

Saber and Scroll Journal
Volume VI Issue II
Spring-Summer 2017

Saber and Scroll Historical Society

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Logo Design: Julian Maxwell

Cover Design: Ruthenian woman, photograph by Augustus Sherman,
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Members of the Saber and Scroll Historical Society, the volunteer staff
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Letter from the Editor

Hi everyone. I hope you are well. I want to thank everyone who contributes to our journal and provides support, including our authors, Saber and Scroll leadership, our academic advisors, the journal team, and of course, the American Public University System. This was another productive summer at the *Saber & Scroll Journal*. This issue of the *Saber & Scroll Journal* includes articles focused on immigration and population movements. In her article “Marie Paradis and the French-Canadian Connection: Quebec’s Impact on the United States,” Anne Midgley discusses the impact French-Canadian immigrants had, and continue to have, on the United States. The immigration theme continues with an article by Molly L. Fischer, “A Passion for Liberty: German Immigrants in the Creation of the Republican Party and the Election of Lincoln,” which centers on the Forty-Eighters and their lasting effect on American politics. Stan Prager provides readers with a discussion of American politics during the antebellum period and the influence of nativism in “Strange Bedfellows: Nativism, Know-Nothings, African-Americans, and School Desegregation in Antebellum Massachusetts.” Daniel Rosco provides an analysis of the contributions made by the Carpatho-Rusyn people in “The Impact of Carpatho-Rusyn Immigrants and Their Descendants on the United States.” And writing from Cameroon, Dr. Protus Mbeum Tem discusses the influence of European colonialism on the Aghem, Bebas, Befang, and Esimbi peoples in “Conflicting Pre-colonial Relations as Foundations of Frosty Associations between the Aghem and their Neighbours in Colonial Administrative Units 1921-1937.”

This issue also includes two exhibit reviews. Deanna Simmons provides a review of the History Galleries at the recently opened National Museum of African American History and Culture. William F. Lawson provides a review of The National D-Day Memorial. Furthermore, Dr. Robert Smith provides readers with two book reviews, Charles Leerhsen’s *Ty Cobb: A Terrible Beauty* and Jeff, Shaara’s, *The Frozen Hours: A Novel of the Korean War*. Dana Dawson reviews Adam Cohen’s *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck*.

Michael R. Majerczyk

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Marie Paradis and the French-Canadian Connection: Quebec's Impact on the United States

Anne Midgley

From the time that the first Europeans set foot on North American soil, immigration has fashioned the social and cultural fiber of what is now the United States. While the British heritage of the original thirteen American colonies shaped much of eighteenth-century American culture, colonial America was already a melting pot. On the eve of the American War of Independence, the population of the American colonies numbered about 2.8 million people. Those of English descent represented the largest sub-group; however, peoples of many other racial and ethnic groups resided in the colonies, including almost half a million African-Americans, many of whom were enslaved. The Scots-Irish, Germans, Irish, Swiss, French, Dutch, and Scots comprised some of the larger non-English populations. On-going immigration drove population growth during the course of much of the eighteenth century. At the turn of the century, the colonies contained approximately 262,000 people—on the eve of the Revolution, that number had increased more than ten-fold. By the time of the 1840 census, the population had grown to seventeen million. Immigration continued unabated and growing tensions of nativism¹ influenced the US Census Bureau to begin capturing the nativity of the American populace. The 1850 census introduced a question regarding birthplace, asking each individual to identify the state, territory, or country of birth.²

The 1870 US census recorded an aggregate population of 38,115,641. In cold, emotionless language, the census estimated the effect of the recent Civil War on the nation's population count and arrived at an estimate that the United States had suffered "a direct loss to the male population of not less than 850,000."³ The census also calculated an indirect loss to the nation's population, as nearly 1.5 million men were at war and "withdrawn from domestic life." The census estimated a population loss due to the disruption in the flow of immigrants. In the four years preceding the war, immigration grew the population by almost 650,000. However, the four years following the war saw immigration soar to almost 1.2 million new arrivals. During the four war years though, the United States welcomed only 553,605 new arrivals; a likely loss of over 350,000 potential new Americans occurred due to the war.⁴

Despite the calamity of war, by the 1870 census foreign-born residents

represented 14.4 percent of the United States population. Immigration remained high through the rest of the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth century, with the percentage of foreign-born dropping to the single digits during the 1940 census and staying relatively low until it saw a sharp increase in the 2000 census. The count of foreign-born residents surged in the 2010 census, reaching almost thirteen percent. The population influx in recent years has been largely of Hispanic origin; the 2010 census reflects over thirty-nine million foreign-born residents with over fifty-three percent from Latin America and the Caribbean. Mexico alone accounted for almost thirty percent of the foreign-born population.⁵

With the current heated immigration debate in the United States, it is worthwhile to turn to the nineteenth century and study the effects of immigration upon the United States, the immigrant population, and the immigrants' country of origin. Numerous studies, such as Alison Clark Efford's *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* and Susannah Ural Bruce's *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861-1865* have examined the German and Irish immigration surges of the mid-nineteenth century.⁶ Likewise, a great deal of scholarship exists on the impact of the Italian and Eastern European immigration waves of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. "Eastern European Immigrants in the United States," by Paula E. Hyman provides a lengthy bibliography of both primary and secondary sources.⁷ There are far fewer studies on French-Canadian immigration to the United States. Yet a significant influx of French-speakers from Quebec in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries provided Canada's southern neighbour with a people already closely tied to the nation—a people who brought their own language and culture to America and provided a substantial boost to Roman Catholicism in the United States. In many ways, the French Canadian immigrant of the nineteenth century was similar to the Hispanic immigrant of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, unlike immigrants from the Old World and from the Spanish New World, the influx of Canadians to the United States brought a people who had been closely tied to the origin and development of America, and who for over one hundred and fifty years prior to America's independence from Great Britain, had been considered an archenemy of the English colonists.

New France

Unlike the vast majority of immigrants to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, the author's great grandmother, Marie Iantha Paradis was a child of the New World. While the 1870 census reported over 5.5 million foreign-born residents, the vast majority—4.9 million—hailed from Europe. Less than nine percent emigrated from Canada.⁸ Before examining the causes and effects of the French-Canadian immigration to the United States, however, it is important to consider the variety of ways in which the founding of Canada related to that of the United States. Rather than relying solely on famed French explorers and settlers, this paper will also provide examples of Paradis's own ancestors to illustrate the establishment and settlement of New France.

Both England and France were latecomers to Europe's rush to discover and

exploit the New World. Locked in a struggle for control of France during the Hundred Years' War from 1337 until 1453, the two countries exhausted their manpower and resources. During the fifteenth century, Spain and Portugal, ably assisted by some Italian mariners, launched the initial European explorations of North and South America. These two powers relied upon newly improved ships, sailing technology, and weaponry that enabled them to circumnavigate the globe and overwhelm the native populations that attempted to oppose them. According to historian Alan Taylor, "By 1550, Spain dominated the lands and peoples around the Caribbean and deep into both North and South America."⁹ Spanish successes



Figure 1. Marie Paradis, c. 1885-1890. Photo property of author.

spurred competing European powers to claim their own share of the riches, often by attempting to plunder Spanish treasure ships on their return route to Europe. By the late sixteenth century, visions of New World wealth and hope of finding trade routes to the Orient impelled England and France to seek their own colonies. In their race to explore and exploit the Americas, both countries carried with them a lasting hatred for the other, born from the fury of the Hundred Years' War.¹⁰

France pursued exploration of North America through a series of expeditions, beginning with the French-sponsored Verrazano voyage of 1524. Regular forays of French fishermen to the Grand Banks brought sufficient harvests to supply the needs of Catholic France. Jacques Cartier led several expeditions to what is now Canada, including a voyage that explored the St. Lawrence River as far inland as the rapids by Hochelaga—a site now known as Montreal. An unfortunate series of false starts and missteps, including the Cartier voyages, provided the French with knowledge of the local peoples, their environment and its geography, but little else. However, the underpinnings of European exploration and conquest of the Americas changed by the efforts of Francis I of France; through his negotiations with the papacy, Europeans came to regard “discovery, conquest, and settlement” as the grounds for sovereignty in the New World.¹¹ This set the stage for a new wave of European colonization.

By the early years of the seventeenth century, both England and France launched colonial efforts that came to shape the future of both the United States and Canada. The English settlements at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620 followed a distinctly different path than that launched by the French along the shores of the St. Lawrence River. The Anglo-American colonies developed rapidly, in comparison to the French, as the English came to settle and exploit the land, rather than to trade. Historian W. J. Eccles, professor of history at the University of Toronto, and specialist on the French era in Canada, characterized the English frontiersman as “a potential settler, the enemy and destroyer of the frontier forestland and its denizens.”¹²

The French, in particular Samuel de Champlain, by contrast, sought to establish alliances with the native peoples to exchange European goods for food and furs to supply the European markets. Champlain, often referred to by historians as the Father of New France, was an extraordinary figure. Soldier, cartographer, navigator, diplomat, humanist, administrator, and governor—for more than thirty years, Champlain was the pivotal figure in the founding of New France, beginning with his establishment of Quebec in 1608. A veteran of the French civil wars of religion that tore France apart between 1562 and 1598, Champlain, like his friend and mentor, France's Henry IV, came to appreciate the

value of peace. During one of Champlain's first missions to the New World, he acted as a spy in Spanish America for the French king. He observed first-hand the cruelty perpetuated by the Spanish on the native population. That experience influenced him to approach the tribes in the north in a dramatically different manner.¹³ According to Fischer,

Champlain's special pattern of relating with the Indians made the history of New France fundamentally different than those of New Spain, New England, New Netherland, and Virginia. The Spanish conquistadors sought to subjugate the Indians. The English pushed the Indians away, built a big "pale" in Virginia, and forbade Indians from crossing it unless they presented a special passport. Only the French established a consistent policy of peaceful cohabitation, and something of its spirit persists in North America to this day.¹⁴



Figure 2. "Carte géographique de la nouvelle Franse faicte par le Sieur de Champlain," Map of New France, c. 1613, by Samuel de Champlain.

For the French, it was imperative to establish and maintain good relations with the Native Americans. As Alan Taylor noted in *American Colonies*, the French and Indians became bound to each other in a “mutuality of dependency.”¹⁵ The natives began to rely on European goods, which in the short term improved their quality of life, but their craving for those goods soon forfeited for them their previous independent way of life. The French, few in number, relied upon their native allies, the Algonquin nations and the Huron to provide them access to valuable furs. However, their allies also expected the French to assist them against their enemies—the Iroquois League. This war-like people was particularly aggressive and brutal; their reputation for cruelty far exceeded that of the Montagnais, Algonquian, and Huron. Unfortunately for the French, providing military aid to their native allies won them the enmity of the Iroquois.¹⁶

Champlain used many tactics to forge close ties with the allied native nations, investing a great deal of time and energy to learn the people, their customs, their languages, and their land, which he frequently mapped. Additionally, Champlain sent a number of young French men to live with the Indians. Among them was Olivier La Tardif, or Letardif, Marie Paradis’s sixth great grandfather, whom Champlain sent to live with the Algonquin. La Tardif was born in 1604 and had been with Champlain in Quebec from as early as 1621. La Tardif began his career in Quebec as a clerk for the Company de Caën. Champlain was proud of the linguistic talents of his protégé, and wrote that La Tardif had become as “skilled in the languages of the Montagnais and Algonquin as those of the Huron.”¹⁷ Champlain and Jesuit father Le Jeune recognized La Tardif for his integrity and character. La Tardif developed a close relationship with many natives. Living among them and becoming fluent in their languages and customs, La Tardif gained their trust and esteem. He supported Indian missions and encouraged many to convert to Catholicism, personally acting as a godfather to the converts. La Tardif brought three Indian children into his home and raised them, further evidence of his devotion to his adopted people.¹⁸

Unluckily, for the small, struggling French colony, by 1625 England and France were again at war. England unleashed privateers to attack and raid the French colonies. Jarvis Kirke, one such ambitious privateer, sailed for the St. Lawrence in March 1628 and captured the French supply ships and settlers who had been en route to the colony. Without supplies from France, the small settlement in Quebec was hard pressed. Champlain sent many of the men to winter with the Indian allies. The few who remained “were reduced to grubbing for roots and the charity of the Indians to avert starvation.”¹⁹

By the spring of 1629, France had regained its territory along the St.

Lawrence via the terms of the Treaty of St.-Germain-en-Laye. However, there was little left of the French settlements. What the English had not stolen, they had destroyed. The French rebuilt. La Tardif returned to Quebec in 1633. He rose in prominence in the colony, eventually becoming a member of the *Compagnie de Beaupré* as its “general and special procurator.”²⁰ In May 1637, La Tardif, together with Jean Nicollet received a large tract of land on the outskirts of Quebec, called Belleborne. His holdings expanded in April 1646 to include one-eighth of the seigneurie of Beaupré. La Tardif eventually became the seigneurial judge of Beaupré. La Tardif married twice and had four children from his two marriages. He died at Château-Richer in January 1665.²¹

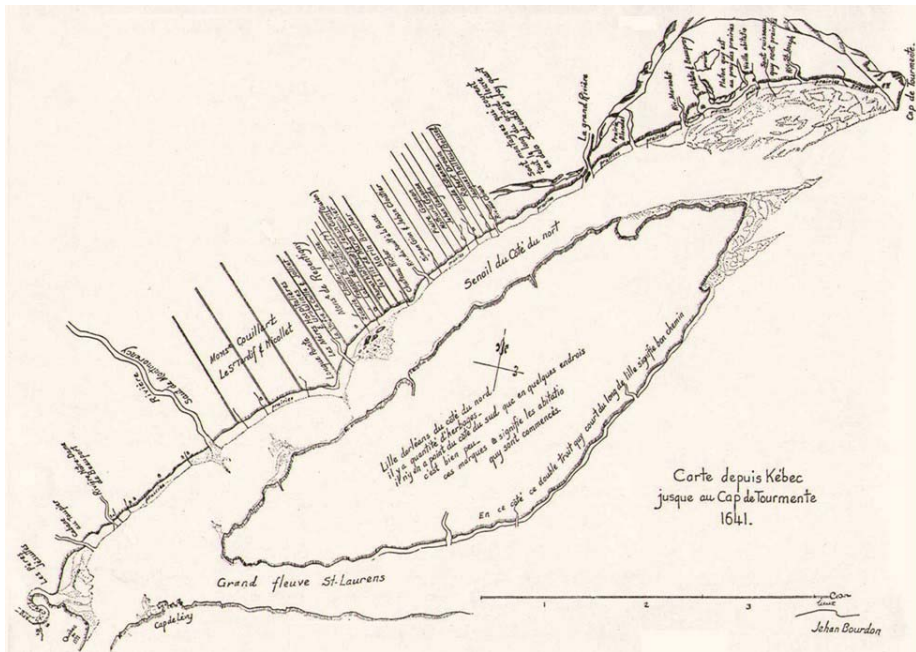


Figure 3. Map of Quebec, c. 1641. The land holdings of Olivier La Tardif and Jean Nicollet appear in the left.

The Peopling of New France

Champlain’s sponsor, Henry IV, died in 1610. His assassination threw France into turmoil and elevated his wife, Marie de Medici to power as regent for

her son, Louis XIII. Louis came into power in 1616.²² One of his first acts was to force his mother, and her Italian advisors whom Louis hated, from power. Her French advisor, Armand-Jean du Plessis Richelieu, accompanied the queen regent into exile; however, he did not remain far from the seat of power for long. Richelieu exercised his vast diplomatic skills to effect reconciliation between the queen regent and her son. He soon rose to become the new king's most trusted advisor. From 1621 until his death in 1642, the man who became Cardinal Richelieu exercised immense influence over France and its colonies.²³

In 1627, Richelieu organized a new vehicle to increase the population of the French colonies in North America—the Company of New France. By the terms



Figure 4. Cardinal de Richelieu, by Philippe de Champaigne, c 1633-40.

of its charter, the Company's purpose was to attract hundreds of colonists each year. To further that goal, it granted large tracts of land—seigneuries—to prominent individuals who committed to bring settlers to the New World. One of the first men to obtain such a grant was Robert Giffard. Several of Marie Paradis's ancestors accompanied Giffard to Quebec, including Marin Boucher and his wife, Perrine Mallet as well as Zacharie Cloutier, a master carpenter, and his wife Xainte Dupont. Another ancestor, Paradis's sixth great grandfather Jean Guyon Du Buisson, a master mason, accompanied Giffard.²⁴ Records indicate that Giffard provided Zacharie Cloutier and Jean Guyon Du Buisson grants of land at Beauport. Apparently, all was not well between the two neighbors, as conflicts arose between Cloutier, Guyon, and their seigneur, Giffard. Cloutier sold his property in 1670 to relocate to Château-Richer, where he had already received a grant of land from Governor Jean de Lauson on 15 July 1652. Reflecting the small size of the settlement, Champlain's will notes a grant to Marin, stating, "I give to Marin, mason, living near the house of the Recollet Fathers, the last suit I had made from material that I got at the store."²⁵ Guyon Du Buisson appears as a witness to the marriage of Robert Drouin and Anne Cloutier, sixth great grandparents to Marie Paradis. Their marriage contract is the oldest preserved in the original in Canada.²⁶ The early settlers to New France were exceptionally fruitful and the population doubled every twenty-five years. It seems that in New France, as in New England, "the only biblical commandment that these Christians consistently obeyed was to increase and multiply."²⁷

Despite Richelieu's best efforts to attract colonists—and the colonists' best efforts to procreate—New France grew much slower than the English colonies to the south. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the population of New France was approximately twenty-five hundred, however, at 1660, the combined population of the English colonies of North America stood at over seventy-five thousand.²⁸ Changes in Europe significantly affected the future of New France, for by 1663, "France was at peace and in a dominant position in Europe."²⁹ Louis XIV's minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, an extraordinary diplomat responsible for not only France's internal affairs but also for New France, aimed to "strengthen the French economy . . . [by utilizing the overseas colonies] to provide France with raw materials . . . and a market for French manufactured goods."³⁰ These goals required that New France's population expand, that the colonies become secure and capable of providing for their basic sustenance. To that end, Colbert set about to reorganize the structure of the colony.

Colbert revoked the charter of the Company of New France, and in its place established a crown corporation—Canada became a royal province.



Figure 5. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, by Claude LeFebvre, c. 1666

To enhance the security of the colony, Colbert sent companies of troops, including “the Carignan Salières regiment [of] nearly eleven hundred men under veteran officers.”³¹ These troops quickly became proficient at guerrilla warfare and held their own against the Mohawk. The French campaigns against the Mohawk and Onondaga branches of the Iroquois caused the Five Nations to “agree to end their hostilities with the French and their Algonquian allies.”³² With the Iroquois threat removed from the scene, Colbert was able to focus on expanding the colony’s population. The new governor general, Daniel de Remy, Sieur de Courcelle, encouraged the men of the Carignan Salières regiment to remain in New France. Colbert arrived at a unique solution to address the shortage of marriageable women in New France. He established a program to entice orphaned girls of good character to immigrate to the New World. The generous terms included a substantial dowry to young women willing to cross the Atlantic to marry one of New France’s many eligible males. Known as the *filles du Roi*, hundreds of girls made the daunting trip. The Ursuline and Hospital nuns cared for the girls until they found husbands, though typically, the girls married soon after arriving in the

colony. Marie Paradis's fifth great grandmother, Perrette Hallier was a *filles du Roi*. She, like many of these girls, married a soldier of the Carignan Salières regiment, in her case, Antoine Bordeleau Laforest. Records indicate that,

[T]he thirty-five year old Antoine Bordeleau appeared at the home of the notary Pierre Duquet to sign his marriage contract with the eighteen-year old Perrette Hallier. The terms of the agreement conformed to the coutume de Paris. The bride brought to the marriage some personal property valued at 350 livres, not counting the gift of 50 livres from the king, given to all the young women under his protection. Antoine offered Perrette a prefixed dowry of 300 livres. Besides Anne Gasnier, chaperone of the king's daughters, and the seigneur Bourdon Dombourg, François Noël, habitant of the Ile d'Orléans, and the travel companions of Perrette Hallier, Nicole Legrand, Marie-Clair Lahogue and Marie Petit, signed the document. The marriage banns were published at the church of Notre-Dame de Québec. On Tuesday, 15 October 1669, Antoine Bordeleau dit Laforest, led his fiancée Perrette Hallier to the foot of the altar of the Virgin to receive the nuptial blessing. Witnesses present were Jean-François Bourdon, René Hubert, who had arrived here as a soldier about 1667 . . . Françoise de Lacroix, and Léonard Faucher dit Saint-Maurice.³³

Life among the young couples of the colony was not always peaceful. Court records indicate that Perrette was involved in a fight with another woman and that "the matter was so serious that the civil lieutenant of Québec ordered an arrest issued . . . against Agathe Merlin . . . to the benefit of Perrette Hallier wife of Antoine Bordelot."³⁴

The waves of French immigrants to the New World slowed by 1672, however, during the time of Colbert's intense focus on populating the colony, approximately six thousand men and women made the crossing. From this point forward, the colony grew through procreation, not immigration.³⁵ However, over the next seventy years, the population of New France grew to only fifty-five thousand colonists, while the English colonies to the south expanded to a population of close to 1.25 million. The French loss to the Anglo-Americans during the French and Indian War seemed pre-ordained, though the French and their allies defeated the English at every turn during the early years of the war. It was not until the great British minister, William Pitt, took the helm and

commanded Britain's war effort that the inevitable occurred.³⁶

Conquest and British North America

Following its victory in the Seven Years' War, the challenge of how to incorporate Francophone Quebec into the British Empire faced George III and his ministers. Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester, was among a small minority who successfully argued that the newest British acquisition—Canada—and its majority French Canadian Roman Catholic population be accommodated by allowing their “language, religion, and legal and political institutions” to continue under British rule.³⁷ Carleton, together with several other key British leaders—the majority of whom were Anglo-Irish or Scottish—overcame the British desire to wipe out the culture of their newest subjects. While Canada's population was quite small compared to the American mainland colonies, Carleton's stance for the rights of the French Canadian majority against the small English Canadian minority made an impression and helped garner him the support he needed to resist the American invasion, when it occurred in 1775.

Despite multiple attempts to both cajole and force their neighbors to the north to join the American rebellion, the Canadians remained loyal to the British Crown. In a rather surprising turn of events, the American rebellion succeeded in large measure due to the efforts of France to wreak its vengeance on Britain.³⁸ According to Eccles, however, as soon as America gained its independence, “the Americans displayed a singular lack of gratitude to the French. . . . [W]hen the [Treaty of Alliance] was put to the test in 1793, the Americans, without a qualm abrogated it.”³⁹

The War of 1812 re-introduced the American desire to add Canada to its boundaries. Henry Clay harangued his fellow citizens that “The conquest of Canada is in your power” and Thomas Jefferson stated, “[T]he acquisition of Canada . . . will be a mere matter of marching.”⁴⁰ While the end of the war brought little change to either the United States or Great Britain, it did establish that the borders of the United States would not expand to include the Canadian north.

Exodus

Over the ensuing half century, events in both the United States and Canada triggered a mass departure of Canadians to the United States. According to Claude Belanger of the Department of History at Marianopolis College, “[B]

etween 1840 and 1930 roughly 900,000 French Canadians left Canada to [immigrate] to the United States.”⁴¹ Historian Bruno Ramirez estimates that by the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian émigrés—both French and English speaking—to the United States equalled over twenty percent of the population of Canada.⁴² He further noted that so many Canadians immigrated to America that “angry politicians and community leaders used the term ‘exodus’ to denounce what they say as a quasi-apocalyptic loss of population.”⁴³ Since the continued enmity of American Protestants greeted the arrival of the Catholic and French-speaking population from Quebec with fear and suspicion, the factors impelling the French-Canadians to depart Quebec were significant enough to outweigh the cultural ostracism that awaited the initial immigrants upon their arrival in America.⁴⁴

In his analysis of the dynamics that influenced French Canadians to emigrate from Quebec, Bélanger noted an “interplay of push and pull factors;”⁴⁵ he attributed the poor economic situation in Quebec combined with the expanding economy of the United States as the primary factors that precipitated the exodus. He noted that,

Quebec’s agriculture underwent tremendous strains during the 19th century. In part, these difficulties were demographic. Indeed, throughout the century, Quebec experienced very rapid population growth. However, by the 1830s and 1840s, Quebec’s most fertile farm land had been systematically occupied, leaving mostly peripheral regions open to agricultural colonisation, and thousands of landless farmers searching either for affordable, accessible and fertile land, or gainful employment. Between 1784 and 1844, Quebec’s population increased by about 400 percent, while its total area of agricultural acreage rose only by 275 percent, creating an important deficit of available farmland. While not as dramatic, this trend continued between 1851 and 1901. Since Quebec was largely a rural society in the 19th century, agricultural problems were truly national problems.⁴⁶

The economic and demographic turmoil noted by Bélanger caught Marie Paradis’s parents, Celestin Paradis and his wife Marie Adele Bertrand Paradis in its trap. Though the Paradis, a founding family, had resided on the Ile D’Orleans near Montreal since the mid-seventeenth century and farmed on the island for over two hundred years, Celestin Paradis and his family were asked to move from the

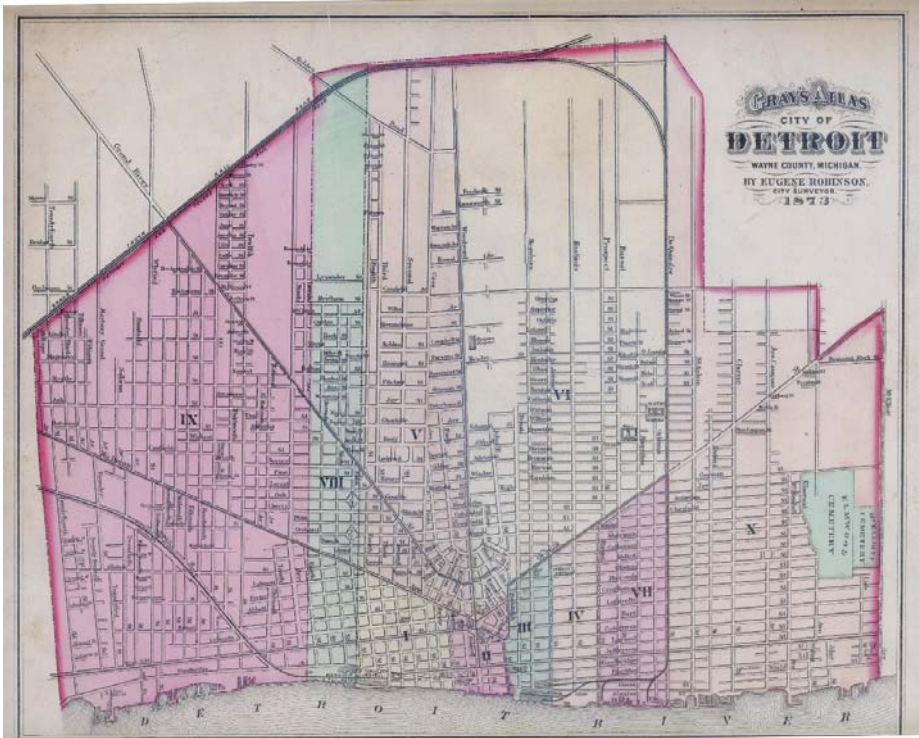


Figure 6. Gray's Atlas, City of Detroit map, by Eugene Robinson, City Surveyor, c. 1873. Ward 10 is located in the lower right corner of the map, bordering the Detroit River.

island—it could no longer support the number of families who wished to reside there and work its farms.⁴⁵ By 1870, Paradis and his family, including his three young children, had moved to Detroit, Michigan where he found work as a ship's carpenter. They lived in the Tenth Ward, a short distance from the Detroit River. At that time, Detroit's population was less than eighty thousand people, of whom forty-five percent were foreign born.⁴⁸ During the next decade, Felix Paradis—also a ship's carpenter—and his family joined his younger brother Celestin in Detroit.

While a number of Canadians immigrated to Michigan, many French Canadians migrated to New England and Northern New York. Bélanger attributed the choice of New England to two key factors: financial cost and cultural impact. He noted that the initial migration of one member of a family would soon attract other relatives. This created a support system, which minimized the immigrants'

sense of dislocation. Bélanger noted that “Little Canadas” arose in many New England towns, where life was “predominately French and Catholic.”⁴⁹ He described these French ghettos, where,

[a]round their local church and school, life appeared much the same as it was in some parts of Quebec. In these “Little Canadas,” Franco-Americans could often speak French to their priest, grocer, or doctor. This was especially the case as the number of French priests, most of them sent from Quebec, rose substantially as time passed. Father Hamon, in his 1891 study, had found that 175 French-speaking priests ministered to the French parishes of New England.⁵⁰

The family of Celestin Paradis lived in a mixed ethnic working-class neighbourhood during their early years in Detroit. Though many of their closest neighbors were Canadian, the neighbourhood was not exclusively so. Other nearby neighbors hailed from England, France, Bavaria, Ireland, Scotland, as well as other American states, including New York, Vermont, Wisconsin, Ohio, and New Jersey. The occupations of the local men included, among other things, house carpenter, cooper, cigar maker, sailor, caulker, blacksmith, bank clerk, saloonkeeper, shoemaker, ship carpenter, and railroad engineer. Detroit’s Tenth Ward was a melting pot in 1870, unlike the French-Canadian ghettos described by Bélanger in New England.⁵¹

Once settled in their new home, the French-Canadians would often paint glowing pictures of life in America for their relatives back in Quebec. Amusingly, Belanger related that,

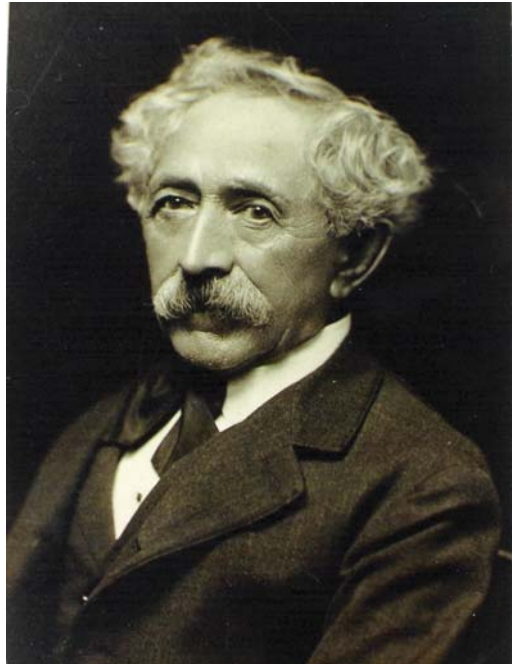


Figure 7. Celestin Paradis (1833-1905), c. 1900.

Photo property of author.



Figure 7. Left to right: Adele Sullivan Drolshagen, Leo Drolshagen, and Marie Paradis Sullivan, c. 1920s. Taken for return visit to Montreal. Photo property of author.

In visits home, the emigrant often spent lavish sums of money to impress his family and neighbours and to prove to them that he had become successful. In many rural parishes, the gleam of a gilded pocket watch, a store bought suit or dress and a few American trinkets clashed with the relative material poverty of the local inhabitants. Indeed, the expressions "*l'oncle des États*" [uncle from the States] or "*la tante des États*" [aunt from the States] developed in Quebec to describe any relative that was rich, whether that relative was from the United States or not! The emigrant often became the symbol of success, stimulating others to follow his path to industrial New England.⁵²

This phenomenon was displayed in a visit that émigré Marie Paradis Sullivan paid to Montreal years after she had married a second-generation Irish-American, John Emmet Sullivan. Accompanied by her daughter and son-in-law, she toured the land of her birth. Their visit was such an event that their picture appeared on the

front page of the Montreal paper, *La Press*; a tribute that likely occurred because a Bertrand cousin was the editor of the paper at that time.

Like many other new arrivals to the United States, the French-Canadian émigrés sought to blend into their new home. As Bélanger noted, “French is no longer a functional language in New England.”⁵³ He also claimed that the close ties that once existed between Quebec and the French communities in New England are no longer evident. While the French-Canadian immigration may not have established French as a living language in America, it has had an effect upon the lives of the communities that eventually embraced the émigrés: the Roman Catholic faith has remained strong in many of those areas. Today, Catholicism is the largest denomination in Massachusetts, at over forty-six percent of the population, in Rhode Island at over forty-four percent of the population, in Connecticut with almost thirty-six percent of the population, in Vermont, at over twenty-five percent of the population, and in New Hampshire with twenty-four percent of the population. Likewise, Catholicism is the largest denomination in Maine, though the proportion is low at fourteen percent.⁵⁴

In “The Three Pillars of Survival,” Bélanger terms, “*Notre foi, notre langue, nos institutions* (our faith, our language, our institutions) . . . [as] the three pillars of survival of French Canadians.”⁵⁵ Like the descendants of many French-Canadians, most of Marie Paradis Sullivan’s descendants are not fluent in French but remain Roman Catholic. As Bélanger observed, in Quebec, the opposite is true. The French language has remained strong but the Catholic faith has faded with the secularism prevalent in Canada. It is unfortunate that much of the French-Canadian heritage has faded in America; however, in the opinion of this author, the pillar of faith is perhaps the best legacy.

Notes

1. David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1976), 246. According to Potter, nativist parties emerged in the 1830s but none developed into a national force until the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, founded in 1849, gained power and became known as the “Know Nothing” party.

2. Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 32-36; “Table I.—Population of the United States Decennially from 1790 to 1850, Comparative Table of Population,” *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), ix, xii; “Table VI.—Colonial Population in 1701” and “Table IX.—Population in 1775,” Abstract of the Census Legislation of the United States, From 1790 to 1850 Inclusive, *The Seventh Census of the United States*; Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850 to 2000* (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, 2006), 1.

3. “Report of the Superintendent of the Ninth Census,” *Ninth Census—Volume I. The 1870 census estimated that 304,000 Union soldiers died during the war and that Union medical staff*

discharged 285,000 soldiers due to war-related injuries and disabilities. Of those discharged with disabilities, the census estimated that fully one third subsequently died of their wounds or from disease. As the census further estimated that a large number of men returned to civilian life carrying diseases or shattered constitutions from war, it concluded that 500,000 “will surely be a moderate estimate for the direct losses among the Union armies.” It estimated that losses on the Confederate side totaled 350,000 men.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., “The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2010,” American Community Survey Reports, United States Census Bureau, May 2012, accessed February 2, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2012/acs/acs-19.pdf>.

6. Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Susannah Ural Bruce, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).

7. Paula E. Hyman, “Eastern European Immigrants in the United States,” *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, March 1, 2009, accessed February 28, 2017, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/eastern-european-immigrants-in-united-states>.

8. “Table 4: Region and Country or Area of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population, With Geographic Detail Shown in Decennial Census Publications of 1930 or Earlier: 1850 to 1930 and 1960 to 1990,” *US Bureau of the Census*, Internet Release date March 9, 1999, accessed February 5, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab04.html>.

9. Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 28, 51.

10. Ibid., 92; W. J. Eccles, *The French in North America: 1500-1783*, Rev. ed. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1998), 1; Robert Smith, e-mail message to the author, February 3, 2017, containing notes for draft article on The Hundred Years’ War.

11. Eccles, *The French in North America*, 8. In *The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760*, W. J. Eccles attributes these four motives to European explorers: an avid desire for recognition, an insatiable curiosity, a highly developed competitive nature, and a marked intolerance of religious beliefs that differed from one’s own. See p. 1-2.

12. Eccles, *The French in North America*, 5.

13. David Hackett Fischer, “Champlain among the Mohawk, 1609,” *American Heritage* 59, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 42-49, accessed February 3, 2017, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=37021866&site=ehost-live&scope=site>. David Hackett Fischer’s *Champlain’s Dream* is the seminal work on the role that Champlain played in the founding of New France; “Champlain among the Mohawk” is an excerpt from that much larger work. In “Champlain among the Mohawk,” Fischer estimates that more than two million French people died during the wars of religion from 1562-1598. Clearly, the French had reason to strive for peace and a respite from cruelty and inhumanity.

14. Fischer, “Champlain among the Mohawk,” p. unknown.

15. Taylor, *American Colonies*, 92.

16. Both Eccles and Fischer provide extensive details on the after-effects of the French military assistance to the French native allies. The Iroquois utterly destroyed the Huron peoples in retaliation and continued to attack French outposts and settlements until the French-Iroquois treaty of 1701.

17. David Hackett Fischer, *Champlain’s Dream* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 502.

18. Ibid.
19. W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 34.
20. Marcel Trudel, "LeTardif, Olivier," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/letardif_olivier_1E.html.
21. Ibid.
22. Fischer, *Champlain's Dream*, 283, 347.
23. David A. Bell, "Poker Lessons from Richelieu: A Portrait of a Statesman as Gambler," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 2 (March/April 2012): 156-160.
24. Honorius Provost, "Guyon Du Buisson, Jean (d. 1663)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 25, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/guyon_du_buisson_jean_1663_1E.html; Honorius Provost, "Cloutier, Zacharie," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 25, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cloutier_zacharie_1E.html; Jane Goodrich, "Marin Boucher 1587-1671," *History of an American Family*, accessed February 25, 2017, <http://www.branches-n-twigs.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=I10464&tree=allfam>.
25. Goodrich, "Marin Boucher 1587-1671."
26. Honorius Provost, "Drouin, Robert," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 25, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/drouin_robert_1E.html.
27. Fischer, *Champlain's Dream*, 467.
28. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 85; "Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics," *US Department of the Census*, accessed February 24, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/colonialpops.pdf>.
29. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 60.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 62.
32. Ibid., 64.
33. Thomas J. Laforest, *Our French-Canadian Ancestors* Vol. 25 (Palm Harbor, FL: LISI Press, 1994), accessed February 25, 2017, <http://www.acpo.on.ca/claude/nos-anct-a.htm>.
34. Ibid.
35. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 69-70.
36. Ibid., 157-184. For a detailed analysis of the Seven Years' War, see Fred Anderson's *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*.
37. Gary Caldwell, "How an Anglo-Irish aristocrat saved Quebec—and why no one knows about it," review of *The Imperial Challenge: Quebec and Britain in the Age of the American Revolution*, by Philip Lawson, *Inroads* 21 (Summer 2007): 184-187, accessed April 29, 2012, [http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/docview/218327139/13663C2437672A66E2F/6?](http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/docview/218327139/13663C2437672A66E2F/6?accountid=8289) accountid=8289. Historians' interpretations of the Quebec Act often ties to their argument regarding the impetus for the American War of Independence. Since the majority of Anglo-Americans were both

fiercely anti-French and anti-Catholic, historians' bias arises in the manner in which even the most reputable historians describe the Quebec Act and its impact on the American colonists. Frequently, British and American historians refer to the Quebec Act as one that continued a "feudal" society. This interpretation is found in Merrill Jensen's *The Founding of a Nation*, in Piers Mackesy's *The War for America 1775-1783*, and Fred Anderson's *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*. Anderson describes the royal governor, James Murray, acting in August 1764 "like a frog-eating tyrant," since he permitted lower courts to continue to use French law codes, which must have pleased the overwhelming majority French-speaking population while alienating the English residents. In *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Volume II, P. J. Marshall terms the Quebec Act as a triumph of Catholic absolutism over Protestant liberty and of French tyranny over English rights. It is highly unlikely that French historians interpret the Act in the same manner.

38. In America, the effect of French aid was enormous. In 1777, a year before the alliance, France had already provided massive support in the form of "200 brass cannon, 300 fusils, 100 tons of powder, 3,000 tents, and heavy stores of bullets, mortars, and cannon balls, together with necessary articles of clothing for 30,000 men," according to historian Don Higginbotham in *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*. The formal alliance between the Americans and France added the French fleet and French troops to the mix. The entry of France into the war against Britain forced the British to fight a world war to protect both the home islands and far-flung British holdings, while attempting to regain the American colonies.

39. Eccles, *The French in North America*, 265.

40. Henry Clay and Thomas Jefferson quoted by Jon Wells in "Our War: A civil war. A forgotten war. The 200th anniversary of the War of 1812 is being commemorated. Should it be celebrated?" *The Spectator*, Hamilton, Ontario, March 24, 2012, accessed February 25, 2017, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/docview/939042070/3415FBFC2A164C8APQ/2?accountid=8289>.

41. Claude Bélanger, "French Canadian Emigration to the United States, 1840-1930," *Quebec History*, revised 23 August 2000, accessed February 25, 2017, <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/readings/leaving.htm>.

42. Bruno Ramirez, "Emigration from Canada to the United States in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *OAH Magazine of History* (October 2009), accessed February 25, 2017, <http://www.dentonisd.org/cms/lib/TX21000245/Centricity/Domain/535/emigration%20from%20canada%20to%20the%20US.pdf>.

43. Ibid.

44. See William J. Phalen, "But they did not build this house: The attitude of Evangelical Protestantism towards immigration to the United States, 1800-1924," (doctoral dissertation, The State University of New Jersey, 2010) for an excellent analysis of evangelical attitudes toward immigrants.

45. Bélanger, "French Canadian Emigration."

46. Ibid.

47. Family oral history as described by author's mother, Jean Leithauser, February 15, 2017.

48. 1870 United States Federal Census for Coclestin Paradice (Celestin Paradis), Tenth Ward City of Detroit, *Ancestry*, accessed February 26, 2017, http://interactive.ancestry.com/7163/4273772_00328/27566210?backurl=http://person.ancestry.com/tree/925443/person/-2020761884/facts; "Nativity of the Population for the 50 Largest Urban Places: 1870-1990, *US Census*, accessed February 26, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab19.html>.

49. Bélanger, "French Canadian Emigration."

50. Ibid.

51. 1870 United States Federal Census for Coclestin Paradise (Celestin Paradis), Tenth Ward City of Detroit.

52. Bélanger, "French Canadian Emigration."

53. Ibid.

54. "Religion in Vermont," accessed February 26, 2017, http://www.adherents.com/loc/loc_vermont.html; "Religion," *Maine State*, accessed February 26, 2017, <http://www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/maine>; "Religion," *New Hampshire State*, accessed February 26, 2017, http://www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/new_hampshire; Religion, *Connecticut State*, accessed February 26, 2017, <http://www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/connecticut>; Religion, *Rhode Island State*, accessed February 26, 2017, http://www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/rhode_island; Religion, *Massachusetts State*, accessed February 26, 2017, <http://www.bestplaces.net/religion/state/massachusetts>.

55. Claude Belanger, "The Three Pillars of Survival," *Quebec History*, accessed February 26, 2017, <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/events/pillars.htm>.

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A Passion for Liberty: German Immigrants in the Creation of the Republican Party and the Election of Lincoln

Molly L. Fischer

[The] ‘Forty-Eighters’ brought something like a wave of spring sunshine. . . . They were mostly high-spirited young people, inspired by fresh ideals which they had failed to realize in the old world, but hoped to realize here; ready to enter upon any activity they might be capable of; and eager not only to make that activity profitable but also to render life merry and beautiful; and, withal, full of enthusiasm for the great American Republic which was to be their home and the home of their children.

—Carl Schurz

For most of a century, German-Americans nurtured the myth that they, as an ethnic group, had effected the election of Abraham Lincoln. By sheer numbers, they asserted, their votes had sent Lincoln to the White House. While historians have since disproven this myth, it is undeniable that German-Americans played a key role in the formation and early platform of the Republican Party. Those who arrived in the wake of the volatile German Revolutions of 1848-49, the so-called Forty-Eighters, played a particularly central role in formulating the Republican party’s immigration policy and in courting the votes of their countrymen for the Party’s principle cause, the abolition of slavery. Having been thwarted in their struggle to establish democracy in their homeland, they used their pens, presses, voices, and sabers to promote the cause of freedom in their new home.

The *Vormärz* and German Revolutions of 1848-1849

During the period preceding the US Civil War, the nation of Germany as it exists now was unknown. Rather, thirty-nine individual states made up a loosely affiliated German Confederation or *Deutscher Bund*, ruled largely by various kings, dukes, and princes. Generally, the Confederation had no central leadership, though the states’ leaders did collaborate to pass legislation that would affect all of its residents.¹ One set of these universal regulations, the 1819 Carlsbad Decrees, attempted to suppress political protest by dissolving student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*), allowing for censorship of journals and newspapers for

dishonoring the confederation or for threatening the “maintenance of peace and quiet,”² and creating committees to investigate revolutionary plots. As one author described their effect, “youths of twenty who had never committed worse things than to sing bombastic songs about a mysterious abstraction they called Liberty, or wearing the tricolored ribbons of the *Burschenschaft* (black, red and gold), were kept in prison for years, often without ever being tried on specific charges.”³

The Carlsbad Decrees heralded the *Vormärz*, the decades preceding the eventual German Revolutions of 1848-1849, characterized by political resistance and sporadic insurrections. German speakers immigrated to the United States during this time to improve their living conditions generally, but also to escape political oppression or personal warrants or indictments. Gustave Koerner, later to serve as Lieutenant Governor of Illinois and United States Minister to Spain, fled his hometown of Frankfurt disguised in women’s clothing in 1833 to escape an arrest warrant for attempting to spark a revolution with his fellow students. He immigrated to Belleville, Illinois, with several other countrymen to what would grow into a thriving German-American settlement.⁴ Most of these early arrivals—those who immigrated to the United States from the German states prior to the Revolutions of 1848-1849—tended to be more politically and religiously conservative than those who would follow. This included established German immigrants who settled along the eastern seaboard and in New Orleans back through the eighteenth century.⁵

The desire for a united, democratically ruled Germany grew among its populace during the *Vormärz*. Some twenty-five thousand Germans rallied at Hambach Castle in 1832 in a peaceful demonstration promoting German unity and civil liberties. By 1848, these democratic aspirations came to a head—particularly among young *Burschenschaft* members, journalists, attorneys, and other young men of the educated middle and upper classes.⁶ Notably missing among this group were those well versed in the procedures of political reform, and those well trained in warcraft. While soldiers of the various German state armies did participate in the revolutions, the typical German revolutionary soldier was a young man, fresh from university, with little if any battle experience.

The Revolutions began in earnest in Austria and Berlin in March of 1848 (hence the occasional use of the German term *Märzrevolution*), concurrent with plans to elect and institute a representative German national assembly. In April and May, Friedrich Hecker, a charismatic politician from the southwestern duchy of Baden, became something of a national folk hero when he led a group of his North Baden constituents against the grand-ducal government. He and his fellow revolutionaries fought “[w]ith guns of every pattern from the days of the arquebus

down, with swords dating back to the crusades . . . but by far the greater number bore the weapon of old Saturn himself, scythes fastened straight to their handles, with blades sharpened and whetted to the keenness of a razor's edge."⁷ The German Confederation's army, however, quickly curtailed the Hecker Uprising. Hecker



Figure 1. Revolutionaries on the barricades in Berlin with the tricolored flag, March 19, 1848.

himself initially fled to Switzerland to avoid treason charges, then, like Koerner, settled near the Belleville area in southwestern Illinois.

Despite initial high hopes, a democratically elected German National Parliament met with limited success. Before its dissolution, left-wing delegates exhorted their countrymen to resist and uphold the constitution that the assembly had written:

Die Stunde ist gekommen da es sich entscheiden wird ob Deutschland frei und stark oder geknechtet und verachtet sein soll ... wir fragen Euch, werdet Ihr es dulden, daß Fürsten und Minister,

welche das Gesetz der Nation mit Füßen treten, Euch gegen Eure Brüder und Väter hetzen? [The hour has come when it will be decided whether Germany should be free and strong or enslaved and despised . . . we ask you, will you tolerate that the princes and ministers, who kick the law of the nation with their feet, incite you against your brothers and fathers?]⁸

A final desperate campaign in defense of the constitution began in Baden and the Bavarian Palatinate in May of 1849. Baden declared its independence as a provisional republic, with Lorenz Brentano installed as the president of its short-lived revolutionary government.⁹ The revolutionaries' hopes came to their ultimate end with the rebel troops' surrender to the Prussian Army at the Fortress of Rastatt on July 23, 1849. Political exiles fled the German states to avoid life imprisonment or execution. While many made stops in Switzerland, France, and England, the majority immigrated to the United States. Initially landing along the eastern seaboard and in New Orleans, most of the political exiles ultimately settled in the "German Triangle." The highly German cities of Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and St. Louis formed the triangle's three corners, with Chicago included in its bounds. These exiles of the 1848-1849 German Revolutions were referred to as *Achtundvierziger* or "Forty-Eighters."¹⁰

The "Greens" and the "Grays"

After settling in their new land, the Forty-Eighters strove to create a livelihood. Some tried their hand at farming (referred to as so-called "Latin Farmers," having been classically educated in Europe). Those trained in law and in the English language attempted entrance to the American bar. The Forty-Eighters, however, came to be most closely associated with journalism. In the decades after the Revolutions, the German-language press in America proliferated. German political exiles helmed the majority of these newspapers and journals.¹¹

As they struggled for their daily bread, the Forty-Eighters also sought their place within the larger German-American community. Well-educated, politically active, generally non-religious (in some cases, actively anti-religious), and dedicated to the ideals of the liberal republic, these new arrivals stood in contrast to those German immigrants who had settled in the United States in decades previous. Earlier settlers tended toward conservatism in politics, religion, and lifestyle. They had abandoned early utopian schemes, established a modest amount of wealth, developed communities in their new homeland, and become

comfortable in their political commitments.¹² That the two groups should view each other with some suspicion is understandable. In the newspapers of the time, settled immigrants called the enthusiastic newcomers “Greens,” unfamiliar with the ways of their new land and rudely outspoken in their criticisms; the Forty-Eighters, in turn, referred to earlier settlers as “Grays,” lacking passion in their ideals and stubbornly set in their ways.¹³

Gustave Koerner, who had settled across the Mississippi River from St. Louis in the town of Belleville, Illinois, after his 1833 escape from Frankfurt, was a target of this Forty-Eighter criticism. He remarked on the situation in his autobiography, referring to the St. Louis German-language newspaper *Anzeiger des Westens*, edited by the Forty-Eighter Henry Boernstein:

In some respects his stirring up of the people was not without its good effects, but no doubt he created strife and bad feeling, and above all roused the American population against the Germans and the newcomers in particular. A good deal of the very strong revival of the Native American feeling, just at this time and for some years to come, was owing to the arrogance, imperious and domineering conduct of the refugees.¹⁴

When Koerner wrote editorials in the *Belleviller Zeitung*, correcting the Forty-Eighters’ mischaracterizations of American institutions and “advising moderation and patience,” Boernstein struck back, calling Koerner “Gray Gustav” and declaring him “a relic of the olden times.”¹⁵ It was to Koerner’s credit that he did not dismiss the Forty-Eighters outright; rather, Koerner formed close friendships with many of the newcomers, and became one of the staunch pillars of the German Republican community. This was uncharacteristic for the “Grays;” many would retain their suspicion of the new revolutionary arrivals.

Prior to the 1850s, like most established German-American immigrants, Koerner was a Democrat—“the party commonly associated with states’ rights, local self-rule, and social conservatism.”¹⁶ This was understandable. The alternative, the Whig Party, was more closely associated with the banker or land speculator than with the small farmer or immigrant Western settler. The newly arrived pre-revolutionary German saw obvious similarities between the Whig Party and the ruling aristocracy in the homeland they had fled. The Whigs also tended toward nationalism that, at its most extreme, manifested in nativism and anti-immigrant policy.¹⁷ Most of the successful, established German-language journals and newspapers in the United States, beginning in the 1830s, had Democratic

affiliation.¹⁸ The majority of the newly arrived Forty-Eighters found the Democratic Party too conservative for their taste. Initially, they began planning for their own radical political party, the *Bund Freier Männer*.¹⁹ However, in the 1850s, many of the “Greens” and “Grays” would unite over the issue that ultimately joined not only the two factions of German immigrants, but also the many disparate factions that eventually created the Republican Party—the abolition of slavery.

Generally, German-American settlers held a distaste for slavery.²⁰ Prior to 1854, however, their political priorities lay elsewhere: “Foremost in their list of requests were fair wages, protection from Sabbath and temperance laws, local self-rule, and free land for those seeking their fortune farther west—policies with which German immigrants initially tended to entrust the Democratic Party. Black slavery mattered little in this equation.”²¹ Despite this, abolitionists viewed German immigrants as potential allies for at least a decade. At the seventh annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, members discussed creating and disseminating German-language abolitionist literature, stating, “the general passion of the Germans for liberty, gives the highest assurance that nothing is wanting but light to range them against oppression in this country, as they have fled from it in their fatherland.”²² Upon their arrival in the United States, Forty-Eighters dove into abolitionism with gusto; they “saw antislavery as a natural extension of the liberal nationalism that they had fought for in Europe,”²³ slavery being “the ultimate travesty of individual rights.”²⁴ The Forty-Eighters were aware of the general “passion for liberty”²⁵ that even the most “Gray” of their countrymen held as a matter of principle, and took on the mantle of persuading their fellow countrymen to join them and vote for abolition.

The Republican Party

Political concerns such as the participation of women and black activists divided early abolitionists. However, the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act brought the issue of slavery to the forefront of political discussion and served to unite these factions. No longer was slavery a foreign concept, of no concern to the citizen of a non-slave state; now, the law demanded residents in all states return escaped slaves to their masters. Furthermore, Senator Stephen Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 opened new states to the possibility of slavery by their residents’ popular vote. The majority of German immigrants, even long-time Douglas supporters, opposed the bill. Abolitionist factions seized on opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska

Bill and began organizing a new party, referred to as the Republican Party, with abolition as its ruling platform.

The Republican Party was a “fusion” party, formed of the abolitionist remnants of the defunct Whig Party, some Free Soil Democrats, and abolitionist members of the American or “Know Nothing” Party. While these factions all had abolitionism in common, some held views that made German immigrants—both old and new—understandably wary. The nativist Know Nothings made life difficult for German and Irish immigrants nationwide in the 1850s. Anti-immigrant sentiment came to a head in 1855, when a mob killed several German and Irish immigrants on Election Day in Louisville.²⁶ In addition, the Whig Party frequently promoted both Sabbath and temperance legislation. German immigrants were highly opposed to both types of legislation as a matter of cultural preservation.

It is difficult to overemphasize the role social drinking played in the cultural life of the nineteenth century German immigrant. As Allison Clark Efford states in her study on Civil War-era German immigrants, “the most elemental activity through which German Americans constituted themselves as a cultural group was social drinking.”²⁷ German saloons, public houses, and *Biergartens* provided spaces for men, women, and even children to gather, enjoy traditional music and dance, discuss the issues of the day, and affirm the “festive culture”²⁸ that they had known in their homeland. As Sunday was the only day a laborer would not work, it became the day on which Germans would relish these gatherings with their lager beer—much to the shock and distaste of those who promoted temperance and the preservation of the Sabbath for worship and prayer. Indeed, as historian Ernest Bruncken notes, “The truth was that what is called in German the ‘Weltanschauung’ [worldview] of the immigrants was so different from anything the native American mind was accustomed to, that it was almost impossible to find a common ground from which an understanding between the two classes could be had, until the ‘Forty-Eighters’ and the Puritan became united in a common hatred of slavery.”²⁹ If Germans were to join the Republican Party in any substantial number, they would need assurance that the Party would respect their cultural traditions. Democrats, attempting to prevent the loss of a valuable voting bloc, did their best to convince the German populace that the Republican Party fostered anti-immigrant policies through advocacy of Sabbath legislation and temperance.³⁰ However, the Democratic Party’s refusal to condemn slavery made the party more difficult for many Germans to support.

German Immigrants and the Republican Platform

On February 22, 1856, four months before the Republican Party's first national convention, several Illinois newspaper editors who defined themselves as "Anti-Nebraska" editors (that is, those in opposition to Stephen Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act and the expansion of slavery generally) met on a snowy day in Decatur, Illinois. The editors gathered to coordinate for the upcoming election, discussing candidates and platform for both national and local office. Chicago's most influential German-language newspaper, the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, and the *The Journal* of Quincy, Illinois, represented the German press. George Schneider, a Forty-Eighter who had fought with revolutionary forces in both the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden before fleeing to the United States in 1849, helmed the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*.³¹ Schneider had made valuable connections in Chicago over his three years as the paper's Editor-in-Chief. He had befriended the young Abraham Lincoln in 1853, describing him as a man "already necessary to know."³²

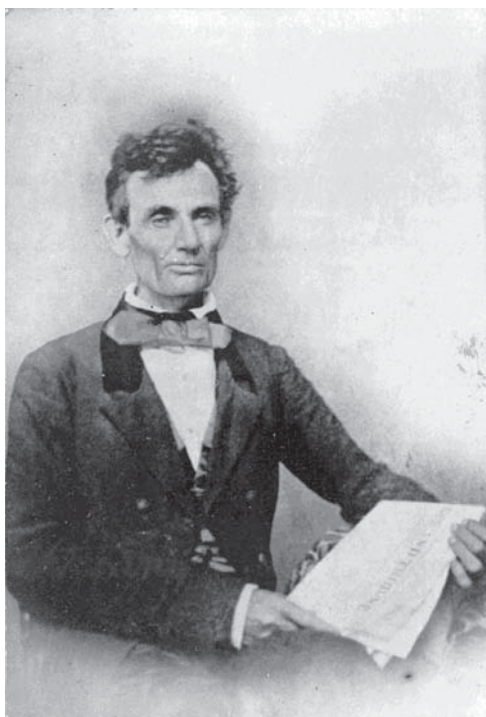


Figure 2. Abraham Lincoln holds an issue of his friend George Schneider's German-language *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* newspaper. Image by Johan Carl Frederic Polycarpus Von Schneidau, Chicago, Illinois, October 27, 1854.

In the second of the known photographic images of Lincoln, he holds an issue of his friend George Schneider's *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* newspaper. The two had been enjoying dinner in late October 1854 when Schneider requested Lincoln sit for the portrait.³³

Abraham Lincoln himself traveled up from Springfield to meet with the editors as they gathered in Decatur. He joined the deliberations of the Committee on Resolutions that day; his friend Schneider was serving on this committee. In addition to resolutions emphatically protesting the expansion of slavery into free territories, demanding the reinstatement of the Missouri Compromise, and asserting the continuing protections for free



Figure 3. George Schneider, Editor-in-Chief of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*. Lithograph based on image by Alfred Brisbois, Mosher Gallery, Chicago.

speech and a free press, Schneider himself formulated language that specifically rebuked Know-Nothingism and anti-immigrant sentiment. His role, as reported in the meeting's commemorative in the year 1900, was "the faithful representative of the German Anti-Nebraska element in his championship of religious tolerance and the maintenance of the naturalization laws as they were, as against the demand for the exclusion of persons of foreign-birth from the rights of American citizenship."³⁴ Historian Bruncken says of Schneider, "it was due to his untiring efforts, ably abetted as he was by . . . Abraham Lincoln, who told his old Whig friends that Mr. Schneider's resolutions contained nothing but what was laid down in the Declaration of Independence, that [this resolution was] adopted in spite of the very large 'American' element represented at the convention."³⁵ In May of 1856, the first Illinois Republican State Convention adopted a similar immigrant-inclusive platform, as did the first National Convention of the Republican Party at Philadelphia the following month, at which Mr. Schneider served as a delegate.

The new Republican Party and its first nominee, John C. Frémont, carried eleven Northern states in the 1856 election. In the years that followed,

Republicans concentrated on expanding their base. For German Republicans, in addition to constant promotion in the pages of the German-language press, campaigning involved deploying a troupe of speakers to curry votes and advocate the Republican platform. Forty-Eighters served as party surrogates across the nation. None of these speakers would gain as much stature—or as much of Abraham Lincoln’s favor—as Carl Schurz.

Schurz was already well-known among the Forty-Eighter community. Having fought in the Revolutions and escaped from the Fortress of Rastatt during its Prussian occupation, Schurz had later returned to Germany from his exile in Switzerland under a false identity to plan and execute the daring escape of his friend and mentor Gottfried Kinkel from a Spandau prison. Kinkel was something of a revolutionary hero, and those in exiled international revolutionary communities celebrated Schurz’s part in his escape.³⁶ After Schurz’s arrival in the United States, he taught himself English by

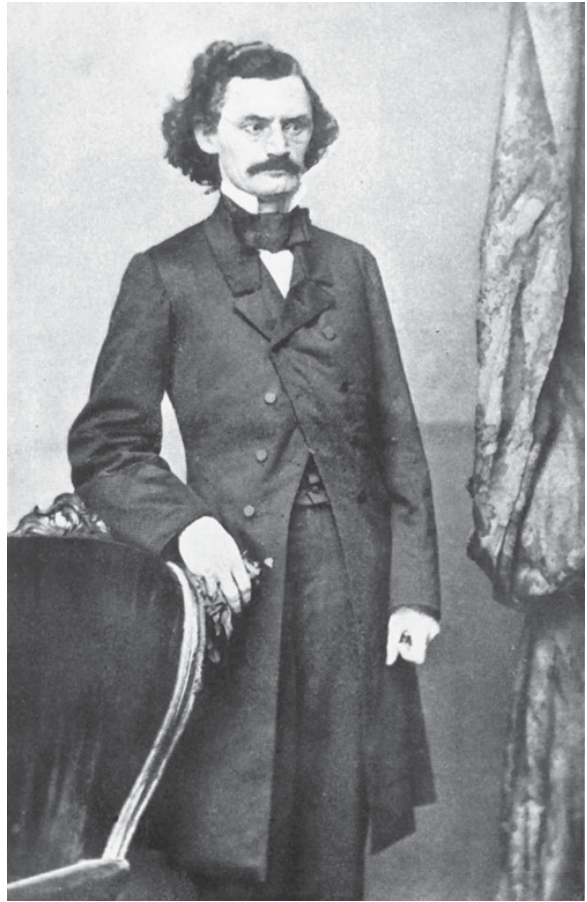


Figure 4. Carl Schurz, 1861. Image by Matthew Brady.

reading newspapers, gaining fluency that allowed him to become one of the busiest and most well-known Republican speakers in the nation. He settled in Watertown, Wisconsin, and lost a devastatingly close race to become the state’s Lieutenant Governor in 1857.³⁷ After establishing a legal practice in Milwaukee,

he devoted himself almost solely to the circuit of Republican advocacy in the years before the election of 1860.

The 1860 Election

The Republican Party eagerly anticipated the 1860 election, though the identity of its nominee was by no means certain. Lincoln, for his part, had done what he could to court the Germans of Illinois. In May of 1859, he sent a letter with his views on immigrant rights to the editor of the German-language Springfield *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*, Theodore Canisius. Canisius published this letter within the *Staats-Anzeiger* to assure its German readers of Lincoln's views. In this letter, Lincoln declared his opposition to a recent law in Massachusetts that required a two-year residency before a naturalized citizen could vote. It read, in part, "I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself."³⁸ German-language newspapers reprinted the letter nationwide.

Thirteen days after composing his letter to Canisius, Lincoln signed a contract with the man: Lincoln purchased the *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*, press and all, and contracted Canisius to run the paper, bearing its expenses and reaping its income. The paper was, Lincoln specified, "in political sentiment, not to depart from the Philadelphia and Illinois Republican platform."³⁹ Should Canisius publish the newspaper to Lincoln's satisfaction through the 1860 election, the paper would become Canisius's property and remain such as long as it supported the Republican Party.

Carl Schurz, Gustave Koerner, and Forty-Eighter Frederick Hassaurek of Ohio were prominent figures at the 1860 Republican Convention in Chicago.⁴⁰ Once again, the party adopted a pro-immigrant platform similar to the one first composed by Schneider. The adopted resolution, written by Koerner and Schurz, read, "The Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation, by which the rights of citizenship heretofore accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and is in favor of giving a full and sufficient protection to all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad."⁴¹ The 1860 Republican Party platform included the statement, referred to as the "Dutch Plank," as resolution number fourteen.

Most of the German-Americans in attendance at the convention, including Wisconsin's Schurz, had enthusiastically backed the nomination of United States Senator and established abolitionist William H. Seward. Two rounds of voting made it clear that Seward would not gain the nomination, and the party eventually nominated Koerner's preferred candidate, Abraham Lincoln. Koerner and Schurz were both among the party that traveled to Springfield to inform Lincoln of his nomination. Though disappointed by Seward's defeat, Schurz threw his wholehearted support behind Lincoln's candidacy and became one of his most fervent champions. Lincoln would write in a letter to Schurz the following month, "to the extent of our limited acquaintance, no man stands nearer my heart than yourself."⁴²

After Lincoln's nomination, Koerner stated, "And now commenced a campaign such as I never witnessed before or after. No party ever entered upon a canvass with more devotion to principle than did the Republican Party in 1860."⁴³ The Party's German surrogates such as Schurz, Koerner, Schneider, and Hassaurek, barely rested. They continually spoke and headlined at political meetings across the West. Nationwide, Republican German-language newspaper editors sought to convince their readers to support Lincoln. On November 3, 1860, the editor of the *Minnesota Staatszeitung*, Forty-Eighter Albert Wolff, used the German involvement in the creation of the Republican platform as a key argument for why his readers should vote Republican. He argued that the immigrant element was virtually unrepresented at the Democratic National Convention, while citing Schurz and Hassaurek's prominent roles in the Republican Convention and its platform's

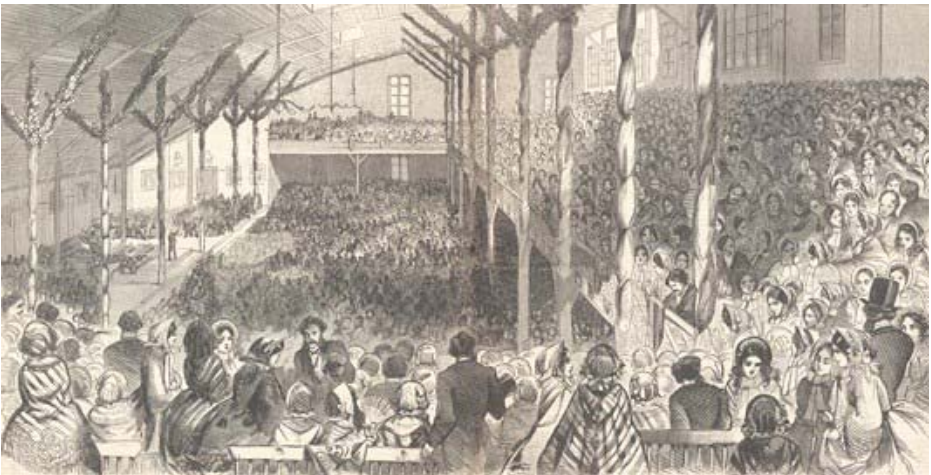


Figure 5. "The Republicans in Nominating Convention in Their Wigwam at Chicago, May 1860," from Harper's Weekly, May 19, 1860.

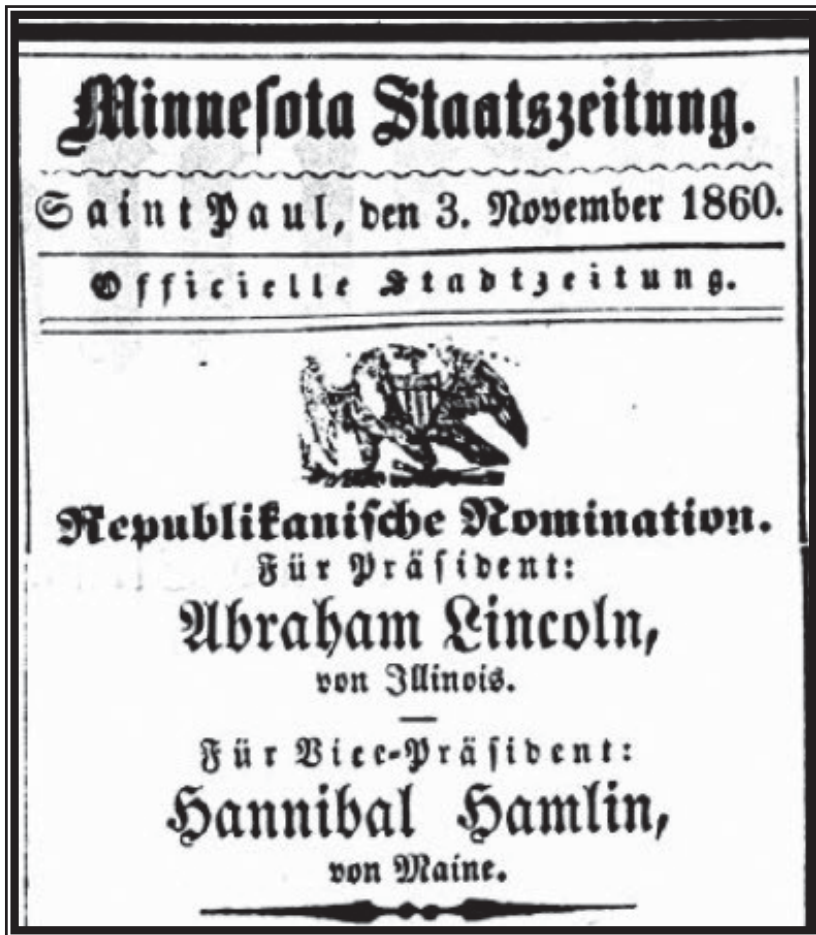


Figure 6. The *Minnesota Staatszeitung* endorses the Lincoln-Hamlin ticket, November 3, 1860.

creation. The pro-immigrant Dutch Plank, he asserted, would never have been included in the Republican platform without the involvement of “efficient, brave Germans.”⁴⁴

These efforts did not go to waste. On November 6, Lincoln won the presidency, carrying eighteen states and one-hundred-eighty electoral votes. For years, German Republicans claimed that their votes had turned the tide. Historians have since determined that this was most likely not true—except in Lincoln’s home state of Illinois, where German votes may very well have tipped the balance. This

occurred despite the fact that a slim majority of German-Americans, historians now estimate, probably voted for Douglas, the Democratic nominee.⁴⁵ Regardless of whether the votes they gained help him achieve election, Lincoln appreciated and rewarded his most steadfast German supporters. He appointed Carl Schurz minister to Spain in 1861. Gustav Koerner later filled the post when Schurz resigned to serve as a general in the Union Army. Lincoln named Hassaurek US minister to Ecuador and appointed George Schneider consul general at Elsinore, Denmark. Schneider turned over the daily management of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* to Lorenzo Brentano, the former president of the 1849 provisional Republic of Baden. Brentano would later serve Illinois in the US House of Representatives.

German-Americans went on to serve honorably in the Union Army as well. Along with Schurz, the Union had several other German-born generals, many of whom fought in the German Revolutions of 1848-1849. These include Franz Sigel, Alexander Schimmelfennig, Louis Blenker, August Willich, and Max Weber. Friedrich Hecker commanded an Illinois infantry made entirely of immigrants.⁴⁶ German-born soldiers enlisted in the Union rolls at a higher rate than any other foreign-born group.⁴⁷ After his service to the Union Army, Schurz became the first German-born member of the United States Senate, representing the state of Missouri. He would later serve as Secretary of the Interior under President Rutherford B. Hayes.

German-Americans were at the heart of the endeavor to create a new political party, dedicated to the cause of abolition. Previous idealistic struggles in the homeland they fled prepared Forty-Eighters well for this challenge. Some have since speculated on how Germany's subsequent history might have differed, had the revolutionaries won in 1848. In his foreword to a volume commemorating the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the German Revolutions, German Honorary Consul Richard E. Schade writes,

Imagine the establishment of a German democracy driven by consensus politics in the 1850s. Then—one might speculate—the Wilhelminian Reich and the complex constellation of factors leading to 1914 might never have occurred. Had the Great War not come to pass, then the postwar crises, inflation and governmental chaos, might not have developed in such a way as to be manipulated by totalitarian true-believers. Had the latter not been the case, then the inhumanities of another war might not have occurred. Hypothetical though these musings are, imagine a chain of events which would have led to the

commemoration of a century of German democracy in 1948, rather than to forty odd years of Cold War prior to the Wende of 1989.⁴⁸

Such a discussion, of course, can only remain an exercise in conjecture. However, that German-American immigrants played a major role in the creation and early promotion of the Republican Party is undeniable. Germany's loss of a generation of passionate, politically active exiles became the Republican Party's gain.

Notes

1. The largest and most powerful of the German states, Prussia and Austria, had their desires particularly well-represented in the Carlsbad and other larger Germanic decrees. See Ernest Bruncken, "German Political Refugees in the United States: 1815-1860," in *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1998), 17.

2. "Die Protokolle des Carlsbader Congresses von 1819," in *Wichtige Urkunden für den Rechtszustand der Deutschen Nation, mit Eigenhändigen Anmerkungen*, edited by Johann Ludwig Klüber and C. Welcker, 106-182, (Mannheim: Friedrich Bassermann, 1845), 106-182.

3. Bruncken, 17.

4. Gustave Koerner, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896: Life-Sketches Written at the Suggestion of His Children*, Volume I, edited by Thomas J. McCormack (Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1909). Koerner's name is alternately spelled Gustav and Gustave, Koerner and Körner.

5. Bruncken, 26.

6. Bruncken, 32.

7. M.J. Becker, "The Forty-Eighters: The Major Figures," in *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1998), 79.

8. Julius Fröbel, Franz Raveau, Hellmuth Wöhler, and Ludwig Simon von Trier, "Aufruf an das Deutsche Heer!" *Deutsche Reichstag Zeitung*, May 8, 1849, 451, accessed April 25, 2017.

9. Becker, 93.

10. Tobias Brinkmann, "Chicago," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, edited by Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005).

11. Bruncken, 38.

12. Bruncken, 45.

13. Christina Bearden-White, "Illinois Germans and the Coming of the Civil War: Reshaping Ethnic Identity," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 109, iss. 3 (fall 2016): 238.

14. Koerner, vol. I, 549. Note that at the point in history during which Koerner wrote his memoirs, “Native American” referred to those of European ancestry born on United States soil, rather than to the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

15. Koerner, vol. I, 550

16. Mischa Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists After 1848* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 107.

17. Bruncken, 29.

18. Allison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute/Cambridge, 2013), 44.

19. Bruncken, 46.

20. Honeck, 30.

21. Honeck, 29. There were, of course, exceptions. See, for example: Hartmut Keil, “Francis Lieber’s Attitudes on Race, Slavery, and Abolition,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 13-33.

22. American Anti-Slavery Society, “Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting (Excerpts),” New York, 1840, Anti-Slavery Collection: 18th-19th Century, The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, Yale University.

23. Efford, 54.

24. Ibid.

25. American Anti-Slavery Society.

26. Bruncken, 48.

27. Efford, 40.

28. Ibid.

29. Bruncken, 41.

30. Bruncken, 49.

31. Paul Selby, “George Schneider,” *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1906* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1906), 331.

32. Ida M. Tarbell, *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: S.S. McClure, 1896), 20.

33. Ibid.

34. Ezra M. Prince, editor, *Meeting of May 29, 1900 Commemorative of the Convention of May 29, 1856 That Organized the Republican party in the State of Illinois* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1900).

35. Bruncken, 52.

36. Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. I (New York: McClure, 1906), 338.
37. Incidentally, Schurz's wife, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, is renowned in her own right for having introduced the German idea of kindergarten to America. Ms. Schurz opened the country's first kindergarten in the Schurz home in Watertown in 1854.
38. Roy P. Basler, editor, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Volume III (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 381.
39. Basler, vol. III, 383.
40. Proceedings of the Republican National Convention Held at Chicago, May 16, 17 and 18, 1860 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company), 1860.
41. Koerner, vol. II, 87.
42. Basler, vol. IV, 78.
43. Koerner, vol. II, 96.
44. Albert Wolff, "Ein ernstes Wort in ernster Stunde [A serious word in a serious hour]," *Minnesota Staatszeitung*, November 3, 1860, edited by Albert Wolff, Minnesota Historical Society Digital Newspaper Hub.
45. James M. Bergquist, "People and Politics in Transition: The Illinois Germans, 1850–1860," in *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 196.
46. Becker, 80.
47. Wolfgang Hochbruck, "American Civil War, German Participants in," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, edited by Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005).
48. Richard E. Schade, "Foreword," in *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1998), v.

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Strange Bedfellows: Nativism, Know-Nothings, African-Americans, and School Desegregation In Antebellum Massachusetts

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Introduction

Rapidly changing economic conditions fueled a bewildering set of dislocations. The value of labor for the working class fell. The population of the foreign born increased exponentially, their numbers pregnant with an unfamiliar culture and a religious faith despised by most Americans. Urban life was beset with poverty and crime. Traditional social and political institutions were incapable of redressing or even containing a growing discontent. These factors and other forces translated into a rage directed at the elite and their failed institutions, spawning a populist revolt that manifested itself in racism, hatred, xenophobia, exclusion and a determination to overthrow the old order and start afresh. That was Massachusetts in the early 1850s.

African-Americans—chafing at life at the margins in a state that nevertheless offered the best overall quality of life in the nation—sought equality of education for their children in fully integrated schools. Utilizing boycotts, non-violent tactics and an alliance with elite whites who objected to inferior “separate but equal” schools, a movement formed driven by a charismatic yet unassuming leader that demanded desegregation. That too was Massachusetts in the early 1850s.

At the nexus of these unlikely arcs, the nativist American Party, known popularly as the “Know-Nothings,” capitalizing on rampant anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment, swept the state, capturing the legislature and the governor’s office. Paradoxically, it was this legislature dominated by Know-Nothings—who rose to power plying the politics of exclusion—that outlawed segregation in schools across the state. The improbable cooperation between nativists and champions of African-American equality, and its highly significant result, is the topic of this paper.

Massachusetts in the Early 1850s

Massachusetts in the early 1850s had undergone dramatic changes that

had radically upended the social, economic, and political dynamics of its very recent past. Once a primarily agricultural state with a thriving urban hub in Boston and its vicinity, by the 1850s Massachusetts had become “the nation’s most densely populated, urbanized, and industrialized state. . . . Social and economic dislocations on a scale exceeding those in other states exerted intense pressures for a political response.”¹ The relatively small size of the state constrained population growth in its heyday of agriculture, leading to wide emigration patterns to the expanding west. But the steady growth in manufacturing from flourishing textile mills and other industries proved a magnet to the native born as well as immigrants from abroad.²

Massachusetts had long been moving towards industrialism, but as manufacturing intensified and agriculture declined, there was a profound shift from the traditional rural and small-town way of life to one often brutally focused upon wage labor in an urban environment. These cumulative trends generated exponential social and economic dislocations that brought dramatic changes to lifeways and bred psychological stress that left great numbers in the population uncertain, angry, and resentful towards those who controlled the political arena—typically legislators beholden to the interests of the “Brahmin” elite—who seemed unwilling or incapable of addressing their concerns.³

Much of the complaints of the growing class of wage laborers coalesced around the so-called “Ten Hour Law,” a proposal that would for the first time restrict the number of consecutive hours a laborer could be tasked to work. Such calls were vehemently resisted by the captains of industry that owned the mills and factories and effectively controlled the economic life in the urban industrial milieu, as well as their business-friendly patron, the Whig Party, which commanded outsize political power in the state, backed by the full authority of the police and the judicial system. There was an often-promoted capitalist fiction that celebrated the freedom of wage earners to sell their labor to the highest bidder, but the reality was instead starkly bleak, as members of the proletariat typically worked long hours for low wages in mind-numbingly repetitive jobs in unsafe working conditions—and one employer was no better or worse than the next.⁴ As historian John R. Mulkern underscores:

Factory work meant low pay, excessive hours, harsh discipline, and deplorable working conditions on a year-round basis. Female operatives put in a seventy-five to eighty-hour week. Factory children, who constituted a majority of the employees in some mills, worked up to seventy hours a week for a few pennies a day. And

everyone labored under a contract dictated by the owners. Through it all, Whig spokesmen and other apologists heaped encomiums on the factory system as the benefactor of the workers. Preachments that factory employment in the mills spelled opportunity for the self-reliant, however, clashed with the ugly reality of factory life.⁵

At the same time, there was a growing resentment in the remaining rural, agrarian segments of the western and central geography still centered upon small-town life that their concerns were completely ignored by a state government preoccupied with rapid economic growth in urban industrialization. "Rural Bay Staters, ever jealous of their political influence on Beacon Hill, viewed with trepidation the demographic trends that were multiplying the number of urban seats in the General Court."⁶ Moreover, passionate voices for change—in the pro-temperance and anti-slavery movements, for example—remained muted by elite power brokers deaf to their concerns. Add to this combustible mix a massive influx of immigrants.⁷

Much has been made of the breakdown of the two-party system in the Antebellum period, a national fracture formed along the fault line of slavery, but often overlooked are the local dynamics that put stress upon traditional party politics in individual states, tensions entirely unrelated or only peripherally correlated to the slavery question. Perhaps nowhere was this more evident than in Massachusetts. The same two parties—Jacksonian Democrats, popularly known as "the Democracy," and Whigs, descendants of the anti-Jackson National Republicans, whose core values were called "Whiggery"—were rivals with competing political philosophies in Massachusetts as elsewhere in the nation, but it was their identification with parochial concerns that more starkly defined the parties in the Bay State.⁸

Whigs, who were strongly associated with the pro-business interests of the economic elites, were dominant and had been for some time. Whig control of Beacon Hill—both the legislature and the governor's office—had nearly become institutionalized. The bicameral Massachusetts legislature known as the "General Court" had an over-crowded lower house that made it unwieldy and sharply diluted the power of representatives.⁹ Districting, growing in popularity in other states, was unknown here. So too was plurality. As such, the governor won election by majority vote. A failure to achieve such majority—which occurred with some frequency—sent the race to be decided by the Whig-controlled legislature, which all but assured continued Whig dominance.¹⁰

Out-of-power Democrats chafed at the status-quo and were eager for any

opportunity to gain ground by challenging Whigs where they might be vulnerable, but were left mostly frustrated. As in other geographies, Democrats appealed to the interests of the yeoman farmer, championed the destiny of the common man, promoted laissez-faire economics, and fiercely defended local government from any encroachment from above. Their greatest political opportunity was perhaps in the “Ten Hour Law,” which had near unanimous support among the working class yet had little hope for passage as long as pro-business Whigs gripped the reins of power. But there was an inherent paradox: how could the Democracy embrace a law that was otherwise antithetical to its core belief that government should ever take a hands-off approach in the economic and social arenas? As it turned out, it could not.¹¹ Yet, in a rather brief span of time, these same arenas had been subjected to dizzying changes that brewed widespread dissatisfaction and frustration, which the state government would not or could not even attempt to mitigate.¹²

There were other forces clawing at the margins for political power, including the nativists and anti-temperance elements. But the largest and most prominent was the anti-slavery Free Soil Party, whose leadership plotted for a way to gain ground. What happened next was unexpected: a “Coalition” of Free-Soilers, anti-corporate Democrats (known as “Locofocos”), and disaffected Whigs combined to deliver a surprising electoral upset that brought them to a command of the General Court in 1851. Since it was the state legislature that chose members of the United States Senate in those days, the greatest historical significance of the Coalition coup was the selection as US Senator of the notable anti-slavery warrior Charles Sumner, who was to loom large on the national stage in the decade ahead. But the Coalition was less successful locally, championing a new state constitution predicated upon wide reforms that ultimately went down to defeat. The Coalition fractured, leaving deeply wounded Whigs, uncertain Democrats, and various splinter groups all jockeying for power in increasingly unfamiliar territory.¹³ This chaos created a vacuum that was exploited and eventually occupied by what was called the “Dark Lantern” politics of the Know-Nothings.¹⁴

Nativism and Irish Immigration

The presence of an ever-growing mass of Irish refugees from Europe with an unfamiliar culture and an offensive religion served up an attractive target for xenophobia that united otherwise disparate constituencies in shared opposition. Nativists hated the Irish because they were both foreign and Roman Catholic.¹⁵ For the working class, the Irish seemed to pose an economic threat as unwanted

competition in the job market, although this was far more imagined than real: factories were booming and had no shortage of low-paying dangerous jobs to go around.¹⁶ Like most despised recent immigrants to the United States, the Irish took the worst jobs at the lowest wages that no Americans wanted. Whigs—the party of the Brahmin elite, the factory owner, the wealthy—viewed the Irish, who tended to naturally gravitate towards the Democrats, as another bloc of future voters who threatened their hegemony.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Democrats took them in only warily, collectively holding their noses, but with an eye towards their eventual value at the ballot box.¹⁸

Traditionalists blamed the Irish for the increases in crime typical to rapid industrialization.¹⁹ Free-Soilers, who in Massachusetts could count on an unusual number of downright abolitionists, were affronted by the apparent racism of the Irish towards blacks that seemed to exceed that of the native born.²⁰ Pro-temperance true-believers viewed the Irish, who like the Germans loved their beer, as a drunken mob.²¹ Native Protestants had a visceral hatred for Roman Catholicism, as well as an unshakable belief that loyalty to the Pope superseded all national borders; the Irish were Catholic almost to a man and thus instantly suspect. Many of these various cohorts overlapped, of course, sometimes on

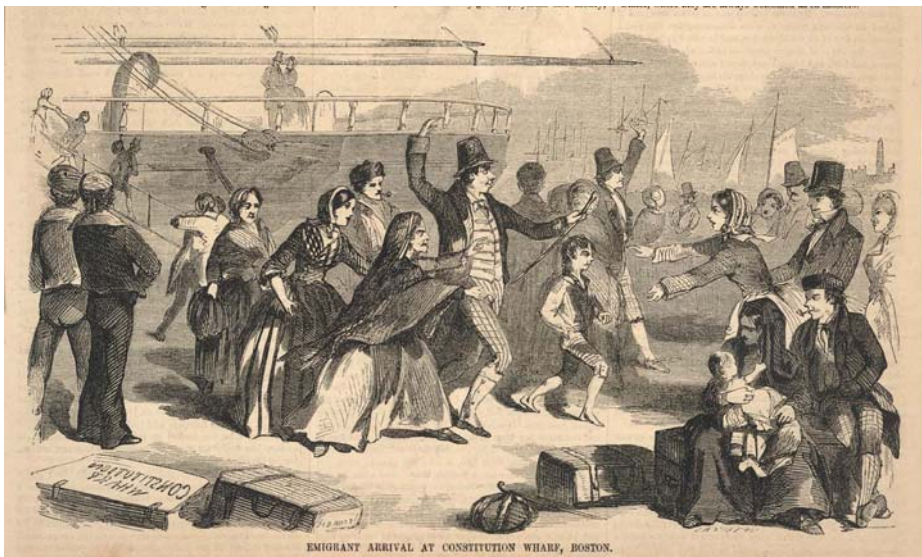


Figure 1. *Emigrant Arrival at Constitution Wharf, Boston*, Caneela (?), Wood engraving on newsprint, 31 October 1857.

multiple levels, overcoming their differences in the commonality of their hatred of the Irish. This served as a kind of glue that bound together the several different elements that comprised the Know-Nothing membership.²²

Nativism has a long, dreadful history in American politics that dates back almost to the very dawn of the Republic. The “Alien and Sedition Acts” enacted in 1798—only a single decade after the Constitution was ratified—increased the residency requirements for naturalization, and granted extraordinary arbitrary authority for the President to imprison and deport aliens deemed “dangerous to the peace and safety,” as well as non-citizen aliens in residence during a time of declared war.²³ One unlikely champion for such extreme measures was Alexander Hamilton, who in a 1798 letter to then Secretary of State Timothy Pickering declared: “My opinion is that . . . the mass [of aliens] ought to be obliged to leave the Country.”²⁴ The irony of this “disappointing stance” was not lost on his biographer, Ron Chernow, who notes that Hamilton, born in the West Indies, was “America’s most famous foreign-born citizen.”²⁵ A little more than a century later, Woodrow Wilson asserted that: “Now there came multitudes of men of the lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland . . . where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence . . . as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population.”²⁶ And, of more recent familiarity, then-candidate Donald Trump insisted that: “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending the best. They’re . . . sending people that have lots of problems and they’re bringing those problems. They’re bringing drugs, they’re bringing crime. They’re rapists.”²⁷ As such, this pithy 1841 comment by John Pintard, New York City merchant and philanthropist, hardly seems out of place: “The vice and drunkenness among the lowering laboring classes is growing to frightful excess, and the multitudes of low Irish Catholics . . . restricted by poverty in their own country run riot in this . . . as long as we are overwhelmed with Irish immigrants, so long will the evil abound.”²⁸ In this context, nativism is hardly an aberration in America. It is a part of our national DNA. Thus, it rears its ugly head again and again. As historian Ronald P. Formisano underscores, such “impulses were as mainstream as tolerance and plurality—coexisting and contesting, side by side.”²⁹

Spikes in nativism have frequently coincided with an increase in the percentage of the foreign-born population and immigration trends. Pintard’s comments anticipated the 1850 census, which logged a foreign-born population of 9.7%. At the time Wilson wrote, that number had risen to 13.6%, and continued to historic highs before declining precipitously—to a low of 4.7% in 1970—then

rising once more to 12.9% in 2010, just a few years prior to Trump's soundbite.³⁰ The ethnicity of the immigrant varied, but the dynamic was unchanged.

In this era, the chief target of nativist outrage was the Irish. As Formisano points out:

It was hardly coincidental that the peak of Know-Nothing/American success came in the very years that unprecedented numbers of immigrants arrived in America – over 400,000 in 1854. The influx of close to 3 million new immigrants from 1844 to 1854 amounted to 14.5% of the nation's 1845 population. The culture shock registered in countless ways, most notably in the political tsunami of nativism and anti-Catholicism.³¹

These anti-Irish trends had a long history that included the burning of a convent in Charleston, Massachusetts in 1834,³² and a series of riots in 1844 in Philadelphia that had the city in flames and claimed dozens of lives.³³ But the massive mid-century influx of the Irish exacerbated existing antipathies.³⁴

The potato, a New World crop, made its way to Europe via the Columbian Exchange, and was a key ingredient to an "agricultural revolution" that resulted in a population boom. This was most evident in Ireland, which consumed more potatoes than anyone else, and increased its population of 1.5 million in the 1600s to something like 8.5 million in the 1800s, largely due to a substantial decrease in infant mortality from famine times.³⁵ Another New World product was a type of bird guano that made excellent fertilizer, sourced from islands off of the coast of Peru and exported to Europe.³⁶ It is likely that one of the guano ships brought a new strain of Andean potatoes to Belgium in 1843/44 along with a hidden passenger, an oomycete called *P.infestans*—a kind of water mold—that caused a blight that devastated potatoes across Europe. It was first spotted in Ireland in September 1845, and in two months more than a quarter of the potato crop was wiped out. And that was only the beginning. Ireland was a nation beset by poverty with a population so dependent upon this staple that forty percent ate "no solid food but potatoes."³⁸ According to Charles Mann, "The consequences were horrific; Ireland was transformed into a post-apocalyptic landscape. . . . People ate dogs, rats, and tree bark. Reports of cannibalism were frequent. . . . So many died that in many Western towns the bodies were interred in mass graves."³⁹ Between 1845 and 1855, Ireland lost a third of its population—1 million people died from starvation and disease, and 2 million emigrated.⁴⁰

Many such emigrants made for Massachusetts, with its convenient port

that was on a direct line from Liverpool. For the Bay State, as Mulkern notes, this translated into an,

Influx during the 1840s and 1850s of thousands of Irish immigrants, driven by poverty, famine, and oppression from the Old World to seek a better life in the New. Over ten thousand arrived in the Commonwealth in 1845. Just two years later, the number entering had doubled, and by 1855, one out of every five Bay Staters was foreign-born. Immigrants and their children were in the majority in Boston, the capital city of Yankee Massachusetts, and were fanning out in apparently inexhaustible numbers to the other cities and manufacturing towns of the state.⁴¹

Know-Nothings Sweep to Power

Frustration with the existing parties united disparate entities who lacked the ability to otherwise turn their respective political voices into consequential results, including nativists, temperance advocates, and anti-slavery forces. The American Party—known as the Know-Nothings, or simply as “Sam”—after the identification with Uncle Sam’s nephew that became its emblem—wore a nativist cloak, but one that belied a complexity in the fabric of its membership. And the most significant threads were those former members of the Free-Soil Party, who briefly tasted political power during the coalition days—long enough to put Charles Sumner in the Senate. Some clearly sought to hijack the mantle of the Know-Nothings in order to advance anti-slavery ideals, but not all: a number of Free-Soilers, in Massachusetts as elsewhere, also held to pro-temperance and nativist ideals.⁴² Yet, it was the mass of followers with anti-slavery loyalties that had the most impact upon the Know-Nothing Party—and ultimately upon African-Americans—in the state of Massachusetts.

Perhaps most emblematic of these associates was Henry Wilson, a cunning and chameleonlike operator whose first allegiance was to Free Soil but according to historian William E. Gienapp “joined the nativist bandwagon as part of a calculated bid to be elected to the United States Senate.”⁴³ Less cynically, Dale Baum argues that “Wilson genuinely hoped to make Know-Nothingism the vehicle for a strong antislavery program.”⁴⁴ Virginia Purdy concurs, noting that: “It was Wilson’s strong conviction that office-holding was the only way to get ‘principles’ into the statutes that led him into the Know-Nothing party.”⁴⁵ It was true that Wilson was not willing to sacrifice political power for ideological purity,

a lesson that perhaps should not be lost on anyone seeking to be an agent of change. Mulkern perhaps best captures the complexity of Wilson as a political figure, describing him as a,

Study in pragmatism. He comprehended politics as the art of the possible, and to make things work it was sometimes necessary to blur decisive issues and to resort to expediency . . . He also understood the significance of political power and that in a republic power flows from the ballot box. Political victories, he wrote, were not won by adhering scrupulously to abstract ideals, however noble they might be.⁴⁶



Figure 2. Henry Wilson, Vice President of the United States, unknown photographer, between 1860 and 1875.

Significantly, it was Wilson, who was to join Sumner as an anti-slavery force in the United States Senate, who earlier proved to be a key figure in forging the short-lived Coalition, as well as later helping to engineer the later Know-Nothing sweep to victory.

The key ingredient to Know-Nothing success was a network of local fraternal lodges comprised of relatives, friends, and neighbors.⁴⁷ These lodges, which met in secret, initially represented an organic yet “protean force” that was “built on antipartyism,” yet morphed into a unique party of its own.⁴⁸ The core values of the organization could be traced back to the Native American Party of the 1840s and its especially virulent strain of anti-Irish nativism. While its descendant was loyal to its roots in this regard, it was much more of a bigger tent populist movement that developed as a by-product of a paralyzed political culture unresponsive to popular dissatisfaction. Their secrecy, a trademark of what was styled “Dark Lantern” politics, spawned the sobriquet “Know-Nothings,” which was at first a pejorative, but later embraced by the membership. The genius of their secretive “Dark Lantern” approach was this organizational structure rooted in local lodges whose members were especially loyal precisely because their fellow associates were friends and neighbors. The strength, discipline and clandestine nature of the lodge organization was clearly the reason for the near universal astonishment at the 1854 election results: “What had been a shadowy network of fraternal lodges suddenly erupted at the polls, electing the governor, all forty senators, and all but three representatives in the House, with 63 percent of the vote.”⁴⁹

The political impact of the Know-Nothings was a national phenomenon, but only Massachusetts produced such a landslide.⁵⁰ Like their brethren elsewhere, and true to their ideological commitment, once in power Bay State Know-Nothings sought to deprive Roman Catholics of “their right to hold public office,” and to make the naturalization process for aliens longer and more arduous.⁵¹ However, much of their nativist zeal was spent on such absurdities as replacing “the Latin inscription above the house Speaker’s podium with an English translation.”⁵² But unlike their counterparts in much of the rest of country, the Beacon Hill Know-Nothing legislature passed a host of extremely progressive reform legislation, creating laws to protect workingmen, enacting mechanics’ lien laws, and—significantly—ending imprisonment for debt.⁵³ There were also laws that provided an overall boost to public school expenditure, made vaccination compulsory, funded libraries, took tentative steps to regulate child labor, and strikingly improved women’s rights in property, marriage and divorce.⁵⁴ They came close to actually passing a version of the Ten-Hour Law, but ultimately failed in that

endeavor.⁵⁵

There was much more, however, including a law that “prohibited the exclusion [from public schools] of children for either racial or religious reasons.”⁵⁶ This landmark legislation, which effectively made Massachusetts the first state in the country to ban school desegregation, has been largely overlooked or given scant attention by historians of this era. A 1989 book length treatment of the Know-Nothing legislature by the historian Virginia Purdy, for example, devotes but a single line of its two hundred eighty-nine pages to this momentous and truly historic moment: “They also passed (‘with a shout’ in the House of Representatives) a law prohibiting all distinctions of color and religion in admitting children to Massachusetts public schools, ending a long and bitter struggle to desegregate Boston’s schools in particular.”⁵⁷ Conspicuous in its absence in the historiography is how all of this came about.

African Americans and School Desegregation

By the 1850s, Massachusetts arguably offered the best overall quality of life for African Americans anywhere in the country, making the commonwealth a favored destination for runaway slaves who were welcomed into thriving black communities that would actively aid and abet their escape.⁵⁸ It was “a hotbed of abolitionism and the most egalitarian state in the nation.”⁵⁹ That is not to say that blacks did not experience racism, as well as elements of separation and exclusion typical for that era, but by all accounts conditions were vastly better than those in other states, north and south. Massachusetts, for instance, was one of only five states where African-Americans had the right to vote. In the economic sphere, blacks put a grip to almost every rung of the occupational ladder, most notably evidenced by African-American attorney Robert Morris, and there was a thriving black middle class. Massachusetts also had a very active abolitionist movement with key players both white and black. Yet, for all that, conditions varied by region within the state, and, it should be noted, the rights enjoyed evolved by custom rather than protection by law. Disparities were most pronounced in Boston, where for many years segregation was the *status quo* in housing, in theaters, in transportation—and education.⁶⁰

According to historian Rabbi Louis Ruchames, the first public schools were viewed as “eleemosynary institutions” for educating the poor through public charity, thus stigmatized with an implied dependency blacks sought to avoid by fostering separate Negro schools, financed largely by wealthy and sympathetic white philanthropists.⁶¹ Over time, public education was widely seen as a shared

right, and blacks lobbied for public funds to support their schools. In 1820, the first Negro public school was established in Boston; there were others in New Bedford, Salem and Nantucket. But it soon became clear that separate schools not only tended to inferior facilities, but underscored an inferior status for blacks by virtue of their separation. Black leaders and their white abolitionist allies lobbied for integration, which was surprisingly successful; by 1846, public schools were fully effectively desegregated throughout the state with the lone exception of the Boston school system. There, the city's school committee took an uncompromising stand against integration that launched a nearly decade long "scene of one of the most prolonged and intense campaigns for Negro rights in the history of the North."⁶²

The somewhat unlikely figure at the center of this struggle was William Cooper Nell, who as a boy attended one of these segregated schools, Boston's Belknap Street School for Negroes, where he was scarred by a humiliation that



Figure 3. William Cooper Nell (1816-1874),
photographer unknown.

turned him into an ardent integrationist. In this episode, Boston's Mayor, William Gray Otis, and a noted civic leader, Samuel T. Armstrong, oversaw examinations for academic excellence that awarded top students highly coveted "Franklin Medals." Nell was one of the recipients, but instead of a medal, he and other worthy black students were given instead a biography of Benjamin Franklin. Worse, their white counterparts were honored with a grand dinner at Faneuil Hall, where the medals were presented, and black honorees were not invited. The resourceful Nell conspired with a friend who was a waiter so that he was able to observe the proceedings while assisting with food service. Armstrong recognized Nell, and whispered, "You ought to be here with the other boys." He wondered to himself: "If you think so, why have you not taken steps to bring it about?" Many years later, Nell recalled: "The impression made on my mind, by this day's experience, deepened into a solemn vow that, God helping me, I would do my best to hasten the day when the color of the skin would be no barrier to equal school rights."⁶³

William Cooper Nell was a remarkable individual who has somehow been nearly lost to history. Born in Boston, the son of a free black anti-slavery advocate, the polymath Nell became—often simultaneously—a journalist, a writer, a historian, an activist, an abolitionist, a civil servant, and a tireless promoter of African-American rights. From his youth, he was inspired by William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist crusade, and he worked first as assistant and later as journalist on Garrison's famous newspaper, *The Liberator*. He also wrote for Frederick Douglass's *The North Star*, but when a schism developed in the abolitionist movement, Nell remained loyal to Garrison and was alienated from Douglass. Nell studied law, but was never admitted to the bar because, deeply influenced by Garrison, he believed that he could not take an oath to the Constitution, which both men saw as a pro-slavery document.⁶⁴ Nell wrote two books—*Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812*, and *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*—the first histories focused on blacks ever published in the United States.⁶⁵ Most characteristic of Nell was his unswerving opposition to what he termed "colorphobia," as well his uncompromising stance on integration. Nell resisted anything that smacked of separation, even otherwise benevolent efforts that were sympathetic to his goals but were divided by color. In an especially radical stance for many black as well as white audiences of the day, Nell also strictly opposed separate churches.⁶⁶

The heir to Nell's old school on Belknap, rebuilt and renamed the Smith School, was the focal point of the resistance to segregation. The Smith building hosted a primary school, as well as the only public grammar school (for children

eight to thirteen years old) for blacks; there was no high school. Because the Smith Grammar School was near Boston Common, and most blacks lived “on the back slope of Beacon Hill,” the location was inconvenient. There were also allegations of substandard leadership by Smith’s white principal.⁶⁷ In 1844, a group led by John Hilton, a black barber and antislavery activist, Nell, and (then law student) Robert Morris, began a petition drive to end segregation.⁶⁸ When this attempt, which was stubbornly repeated in several subsequent years, ended in failure, a call for boycott began. Hilton pulled his own daughter out of Smith, “where she was doing poorly, and moved her into an integrated school in Cambridge where she carried away the honors from the white children.”⁶⁹ Other blacks followed suit, although not all black families advocated integration.⁷⁰ Attendance dropped at Smith, but the Boston School Committee was intransigent, ruling repeatedly—although by narrower margins over the years—that segregation was the best solution for children of both races.⁷¹

By 1849, Smith attendance had dropped by half, but the boycott was threatened by the appointment of a competent new headmaster who was black—and had the support of those African-American families who did not object to segregation. The integrationists, with Nell now in a central leadership role, ratcheted up pressure for the boycott, including a peaceful but nevertheless physical presence at Smith School to discourage registrants, which was eventually scattered by police. That evening, when Nell and his boycott advocates met at the nearby Belknap Street Baptist Church, opponents outside threw stones, breaking church windows. Nell, who consistently advocated for strict nonviolence—and whose methods and mien in some senses prefigured by a century those of Martin Luther King—told the crowd that the stones will be kept “as trophies of the prowess of those who resort to such methods of appeal.”⁷² The boycott continued.

Meanwhile, the courts got involved. A black parent, Benjamin R. Roberts, sued for equal protection rights under the state constitution because his daughter was barred from attending a school near her residence and was compelled to a long walk to Smith instead. He was represented by Robert Morris, now one of the first African-American attorneys in the United States, and Charles Sumner, who would later serve as United States Senator. In April 1850, the state Supreme Court ruled against him, declaring that each locality could decide for itself whether to have or end segregation.⁷³ (This ruling was to serve as an unfortunate precedent for the ignominious separate but equal ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* some decades hence.⁷⁴) Rather than lose hope, Nell doubled down his efforts, this time with a new tactic—a “Negro taxpayer’s boycott of Boston.” Prominent blacks began to move out of the city to the suburbs, which all featured

integrated schools, depriving Boston of tax revenue.⁷⁵

Ironically, larger national events with grave implications for the state overshadowed the desegregation endeavor while infusing it with new vigor. The Compromise of 1850, embraced by prominent Whig Daniel Webster, included a powerful Fugitive Slave Act that put former slaves in Massachusetts in grave jeopardy, and fully alienated anti-slavery Free-Soilers from the Whigs. Southern agents made well-publicized attempts to seize and return escapees to their owners, which energized active legal and extra-legal resistance in the state. Integration efforts paled alongside this greater crisis for African-Americans. Yet, it also brought greater sympathy and legitimacy for their struggle to a wider audience. The legislature passed a "Personal Liberty Bill" that forbade state officials from aiding federal authorities in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act."⁷⁶ Because opponents questioned its organic nature and cast his movement as but a pawn of abolitionists, Nell had long downplayed the quiet, consistent support of his white allies. But in the wake of the unfortunate Massachusetts Supreme Court ruling, he actively reached out to them. Abolitionists were too preoccupied with resisting the Fugitive Slave Act to lobby vigorously for integration, and one of several school desegregation bills died in the legislature early in 1851, but antislavery sentiments intensified.⁷⁷

There was even greater irony ahead. The Whigs were swept out of office in the populist revolt that put the Know-Nothing Party in control of the General Court, which in Massachusetts manifested itself as a virulently nativist yet curiously progressive and anti-slavery political entity. Many Know-Nothings were—like Henry Wilson—Free Soil, or allied to their interests. Now a powerful and influential US Senator, Charles Sumner also had a friendly relationship with both the Know-Nothing lawmakers and Nell's integrationists. This time, a new bill "easily passed the . . . House . . . with a shout, not more than half a dozen voices being heard in opposition . . . the Senate quickly concurred, and the Know-Nothing governor signed the bill on April 28, 1855."⁷⁸

Nell's persistent agitation over more than a decade had finally succeeded; Massachusetts became the first state in the United States of America to prohibit public school segregation.⁷⁹ Still, in retrospect this celebration should be tempered by the racist motives of some of those Know-Nothing lawmakers, who saw little threat in the "small, Protestant Negro minority" but much menace in the growing numbers of Irish Catholics swelling the population. In debate prior to passage of the desegregation bill, one proponent who was a representative from Boston regretted "that Negroes living on the outskirts . . . were forced to go a long distance to Smith School . . . while . . . the 'dirtiest Irish,' were allowed to step from their

houses into the nearest school.”⁸⁰

Conclusion: Populism & Progressivism

A landmark law favoring black education represented just a fraction of the host of progressive legislation passed by the Know-Nothing legislature. What can historians make of the fact that what at first glance looks like a nativist, reactionary political entity turned into one of the most progressive legislative forces in American history? It could well be that populist revolts take on many faces but at root most are simply and essentially populist revolts, striking out against the status quo. The recent past can serve as guide. For example, as essayist Lance Morrow observed of the presidential election of 1968: “There was poetry, if not logic, in the fact that many voters who would have supported Robert Kennedy switched to Wallace after Kennedy’s death. Kennedy and Wallace, so different in most ways, drew from the same deep pools of passion and longing for a voice.”⁸¹ Just as incongruously, there is strong suspicion that a number of 2016 Democratic primary supporters of Bernie Sanders ultimately voted for Donald Trump, who represented an agent of change, even if one nearly diametrically opposed to their original candidate.⁸²

Historian Ronald P. Formisano argues convincingly that a mosaic of forces can serve as engine to revolts against the *status quo*, and that it did in this case, noting,

That Know-Nothingism was populist *and* progressive *and* reactionary. It was not progressive because it was populist, or reactionary because it was populist. Rather, all three of these currents came together, making it a classic case of the combination of progressive and reactionary elements in a populist movement.⁸³

In this sense then, the paradox of a movement defined on its face by racism advancing the rights of African-Americans may be no less remarkable, perhaps, but at least bears clarity.

Epilogue

Gearing up for the 1856 presidential race, the national Know-Nothings met in convention and declared the party agnostic on slavery, seeking to unite the country behind nativism. Massachusetts Know-Nothings, however, met in

Springfield on August 6-7, 1855, and while championing nativism countered with a free soil and antislavery position known as the “Springfield Platform.” This severely wounded the national party, which nevertheless nominated former President Millard Fillmore, who went down to defeat in 1856 as antislavery votes hemorrhaged from the American Party and flowed in great numbers to the emerging Republican Party.⁸⁴ The Know-Nothings were essentially relegated to a footnote in history. Republicans obtained the White House for the first time in the 1860 election, and Civil War ensued that resulted in the abolition of slavery. Henry Wilson capped off a distinguished career as Vice-President of the United States in the second term of President Ulysses S. Grant.⁸⁵ In a life marked by many notable achievements, in yet another milestone William Cooper Nell “became the first African-American to hold a federal civilian post,” when he was selected as Boston postal clerk in 1861.⁸⁶ The rights of blacks, however, suffered after Reconstruction, in the north as well as the south. African-Americans had to fight a long battle to effectively desegregate Boston schools once again, more than a century after Nell and his determined movement integrated schools the first time. Anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice lingered long after the Civil War, as well, and while the Irish have now long been assimilated into American life, as recently as 1960 the Catholic religion of the Democratic nominee for President, John F. Kennedy, remained a significant liability in a very close election.⁸⁸ And nativism, this time directed at an entirely different ethnicity, remains a thriving business in 2017.⁸⁹

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The Impact of Carpatho-Rusyn Immigrants and Their Descendants on the United States

Daniel Rosko

Throughout its history, immigration has been foundational to the birth and development of the United States. Immigrants to the United States have come from every corner of the globe. Among the European immigrants largely unknown to Americans today are the Carpatho-Rusyns, or simply the Rusyns. The height of Rusyn immigration to the United States occurred in the early 1900s. Their peers often misidentified them as Hungarians, Slovaks or Czechoslovaks, Russians, or Ukrainians. Yet, in a manner similar to other European immigrants, the Rusyns played a crucial role in the shaping of their new homeland. The influence of Rusyn immigrants on the United States is substantial and worthy of note.

It is essential to examine four areas to understand the role that Rusyns have played in the United States. The categories include contributions made by Rusyns at a civil and military level as well as those of a social and cultural nature. In examining these four categories, one can gain a better understanding of the role that Rusyn immigrants and their descendants played in shaping America. By examining the origins of Rusyn immigrants, one can see how they and their descendants affected the United States, from holding key positions at the state and federal level of government, participating as marines, soldiers, and sailors in military operations, introducing Eastern Catholic rites, and influencing the entertainment industry in art, music, and film.

Identity and Origins of the Carpatho-Rusyns

To understand how Rusyns have affected the United States, it is important to be familiar with the people and their former home, Eastern Europe, specifically the area known as the Carpathian Mountains. Because the Rusyn homeland touches parts of Slovakia, Poland, and Ukraine, it has more than one name, such as, Carpatho-Ruthenia, Subcarpathian Rus', or Carpatho-Ukraine, as well as Carpatho-Russia.¹ From here on, the author will refer to their area of origin as Carpathian-Ruthenia and to the people as Rusyns. Although there are numerous names for this region, the Rusyns did not have their own country, which led to them being incorrectly associated with other European groups. The borders of European countries throughout the Carpatho-Ruthenia region determined the

nationality of the Rusyns, who are best considered as an ethnic group. Prior to the First World War, Rusyns were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and subjects of the Hungarian Crown. After the end of the World War I, the country of Czechoslovakia was born and Rusyns became Czechoslovaks. Today the countries of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary recognize Rusyns as a national minority with full rights.² Understanding the changing landscape from which the Rusyns came is only half the story. The lives of these people give insight into who they were and why they came to America.

Unlike urban dwellers within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Rusyns predominantly led a rural life in the Carpathian Mountains. Living in small villages that contained only a few hundred inhabitants, the Rusyns primarily worked at logging, small-scale agriculture, and shepherding.³ These occupations did not provide financial opportunity for the Rusyns. Life in the villages saw many working as serfs for Polish or Hungarian landlords until the Revolutions of 1848, which abolished serfdom. Following that period, many worked as poorly paid agricultural laborers.⁴ Living this way in the Carpathian Mountains provided the spark for many Rusyns to seek better economic opportunities. Many believed they could realize a better existence for themselves and their families in the United States.

Immigration to the United States

Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, many Rusyns immigrated to the United States. Due to a combination of factors, the Rusyns held a low socioeconomic status in the Austria-Hungarian Empire. This included one, that wealthy landholders still controlled the majority of land. And second, that the Carpathian-Ruthenia region lacked industrial jobs.⁵ Life as a farmer or agricultural worker did not provide the financial means to support an individual, let alone an entire family. Poverty and low socioeconomic status were the main catalysts drawing Rusyns from their homes in the mountains and onto ships sailing the Atlantic Ocean towards North America.

The majority of Rusyns made their way to the United States prior to the First World War and “between 125,000 and 150,000 Carpatho-Rusyns arrived before 1914.”⁶ Numbers are not exact, as discrepancies exist between the 1920 federal census and the records of the United States Commissioner on Immigration. As such, the number of Rusyns that arrived in the United States from 1899 to 1915 has been assessed as low as 95,458 to as high as 259,969.⁷ This period brought the

bulk of Rusyn immigrants to American. The common destination for Rusyn immigrants sailing from Europe was the eastern seaboard of the United States.

New York was the main entry point into the United States for European immigrants, including the Rusyns. However, differences separated the Rusyns from many of their fellow European immigrants. Most of the Rusyns who came to America did not intend to remain in the country. They planned to stay for a couple of years, earn enough money, and return to their homeland to purchase land.⁸ This theory is supported by the significance of owning land in Rusyn culture. This elevated the socioeconomic status of the individual. Unlike the Irish who fled because of famine, or the Germans who left due to land shortages and political oppression, the Rusyns thought of America as a temporary work destination to earn more money and return to their homeland.

Unfortunately, plans have a tendency to change and this was the case for the Rusyns. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 marked an end to the large-scale immigration of Rusyns to America. In the 1920s, the "U.S. government began to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe" and the Communist governments who ruled their homeland placed restrictions on emigration.⁹ With these changes, together with the Rusyns adapting to their new country, the idea of returning to Carpathian-Ruthenia dissolved. As Rusyns settled into their new lives and started families in American, they began to prove influential in their newly adopted homeland.

Rusyns in United States Civil Affairs

As was the case with other immigrants, the Rusyns struggled to find job opportunities due to their low education level and the types of skills that they brought to the United States. As many Rusyns were poor peasants from Carpathian-Ruthenia, their background provided little opportunity for them. Many sought employment as unskilled laborers in industrial jobs. Some "found employment in the factories, mines, and steel mills of the northeast," and they "gradually . . . moved up to become miners or semi-skilled and skilled factory laborers in their own right."¹⁰ The first generation of Rusyn immigrants worked dangerous, underpaid industrial jobs, however, the sacrifices made by the first-generation Rusyn immigrants provided a strong base to support their children and grandchildren.

Coal mining was one of the first jobs that Rusyn immigrants found when they settled in the United States. By the 1880s and 1890s, the anthracite coalfields located in eastern Pennsylvania provided industrial jobs. Later, the Rusyns moved

further west to work in the steel mills located in and around Pittsburgh.¹¹ As the steel industry grew in western Pennsylvania, so did the population of Rusyns in the region. Soon, the unofficial capital of Carpatho-Rusyns in America was the greater Pittsburgh area.¹² While Rusyn immigrants were an integral part of the Industrial Revolution workforce, it would not be the only way they would contribute to their new home.

For those who came through Ellis Island, it is easy to understand why they would settle in and around New York City. Although Pittsburgh would be associated with the central settlement of Rusyns in America, New York and New Jersey were equally important to the first Rusyns seeking employment. Northeastern and north-central New Jersey, along with the New York City metropolitan area, attracted Rusyns and provided them with different manufacturing jobs, as well as employment in oil-refining plants.¹³ As immigrants flooded to the United States and the Industrial Revolution was in full swing, the Rusyns toiled in mines, mills, and factories to make a better life for their families. The initial wave of Rusyn immigrants provided the opportunity to their descendants to have an even greater effect on the United States. Rusyn immigrants made it possible for their children to receive a better education, attend college, and position themselves to obtain careers of significance and importance. In some cases, these positions would affect the everyday lives of Americans. One man who was able to obtain a better education because of parental sacrifices was Dr. Nick Holonyak Jr.

Holonyak was born to Rusyn immigrant parents and raised in Ziegler, Illinois. While his parents had not known each other in Europe, “they were from the same part . . . [of] the Carpathian Mountains.”¹⁴ He received his PhD in electrical engineering from the University of Illinois in October of 1954.¹⁵ After completing his schooling, Holonyak went on to work as a researcher for General Electric in the field of microelectronics. His major accomplishment came with his pioneering efforts in the field of physics, specifically with the light-emitting diode (LED). The influence of Holonyak’s work is evident today as the growing use of LED lights is now supplanting the use of incandescent light bulbs.

His was not the only civil influence that Rusyn descendants had on the United States. They have also held key government positions at both the state and federal level. One individual who held jobs at both levels was Thomas J. (Tom) Ridge. Born in the Pittsburgh suburb of Munhall, Pennsylvania, Ridge’s maternal grandparents were Rusyn immigrants. After serving a tour in Vietnam, Ridge went on to a career in politics. He served as a Pennsylvania State Representative from 1983 until 1995 and as the Governor of Pennsylvania from 1995 until 2001.¹⁶

Following the terror attacks on September 11, 2001, Ridge left his job as governor to serve in the federal government.

The terrorist attacks on New York, Washington D.C., and Pennsylvania presented President George W. Bush and the federal government with a unique situation. The federal government proceeded to do something that had not occurred since the 1940s—create a new cabinet department—one charged to focus on the protection of the United States and its borders. The Department of Homeland Security became the first department added to the federal government since the Department of Defense in 1949. Former Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge would then serve as the first Secretary of Homeland Security of the United States until February 1, 2005.¹⁷

Rusyns in the United States Armed Forces

While Rusyns and their descendants played critical civil roles in their new country, they would also play important roles in the military. Like other European immigrants, Rusyns have served in the United States Armed Forces. Immigrants, including Rusyns, would be a crucial asset to the US military. During World War I, roughly five hundred thousand immigrants from forty-six nations comprised eighteen percent of the United States fighting force in Europe. Their efforts led to more than 192,000 veterans of the war becoming legal citizens.¹⁸ Since the bulk of Rusyn immigration occurred prior to the outbreak of World War I, Rusyns added their influence to the American Expeditionary Force (AEF).

Archpriest Andrew S. Slepecky mentioned the contribution of Rusyns to the AEF during World War I. He stated that Rusyn immigrants, “were called to perform military duties and many of them were killed on the battlefield.”¹⁹ Rusyns came to America to work and return home. Nevertheless, some found their way into the armed forces and served in World War I. Yet, World War I was not the only conflict wherein Rusyn immigrants aided the United States military. Instances of individual heroism demonstrate how Rusyns and their descendants played an important part in United States military history. A Rusyn immigrant participated in one of the most famous events in the Pacific Theater, which gained him lasting recognition.

The flag raising at Iwo Jima is one of the most iconic images of the United States Marine Corps and of World War II. What many do not know about the event is that one of the non-commissioned officers, Sergeant Michael Strank, was a Rusyn immigrant. Born in the Rusyn village of Jarabina, in what is today Slovakia, Strank’s father, Vasil, came to Johnstown, Pennsylvania in 1920. He

later sent for his wife and three-year-old son to join him in Pennsylvania.²⁰ Strank enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1939. Subsequent to the attack on Pearl Harbor, Strank's orders put him in the Pacific Theater to fight the Imperial Japanese forces. Eventually, fighting reached the island of Iwo Jima.

On Iwo Jima, the Marines raised a small American flag on Mount Surbachi. Later in the day, Lt. Col. Charles Johnson commanded that a larger flag replace the first one. Strank took his Marines and a full-size battle flag up the hill. Photographer Joe Rosenthal immortalized their actions with the Pulitzer Prize winning photograph of 1945.²¹ Sadly, three of the six men who aided in raising the second flag fell in battle. Strank was one of the three who would never see the photo. Artillery fire killed him a week after Rosenthal took the photo.

Tom Ridge, an infantry staff sergeant during the Vietnam War, is another notable person of Rusyn descent with connections to the Armed Forces. Elected in 1982, he became the first enlisted man to serve in congress.²² For both Rusyns and Rusyn descendants, their service in the military and civil sectors of the United States is only a portion of what they contributed to the country. The social influence that Rusyns would have, not only affect the United States, but also Europe.

Social Impacts by Rusyns on the United States

Two prominent elements that make up a society are religion and politics. In these two areas, Rusyns have not only influenced America but have played a role on the international stage as well. Rusyns introduced Eastern Christianity to the United States. "Religion, in the form of Eastern Christianity, had always been an integral part of Carpatho-Rusyn community life" and when the Rusyns left Europe, they took their religion with them.²³ As Rusyns started coming to America in greater numbers, this created friction with other religious groups in the country.

The Greek Catholic Church was part of the Eastern Christian heritage that Rusyns brought with them to the new world. Since there were no existing churches for Rusyns, this prompted the established of new churches in the United States. The Roman Catholic Church, although a presence within the United States, did not view their Eastern European brethren or the Greek Catholic Church in a favorable light. This contention between the Roman and Greek Catholic Church in America led to the first Greek Catholic parishes in the country. Eastern Pennsylvania saw the establishment of three parishes—Shenandoah in 1884, Freeland in 1886, and Hazleton in 1887, as well as one in Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1887.²⁴ Disagreements between the divergent branches of Catholicism were not the only

problem for Rusyns in the United States. Differing views within the Rusyn communities, due in part to the Roman Catholic Church attempting to make Rusyns conform to the Latin Rite of the church, led to a schism in the Greek Catholic Church. Some priests and parishes separated from the Greek Catholic Church, and by 1914 about 25,000 Rusyns split into Greek Catholics and Orthodox followers.²⁵ While the gap between Orthodox and Greek Catholics exists to this day, there is one important aspect to this that cannot be overlooked. Even though Rusyns suffered a split in their religion, they were successful in preserving and defining their distinctiveness from other European immigrant groups and in maintaining their Old World traditions in the United States.²⁶

In addition to religion, politics played an important part of the lives of Rusyn immigrants. Even as Rusyns lived in the United States, their families and friends still in the homeland were an important topic in the communities. The conclusion of World War I saw the end of the Austria-Hungarian Empire. Its successor became a major concern for the inhabitants of Carpathian-Ruthenia. After years under Hungarian rule, Rusyns were no longer subjects to a king. The Rusyn immigrant community in the United States helped create a solution.

On July 23, 1918, Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic clergy and leaders of the Greek Catholic Union met in Homestead, Pennsylvania. There they created the American Council of Uhro-Rusins, which claimed to be the only legal representatives of Rusyns in the United States.²⁷ It also presented possibilities for what was to become of the Rusyn homeland. This meeting would prove to be extremely important not just for Rusyns, but it also played a part in the realignment of Europe. Gregory Zhatkovich became a leading figure for the Rusyns in America and in their homeland in Europe.

Originally from the Rusyn village of Holubyne, Zhatkovich and his family moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania when he was five years old.²⁸ As an adult, Zhatkovich became an integral part of the Rusyn movement that would decide the fate of the homeland. He met with President Woodrow Wilson and led a delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, which resulted in the incorporation of the Rusyn homeland into the newly formed Czechoslovakia.²⁹ Rusyn immigrants such as Gregory Zhatkovich were crucial in political activism. Their strong ties to their native homeland not only gave birth to a strong organization in the United States, but it helped to shape Europe after the World War I. The ideas of Rusyn immigrants gave birth to the country of Czechoslovakia. In addition, the descendants of Rusyn immigrants influenced the culture of the United States.

Rusyns in American Popular Culture

As Rusyn immigrants, their children, and grandchildren adapted to life in America, they influenced its culture through art, music and theater. Pop art and the name Andy Warhol are synonymous. Although Andy Warhol was a world-renowned artist, many Americans do not know that his parents were Rusyn immigrants. Born Andrew Warhola in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1928, Warhol influenced the art world with his paintings of mass-manufactured items such as Campbell's soup cans and his portraits of celebrities such as Marilyn Monroe and Elvis Presley.³⁰ Although his art had much to do with everyday life in America, his Rusyn roots were part of his artwork. Icons and church furnishings of the Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Rite, along with ethnic customs like decorating Easter eggs, influenced his work.³¹ Rusyns have influenced theater and film as well as the art world.

Actress Sandra Dee became a star during the 1950s and 1960s. She was born Alexandra Zuk to a Rusyn family from New Jersey. She served as the inspiration for the name Danny Zucko and character Sandy Dee in the movie *Grease*.³² The reason that Sandra Dee inspired these two characters came from the way Hollywood typecast her. Often cast as a cute and glamorous teen on the verge of romantic maturity, movie roles throughout the 1950s and 1960s contributed to her becoming the symbol of an innocent America.³³ Sandra Dee and her roles have made her into the typical "All-American" girl. None of this would have been possible had her Rusyn grandparents not immigrated to the United States. In addition to film and art, American music would also have Rusyn ties.

Peter J. Wilhousky was born in Passaic, New Jersey to a Rusyn family from what is now north-eastern Slovakia, and like his parents, sang in the Passaic Greek Catholic Church.³⁴ As he grew up, music became his life passion, and it would form the career that made him known in American history. After graduating from the prestigious Juilliard School of Music in 1920, he returned to teach choral conducting and aid in the careers of students who would go on to perform at the Metropolitan Opera, Radio City Music Hall, and the New York City Opera.³⁵ His accomplishments were not confined to academia and influencing his students. Though conducting and choral settings were part of his profession, he made a name for himself arranging music. While the words of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" were penned during the American Civil War, Wilhousky's arrangement of the score made it a standard in American music.³⁶ Along with arranging, teaching, and choral work, Wilhousky gained national repute as a lyricist. His arrangement and lyrics, coupled with the music composed by Mykola

Leontovych, a Ukrainian, resulted in one of the most popular Yuletide songs, the “Carol of the Bells.”³⁷ Two songs now considered American standards owe their popularity to a descendant of Rusyn immigrants.

Conclusion

Rusyn immigrants and their descendants have contributed to the United States on a large scale. For the initial Rusyn immigrants, working labor-intensive and high-risk jobs afforded them the chance to provide a better life and education for their children. This hard work provided their children and grandchildren with a better education, which led to Rusyns making advances in science like Dr. Nick Holonyak and to being elected to government posts like former Governor Tom Ridge. Rusyns immigrants and their descendants have served in the United States Armed Forces, sometimes giving their lives in the defense of the country like Sergeant Michael Strank.

Socially, Rusyns have played an important role in bringing Eastern Christianity to the United States. Even in the face of discrimination by other Catholics in the United States, Rusyns were able to retain their identity and preserve their religion in a new country. Politically, they kept in touch with friends and family back in Europe. Their love and passion for their homeland resulted in becoming active in politics. This led to the establishment of the new country of Czechoslovakia, along with helping to shape Europe at the end of World War I. Finally, Andy Warhol and actress Sandra Dee contributed significantly in their respective fields. The son of Rusyn immigrants would become one of the most iconic artists of the late twentieth century, and a woman born to a Rusyn family in New Jersey would one day come to symbolize the innocence of America.

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2. Ibid., 35.

3. Paul Robert Magosci, *The Peoples of North America: The Carpatho-Rusyn Americans* (New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 17.

4. Paul Robert Magosci, *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America* (Toronto, Canada: Multicultural History Society of Ontario), 10.

5. Magosci, *Carpatho-Rusyn Americans*, 27-28.

6. Magosci, *Peoples of North America*, 40.
7. Magosci, *Our People*, 13.
8. Ibid., 17.
9. Magosci, *Peoples of North America*, 41-42.
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11. Magosci, *The Immigrant Experience*, 50.
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34. Magocsi, *Carpatho-Rusyn Americans*, 90.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Magocsi, *Our People*, 77.

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Conflicting Pre-colonial Relations as Foundations of Frosty Associations between the Aghem and Their Neighbours in Colonial Administrative Units 1921-1937

Protus Mbeum Tem, PhD

Abstract

Colonialism played an important role in bringing independent African kingdoms into common political or administrative units. However, such endeavours created conflicting situations and groups hitherto dominated by their neighbours in the pre-colonial period opted out of these associations. Using the example of the Aghem and their neighbors in the present day North West Region of modern Cameroon, (west/central Africa), this paper contends that such a union, particularly the one created by the British in 1921, could not survive as it instead intensified the hatred and bitterness that existed between them in the pre-colonial period. The Aghem, who had once defeated the Weh, resisted a union where the Weh chief was to act as one of the judges, lording over them. They thus rejected membership in the Weh Native Court area while demanding their own court area. Even though the British colonial authorities heeded their demands and created the Wum (Aghem) Native Court area in 1927, they were uncomfortable with the presence of the Bebas, Befang, and Esimbi in the same unit with them. They ill-treated these groups and could not embrace equality with a people who were once tribute payers. In spite of the Aghem's claim of superiority over them, the Bebas, Befang, and Esimbi persevered in the union until 1933 when they rejected the Aghem highhandedness and started clamouring for their own court area. This demand had a favourable response and, in 1937, colonial authorities created a new court area for them.

Introduction

Colonialism destroyed and destabilised the growth and development of African kingdoms. In the pre-colonial period, powerful African kingdoms easily dominated their neighbours and the struggle for supremacy was common. Once they achieved domination, the more powerful kingdoms brought their weaker rivals under direct control or forced them to pay tributes in order to maintain their independence. This was the situation met by the Germans when they annexed the Kamerun in 1884 and the British and the French had to grapple with these

problems when they took over the administration of the territory after World War I.¹ In order to establish viable economic and administrative units, the colonialists either had to relieve these subjugated groups from their conquerors and attach them to different administrative units, or maintain the status quo they met. However, these new administrative organisations instead brought hatred and intensified the conflicting situations that existed in the pre-colonial period as every group tried to resist domination within these structures from their former conquerors. While conquered groups strived for separation from their pre-colonial masters, their overlords wanted to maintain the status quo and continue to govern their previously subjugated neighbours. They could not understand why the colonial masters had to bring them into equality with a people they once lorded over or treated as slaves. In this way, they did everything possible to suppress any attempt at making them equal in these new administrative structures.

It is because of this that the paper discusses the state of affairs between the Aghem² and their neighbours. The choice of the area under examination is exemplary due to the poor relations that existed between the Aghem and their neighbours, the Beba, Befang, Esimbi, and the Weh. Nevertheless, colonial authorities, especially the British, minimised them and brought these people together into the Weh Native court Area in 1921.³ Later, the British cut off the Aghem, Beba, Befang, and Esimbi from the Weh and created the Aghem (Wum) Native Court Area in 1927.⁴ The pre-colonial wars fought between these groups as well as bitter relations laid the foundations of discord in the newly created administrative units, as suspicion and hatred loomed between the Aghem and their neighbours. This was because the Aghem still wanted and struggled to dominate their neighbours in terms of politics, representation, and the quest for resources in this newly created administrative unit. When these were not forthcoming, agitations followed. After World War I, the British believed the best way to integrate different groups into political unions was to consider pre-colonial political arrangements. Even though the British colonial administration tried as much as possible to dissuade the dominance of the Aghem over their neighbors, and they made efforts to promote equality in the new administrative dispensations, the quest for superiority still lingered among the Aghem after 1921.

In spite of the Aghem's attempts to dominate their neighbours, the colonial administration refused those conquered by the Aghem a separate political unit even though they had little or nothing in common with them in terms of origin, migratory history, customs, traditions, and systems of administration. This turned out to be a failure as they opted out of the arrangements. The Aghem felt that they were dominant and superior to the people they had once defeated or received

tributes from, especially the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi. The Aghem were also unenthusiastic about the seat of the Native Court in Weh. They claimed superiority over the Weh in relation to wars fought in the pre-colonial period.

Background and Setting

The Aghem are in the present day Menchum Division of the North West Region of Cameroon. They are bounded to the north and northwest by the Esu and Weh, to the West by the Kuk, south and southwest by the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi settlements (see figure I and II for the location of the study area).



Figure 1. Map illustrating study area in Cameroon. Adapted from the Map of Africa, Google.

Some schools of thought believe that the Aghem originated in either the Munchi or Benue regions of Nigeria. However, this is doubtful, as there is no similarity between them and the Munchi. For instance, their marriage practices differ. The Munchi practice marriage by exchange and the Aghem use the dowry system. However, the Aghem point to the Munchi land as their region of origin.⁵ Awah-Dzenyagha, who has carried out a study on the Aghem, also contests this and

argues that they are not of the Tikars but points their origin to Ndobbo in the northern region of Cameroon. It is from here that they moved to the southern part of Nigeria and then through the northeast of that country before joining the Munchi.⁶ It was from the Munchi lands of Nigeria that the Aghem moved to their present site or settlement.

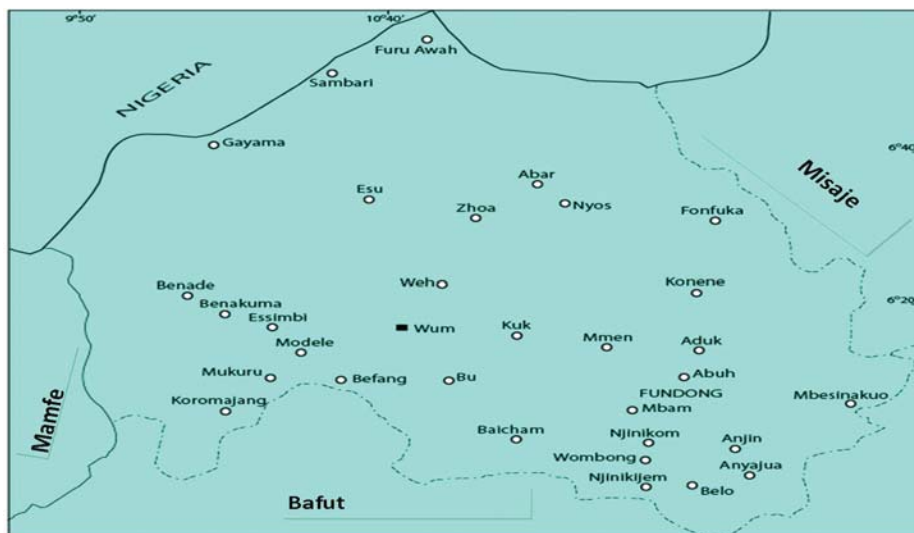


Figure 2. Map of Menchum Division Showing Aghem and their Neighbours, adapted from the Administrative Map of Cameroon, 2009, NIC, Yaounde.

The Aghem left the Munchi country as one group but broke up into two upon approaching Esu. This took place at about the second half of the eighteenth century. One group went through the Fungom area to their present settlement. The other group went through Befang, turned east to the south of their present settlement, through the area now occupied by Beba, Befang, and Esimbi settlements or Widikum groups. They reached their present site and met the other group that had passed through Fungom. This created the Aghem Federation.⁷ Here they met the Upkwa who had already settled in the area and dislodged them.⁸ Some of the Upkwa blended into the Aghem society while others moved to Esu. Found on the borders of the Aghem and the Esimbi are the Atong and Otui. Their origins are uncertain but they may be remnants of the original Upkwa.⁹

Upon settlement, the Aghem established a federation that consisted of five subgroups, the Zongeku, Tseregha, Su, Wanagwen, and Waindo. Five headmen, or the Batums, governed them. Quarrels over succession led to the

development of other autonomous groups as they broke away from their Batums. Magha emerged from Zongheku; Naikom was an offshoot of Su and Zonetuge from Waindo.¹⁰ Even though they established autonomous chiefdoms, there was the Deng Keghem who, as the first among equals, coordinated activities for the entire village. After settlement and consolidation of their position in the area, the Aghem dominated their neighbours and wreaked havoc on them. Those greatly affected were groups that settled south of the Aghem: the Beba, Befang and Esimbi.

The Beba, Befang, and Esimbi trace their origins to the Widikum in the Mamfe region of Cameroon in the eighteenth century. However, there is no legend that adheres to this and it is only conjecture that maintains this position.¹¹ These migrations began in the eighteenth century and of all the Widikum settlements, only the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi settled near the Aghem. The Esimbi moved into Beuta from the Mamfe region and later divided into groups. One group moved north and settled near the Esimbi settlement. This group later gave birth to the Benakuma and Benahundi. However, they still recognised the Esimbi as their superior. The other group moved through Meta and settled at a hill to the east of Befang, called Abaton.¹²

They lived under Bazunga, a single head, before segmenting into four units. Four different leaders led these segments. The four units or settlements evolved into the villages of Modele, Befang, Batomo, and Okoromenjang. They settled as independent units but recognised the natural ruler of Befang as their ancestral leader as he was the direct descendant of Bazunga. He had the privilege of trying criminal cases from the three villages of Modele, Batomo, and Okoromenjang. The other settlements offered him a dog and a Dane gun annually in return for his services to them. This practice only ended after the Germans moved into the area.¹³

Closely related to the Befang are the Bebas (Mubadji and Bazi). They left Widikum under the leadership of Unseibekum and first settled at Mezang and later at De, around the Bameta area, but the Bameta, who inhabited the area, pushed them out. They moved further south and settled in the Bafut area where the Bafut people subjugated them. As such, they became tribute payers for seventy years. The Bafut dismissed them because they failed to fulfill their obligations. In one instance, they failed to provide the Bafut leader with a leopard skin. They moved further south where they settled on the edges of the Bafut, Okoromenjang, and Bamundum settlements. The Chief of Su forced them out. He led the Aghem federation in war and commanded their warriors in the struggles with their neighbours.

The Bafut made the Aghem to understand that the Bebas were a rebellious group of people and, if allowed to settle near them, they would be a bad influence to groups loyal to the Aghem. In order to avoid the unforeseen, the Aghem took the Bafut's warning seriously and took measures to prevent any disaffection. In this connection, the Aghem warned the loyal villages of Menchum Valley against allowing the Bebas to settle near them. The Befang and the Mukuru strictly followed these instructions and they used force to stop the Bebas from settling near them. The fear of the Aghem was so great that even the Mukuru could not allow their own brothers to settle near them.¹⁴

Caught in this unfortunate web, solace for the Bebas could only come by moving further away from the Aghem. As such, they acquired land between Okoromenjang and Batomo at a prize of shovels and axes. The acquisition of this land never meant that all was well, as the Aghem followed them to their new settlement and molested them. However, a great calamity befell the Aghem. The Aghem believed that the gods were angry with them for continuously maltreating the innocent Bebas. With little explanation, mysterious deaths occurred in Wum. Only peace and reconciliation with the Bebas could normalise things. It is in this light that a feast was organised in Wum and the Aghem and the Bebas dined together and reached an agreement. They exchanged the heads of all the people who had been killed during the war. Both sides concurred never to fight each other and friendship was established.¹⁵ It was only then that the Bebas settled peacefully and consolidated their position in the area just like their brothers, the Mukuru.

The Mukuru originally left Widikum with the Bebas but separated from the family at De.¹⁶ They moved northward to their present site and the Bakaw were to follow their example. They broke away from the Bebas at Bafut. Three of them left their brothers and wandered away. To the North of Bafut, they founded a settlement and were later joined by their friends and relations. The settlement developed into the Bako village. With the villages of Beba, Befang, and Esimbi firmly established, they now had to face the Aghem who consistently attacked them. While these groups settled in the southern borders of the Aghem territory, the Weh were situated to the north. The Aghem attacked both groups on several occasions.

The Weh on their part migrated from Ndobbo, around northeast Nigeria (the Lake Chad region). They settled near Ngaoundere in the present day Adamawa Region of Cameroon, in an area that they named Mbum. It was from here that they journeyed south and passed through Papum, Banyo, and then to Ndop.¹⁷ From Ndop they settled at the present day Bamenda Hill Up Station

before moving to Bafut. Due to their need for better lands, internal squabbles, and the Bafut's attempt to subjugate them, they left the area, passed through Wum, and settled at their present site.

Aghem Domination of Their Neighbours in the Pre-colonial Period

The Beba, Befang, and Esimbi suffered under the Aghem domination before the introduction of colonial rule as the Aghem consistently raided and defeated them on all occasions.¹⁸ They subjugated them to the payment of tributes and dominated them. Though they remained autonomous and managed their affairs, the Beba and Befang were answerable to the Aghem leaders. Most of the wars fought between them and the Aghem were around 1850.¹⁹

Befang was the first casualty and readily accepted Aghem sovereignty. In this process, the Aghem overran the Befang and made them tributaries. The Befang paid their tributes in the form of palm oil. They readily accepted the domination of the victorious Aghem and their position as tribute payers.²⁰ This helped improve relations between the victor and the vanquished. This was a blessing to the Befang as an understanding developed between them and the Aghem. The leaders of Beba, Befang, and Esimbi later used the Aghem as a shield against the Bafut who constantly raided them. However, the Esimbi remained adamant and the Aghem used force to procure tributes. The Aghem resorted to constant raids capturing men and women as the only means to make the Esimbi budge. In this situation, the Esimbi had no choice but to pay such tributes for the release of the captives. In about 1870, the Esimbi thought the time had come to shake off the Aghem domination after acquiring their first Dane guns. They attacked, but the Aghem defeated and humiliated them. The Aghem dominated Benum and Benagudi just as they did to the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi settlements.

Division and skirmishes among the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi facilitated Aghem domination. Of particular interest is the Bufo War between the Esimbi and the Babadji. The Babadji initiated the war when they set up hunting camps in the heart of Esimbi territory without permission. The Esimbi responded with a surprise attack on the Babadji who were hunting wild pigs and this resulted in the loss of lives on both sides. The Babadji and their neighbours, the Menke, also fought wars. This initiated a period of poor relations before colonialism between Widikum settlements (southern neighbors of Aghem). The Aghem used this to their advantage.²¹

The Aghem attacks were not limited to the Menchum Valley settlements. The Aghem were notorious for their attacks on the Weh. The first war with the

Weh erupted when an Aghem woman secretly married a Weh man. The Aghem responded with an attack that resulted in much destruction and the capture of prisoners. The Weh appealed for peace and the Aghem responded favorably. Nevertheless, the Weh paid reparation with a collection of hoes and shovels. This fostered an understanding between the Weh and the Aghem who had been suspicious of each other earlier, since many Weh men desired Aghem women. In spite of this understanding and improved relations, a second war erupted when a Weh man committed adultery with the wife of an Aghem clan head. It was a heinous crime and only war could settle the issue. The Aghem attacked first and killed six people. In addition, the Aghem took five women to Wum as prisoners. This outbreak occurred just before the arrival of the Germans who returned the five women back to the Weh.²²

Colonial Administrative Unit Uniting the Aghem and Their Neighbours

The consolidation of the Aghem and their neighbours into the same administrative unit began with the German colonisation of the area in the late nineteenth century. Germany colonised Cameroon in 1884 after the Germano-Douala treaty. By 1902, they had explored the western grasslands of Cameroon. The Germans recognised Aghem domination over their neighbours and in 1908 established a German military station (district) at the Aghem settlement. Thus, it became the administrative headquarters of the newly created government unit and the point from which the Germans coordinated activities for the entire district.²³



Figure 3. German Lieutenant Steinhausen and native policemen in Cameroon, 1891.

Other areas brought under the control of this administrative unit included the Weh, Beba, Befang and Esimbi settlements. It should be noted that the Germans created districts or local administrative units to effectively manage the area and appointed military officials as local administrators. Meanwhile, the German colonial administrators used local authorities, chiefs, as part of the administration at the local level. Under the direct supervision of colonial administrators, the chiefs administered justice, kept the peace, maintained law and order, collected taxes, and provided labour and porters to the Germans.²⁴

As aforementioned, the British and French forces ousted the Germans from the territory during World War I and instituted a joint administration of the territory. The inability of the two victorious powers to successfully co-manage the territory led to its provisional partition in 1916, resulting in British Cameroon and French Cameroon. In 1922, the League of Nations endorsed the partition and recognized British Cameroon as a mandate territory. Due to cultural differences and communication setbacks, the British divided their territory into two parts, Northern and Southern Cameroon. They administered them as parts of the Northern and Eastern Region of their Nigerian Protectorate. The area under study is part of Southern Cameroon.

Between 1915 and 1922, the British had not instituted a definite policy or administrative system. As such, they embraced the system used by the Germans. This was especially true in the Bamenda Division (where the Wum district under study existed). This division included very large and centralised chiefdoms with the chiefs having maximum authority over their people, especially in judicial matters. Due to the absence of administrators, G. S. Podevine, District Officer (DO) for Bamenda Division, had to use local authorities or chiefs and their institutions in the administration of the area until 1921 when the British created courts in the Bamenda Division, among which was the Weh Court.²⁵ The Weh court saw the merging of the Aghem, and their neighbours, among other groups, into the same administrative units. Its jurisdiction covered Wum (Aghem) and Beba, Befang, Esimbi, and Weh (neighbours of Wum) among other areas.²⁶

Pre-colonial dominance of the Aghem became a factor that not only magnified differences but also led to challenges over the decision to seat the establishment at Weh. It was because of this that the British dismantled the Weh native court in 1928 and created the Bum, Fungom, and Aghem Courts. Weh became part of the Fungom court and separated from Wum and the Aghem, while Beba-Befang, Bu and Esimbi groups fell under the jurisdiction of the Wum Native Court area. Chiefs of the area shared authority in the Wum Native Court but the Aghem leader was paramount. The British colonial authority had appointed him to

serve as the only president of the Court. This became a source of future conflicts. However, the presence of these new courts did not put to an end to the demand for a new court by the people of Beba, Befang, and Esimbi. They requested a court area absent of the Aghem. Colonial administration granted this request in 1937.

Nostalgic Feelings of Aghem Dominance over the Weh and the Creation of the Wum Native Court

The absence of the Aghem leader as one of the bench members of the Weh Court ignited jealousy and envy from the Aghem. The Aghem believed their leaders were superior and the natural rulers of Weh, Kung, Esu, and Mmen; in this way, they believed that they should hold the presidency and preside over the court. The Aghem did not take this matter lightly. In addition to a court of their own, they demanded a change in the membership and structure of the Weh court. This Weh court was one of the best in the Bamenda division as members performed their duties well but the Aghem remained uncomfortable with the seat of the Court in Weh. Cooperation from the chiefs of Aghem and their people was, therefore, lacking especially since their leader, Deng Keghem, was not one of the court presidents. They could not imagine that the Weh chief they had once defeated in war and his village dominated by them should be deciding their cases and collecting taxes from them. In response to these grievances, A. G. Gregg, Assistant DO, proposed the construction of another court in Wum. To address Aghem grievances concerning the location of the court in Weh, the court had to sit alternately once a month in Weh and in Wum. Nevertheless, this did not solve problems stemming from representation. Furthermore, the Resident resisted the idea of opening more courts and the Divisional Colonial administration discontinued the project in August 1922.²⁷

Beba, Befang, and Esimbi's Quest for a New Court to Thwart Aghem Domination

The creation of the Wum Native Court reignited the Aghem feelings of dominance as they saw the Esimbi, Beba, and Befang inferior to them based on pre-colonial relations. The Aghem clan head was made the permanent president and the chiefs of Befang, Beba, Esimbi, and village heads of Su, Waindo, and Zonghefu acted as members of the court.²⁸ Even though the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi persevered in the union, things took a different turn in 1931 as they rejected the amalgamation with the Aghem and the presence of the headquarters in Wum. They thus refused collecting taxes promptly and attending court sessions in the

Wum Native Court.²⁹ Preferring to use their own traditional institutions, the people of Esimbi avoided and discontinued to use the court. They relied on the Mbellifang village leader. He had both spiritual and secular powers. He was assisted by the clan heads of Modelli, Nkoremanjang, and Batomo, which were separate units with some degree of independence. However, the clans generally accepted the village head of Mbellifang as *primus inter pares* (first among equals). As such, though not mandatory, the clan accepted and respected his judgements. Thus, they viewed the court in Wum as a foreign institution and facilitated their quest for a separate court.³⁰

As a result, the Beba and Befang accepted the jurisdiction of the Wum court reluctantly. Again, the Aghem saw their presence in the Aghem court as a privilege for them to be attending the court in their land. They thought that the court was meant only for them.³¹ Suspicions loomed between the chiefs of Aghem and those of Beba, Befang, and Esimbi who at one time were tribute payers. They feared this might surface again in the present set up.³² The British believed the dominant position of the Aghem was legitimate because of their position in the pre-colonial period. Furthermore, due to the autocratic nature of the Aghem, differences in language, culture and customs as well as their origins, relations worsened.³³ The Beba, Befang, and Esimbi groups argued that it was impossible to maintain any union with the Aghem who were of the Munchi and the former of the Widikum. Their origin and migratory history had nothing in common and they saw no reason why they should be in the same court area and take orders from the Aghem. These groups thus drew the attention of the British to the differences in inheritance practices between them; they practised patrilineality while the Aghem relied on matrilineal inheritance.

There was no similarity between the languages spoken by the two groups but the Aghem language dominated during proceedings. The Beba, Befang, and Esimbi also suffered from injustice in the court as the Aghem were noted for discriminatory practices on litigants from the former. This view and reasons are summarised by the chiefs of Beba and Befang when they noted,

Most of our cases were upset without due consideration merely because we were not Aghem people and they looked down on us and still regard us as low class of people in their midst. . . . They decide cases in their Native Court by looking at the face of the parties and no person outside their villages has to be given favourable judgement, and here we do not desire to be under such curious regime of deliberate mischief towards other fellow men and ourselves.³⁴

With this notion of Aghem injustice practiced against the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi, it was common for litigants from these areas to refuse summons and resist surrendering to arrest warrants. Of a greater magnitude was the inactiveness of the Native Authority, which could only meet when the DO summoned it. This, therefore, means it essentially existed only in theory.³⁵ It was because of these reasons that as early as 1933, the Esimbi, Beba, and Befang clans started clamouring for a separate court that would take care of their interests. Each clan wanted its own court or one that separated them from the Aghem.

A temporary measure to address the grievances of the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi was put in place and the court alternated on a monthly basis between Wum and Mukuru. Geographically, Mukuru was in the Beba-Befang area but the Esimbi could easily reach it. In 1935, stronger arguments cropped up for the necessity of courts for the three clans, Wum, Beba-Befang, and Esimbi. R. Newton, Assistant DO, argued that it was necessary to create them for the most remote backward areas in the Southern Cameroons because this would promote communications between the courts and colonial administration.³⁶ The Resident, the colonial administrator for Southern Cameroons, approved the proposal. As such, the Aghem Native court area split into two. The Aghem and Bu village (that hitherto was part of the Wum Native Court) became a court area and another was created for the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi clans in 1937.³⁷

Conclusion

This study examined the attempt made by colonialism to bring the Aghem and their neighbours into a single political unit. It argued that the coming of colonialism destroyed and destabilised the growth and expansion of some African chiefdoms as it put a stop to their expansionist tendencies. Europeans either had to relieve subjugated groups from their conquerors and attach them to different administrative units or maintain the status quo they met in a bid to minimise differences. These unions did not work in the area of study. The Aghem dominated their neighbours in the pre-colonial period. As such, they did not understand why they should recognize the authority of chiefs they once dominated.

During the German colonial period, the Germans recognised Aghem domination of their neighbours by making Wum the administrative headquarters of the Wum District that was created by them. However, with the coming of the British and the establishment of the Weh Native Court area, the British brought the Aghem under the authority of the Weh Court. Because the Chief of Weh and others presided over the court, the Aghem never welcomed it. They demanded not only a

change in the membership structure of the court, but also their own court. They could not imagine that the Weh Chief they had once dominated should be deciding their cases and collecting taxes from them. The lukewarm attitude of the Aghem towards the Weh Court saw the inclusion of the paramount ruler of the Aghem as one of the presidents but this did not put an end to their complaints. Their continuous disregard for and rejection of the Weh Court led to the carving out of the Aghem Native Court area from the former in 1927.

The Aghem viewed the Esimbi and Beba-Befang as inferior. As such, the Aghem found their presence in the Aghem court disturbing. The former found it difficult surviving in such a union and rejected it. They thus refused collecting taxes from their area and attending court sessions in the Aghem Native Court. In order to address their grievances, the colonial authorities put in place an alternating court between Wum and Mukuru (for the Beba, Befang, and Esimbi) on monthly basis. The Beba, Befang, and Esimbi finally realised a permanent court in 1937.

Notes

1. Before the German annexation of the territory that came to be called German Kamerun, it was made up of independent ethnic groups, which were only brought into a single political unit in 1884 with the coming of the Germans. However, the defeat of the Germans during World War I saw the British and French establishing a joint administration of the territory. Difficulties in jointly administering the territory led to the provisional division of the territory with Britain taking about 20% and the French, 80%. With the end of the war, the provisional division of the territory was endorsed by the League of Nations and British and French Cameroons became Mandates of the League and Britain and France became the mandate authorities. The British authorities decided to rule their area as an integral part of Nigeria. Due to communication difficulties between the Northern and Southern parts of the territory, the British colonial authorities divided their territory into two—Northern and Southern Cameroons, administered as parts of the Northern and Eastern Regions of Nigeria, respectively. They thus became Provinces in these administrative units and were managed by Residents. Divisions were further created out of these Provinces and in the Southern Cameroons which is our area of focus, the Bamenda, Victoria, Kumba and Mamfe Divisions were present and were under the command of the Divisional Officers who were assisted by District Officers. In the Divisions were Native Authorities and Native Court areas. The area of study was found in the Weh Native Court Area of Wum District in the Bamenda Division.

2. The Aghem are an ethnic group; the area they occupy is also referred to as Aghem, as is the language spoken. The land or place is also referred to as Wum.

3. Ad/1922/14, No. 772/22, Wum Assessment Report, Bamenda Division, 1922-1932 (Buea: National Archives, 1922), 27.

4. Md/e/1926/1, BamendaNkom Native Court Constitution of – 1926 (Buea: National Archives, 1926), 1-2.

5. Ad/1923/14a, Notes of Late Mr. Gadman on the administrative on the administrative Problems of Wum District, Edited by CJ Gregg ADO, 1 July 1923 (Buea: National Archives, 1923), 1.

6. Awah – Dzenyagha, Aghem: A Federation of Chiefdoms (Baffussam: March 1990), 10.

7. P. N. Nkwi, and J. P., Warnier, *Element for a History of the Western Grassfields* (Yaounde: SOPECAM, 1982), 202.
8. Ad/1922/14, No. 772/22, Wum Assessment Report, Bamenda Division, 1922-1932 (Buea: National Archives, 1922), 9.
9. Ibid.
10. Nkwi, and Warnier, *Element for a History*, 202.
11. Ad/1922/14, No. 772/22, Wum Assessment Report, 7.
12. Ibid.
13. Ad/1923/14a, Notes of Late Mr. Gadman on the administrative Problems of Wum District, 2.
14. Ad/1922/14, No. 772/22, Wum Assessment Report, Bamenda Division, 1.
15. Ibid., 12.
16. Nkwi, and Warnier, *Element for a History*, 209.
17. Ab/1925/2, No.3325. Assessment Report on the Bafut Area, 1925 (Buea: National Archives, 1925), 5.
18. Ad/1923/14a, Notes of Late Mr. Gadman on the Administrative Problems of Wum District, 5. Edited by CJ Gregg ADO, 1 July 1923 (Buea: National Archives, 1923).
19. Ad/1929/10, FungomDsistrict Assessment Report, 1919 (Buea: National Archives, 1929), 202.
20. Ad/1922/14, No. 772/22, Wum Assessment Report, 8.
21. P. C. Mafiamba, "Notes on the Esimbi of Wum Division"(*ABBIA: Cameroon Cultural Review*, 1965), 5 – 12.
22. Ad/1922/14, No. 772/22, Wum Assessment Report, 11.
23. P. M. Tem, "The Establishment of the Native Authority System and Developments in Fungom Area, 1927 – 1972," (MA Dissertation, University of Yaounde 1, 2005), 18.
24. V. J. Ngoh, ed. *History of Cameroon Since 1800* (Limbe: Pressbook, 1996), 76; Nkwi and Warnier, *Element for a History*, 21; Ad/1922/4, No. 277/27, An Assessment Report on Bum (Buea: National Archives, 1922), 11; Ad/1933/5, No. 688, Bum Intelligence Report (Buea: National Archives, 1933), and also see R. Rudins, *Germans in Cameroon, 1884 – 1914, A case Study of Modern Imperialism* (New York: Green Wood Press, 1938), 213.
25. P. M. Tem, "Political Dissent and Autonomy Wum Local Government, 1957 – 1968," *Lagos Historical Review*, No 12 Vol. 12, (2012), 83 – 102. and Cb/1918/2, Annual Report, Bamenda Division (Buea: National Archives, 1918), 24.
26. Cb/1922/1, No 867/1923, Bamenda Division Annual Report, 1922 (Buea: National Archives, 1922), 26; NAB and Ad/1922/14, 14, No. 772/22, Wum Assessment Report, 27.
27. Cb/1921/2, No. 867/23, Bamenda Division Annual Report (Buea: National Archives, 1921), 26.
28. Gc/b/1931/1, Bamenda Division Handing Over Notes (Buea: National Archives, 1931), 58.

29. Cb/1936/1, No. 2085, Bamenda Divisional and League of Nations Report (Buea: National Archives, 1936), 65.
30. Gc/b/1934/1, Bamenda Division Annual Report (Buea: National Archives, 1934), 514.
31. Cb/1936/1, No. 2085, Bamenda Divisional and League of Nations Report, 65.
32. Ibid.,
33. Ibid., 13.
34. Jag/1949/1, Bamenda North Western Federation Embodying Kom, Aghem, Bum, etc Councils: (Buea: National Archives, 1949), 32.
35. Cb/1936/1, No. 2085, Bamenda Divisional and League of Nations Report, 65.
36. Gc/b(1934)1, No. 1324, Vol. II, Bamenda Division Handing Over Notes (Buea: National Archives, 1934), 67.
37. Cb/1936/1, No. 2085, Bamenda Divisional and League of Nations Report, 65 and Cb/1937/1, No. 2270, Bamenda Division Annual and League of Nations Report (Buea: National Archives, 1937), 84 – 85.

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The National D-Day Memorial, Bedford, Virginia

Monument Review

William F. Lawson

The National D-Day Memorial is a privately funded endeavor commemorating the Allied invasion of Normandy on 6 June 1944. Codenamed Operation OVERLORD, the invasion was the most ambitious amphibious operation of all time, and it may well be the most complex military operation ever launched in any war to date. OVERLORD was also the most crucial operation mounted by the Western Allies in Europe. Though it may not have always been clear, everything that came before that June morning was in preparation for it, and everything that came after was a result of it. The same would have been true even had the invasion failed.

So central was OVERLORD to the Allied war effort in the West, and so massive its scale, the generic military term “D-Day,” which merely refers to the day an operation begins, has become synonymous with Normandy. This association is so ingrained in the mind of the public that it seems only natural that the monument is called the “National D-Day Memorial,” as opposed to the “Normandy” or “OVERLORD” Memorial.

The Memorial is the brainchild of Bob Slaughter, a former sergeant in the 116th Infantry Regiment of the 29th Infantry Division, a Virginia National Guard unit. The 116th was the first unit ashore on the western portion of OMAHA Beach on 6 June. Slaughter was a native of Roanoke, Virginia, so beginning in the late 1980s, he began an effort in his home city to establish a memorial to Operation OVERLORD, and the men who fought there. Much to Slaughter’s disappointment, Roanoke eventually passed on the project. Poetically, the nearby town of Bedford, home of the famed “Bedford Boys,” offered to donate the land and facilitated building the Memorial. Workers broke ground on 11 November 1997, Veterans Day, and officials dedicated the Memorial on 6 June 2001. Auspicious dates indeed for such an endeavor. Highlighted by an address by President George W. Bush, over twenty thousand people attended the dedication ceremony. Situated on a broad hilltop, the Memorial is a truly majestic sight, with its stark triumphal arch at the crest visible from a great distance.

The Memorial, as it exists today, consists of three phases, the English

Garden representing the preparatory phase, the Invasion Plaza, and the Victory Plaza. Each phase commemorates a different aspect of the invasion. Plans are in place for an on-site education center, complete with archive, exhibit halls, theater, and guest facilities. The long-range plan accommodates miscellaneous improvements as needed. These two final phases are currently on hold pending the availability of funding.

Planners cleverly aligned the Memorial roughly north to south to emulate the direction of the invasion itself; south from England, across the Channel, to Normandy and beyond. The vertical plane also plays a role in the design. The Memorial progresses uphill from the English Garden to the Invasion Plaza and, finally, the Victory Plaza that features the triumphal arch. The change in elevation signifies the bluffs around OMAHA Beach and the uphill struggle of the invasion force on 6 June. With the arch towering behind, the ground slopes down slightly as one passes the Victory Plaza. This signifies the central role of OVERLORD to overall victory.

Also acknowledged is the trans-Atlantic nature of the Western Allies. A bust of Franklin D. Roosevelt and

Winston Churchill adorn the western and eastern boundaries respectively. Canada is included as part of the British Commonwealth. In addition, the eastern rim originally featured a bust of Josef Stalin. This, in recognition of the Soviet



Figure 1. The Bedford Boys, photo by author.

sacrifices which made an amphibious landing against the Atlantic Wall feasible in the first place. Public pressure forced the removal of the bust though the plinth on which it stood, along with the accompanying informational plaque, remains.

The Memorial offers guided tours which generally start every half hour. Though visitors may also walk the site themselves, the tour is highly



Figure 2. The English Garden, photo by author.

recommended. The tour sets off from the gift shop on the western edge of the site and progresses along a cherry tree-lined walk to the English Garden. Along the way, one encounters the first of the heartbreakingly realistic artworks of sculptor Matt Kirby and lead sculptor Jim Brothers. Titled *Homage*, this is a monument to the “Bedford Boys,” mostly members of Company A, 116th Infantry Regiment, 29th Infantry Division. Bedford lost twenty souls on 6 June, the highest per capita loss of any city or town in the United States. This makes the location of the Memorial especially poignant.

The English Garden

The English Garden is a colorful area, with a lush green lawn, full of flowers, surrounded by cherry trees. In the center of the lawn is a low stone wall, running north to south, giving the impression of an English country estate. The garden is representative of Southwick House, where General Dwight D. Eisenhower presided over Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force

(SHAEF). At the northern end of the wall stands the centerpiece of the garden, a colonnaded folly in which stands a statue of Eisenhower himself.

Looking south from the folly, at the far end of the garden, one sees a rendering of the SHAEF unit insignia: a flaming sword in a triangular shield, topped by a rainbow of colors representing the multinational nature of the Allied forces opposing Nazi Germany. It then dawns upon the looker that the garden is actually a giant representation of the SHAEF insignia. The low stone wall is in the shape of the sword, with red flowers bringing the flames to life. At the southern end, slightly elevated flower beds provide the burst of color for the top of the shield.

Moving away from the folly at the base of the shield, are two plinth-lined walkways forming the sides. Atop each plinth is a bust of one of Eisenhower's principal lieutenants, along with an informational plaque. On the western side are busts of General Omar N. Bradley, Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsey, and Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder. To the east are Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery, Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory, and General Walter Bedell Smith.

Moving to the top of the shield, at the southernmost end of the garden, one finds, underneath the rendering of the SHAEF insignia, Eisenhower's pre-invasion address to the troops, in which he referred to the "great crusade" upon which they were embarking. Stairs ascend from the end of each walkway to a balcony, from which one can look down upon the garden and view the entire scene. Turning from the balcony, a few steps lead onto the open expanse of the Invasion Plaza.

The Invasion Plaza

Artists painted the circular floor of the wide Invasion Plaza a light blue to represent the English Channel and the approach to the beaches. Lanes representing the convoys to the five invasion beaches separate the Invasion Plaza into five parts. A concrete "buoy" marks each lane. On either side, one sees the Necrology Walls, containing the name of each Allied soldier, sailor, or airman who lost his life on 6 June. Westward, to the right, fronted by a row of small American flags, are the American names on bronze plaques. On the opposite side are the names from the other Allied countries, accompanied by their national flags. The Necrology Walls reach all the way to the front of the plaza.

Looking forward across the plaza, one immediately notices the German blockhouses looming over the low bulk of a landing craft. Standing atop it all is the

triumphal arch, though victory will clearly only be attained through the breaching of those forbidding defenses. As one moves toward the dark firing slits of the blockhouses, the sound of the waterfall between them lends the suggestion of a crashing surf.

When one walks up behind the landing craft, the Invasion Pool comes into view. The Invasion Pool contains the beach, complete with obstacles and assaulting soldiers. Whether the approach to the Invasion Pool was meant to give one an eerie feeling of being part of the follow-up wave or not, the sensation is there, especially when it is quiet.

The landing craft itself is a granite representation of the famous “Higgins Boat,” which carried hundreds of thousands of soldiers and Marines ashore around the globe. Standing behind it, one can see out the front, realizing the limited view of the infantrymen it carried, just after the front ramp dropped. Because the sides of their craft offered a killing zone to a properly prepared enemy, one also glimpses the vulnerability those same men felt at this moment.

The Invasion Pool stretches from the Higgins Boat to the beach. Menacing steel “hedgehogs” jut up from the surface. Underwater jets shoot up at random intervals and give the impression of bullets striking the water just offshore. The scene is a vertical display, emphasized by the waterfalls on either side. One first sees the sculpted figures of American soldiers wading through the water and crossing the beach. One figure has fallen in an awkward death pose right at the water line. Progressing upward, the stark nature of the

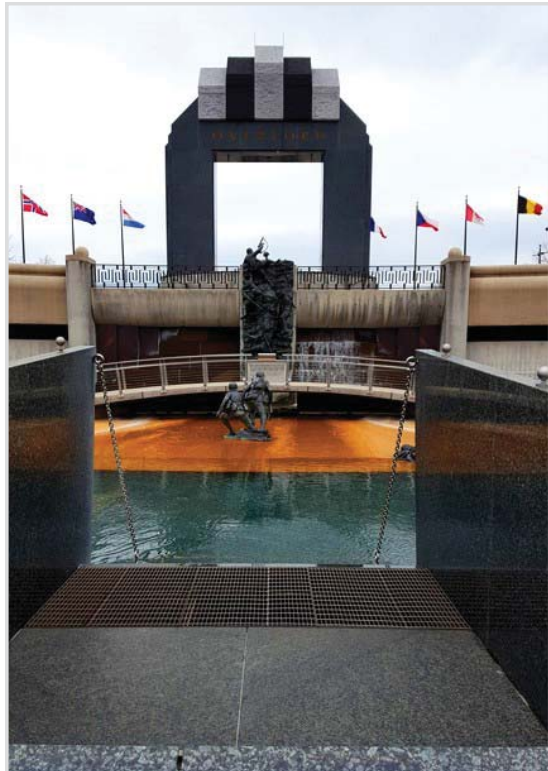


Figure 3. View from the granite landing craft, photo by author.

German defenses on OMAHA Beach stare one directly in the face, evoking wonder that mere flesh and blood could willingly run toward such obstructions on the attack.

In the center, between the defensive works, is possibly the most inspiring of the many works of art in the Memorial. Nineteen feet tall and inspired by the scaling of the cliff at Pointe du Hoc by elements of the US 2nd Ranger Battalion,



Figure 4. *Scaling the Wall*, photo by author.

Scaling the Wall depicts four soldiers climbing the sheer face under relentless fire. This sculpture is the first to overtly invoke the Memorial's motto: "Valor, Fidelity, and Sacrifice." The soldier clearing the top of the wall represents the valor of the assaulting soldiers. The two on the right, with one helping his buddy from above, depict the fidelity shared by comrades in arms. The wounded soldier, hit from above, is falling away from the wall and is a sobering reminder of lives lost gaining the Allied foothold in Western Europe.

Walkways lead around either side of the Invasion Pool to a bridge running between the defenses and the beach itself. From here, the sculptures on the beach stand out for their realism, particularly the piece entitled *Death on the Shore*, inspired by the story of the Hoback brothers of Bedford. Raymond Hoback's friends saw him fall at the water's edge. Though searchers found his personal Bible, they could not find his body and believed the surf swept it out to sea. Later in the day, his brother Bedford Hoback, lost his life in the battle. Their mother insisted that Bedford be interred in the American cemetery in Normandy, saying he would never want to be separated from his brother. The detail of *Death on the Shore* features a Bible falling out of the soldier's pack.

Turning from the beach scene, the scale of the German defenses is clear, but the soldiers climbing the cliff invariably draw one's attention. The sound of the waterfall drowns out most everything else, much like the din of the surf and gunfire must have done on that grim morning. The noise discourages conversation, which seems to fit the solemn nature of the display. The lack of distraction encourages reflection, though little is required from this point of view to gain a small sense of the challenges faced by the invasion troops advancing toward those menacing bluffs.

On either side of the bridge, forming the southeastern and southwestern corners of the Invasion Plaza, respectively, are the Air Court and the Sea Court. An Aeronca L-3B "Grasshopper" observation plane, a model used at Normandy, is the center attraction of the Air Court. Of special note are the black and white invasion stripes painted on the wings and fuselage. These stripes adorned every Allied aircraft that took part in the operation. The stripes alleviated the problem of misidentification and friendly-fire incidents such as those that occurred during the invasion of Sicily the previous year.

The Sea Court features a Danforth-style ship's anchor and a bell from an unidentified US Coast Guard vessel. There are also plaques denoting the service of several individual ships which played a pivotal role in the operation, as well as noting the service of the Merchant Marine, the US Navy WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service), and the famous "Mulberry" artificial harbors.

Victory Plaza

Ramps climb around the Air and Sea Courts to the Victory Plaza and its great triumphal arch. Five capstones, one for each invasion beach, top the art deco style granite arch. The capstones are alternately painted black and white in the pattern of the aircraft recognition stripes mentioned earlier. Artists chiseled “OVERLORD” in large bold lettering on both sides of the arch just under the capstones.

For the best visual impact, approach the arch from the south. By doing so, one will see a granite ring in the pavement inscribed with the code names of the five invasion beaches: SWORD, JUNO, GOLD, OMAHA, and UTAH. The arch itself forms a frame for a gorgeous view of the Peaks of Otter in the background. The view softens the stark granite construction while adding to the majesty of the presentation. A simple sculpture, *Final Tribute*, awaits those walking through the arch and is a sober reminder of the human cost of the victory. *Final Tribute* is a rendering of the common method for marking makeshift graves by sticking the fallen soldier’s rifle, bayonet-first, into the ground, capped with his helmet and dog tags.

As one moves past *Final Tribute*, the sculpture of a US Ranger topping the cliff greets visitors as they approach the balcony overlooking the Invasion Plaza. This is the topmost figure of *Scaling the Wall*, representing Valor. The Ranger’s head and shoulders topping the wall, carrying his Thompson submachine gun, is an inspiring sight indeed. Looking over the balcony, with the Blue Ridge Mountains in the background, the entire Invasion Plaza is in view. The Eisenhower Folly stands in the distance, all in the crowning shadow of the OVERLORD arch.

Beyond Victory

Victory Plaza is ringed by the flags of the Allied nations which took part in the operation. The plaza opens to the south and represents looking forward from the linchpin moment of victory in Normandy to final victory in Europe. Just outside the Victory Plaza ring stands a sculpture named *Valor, Fidelity, and Sacrifice*, after the Memorial’s motto. To recognize a still distant final victory, the sculpture features two American soldiers, one helping his wounded comrade move forward.

The tour ends here, though a few points of interest still lie to the south. Following a discussion of these points, tour guides urge patrons to look at them on their own. The little bit of walking is well-worth the effort. A wide brick walk slopes down slightly from Victory Plaza, many engraved with the names of

veterans. The bricks are available through the Memorial as a means of honoring loved ones. Veteran status is required, though the honoree need not have participated in D-Day or World War II. The bricks are also a fund-raising mechanism for the Memorial.

A large American flag flies at the far end of the walk. Along the way, one sees a statue whose nature is difficult to ascertain from a distance. Getting closer, one can see the statue is of a woman wearing a Great War French Army helmet and holding a sword in her right hand. She stands with her back to a Cross-shaped gravestone draped with the belt of a French Army poilu. The belt holds an empty sword sheath. Moving around the front, the reason for the odd appearance manifests itself: the lower half of her face is gone, seemingly ripped away, leaving jagged bronze edges below her nose and cheekbones.

This is the *Lady of Trevieres*. She is possibly the most poignant and moving exhibit of the Memorial. Byron Dickson and Jim Brothers encountered her in the Trevieres town square during a visit to Normandy in 1998. She commemorates the sacrifice of forty-four of the town's sons during the First World War. Her disfigurement was the result of a naval shell, possibly from the USS *Texas*, which landed in the square as part of the supporting fire on 8 June. The town had decided not to restore her, seeing the damage as a testament to the horrors of war. Not surprisingly, the good citizens of Trevieres declined the Americans' offer to purchase the *Lady* for the Memorial. But they did allow a casting to be taken from the original work. That replica stands now in silent tribute, not only to the men of Normandy, but to everyone who bears the scars of war.

The *Lady* faces south, toward the American flag, beyond which one encounters a small walkway circling a garden. On the south side of the garden is a reddish stone bearing a representation of the Purple Heart Medal. The red signifies the bloodshed in the defense of our country. The Purple Heart monument is dedicated to all the men and women wounded in all our wars. In keeping with looking forward to final victory, the west side of the circle features a bust of Harry S. Truman, mirrored by his British counterpart Clement Attlee.

The Memorial is hallowed ground and the Memorial staff treats it as such. This is made clear to visitors. The Memorial recognizes and commemorates the sacrifices required of ordinary people faced with dire circumstances. OVERLORD was perhaps the most complex military operation ever attempted, but it relied on citizen soldiers, like the Bedford Boys, for its success. The importance of OVERLORD cannot be overstated. Had the operation failed, the achievement of final victory in the West would have been extremely difficult, if

not impossible, barring the use of nuclear weapons. Failure at Normandy would not have caused the Allies to lose the war, but the aftermath would have had radical second and third order effects on the course of history.

At the Memorial's dedication on 6 June 2001, President George W. Bush spoke to the idea of ordinary people working in extraordinary times, stating, "You have raised a fitting memorial to D-Day, and you have put it in just the right place—not on a battlefield of war, but in a small Virginia town, a place like so many others that were home to the men and women who helped liberate a continent."¹ Though many of the statues and plaques memorialize individuals, such as Eisenhower and Churchill, the real story of D-Day is those ordinary people, and what they did to help rid the world of the Nazi scourge.

Contact Information:

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Bedford, VA 24523
(540) 587-3619
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Education Center
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Bedford, VA 24523
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Director of Education: John D. Long

www.dday.org

Group tours are available and special functions abound. See the Memorial's website for details.

1. Excerpt from President George W. Bush's remarks at the dedication of the National D-Day Memorial, June 6, 2001, quoted in Dickson, Byron, *The National D-Day Memorial, Evolution of an Idea* (Roanoke, VA: Byron Dickson, Architect, Unknown), 68.

The History Galleries of The National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington, D.C.

Museum Review

Deanna Simmons

The idea for a museum dedicated to the contributions made by African Americans was born over a century before the opening of the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC). In 1915, African American Civil War veterans proposed the idea of building something dedicated to those African Americans that served in wars throughout United States history. However, for decades, officials debated the idea, but it never materialized. Finally, in 2003 Congress passed the National Museum of African American History and Culture Act. This placed the museum under the umbrella of the Smithsonian Institution.

From 2003 to the opening of the museum in September of 2016, the project received considerable thought, hard work, and dedication. For those who have never been to any of the Smithsonian Museums in the heart of downtown Washington, D.C., there is very little difference in the architecture of the museums. The shape of the buildings may change, but for the most part, they are made of the same off-white colored stone or concrete. This is not true of the NMAAHC. Situated in-between 14th and 15th Streets off Constitution Avenue, there is no mistaking this incredible museum for any of the other Smithsonian Institutions.

The unique design speaks volumes to the importance of the information and artifacts that rest within the walls of the NMAAHC. The building, inspired by the Yoruban people of West Africa, appears to be a series of inverted pyramids.¹ The ironwork of nineteenth century slaves from New Orleans inspired the copper-colored design, which covers the outside of the museum. In an interview with *Architectural Digest*, lead designer David Adjaye says, “‘From the moment you see the silhouette, you’re thinking of the journey,’ . . . referring to the notorious Middle Passage of captured Africans across the ocean.”²

Due to the enormous success of the museum, free, timed daily passes are still required. The museum releases passes months in advance; however, a limited number of passes are available online on a daily basis, beginning at 6 a.m., but sell out quickly. This reviewer logged on to the website at 7:00 a.m. on March 18 to check availability and it showed a sold out date. To avoid disappointment, it is

imperative that visitors get passes in advance of a planned visit. As parking for Washington D.C. museum and memorial visits is limited, visitors should consider the Metro as the best means of transportation. However, there are parking garages close to the museum. The closest being in the Ronald Reagan building, but expect to pay at least \$25 for the entire day.

After passing through security, one enters the museum at Heritage Hall. This houses the welcome desk and the museum store. Despite the dark, copper-colored exterior, the inside is open and bright. By taking the escalator down one floor to the Concourse, visitors will find the Sweet Home Café, the Oprah Winfrey Theatre, and the entrance to the History Galleries. There are numerous museum guides willing to help visitors. As guests walk into the History Galleries, pictures of famous African Americans hanging on the walls welcome them. Guests then proceed to an oversized glass elevator that looks as though it could easily hold one hundred people. The elevator attendant instructs everyone to enter the elevator but to face the opposite side, as those doors will open to the beginning of the galleries.

Before the elevator descends, one will notice the black wall to the right with the year 2008 painted in white. As the elevator makes its way down, the years roll back. The elevator stops at the year 1400. Visitors are in Africa, because African American history did not begin in America. Walking through the exhibits, one gets the feeling that they are walking through history. The displays show Africans go from having their own lives, cultures, and identities, to becoming a profitable commodity. Although the artifacts rest behind glass enclosures, this does not diminish their statement. There are short five-minute videos playing throughout and etched into the glass are quotes, some belonging to Europeans attempting to justify the capturing and selling of Africans, and some from captured Africans themselves.

The galleries transport visitors through centuries of African American history. Beginning with their brutal capture in Africa, the exhibits help guests understand the horrifying Middle Passage ship voyages experienced by captured Africans, followed by the misery that greeted them upon arrival in the Americas. The museum displays show that enslaved Africans were sold throughout various regions in the Americas and this influenced their overall horrendous experience. Moving through the years, guests will see the important roles that blacks played in the American Revolution, the founding of the United States of America, and the years leading up to the Civil War.

One of the reasons people were fearful of the creation of a museum dedicated to the African American experience was that the ability to hide from the devastating history of blacks in America would be even more difficult. This

museum does not allow anyone to ignore or even attempt to explain away the tragedy that was the African American experience. To see actual chains that were used on men, women, and children to not only keep them from running but as protection for their captors can be more than a little jarring.

One of the artifacts, although small and easy to pass over, perfectly captures the atrocity that was the institution of slavery. At first glance, it just looks like an old tin case. Upon closer inspection, one realizes the importance of this homemade tin case. Through a slight opening, folded papers are visible. The tin case belonged to a free black named Joseph Trammell and it housed the papers that proved he was free. His freedom and safety, while not guaranteed, depended on the protection of those precious documents.

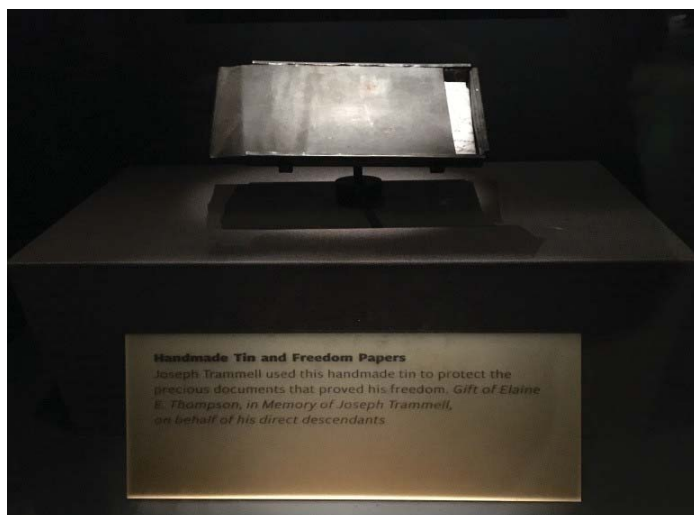


Figure 1. Author's photo of Joseph Trammell's handmade tin and freedom papers. Taken from the Slavery & Freedom Exhibit in the History Galleries, National Museum of African American History and Culture, March 16, 2017.

The level of shock that one experiences from one artifact to the next varies; however, all the items, structures, and information that are on display, are equally important to telling the story of the African American. There are faces and people that are familiar and immediately recognizable, and others whose stories are less familiar. Furthermore, some of these stories and personalities have not received recognition until now. When one enters the area dedicated to the Reconstruction Period, one enters the unmistakable era of African American

history darkened by Jim Crow. This part of the museum is just as remarkable and devastating as the first. It is here that one realizes that the term “free” loosely described the status of the African American following the abolishment of slavery.

The images that are on display are even more horrific and haunting than the ones from the floor dedicated to slavery. So powerful are the displays that there is a sign that warns visitors that what they are about to view may not be suitable for children or people who are sensitive. For those that decide to proceed, an unmistakable relic greets them, a Ku Klux Klan white hood. Seeing one in images, or on television, pales in comparison to seeing such a symbol of hate and racism up close. Furthermore, surrounding the hood on display, are small images, outlined in red, that document the atrocities committed by people who often wore them.

There are images of African Americans being lynched. The most horrific ones include white citizens posing with the mangled and mutilated bodies hanging from trees or bridges by ropes, looking proud of their accomplishments. This floor also houses artifacts from possibly the greatest catalyst to the civil rights movement, the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till. With permission from his family, his original casket is on display. Per the family’s instructions, taking pictures here is forbidden. A museum worker at the entrance explains this to



Figure 2. Author’s photo of Jet Magazine featuring article on Emmett Till’s lynching. Taken from the entrance to the Emmett Till memorial exhibit. National Museum of African American History and Culture. March 16, 2016.

visitors.

The blood, sweat, and tears put into the Civil Rights Movement is well-documented throughout this floor. The importance of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X to the Civil Rights movement is on display for the world to see. Throughout history, many have attempted to tarnish the image of the Black Panthers. However, this museum shows that although their methods were sometimes uncomfortable to both black and white America, they were equally important to Black Americans fighting for the respect they demanded and deserved. The final floor of the history galleries moves through the decades leading up to the election of the first black president, Barack Obama. It also encourages guests to connect the dots from the arrival of the first slaves in North America to the killings of unarmed black men like Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown. The third floor displays force guests to consider whether the country has entered a post-racial era or has it entered another, more modern, civil rights movement?

The incredible amount of information, artifacts, and the sheer number of visitors is overwhelming. It is difficult to absorb everything because there is pressure to keep moving so others may get a chance to see and experience all that each floor has to offer. Despite this fact, the National Museum of African American History and Culture proves that its creation is an important addition to the Smithsonian Institute's family of museums. Even more importantly, it serves as a reminder that those black Civil War Veterans understood the importance of recognizing not only their own achievements, but also the achievements of their own people that came before them.

One quote that stood out among all the others was that of a slave named David Walker in 1829, "America is more our country . . . we have enriched it with our blood and tears."

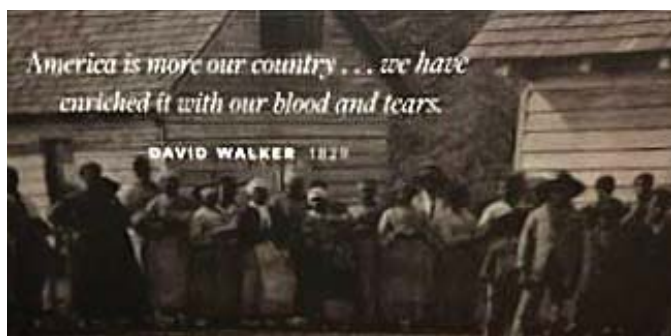


Figure 2. Author's photo taken of display wall in the History Galleries Exhibit, National Museum of African American History and Culture, March 16, 2017.

our blood and tears.”

One gets the feeling upon exiting those galleries that he was not wrong. Visitors cannot grasp the impact of the African American to the development of the United States in one visit to the museum and the floors that house that history. It is imperative that guests visit the museum with the understanding that more than one trip is required to fully capture what its creators had intended for the world to see. Even then, it may not be possible to comprehend it fully. Only with this mind set can one attempt to understand African American history.

Notes

1. The Transatlantic Slave Trade forced millions of Yoruban people from areas in Africa including Nigeria and Benin. They arrived in the United States via the Middle Passage. In addition, British, French and Spanish colonists purchased Yoruban slaves.

2. Fred A. Bernstein, “Architect David Adjaye Tells Us About Washington D.C.’s National Museum of African American History and Culture,” *Architectural Digest*, August 29, 2016, accessed March 18, 2017, <http://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/david-adjaye-national-museum-of-african-american-history-and-culture>.

Leerhsen, Charles. *Ty Cobb: A Terrible Beauty*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016. Book Review

Robert Smith, PhD

Context. Context is critical in understanding historical figures and events. Moderns perhaps understand the Aztecs and Babylonians for human sacrifice. Readers too often fail to look at the world within its historic prism. However, with Ty Cobb, certain established “facts” exist. The Hollywood hit movie *Field of Dreams* noted that everyone hated him. Ironically, the character who stated this in the movie was later thrown out of baseball for gambling and throwing the 1919 World Series. Cobb was a racist. He sharpened his spikes and maimed many players on the ball field. However, what if all this is wrong? Perhaps the history of the “Georgia Peach” was misappropriated and he was subject to a simple hatchet job. In recent history, similar examples have occurred; take David Irving denying the Holocaust, the faking of the Hitler Diaries, and the false story in *Rolling Stone* about campus rape.

Ty Cobb was perhaps the first real superstar in sports history. His impact is such that he turned baseball into an exciting game, where folks came to the ball park to watch him, as later people would flock to see Michael Jordan play. Ty Cobb was a revolutionary figure, turning baseball into a professional pursuit through his single-minded quest for perfection. He defined an era in American history as well, serving as a model for a nation flexing its new found muscle and sense of vitality. He was one of the first Southerners post the American Civil War to be accepted into mainstream America.

But the facts do not hold up to the legend. If Ty Cobb was so hated, why did he rate first among the initial inductees for the Baseball Hall of Fame, to include more votes than Babe Ruth? The accusation that Cobb did more to enforce the color line in baseball is patently false. The stories that Cobb singled out blacks to fight with are again false. In fact, Cobb was a pioneer in how he treated blacks in his personal life and he pushed for their inclusion at baseball’s home plate. Much of this is like many journalist stories today—never let the facts stand in the way of the story you want to create.

As both Ulysses S. Grant, and later Cobb, sensed their impending

mortality, both wanted to establish their identity for posterity. Grant was a good writer and the help of Mark Twain would not have hurt. Cobb, for his part, instead got a human cancer, a man of such malevolence who served as his ghost writer, Al Stump. When this hack—banned from reputable magazines that had fact checking units in the early 1960s—did the drafting, he lied. Made stuff up. Invented quotes. He narrated a cold, snowy Christmas Eve trip to the Cobb crypt. Basic fact checking by the author showed it had not snowed that day in Georgia. Or anywhere else for hundreds of miles around.

Stump dragged his feet on allowing Cobb to see the final product hoping Cobb would die first, which was the case. However, book sales were lukewarm at best. So what did this man do? He wrote an article for *True Magazine*, throwing his book under the bus—and of course Ty Cobb with it. His lies and innuendos became simply outrageous. The fix was in. For the autobiography, Stump earned \$3,000; for the hit piece in *True*, he earned \$4,000. Even after Cobb's death, this man's evil oozed on. He forged hundreds of Ty Cobb documents, personal artifacts, and baseball memorabilia after Cobb's death in 1961, telling folks Cobb gave these to him. This massive deception allowed him to amass a small fortune in the trade of these forged baseball memorabilia. The end state—Stump forged two Cobb diaries that ended up in the Baseball of Fame, only to be found to be a fraud by an FBI analysis in 2009. The Ty Cobb movie, based primarily on the book is even worse. The director stated Cobb might have killed as many as three people. Of course, he had no proof. They also put in a scene that never happened where Cobb purports to rape a cigarette girl in a casino. Basis? The director noted, "That actually was not in the original screenplay. That is something Al and I came up with during the shoot. It felt like the sort of thing Cobb would do" (p. 400). Yet much of what authors have written about Cobb since then has been based on Al Stump's rewrite of history in that poisoned-well article in *True Magazine*.

There are some small challenges in the book. Although Leerhsen adopts the typical biographical chronological style in telling the story, sometimes he jumps around so much that this reviewer had to go back to be certain that he had not missed a section. The author has a tendency to use odd phrases that highlight his command of the Thesaurus and writing skill to prove that he is not just a hackneyed, cliché-using sports writer. Perhaps of greater import, his writing style and the interweaving of material at times gives it a pseudo-jurisprudence feel. Adopting perhaps the use of more explanatory foot or end notes would have enabled the author to convey the same information but to make the writing less stilted.

This reviewer went into this book truly blind, except for the mythology and persona that he now sees falsely entombed Cobb's legacy. Ty Cobb—on and off the field—was quite human, and troubled. Cobb was perhaps more troubled than some and perhaps overly sensitive with pride. Yet it is easy to ascribe that to his antebellum upbringing and his need to make his way in a polite society that saw ballplayers as ruffians or worse, while laboring under the burden of being a Southerner. Today one might wonder if Cobb had a traumatic brain injury or post-traumatic stress disorder due to his hair trigger temper. Yet one can imagine that Ty Cobb with his love of children would have founded a children's charitable clinic, for he had already built a hospital in his hometown. What readers end up with is the story of a complicated man who has over time been forgotten by the game he built. Therein lies the real tragedy, for Cobb and the game of baseball became estranged.

Cohen, Adam. *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck*. New York: Penguin Press, 2016.

Book Review

Dana Dawson

Man has often toyed with the idea that he could play God, be it through medical/scientific advancements or even through legal customs. While many of these advancements are beneficial to societies at large, there have been some sinister outcomes like the pseudo-science of eugenics. The discovery of DNA and the specifics of the uniqueness of one's genetic make-up (including the chemical process within cells), and the true structure and chemical composition of DNA would not be discovered until the 1950s. It would not be until the 1970s and 1980s that scientists could unlock more of the mysteries contained within the double helix, the twisted-ladder structure of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). Prior to unlocking the medical mystery of DNA and genetics, the Eugenics movement had humble beginnings in the late 1800s and it took root in the United States in the early 1900s. Eugenics, initially developed by Francis Galton in 1883, is the improvement of the human population by controlled breeding in order to increase the occurrence of desirable heritable characteristics. By the 1920s the United States was enthralled by this newly developed scientific theory that explained genetics, and "America's leading citizens led the charge to save humanity" (p. 2). Eugenicists existed outside the scientific community. For example, Alexander Graham Bell, former President Theodore Roosevelt, and John D. Rockefeller Jr. embraced the movement. Furthermore, over three hundred universities and colleges including Harvard, Cornell, Princeton, and Berkley circulated the pseudo-science as part of the curriculums.

During this timeframe, America was changing. In addition to urbanization and industrialization, immigration was at a record high. Immigrants brought "new" religious practices and multiple ethnicities flooded the cities. As such, America's traditional background began to alter. All of this change increased the anxiety amongst the established groups of Americans and eugenicists seized the opportunity to make claims that immigrants brought "inordinately high levels of physical and mental heredity defects that were degrading America's gene pool" (p. 5). Eugenicists presented Congress with purported "scientific evidence" of

“inferior genetics” and pressed congressional members to pass laws in order to prevent immigrants from “contaminating” the American population. Members of Congress were swayed by the given presentations and congressional acts followed. Some states tried to create laws that prohibited marriages; others tried segregation methods but desisted due to expense. Finally, eugenicists found their solution in sterilization.

In 1907, Indiana was the first state to pass legislation that allowed forced sterilization on people judged to have hereditary defects. Within a decade, twelve other states followed suit. These laws called for sterilization of anyone having

defective traits, such as epilepsy, criminality, alcoholism, or ‘dependency’— another word for poverty. Their greatest target was the ‘feeble-minded,’ a loose designation that included people who were mentally challenged, women considered to be excessively interested in sex, and various categories of individuals who offended the middle-class sensibilities of judges and social workers (p. 6).

The case of Carrie Bell is one of misfortune. She was sent to Virginia’s Colony for Epileptics and Feeble-Minded as a woman that gave birth to a child out of wedlock, and one subject to be sterilized under Virginia’s new sterilization law. *Buck v. Bell* was less about contraceptives or contraceptive measures and more about whether or not to sterilize an individual in order to prevent future “undesirable citizens,” meaning those that disrupted the social order or seen as having a lesser intelligence. As Cohen states,

Four of the nation’s most respected professions were involved in Carrie Buck’s case—medicine, academia, law, and judiciary—in the form of four powerful men. They were the kind of influential individuals who were in a position to put a check on the popular mania over eugenics, and to protect the people who were wrongly being branded a threat. In each case, however, these men sided forcefully with the eugenic cause, and used their power and prestige to see that Carrie was sterilized (p. 7).

Cohen conveys the harsh circumstances that surrounded Carrie Buck into a moving historical account of how a young woman went from being a dutiful foster daughter to being a resident committed to the Virginia Colony for Epileptics and Feeble-Minded on the grounds of feeble-mindedness, promiscuity, and

incurable behavior. Carrie, at the tender age of seventeen, gave birth to her daughter out of wedlock. This factor, in addition to poor education, and a family background that included a few feeble-minded members (including her mother) were all marks against Carrie's character. Carrie also failed the designated eugenics test given by the staff at the Colony. For these reasons, authorities deemed her feeble-minded.

Individuals of influence perceived eugenics to be a method for preserving and improving the dominant (and preferred) groups within the established population. Carrie Buck arrived at the Colony at a time when scientists and politicians were seeking to create an air-tight legal avenue to pursue their eugenic aspirations in controlling certain groups deemed to be the lesser half of the population. They aspired to create a statute permitting compulsory sterilization of "undesirable citizens."

Cohen exposes the cruelty and the deception utilized by those that pushed the sterilization law into effect. While his main focus is with the eventual and disturbing *Buck v. Bell* outcome, he does discuss some of the motives of the individuals and the turmoil during the Progressive Era. Cohen states that "the driving force behind the eugenics movement of the 1920s was, [as] historians suggest, the collective fears of the Anglo-Saxon upper and middle classes about the changing America" (p. 4). The change in population brought forth a fear that allowed eugenicists to thrive. Educated men in power were enthralled with the science of eugenics and saw it as a way to protect the sanctity of the United States.

Cohen sectioned the chapters of the book into mini-biographies for all the main characters. They include Carrie Buck and the men that promoted the idea of eugenic sterilization. A foster family raised Carrie Buck and pushed to have her committed to the Virginia Colony for Epileptics and Feeble-Minded. Dr. Albert Priddy, the Colony's superintendent, presented Carrie Buck as the specimen to use in order to pass the sterilization law in Virginia. Furthermore, he was the key lobbyist of the sterilization legislation, and a significant witness for the defense in support of sterilization during her trial. Another key individual to assist in passing the law was Harry Laughlin.

Established by the Carnegie Institution of Washington's Station for Experimental Evolution, Laughlin was head of the Eugenics Record Office. The Eugenics Record Office's mission was to accumulate substantial information on the ancestry of the American population, to produce propaganda that assisted the eugenics movement, and to encourage the idea of race betterment. Laughlin gave expert testimony on how eugenics was applicable to Carrie. Furthermore, he was a proponent of the Immigration Act of 1924 and a key supporter of sterilization,

having written a 502-page exposition on the topic. The defender of the sterilization law was Aubrey Strode.

Aubrey Strode is the lawyer that both drafted the sterilization law and presented the case against Carrie Buck all the way to the Supreme Court. Though Strode did not necessarily believe in the ideology of eugenics, he was willing to represent eugenicists in this case. Strode was one of Virginia's most notable lawyers. He was a graduate of the University of Virginia's college and law school, and a former state senator. Strode, being a shrewd litigator, built his case for sterilization utilizing a compelling theory, auspicious evidence for eugenic sterilization and strong witnesses.

And finally, Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., considered to be one of the greatest legal minds in America, wrote the ruling on behalf of the Supreme Court in regards to Carrie Buck's case. Holmes was a Harvard educated elitist and a proponent of the eugenics movement. Years before the Buck case, Holmes was vocal about establishing a plan for reforming society. In his summary of the case, Holmes displayed what Cohen considered a "lack of interest" for the facts. Holmes's majority opinion included the infamous phrase "Three generations of imbeciles are enough" (p. 270). Holmes is referring to both Carrie's mother and infant daughter in the ruling.

Cohen's review of this horrifying legal decision is intense. It explores an almost secretive, shady past of American history and one that would have influence on Nazi Germany. Cohen reports that Laughlin frequently corresponded with Nazi scientists and even assisted in writing reports for the American government on the benefits of reducing the immigration quotas on those of Jewish descent. Furthermore, Cohen states that during the Nuremberg Trials, Nazi leaders, such as Otto Hofmann, "the head of the SS Race and Settlement Office, one of the Nazis charged with mass sterilization, defended himself in part by referring to the American states that had adopted eugenic sterilization laws—and the *Buck v. Bell* decision" (p. 303).

The book does have some drawbacks. One of the biggest issues is Cohen's tendency to repeat facts or statements, sometimes just pages apart. Other times it seems as if he is giving a brief overview of someone he has already addressed in a previous chapter. Another issue is the biographies have a tendency to drag just a little. This is not to say the information is not pertinent, only that it is less interesting than the case.

Cohen does a convincing job in conveying the unethical and prejudiced account of the Buck case. The biographical details supplied about each of the men in this case allows the reader to understand the narrow-minded focus of all of those

who were swept up in the eugenics craze. Cohen allows the reader to empathize not only with Carrie and her family, but also the sixty to seventy thousand individuals who were sterilized between 1907 and 1983. *Buck v. Bell* still stands as a valid law and has remained unchallenged to this date. Cohen leaves the reader knowing that forced sterilization was still applied as a punishment as recently as 2015.

Shaara, Jeff. *The Frozen Hours: A Novel of the Korean War*.
Ballantine Books: New York, 2017.

Book Review

Robert Smith, PhD

Korea. Few Americans know anything about the Korean War. Very few could name a book or a movie based on that war. There was *The Bridges at Toko-Ri*, a dull movie. Clint Eastwood loosely centered *Heartbreak Ridge*—named after another movie in its own right—on the emotional nexus that leads to redemption at Grenada. Korea is a war that people do not even think about, much less remember. Ever hear about the Task Force Smith debacle in the summer of 1950, when American soldiers tried to halt North Korean T-34 tanks with bazookas that could not pierce the tanks' armor? At most, some may vaguely know of Frozen Chosin. When Jeff Shaara offered up his newest work of fiction on the deadly campaign of June 1950 in Korea, this reviewer eagerly accepted, curious to see how he would "attack" this conflict that has been relegated to the shadows of the collective American memory.

Surprisingly, Shaara started the book with the post invasion period of Inchon. It seemed that a lot of the drama was already missing. Here was the perfect story of the near disaster to American and Republic of Korea (ROK) arms, the Pusan Perimeter Line, and the breakout to the north spurred by OPERATION CHROMITE, the invasion at Inchon. It seemed that this would be a good read, but due to his timeline, missed the glory days. However, on his personal web page, Jeff gave us a sense of his vision for this work,

This is a very different story than I have told before. The struggle by American and United Nations troops against an enormous Chinese juggernaut is a part of our history that very few Americans (and our allies) are aware, and even if you've heard of The Chosin Reservoir, you may not realize just how that story came to be—nor how and why it concluded the way it did.¹

The book starts slow, but it is historically accurate, as the Marines after landing at Inchon met little resistance but American and ROK political considerations led to some poor operational and strategic decisions, such as the retaking of Seoul block

by block. Army folks give their brothers in arms, the dog faces from the Marines, grief, and they are just as the bad cliché goes, a brother from another mother. But what the story line delves into early on, and does so well, is that many of these Marines are recalled World War II veterans. Because of the Marine Corps smaller size, many of these men know each other or have common ties. They were the “strategic reserve” in a sense, as after World War II, the nation took to peace with a vengeance. The Truman Administration did little to keep the military in any posture to respond. All of this swirls around the book in an undercurrent. The story is about life in a frozen hell in the winter of 1950 in Korea. What our soldiers faced there was almost as bad as anything that George Washington’s army faced in the darkest hours of 1776 during its perilous retreat, staying just ahead of impending disaster at the hands of General Charles Lord Cornwallis. Most Americans have never really been cold. Perhaps those who did duty on the German border during the Cold War have some understanding, but Chosin was its own special brand of historic cold.

As in a Greek play, during the drama at Chosin, the hulking Olympian figure of General Douglas MacArthur was warm and safe back in Tokyo. Ned Almon, one of his acolytes, fought his war; a man whom the Marines would soon learn to their misfortune was out of his league. Almon is proof that when the system fails, it does so in a massive way. Moreover, he seems to fit the adage of being under the tutelage of the WPPA, the West Point Protective Association, for it is hard to imagine anyone with so little skill or of this background getting a major combatant command. Although Shaara does not spend a lot of time with him, the portrait is both unflattering and illustrative of a man floundering in command, consigning others to an unjustified doom. One comment alone speaks volumes to his unfitness for command, telling his subordinate commanders they should not let a bunch of Chinese laundrymen stop them!

Contrast him with General Oliver Smith, the man remembered for the quote “Retreat hell! We’re attacking in a different direction,”² which was of course a bit more graphic. Smith is the epitome of what an officer and leader should be, carefully managing resources and his subordinates as well as one who actually goes out to see the ground. Without Smith at that moment in time, it is possible the entire Tenth Corps would have been lost in an epic disaster. Most Americans will have never heard of Smith, and that is simply shameful. Shaara, as always, gives equal coverage to the other side of the fence. Here, he does so in the guise of General Sung Shi-Lun of the Red Chinese Army. The portrait of Shi-Lun is fascinating, for looking at a conflict from the other side of the hill always adds to the story and here, readers get a better sense of the Korean conflict. As always,

Shaara speaks to the travails and heroism of the American archetype hero, in this case the Marines of the First Marine Division, told primarily through the lens of Private First Class Pete Riley and his platoon. He includes stories of men like Private First Class Hector Cafferata who, with frozen feet, single-handedly holds off a Chinese Battalion—sans boots, shoes or coat: “For the rest of the night I was batting hand grenades away with my entrenching tool while firing my rifle at them. I must have whacked a dozen grenades that night with my tool. And you know what? I was the world’s worst baseball player.”³



Figure 1. *The Eternal Band of Brothers, Korea*, by Charles H. Waterhouse. Used with permission.

There are moments and instances that will stand out to the reader—not just at that moment that they are read—but will come back later, such as the importance of Tootsie Rolls. In the harsh environment of Korea, Tootsie Rolls became a lifeline to many in terms of sustenance. Or imagine soldiers having their hot Thanksgiving dinner freeze solid before they had a chance to chow it down. On the other side, Shaara writes of the Red Chinese Commander going into a cave, where many of his soldiers, while awaiting the order to attack again, simply froze to death overnight as they were not allowed fires during the daytime that would reveal their position to a pounding by American airpower. Or, as Shaara tells the reader, “Not all the Chinese were spoiling for a fight. In many encampments, the Americans crept forward to find huddled groups of frozen enemy soldiers, men who had died because their orders kept them on the hills, waiting to confront an enemy they did not live to

see” (p. 470).

Certain elements offer surprises, such as the footwear worn by the Communist Chinese. Rather than being outfitted in either captured Nationalist Chinese footwear—American boots since the United States had outfitted the defeated Nationalists in the Chinese Civil War—or even, perhaps, Japanese footwear left over from World War II, they wore shoes of soft canvas with rubber soles that did little to ward off the thirty-below temperatures. Of course, Chinese medical care was almost medieval. Those wounded or with any ambulatory ability (as many Chinese soldiers had lost their feel to frost bite) could walk north for perhaps a chance for survival. Shaara provided another vignette: the American Air Force air-dropped bridge spans weighing two tons and combat engineers rebuilt bridges under conditions of unimaginable cold and enemy fire, speaking to the intrepid spirit for survival. As the last Marines came out of the pocket, dirty, wounded, ragged and unshaven, they—including the walking wounded who wanted to participate—formed up into a column and marched into safety singing the Marine Corps Hymn, “From the halls of Montezuma, to the shores of Tripoli.”

In an era when Americans cannot remember the fight at Fallujah a decade ago, this book is a must to recall and honor those who served in Korea. For this reviewer, the book served as a bit of a personal catharsis. Korea was not my war. It was nothing like my war in Iraq and Afghanistan, yet somehow the struggles, fear, and the sheer struggle to survive resonated deeply with me. After reading several smaller works on Korea, *The Frozen Hours* nicely reflects the works of the “real” historians with just the right feel. The bonus for the reader is that Shaara put a human face on the Red Chinese. Its portrayal of the victory and courage of the human spirit, and the American fighting man brought to life in these pages makes it easy to highly recommend *The Frozen Hours* for its overall history. It is a great summer read.

1. Jeff Shaara, “A Personal Note from Jeff,” Jeff Shaara: Official Web Site, June 13, 2017, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://jeffshaara.com/index.php>.

2. Major General Oliver Smith, *The Marine Officer’s Guide*, quoted in *Retreat, hell! We’re attacking in a different direction*, accessed June 17, 2017, http://www.vincehuston.org/quotes/marines_chosin.html.

3. Matt Schudel, “Hector Cafferata, Medal of Honor recipient in Korean War, dies at 86,” *Washington Post*, April 14, 2016, accessed June 17, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/hector-cafferata-medal-of-honor-recipient-in-korean-war-dies-at-86/2016/04/14/9c7711a6-0259-11e6-b823-707c79ce3504_story.html?utm_term=.7bde69ba97e7.