History Standards, over the meaning of multiculturalism, and the legacy of slavery.

Public celebrations of the past, including the dedication of monuments and statues; centennial, tercentennial, bicentennial, and quincentennial remembrances; festivals; and other acts of collective remembering, while generally produced around a dominant historical narrative, all possess subthemes and even counter-narratives that tell different stories. The public "sorting out" of these often conflicting histories generally tells us more about who we are as a society than who we were. The Columbus quincentennial, for example, for all the antagonism it provoked, was not a reflection of the past, but an indicator of how the current generation of Americans thought about the past. It also made this country think a little deeper than it had and ask more meaningful questions about the past not the least of which was "How can a place be 'discovered' if it is already populated?" Public or collective memory is inherently related to public forgetting. Monuments, memorials, and anniversaries often are designed not to help us understand the past, but to generate support or evoke empathy with one view of the past to the exclusion of often competing views.

One might revise the Orwellian slogan "Those who control the present, control the past," to read "Those who erect memorials, control the past." Memorials have a sense of authority and permanence that belies their highly interpretive nature. Take, for example, two acts of public remembering, one growing out of the Civil War and one from the Spanish entrada into the American Southwest. In 1959, the Children of the Confederacy attached a marker to the Texas State Capitol titled "Children of the Confederacy Creed." The plaque reads:

> Because we desire to perpetuate, in love and honor, the heroic deeds of those who enlisted in the Confederate army, and upheld its flag through four years of war, we, the children of the South have united in an organization called "Children of the Confederacy" in which our strength, enthusiasm, and love of justice can exert its influence.
>
> We therefore pledge ourselves to preserve pure ideals to honor our veterans, to study and teach the truths of history (one of the most important of which is that the war between the states was not a rebellion nor was its underlying cause to sustain slavery) and to always act in a manner that will reflect honor upon our noble and patriotic ancestors.

While one might debate endlessly the notion that secession and the firing on Ft. Sumter constituted a rebellion, there is no denying a Southern perception that the revolutionary philosophy of 1776 was alive and well in 1860. The *Charleston Mercury* noted on November 8, 1860, "the tea has been thrown overboard; the revolution of 1860 has been initiated"; Senator Alfred Iverson from Georgia argued in December 1860 that "While a State has no power, under the Constitution, conferred upon it to secede from the Federal Government or from the Union, each State has the right of revolution, which all admit"; and two years earlier Alabamian William Lowndes Yancy commented, "if we can do as our fathers did, organize Committees of Safety all over the Cotton States,...we can precipitate the cotton States into a revolution."[1] Regarding the sentiment that slavery was not the underlying cause of the war, Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Alexander Stephens, not to mention Sam Houston and the secession congresses, would all be somewhat perplexed by this rejection of the fundamental basis for sectional disagreement. Texas Governor Houston opposed secession and in 1861 predicted, "Our people are going to war to perpetuate slavery, and the first gun fired will be the (death) knell of slavery." Likewise, President Lincoln, in his second inaugural address, observed that "These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war." But the simple plaque in the Texas State Capitol is not accompanied by explanatory information; the viewer is left alone with a seemingly definitive statement about the past cast in bronze.

Several years ago, the descendants of the Spanish conquistadors in New Mexico erected a statue to Don Juan de Oñate in Española. Oñate, grandson-in-law of Hernando Cortes, headed the Spanish advance into present day New Mexico in 1598, ultimately establishing the first Spanish settlement in the American West, opening the Camino Real from Mexico City to what would become Santa Fe, and founding the livestock and

mining industries in the area. He also dealt forcefully and fatally with the native New Mexicans who lived in the pueblos along the Rio Grande and to the west. Indeed, in 1599, the inhabitants of Acoma Pueblo resenting the Spanish incursion and the accompanying demand for provisions resisted and killed 13 of his men. Oñate ordered the village sacked and burned and the survivors punished. As a means of demonstrating his authority over the 70 to 80 men who survived, he ordered all those over the age of 25 to have one foot cut off.[2] Four hundred years later, a group of Native New Mexicans retaliated. During a moonless night last January, the Indian swat-team, armed with an electric saw, approached the bronze statue of Oñate and amputated his right foot, "boot, stirrup, star-shaped spur and all."[3] In a statement released to the press, the group claimed responsibility and announced, "We took the liberty of removing Oñate's right foot on behalf of our brothers and sisters of Acoma Pueblo."

The power of memory. What is victory to one society is certainly defeat to another, and later efforts to commemorate the event will always be frought with contentiousness until a forum or formula for mutual respect and accommodation can be devised. George Armstrong Custer's momentous defeat along the Little Bighorn River occurred 122 years ago, but until recently the only memorials were to the men of the 7th Cavalry. A soon to be unveiled memorial will remember the Sioux and Cheyenne who fell that June day—a rearranging of our psychic memory. The monument represents a long overdue acknowledgment of respect for the Native American perspective while for others it constitutes a diminution of Custer's place in our pantheon of American heroes.

Memorials to and celebrations of the past can also, like the new monument at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Memorial and several articles in this issue of *CRM*, reveal aspects of the past that have been neglected or simply overpowered by the dominant narrative. This revising or editing of our collective memory is normal, healthy, and often highly instructive. The public remembering of the past forms an important part of contemporary society. How we think about the past and how we arouse and sort our memories reflects much about who we are as a community. Our collective remembering of the past will always be fragmented as there are multiple lenses through which we can view the past (was the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima an end or a beginning?). Our need to remember and commemorate and celebrate is a need to affix ourselves on the spectrum of time, to anchor our psyche in reassuring corners of the past. This process is enriched the more we recognize that remembering has multiple avenues and memory takes not a singular form, but is shaped and reshaped according to our needs.

The articles in this issue constitute an invitation for readers to consider how the past has been remembered and how our perceptions of the past continue to change. Several of the articles deal with contested memories; others explore issues that have been more ignored than contested; while still others make us think differently about aspects of the past we thought we knew. Anniversaries, as evidenced throughout this issue, allow us to commemorate and reflect upon the past. A well designed anniversary provides an opportunity for us to pause and reflect upon what and how we think about the past, and perhaps, enable us to broaden our sense of how our "psychic needs" affect our sense of the past and, moreover, what about the past should be remembered.

Notes

1 Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination*, 1978.

2 Ramon Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 1991.

3 *New York Times*, February 9, 1998.

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