All Her Trials

Susan B. Anthony’s vote landed her in court in 1873
Come to your senses

Waves lapping. Sand between your toes. Warm coastal breezes. Steam rising off a plate of fresh shrimp. When you’re ready, come experience the sights, sounds and scents of the Alabama Gulf Coast. We’ve missed you.
Exercise Your Liberty

Comfort and class go hand in hand in the Liberty Walking Stick. Yours for ONLY $59!

The right to free speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly are what make the USA the land of liberty. These constitutional rights are embodied in the Walking Liberty half-dollar, the famous coin showing Lady Liberty striding powerfully and purposely forward into the future.

The Liberty Walking Stick showcases this iconic symbol of freedom with a genuine Walking Liberty Silver Half-Dollar that has been skillfully cut cross-sectionally—90% pure silver—struck by the U.S. Mint. The perfect way to celebrate what makes this country great while putting some pep in your step.

Today these tributes to a gentleman’s power, prestige, and posture are fetching as much as $200,000 at auction. Because Stauer takes the quicker and less expensive route and goes right to the source, we can offer you the vintage-worthy Liberty Walking Stick for only $59!

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed.
Experience the comfort and class of the Liberty Walking Stick for 30 days. If you’re not feeling more liberated, simply send it back within 30 days for a refund of the item price. At Stauer, we walk the talk.

Limited Edition. Only 4,999 available! These handcrafted beauties take months to craft and are running (not walking) out the door. So, take a step in the right direction. Call today!

PRAISE FOR STAUER WALKING STICKS

— J. from Pacific Grove, CA

36” Liberty Walking Stick $79*
Offer Code Price Only $59 + S&P Save $20

40” Liberty Walking Stick $99*
Offer Code Price Only $69 + S&P Save $30

1-800-333-2045

Your Offer Code: LWS246-03
You must use the insider offer code to get our special price.

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. LWS246-03
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.stauer.com

*Discount is only for customers who use the offer code versus the listed original Stauer.com price.

- Eucalyptus wood with cast brass handle containing genuine obverse U.S. Walking Liberty Silver Half Dollar (1916-1947); rubber tip
- Supports up to 250 pounds

Stauer... Afford the Extraordinary.
American History
JUNE 2021

FEATURES

24 All Her Trials
Suffragist Susan B. Anthony went looking for a fight—and found one By J.D. Zohniser

32 Blood and Sugar
The German Coast Uprising thrilled those in bondage and shocked Louisiana By Larry C. Kerpeilman

40 Road Work
A 52-mile road through Glacier National Park introduced the wild to the public By Jessica Wambach Brown

50 Killing Apollo
Reaching the Moon was the program’s lasting coup By Richard Bownell

58 Born to Build
As a businessman, Charles Bulfinch was a failure, but as an architect he designed for the ages By Richard Jensen

DEPARTMENTS

6 Mosaic
News from out of the past.

12 Contributors

14 American Schemers
Wayne Wheeler singlehandedly muscled America into going dry.

16 Déjà Vu
QAnon is small potatoes compared to an exercise in Anti-Masonry that changed presidential campaigns.

20 SCOTUS 101
A 1919 “clear and present danger” ruling imposed limits on that 1st Amendment free speech guarantee.

22 Cameo
Mexican American activist Jovita Idar combined journalism, activism, and community service in a lifelong career.

66 Reviews

72 An American Place
Sitka, Alaska

ON THE COVER: “Aunt Susan” B. Anthony campaigned forcefully on behalf of suffrage for American women, to the point of risking a jail sentence for voting in 1872.
American History

JUNE 2021  VOL. 56, NO. 2

HISTORYNET

MICHAEL A. REINSTEIN  CHAIRMAN & PUBLISHER
DAVID STEINHAFEL  PUBLISHER
ALEX NEILL  EDITOR IN CHIEF

MICHAEOD OLAN  EDITOR
NANCY TAPPAN  SENIOR EDITOR
SARAH RICHARDSON  SENIOR EDITOR

STEPHEN KAMIFUJI  CREATIVE DIRECTOR
BRIAN WALKER  GROUP ART DIRECTOR
MELISSA A. WINN  DIRECTOR OF PHOTOGRAPHY
JON C. BOCK  ART DIRECTOR

CORPORATE
ROB WILKINS  DIRECTOR OF PARTNERSHIP MARKETING
TOM GRIFFITHS  CORPORATE DEVELOPMENT
GRAYDON SHEINBERG  CORPORATE DEVELOPMENT
SHAWN BYERS  VP AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT
JAMIE ELLIOTT  PRODUCTION DIRECTOR

ADVERTISING
MORTON GREENBERG  SVP Advertising Sales mgreenberg@mco.com
TERRY JENKINS  Regional Sales Manager tjenkins@historynet.com
RICK GOWER  Regional Sales Manager rick@rickgower.com

DIRECT RESPONSE ADVERTISING
NANCY FORMAN / MEDIA PEOPLE
212-779-7172 ext. 224 nforman@mediapeople.com

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION:
SHOPHISTORYNET.COM or 800-435-0715

American History (ISSN 1076-8866) is published bimonthly by HISTORYNET, LLC, 901 North Glebe Road, Fifth Floor, Arlington, VA 22203 Periodical postage paid at Vienna, VA and additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER, send address changes to American History, P.O. Box 422224, Palm Coast, FL 32142-2224
List Rental Inquiries: Belkys Reyes, Lake Group Media, Inc. 914-925-2406; belkys.reyes@lakemedia.com
Canada Publications Mail Agreement No. 41342519, Canadian GST No. 821371408RT0001

© 2021 HISTORYNET, LLC
The contents of this magazine may not be reproduced in whole or in part without the written consent of HISTORYNET LLC.

PROUDLY MADE IN THE USA

Visit Historynet.com/AmericanHistory and search for online-only stories like these:

Maine’s Great Hero Averted Another War
Joshua Chamberlain stepped up to face down a mob when postwar Maine politics got as ugly as Little Round Top. bit.ly/ChamberlainSavesMaine

Ballot Box Battles: As Old as the Republic
A 1793 House race in upstate New York spawned accusations of vote tampering that took a year to sort out. bit.ly/BallotBoxBattling

Egotistic Brit General Blew It at Yorktown
King George’s best strategist guessed wrong about where Washington and his allies would stand and fight. bit.ly/ArroganceCostBritsYorktown

HISTORYNET Now
Love history? Sign up for our FREE monthly e-newsletter at: historynet.com/newsletters

FOLLOW US AT
facebook.com/AmericanHistoryMag

4  AMERICAN HISTORY
Now! Get U.S. Decade Coin Sets from 1900-2020!

Each decade set contains a 1¢ through Half Dollar. This 65-coin collection includes:

- 1943 Steel Cent to save copper for ammunition in WWII
- 35% Silver Jefferson Wartime Nickel – reserved nickel for the war effort
- Dimes, Quarters and Half Dollars struck before 1965 in 90% silver
- Each decade set comes in a clear protective case
- Makes a great gift

Subscribe Now! We'll send your first two decades and your FREE Custom Coin Set Box™ with FREE Shipping!

Order now! Call (800) 645-3122 or visit LittletonCoin.com/Specials for Faster Service

☑ 12 Monthly Shipments Only $29.95 each – FREE Shipping every month! Cancel at any time.
☑ Complete Set for Only $279.00 SAVE Over $80 & get FREE Shipping!

Subject to availability

Mail to: Littleton Coin Co.
Dept. ZWAP
1303 Mt. Ethan Rd
Littleton NH 03561-3737

☐ VISA ☐ MC ☐ AMEX ☐ DISC No checks accepted.

Card #: ________________ Exp. Date: __/___

Name ____________________________ E-Mail ____________________________

Address ____________________________ Please print clearly

City ____________________________ State ______ Zip ______

45-Day Money Back Guarantee
Visible Man

Though not a likeness—no known images of him exist—the bust of the Corps of Discovery member honors him.

Commemorating York

Last October in Portland, Oregon, protesters toppled a statue of early settler and conservative newspaper editor Harvey Scott that had stood tall in Mount Tabor Park since 1931. On February 19, unknown parties installed in Scott’s place atop the vacated plinth an imposing bust. The guerrilla curators left a statement that the unattributed artwork represents an enslaved Black man named York who was a member of the 1804-06 Corps of Discovery expedition that traveled from St. Louis, Missouri, to the northwest corner of Oregon. The Portland Parks Department does not intend to remove the new unsolicited memorial.

Expedition leader William Clark owned York; Clark’s parents owned York’s parents. The two had grown up together, spending their young adulthood near Louisville, Kentucky. No physical depiction of York survives from that time, but the bust in Mount Tabor Park resembles a statue of York erected in Louisville in 2003. Mentions of York in the expedition journals show that he participated fully in the project, voting on decisions, negotiating on behalf of the group with Native Americans for food, even carrying out a risky rescue. An Oregon Encyclopedia entry on York quotes Corps member Sergeant John Ordway as recording in his journal, “[T]he greatest curiosity to them was York Capt. Clark’s Black man. All the nation made a great deal of him.” Nez Perce oral tradition holds that members of that tribe called him “Raven’s Son.” After the expedition, York asked for his freedom; Clark refused and beat him. The record is not clear, but York seems to have been freed after 1816 and worked for a time as a freight hauler. Details of his later life and death are not known. On March 15, 2021, vandals covered the plinth, but not the bust, with anti-colonialist graffiti. A maintenance crew removed the graffiti.
Landmark Status Granted

Two new historic landmarks recognize women who altered American culture. One is the Lynn, Massachusetts, house in which Mary Baker Eddy lived while writing the 1875 book Science and Health that launched Christian Science. Eddy, waylaid all her life by setbacks and ailments, established a church that emphasized self-empowering faith. Also during her 1875-82 residence there, Eddy established a college and attracted disciples. The second landmark, in northeast Arizona, is Klagetoh Chapter House in District 17 of the Navajo Nation, where in 1951 Annie Wauneka was the first woman elected to the Navajo Tribal Council. Waune’ka, the daughter of a powerful rancher and tribal leader, was 8 when she survived the 1918 flu pandemic. That experience led her to push all her life for better health services and education, especially regarding tuberculosis. She composed a Navajo-language medical dictionary. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy awarded Waune’ka the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Both locations will be part of the National Women’s Trail, a nationwide network of sites established to honor the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote. Details: bit.ly/2021NationalWomensTrail.

The Society of Jesus in the U.S. and Canada has come to terms with a group of descendants of 272 people whom Jesuits once enslaved on plantations in Maryland. The pact directs $100 million to be raised to pay for education for descendants and to fight racism. In 1838, to pay debts and expand Georgetown University, a Jesuit school in Washington, DC, the order sold the 272 to two Louisiana planters. One was Catholic congressman Henry Johnson, former Louisiana senator and governor. News of the sale in 2016 spurred creation of the GU272 Descendants Association. Rather than seek cash for individuals, GU272 pursued a collective agenda. JPMorgan Chase, owner of Citizens Bank of New Orleans, which had accepted the Jesuits’ former slaves as collateral for loans to the planters, got involved. Following talks fostered by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, GU272 Descendants Association and the Society organized the Descendants Truth & Reconciliation Foundation. “For more than 400 years, our country has denied the persistent human destruction caused by slavery and the conscious and unconscious racism that divides our communities and nation,” said Joseph Stewart, the foundation’s acting president. “After 182 years, Descendants and Jesuits have come together in the spirit of truth, racial healing and reconciliation, uniquely positioning the Descendants Truth & Reconciliation Foundation to set an example and lead America through dismantling the remnants of slavery and mitigating the presence of racism.”
**Civics Class Is a Good Idea**

American educators should revive civics as a course, say the U.S. Education Department and the National Endowment for the Humanities. A joint report by those entities notes a regrettable dearth of instruction in government and civics compared with the latter-day emphasis given courses preparing students for careers in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and medicine). Coursework should examine such topics as the importance of civic participation, examples of dissent and advocacy, and related aspects of American history such as how the nation’s borders have changed over time. “Dangerously low proportions of the public understand and trust our democratic institutions,” the authors warn. “Majorities are functionally illiterate on our constitutional principles and forms. The relative neglect of civic education in the past half-century—an period of wrenching change—is one important cause of our civic and political dysfunction.”

**Maryland Archaeology Focuses on Black History**

Streaming videos on archaeology in Maryland feature Julie Schablitsky, chief archaeologist with the state transportation department. The four highlighted sites are Bayly Cabin, home to enslaved workers in Dorchester County; 417 Jonathan Street in Hagerstown, where a free Black’s cabin slated for demolition was saved and studied; Newtowne Neck, a St. Mary’s County property inhabited in the 1700s by Jesuit priests who kept enslaved people on their plantation; and an ongoing search in Dorchester County for the home of Ben Ross, father of Harriet Tubman.

Small Things Forgotten
The excavation at the site on Jonathan Street, long a Black neighborhood, unearthed many artifacts.

**Mob Attacks White House (in 1841)**

On August 17, 1841, a mob attacked the White House, then home to President John Tyler, who had succeeded William Harrison. Harrison had died April 4, a month after his inauguration. Harrison had supported creation of a national bank, but President Tyler, who as a Whig senator had supported such a bank until he came to think it unconstitutional, vetoed a bill to establish one. Outraged Whigs rioted on the White House grounds, burning an effigy of Tyler. The incident, writes historian Stan Haynes on the History News Network, so alarmed Congress that within a year lawmakers had funded a White House protection force consisting of a captain and three officers.
MAN FROM MONTANA

BY GREGORY J. LALIRE

This historical novel follows adventurer Woodie Hart to the violent goldfields of what would become Montana Territory. Woodie discovers the boomtowns of Virginia City, Bannack and Hell Gate and faces the twin terrors of road agents looking to get rich quick and vigilantes intent on dishing out cruel justice.

PRICE: $25.95 / 370 PAGES
HARDCOVER (5.5 X 8.5) / ISBN: 9781432871178
Tiffany.Schofield@Cengage.com
FACEBOOK & TWITTER: @FIVESTARCENGAGE
Sitka’s Tlingit Fort Pinpointed

Archaeologists have nailed down the site of a wooden fort near Sitka, Alaska (see American Place, p. 72), from which in 1804 Tlingit defenders fought off encroaching Russians, only to withdraw and flee Baranof Island. The Russians dismantled the fort, whose generally known vicinity was preserved within the island’s Sitka National Historical Park. Scientists working from electromagnetic signatures in the soil determined the fort’s exact perimeter, which they found to be larger than expected and to match period Russian depictions of the fort.

Jersey City Saves its Loews

The Loew’s Jersey, a magnificent 1929 movie palace in Jersey City, New Jersey, that once seated 3,300, will be restored, possibly by 2025, in a long-awaited $72 million project. Loew’s sold the property in 1993 to a developer; to prevent its demolition, the city bought the theater, sustained since by the nonprofit Friends of the Loew’s, which has managed the baroque venue since 1987. The deal, in the works since June 2020, will have the city and Devils Arena Entertainment collaborate. In its heyday, besides films the theater presented live acts like crooner Bing Crosby, whose performance there in 1933 so enthralled Hoboken resident Francis Albert Sinatra that he decided to become a singer himself.

TOP BID

$143,104

A rare 1860 banner depicting the vigilance of the “Wide Awakes”—young men pushing the Republican message of elevating the common man—set a record for a Lincoln textile, selling for $143,104 at Hake’s auction house on February 25 in York, Pennsylvania. In 1860, about half the population was under 20 in age, and young men were especially keen to curb westward expansion of slavery. Cape-clad and carrying whale-oil torches at night rallies, “Wide Awakes” rallied to Lincoln’s embrace of free labor and upward mobility.

The Spirit Lake Massacre—an 1857 attack by starving Dakota Sioux on newly arrived White settlers in northeastern Iowa—has inspired a graphic novel. Gary Kelley, an artist in Cedar Falls, Iowa, 34 miles south of the massacre site, based Moon of the Snow-Blind on six years of research and site visits. Reading Abbie Gardner Sharp’s 1885 account of being taken captive at 19 by Chief Inkapaduta of the Dakota Sioux (Cameo, December 2017) instilled an ongoing interest in the episode, according to the Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier.

Return to Spirit Lake

Dressed in the traditional garb of the Dakota people, the actress (left) played Moon of the Snow-Blind in the graphic novel. (Top right) The graphic novel features 24 pages of original artwork. (Bottom right) A page from the novel. (Lettering and coloring by Matt Kappos)
“To you, it’s the **perfect lift chair.**
To me, it’s the **best sleep chair** I’ve ever had.”

— J. Fitzgerald, VA

**NOW**
also available in
Genuine Italian Leather
(and new Chestnut color)

---

**Pictured:** Italian Leather chair chestnut color. Chestnut color also available in Duralux™ fabric

**You can’t always lie down in bed and sleep.** Heartburn, cardiac problems, hip or back aches – and dozens of other ailments and worries. Those are the nights you’d give anything for a comfortable chair to sleep in: one that reclines to exactly the right degree, raises your feet and legs just where you want them, supports your head and shoulders properly, and operates at the touch of a button.

Our **Perfect Sleep Chair**® does all that and more. More than a chair or recliner, it’s designed to provide total comfort. **Choose your preferred heat and massage settings, for hours of soothing relaxation.** Reading or watching TV? Our chair’s recline technology allows you to pause the chair in an infinite number of settings. And best of all, it features a powerful lift mechanism that tilts the entire chair forward, making it easy to stand. You’ll love the other benefits, too. It helps with correct spinal alignment and promotes back pressure relief, to prevent back and muscle pain. The overstuffed, oversized biscuit style back and unique seat design will cradle you in comfort. Generously filled, wide armrests provide enhanced arm support when sitting or reclining. **It even has a battery backup in case of a power outage.**

**White glove delivery** included in shipping charge. Professionals will deliver the chair to the exact spot in your home where you want it, unpack it, inspect it, test it, position it, and even carry the packaging away! You get your choice of Genuine Italian leather, stain and water repellent custom-manufactured Duralux™ with the classic leather look or plush MicroLux™ microfiber in a variety of colors to fit any decor. **New Chestnut color only available in Genuine Italian Leather and long lasting Duralux™. Call now!**

**The Perfect Sleep Chair**®
1-888-718-9650

Please mention code 114580 when ordering.

---

**Genuine Italian Leather**
classic beauty & durability

**Long Lasting Duralux™**
stain & water repellent

**MicroLux™ Microfiber**
breathable & amazingly soft

---

REMOTE-CONTROLLED
EASILY SHIFTS FROM FLAT TO A STAND-ASSIST POSITION

Footrest may vary by model

Because each Perfect Sleep Chair is a made-to-order bedding product it cannot be returned, but if it arrives damaged or defective, at our option we will repair it or replace it. © 2021 firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc.
WHICH GROUP DETONATED A BOMB IN THE U.S. CAPITOL BUILDING ON MARCH 1, 1971?

The Symbionese Liberation Army, the Youth International Party (the Yippies), or the Weather Underground?

For more, visit www.historynet.com/magazines/quiz

HISTORYNET
HISTORYNET.com

ANSWER: THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND; OFTEN CALLED THE WEATHERMEN, IN 1969 THE GROUP DECIDED TO ENGAGE IN GUERILLA WARFARE AGAINST THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND STARTED A BOMBING CAMPAIGN. BY 1971 THE ORGANIZATION HAD ALL BUT DISSOLVED.

CONTRIBUTORS

Jessica Wambach Brown (“Road Work,” p. 40) writes about history and travel from her home a half-hour west of Glacier National Park. Frequent drives—and occasional bike rides—along Going-to-the-Sun Road inspired her study of the men who sketched and sculpted this engineering marvel.

Richard Brownell (“Killing Apollo,” p. 50) last wrote about Project Plowshare, the plan to use nuclear weapons for civilian infrastructure (“Atoms for Peace, Explosively,” October 2020). He is @RickBrownell on Twitter and Instagram and blogs at MrRicksHistory.com.

Richard Jensen (“Built to Last,” p. 58) has written about America’s canal construction era and the origins of the National Road.

Larry Kerpelman (“Blood and Sugar,” p. 32) last wrote about historic Acton, Massachusetts.

This Is the End
The U.S. Silver Dollar Is About to Change...Forever!

Each year, millions of collectors and silver stackers around the world secure freshly struck American Eagle Silver Dollars. Minted in one Troy ounce of 99.9% pure U.S. silver, these legal-tender coins are perhaps the most widely collected silver bullion coins in the world—and they’re about to change forever.

**Final Release of Original Silver Eagle Design**
Since 1986, the design of the “Silver Eagle” has remained unchanged: Adolph A. Weinman’s classic 1916 Walking Liberty design paired with former U.S. Mint Chief Engraver John Mercanti’s stunning eagle reverse. But in mid-2021, the U.S. Mint plans to replace the original reverse. This initial release is the FINAL appearance of the U.S. Silver Eagle’s original design!

**Collectors are Already Going Wild for This “Final” Release!**
For any popular coin series, two dates tend to rise to the top of demand: the first and the last. This coin represents not just the final issue of perhaps the world’s most popular silver coin, but also its 35th anniversary—an additional draw for collectors, who are already chomping at the bit, ready to secure as many coins as possible. And it’s not just about the special anniversary and “last” that has them excited...

**Higher Values + Slowed Production = DEMAND!**
In the last 12 months, average monthly values of silver bullion have increased nearly 68%! Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in the U.S. Mint slowing production of freshly struck 2020 Silver Eagles—and this could reoccur. Add in the final issue of the original design, and you have a trifecta of demand that has buyers around the world ready to pounce.

**Timing is Everything**
This is a strictly limited release offer for one of the world’s most popular silver coins. As the last mintage to feature the original, 35-year-old design, it represents the end of an era at a time when silver values have seen a massive increase. Once word gets out that these 2021 U.S. Silver Dollars can be secured at such a great price, you’ll be facing far more competition. Call today and secure yours now ahead of the crowd!

**Just Released — Call NOW!**
Collectors around the world are already beginning to secure these coins. Don’t wait. Call 1-888-201-7639 and use the special offer code below now, and your 2021 U.S. Silver Dollars will ship directly to your door. Plus, the more you buy, the more you save!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2021 American Eagle Silver Dollar BU</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4 Coins-</td>
<td>$32.74 ea. + s/h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-19 Coins-</td>
<td>$32.65 ea. + FREE SHIPPING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-99 Coins-</td>
<td>$32.38 ea. + FREE SHIPPING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-499 Coins-</td>
<td>$32.20 ea. + FREE SHIPPING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500+ Coins-</td>
<td>$31.25 ea. + FREE SHIPPING</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FREE SHIPPING on 5 or More!**
Limited time only. Product total over $149 before taxes (if any). Standard domestic shipping only. Not valid on previous purchases.

**Call today toll-free for fastest service**
1-888-201-7639

Offer Code LRE291-01

Please mention this code when you call.

GovMint.com® is a retail distributor of coin and currency issues and is not affiliated with the U.S. government. The collectible coin market is unregulated, highly speculative and involves risk. GovMint.com reserves the right to decline to consummate any sale, within its discretion, including due to pricing errors. Prices, facts, figures and populations deemed accurate as of the date of publication but may change significantly over time. All purchases are expressly conditioned upon your acceptance of GovMint.com’s Terms and Conditions (www.govmint.com/terms-conditions or call 1-800-721-0520); to decline, return your purchase pursuant to GovMint.com’s Return Policy. © 2021 GovMint.com. All rights reserved.
A century later, it seems like a crazy dream:

First, the U.S. Senate voted to pass a constitutional amendment banning the sale of booze. Then, after a single day of debate, so did the U.S. House of Representatives. Within 13 months, the requisite three-quarters of the states had ratified the amendment. As of January 17, 1920, America had outlawed the nation’s fifth-largest industry and made it a crime to buy an adult beverage—not even a glass of wine with dinner or a cold beer after a hot day’s work. It seems surreal. How could such a thing happen in the land of the free?

“It happened,” wrote historian Daniel Okrent, “because Wayne Wheeler made it happen.”

Wheeler, a short, balding lawyer with a thin mustache and thick glasses, was the ruthless political genius who built the most powerful single-issue pressure group in American history. He was, the New York World said, “the legislative bully before whom the Senate of the United States sits up and begs.”

Born on an Ohio farm in 1869, Wayne Bidwell Wheeler worked his way through Oberlin College as a janitor. While attending law school in 1894, he became an organizer for the Anti-Saloon League. He brought bare-knuckle politics to the temperance movement.

For a century, drays had been preaching against demon rum, praying for drunkards’ souls, preaching in saloons, and, in the case of Carry Nation, invading barrooms to smash bottles and barrels of their chief stock in trade with a hatchet. Nothing worked until Wheeler
devised a simple tactic: “We’ll vote against all the men in office who won’t support our bills,” he said. “We’ll vote for candidates who will promise to.”

Wheeler didn’t care about a candidate’s party or his views on other issues. If a poll supported Prohibition, Wheeler mobilized ASL supporters to vote for him. If a poll was a “wet,” Wheeler turned out voters against him. Funded by John D. Rockefeller and other wealthy industrialists and supported by Protestant religious denominations, Wheeler unleashed 20,000 true believers to punish Prohibition’s opponents.

His most famous target was Ohio Governor Myron Herrick. Elected in a landslide in 1903, Herrick, a Republican, opposed an ASL-backed bill, whereupon Wheeler organized 300 anti-Herrick rallies, denouncing the governor as a pawn of Big Booze. On Election Day 1905, a huge turnout buried Herrick.

“Never again,” Wheeler vowed, “will any political party ignore the protests of the church and the moral forces of the state.”

Herrick’s defeat energized Prohibitionists and terrified wet pols. By 1913, nine states had banned liquor and 31 had enacted “local option” laws permitting counties to go dry. Encouraged, Wheeler decided to take Prohibition nationwide by amending the Constitution. Studying demographics, he realized that dry rural areas were losing population to wet cities. The 1920 census, he predicted, would result in a congressional reapportionment that would add “40 new wet congressmen.” That gave Prohibitionists a hard deadline for imposing their will. To lead the fight, Wheeler moved to Washington, DC, as head of ASL.

The decades had seen countless Prohibition bills sprout only to die in committee. But in December 1914, after months of Wheeler’s arm-twisting, House members passed what would have been the 18th Amendment 197-190. That was shy of the two-thirds vote needed to take the next step in amending the Constitution, but the tally convinced Wheeler he could muscle an amendment through Congress by engineering a dry victory in the 1916 election. He dispatched hordes of ASL organizers to districts where wet candidates had dry competitors. “We laid down such a barrage as candidates for Congress had never seen before,” Wheeler bragged. “We knew late election night...that the Prohibition amendment would be submitted to the states by the Congress just elected.”

A new obstacle arose in April 1917, when the United States declared war on Germany. President Woodrow Wilson asked drys to stand down and let Congress work on wartime measures. A reluctant Wheeler backed off, then made shrewd use of the conflict. He accused America’s largest brewers—many of them, like Busch and Schlitz, with Teutonic roots—of deficient patriotism. He touted a bogus theory that brewing consumed grain that should be going into bread to sustain the doughboys. Wheeler convinced Senate supporters to hold hearings into the German American Alliance, a million-member ethnic group and foe of Prohibition. When it came to light that until April 1917 the Busch family had been buying German war bonds, Wheeler equated beer with treason.

His logic resonated. In December 1917, the Senate, with many of its 96 members absent or abstaining, passed the Prohibition amendment 47-8, clearing the way for state legislators to consider it. ASL activists besieged state capitols. On January 16, 1919, Nebraska became the 36th state to ratify the 18th Amendment, which entered the Constitution. The new law of the land was to take effect the following year.

With sponsor and House Judiciary Committee Chairman Andrew Volstead (R-Minnesota), Wheeler helped write and pass the National Prohibition Act. That law codified the mechanics of the new American order, including creation of a Prohibition Bureau to handle enforcement. Wheeler finagled personal veto authority over Bureau hiring, giving him a huge patronage-propelled army. Even with Prohibition clampdowns in effect, Wheeler did not relax. In 1920 and 1922 he helped elect dry congressional majorities, declaring he could have opponents “shot at sunrise on the next Election Day.”

Between elections, he haunted the House and Senate galleries whenever Prohibition-related bills came up, signaling his wishes by jerking a thumb up or down. Because immigrants tended to vote wet, he opposed easing immigration rules; in 1924, with his help, Congress passed the draconian Immigration Restriction Act. To guard his hegemony, he opposed reapportioning Congress based on the 1920 census because it would add wet congressmen. Between 1921 and 1928, Wheeler’s aid helped sink 42 reapportionment bills.

True to his teetotaling code, Wheeler poured himself into his labors. “He literally worked all the time,” an aide recalled. His regimen brought on heart disease. In 1926, he took a “rest cure” at Dr. John Harvey Kellogg’s sanitarium at Battle Creek, Michigan, enduring three grim weeks of vegetables and enemas. It didn’t help.

In the summer of 1927, as Wheeler’s wife, Ella, was at the stove cooking in their home in Little Point Sable, Michigan, her clothing caught fire. Wheeler extinguished the flames, but she died of burns. Within days, he was in Winona Lake, Indiana, attending the World Congress Against Alcoholism. He assured associates that the tragedy would not detract from his work. Two weeks later, back in Battle Creek for care, he died. He was 57.

The Volstead Act survived its most effective advocate by six years; it was repealed in 1933. But Wheeler’s success at beating John Barleycorn proved the truth of his keenest insight: A disciplined minority harping on a single issue can defeat a complacent, disorganized majority. “The Non-Drinkers had been organizing for 50 years, but the drinkers had no organization whatsoever,” humorist George Ade wrote in 1931. “They had been too busy drinking.” ★
Q, the anonymous conspiracy theorist, has fallen silent. The Trump years were good for him, as the tale he propagated via social media—namely, that President Trump and Robert Mueller were at war with a cult of Satan-worshipping pedophiles—gained adherents, inspiring rallies and merch (flags, T-shirts, etc.). The visual high point was a star turn, in the January 6 Capitol riot, by Jacob Chansley, aka Q Shaman, a movement fixture bedecked in signature red and blue face paint and furry horned helmet. Q even ensorcelled a congresswoman, freshman Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Georgia), though in the wake of the assault on her new place of employment Greene dialed down her Q-iosity.

Pikers. Almost two hundred years ago a harder specimen of conspiracy theory spawned an entire political party, elected a gaggle of congressmen and a pair of governors, and staged the first-ever American presidential nominating convention.

In the spring of 1826 William Morgan, a stonemason in tiny Batavia, New York, announced his intent to publish an exposé of the practices of Masonry. Masonry was a medieval craft guild that morphed in the early 18th century into a fraternal order professing high ideals accompanied by secret rites and dire oaths. America had had Masonic lodges since colonial times—George Washington and Benjamin Franklin belonged—and Masonic exposés had been surfacing almost as long as there had been Masonic lodges to expose. But upstate New Yorkers, with the naiveté of provincials, found Morgan’s promise of revelations sensational.

Soon enough bad things began happening to Morgan. Someone tried to torch his printer’s shop. Authorities arrested Morgan for theft, released him for lack of evidence, then collared him again, this time for a tab of $2.69 he had run up at an inn. He was jailed in nearby Canandaigua. The night of September 12, 1826, a group of Masons appeared at the hoosegow, paid Morgan’s debt, and hustled him, shouting, into a carriage. He was never seen alive again.

Following the crime—if it was a crime—came the cover-up—if it was a cover-up. Governor DeWitt Clinton, himself a Mason, offered a reward for leads to the perps. Three of Morgan’s abductors were arrested. At trial in January 1827
the three pleaded guilty to conspiracy to kidnap. But the defendants did not reveal what had become of their target, and since kidnapping was then only a misdemeanor in New York, they got off light. A slew of further arrests and trials produced nothing definitive. In October 1828 a decomposed corpse washed up on the New York shore of Lake Ontario. Morgan's wife Lucinda said the body was that of her late husband, but then Mrs. Timothy Munroe, a Canadian, claimed the deceased was hers. Victory Birdseye, the last of three special counsels tapped by New York State to investigate the matter, concluded that certain Masons had snatched Morgan. They meant, he said, to bully and bribe him into suppressing his exposé and living incognito in Canada but panicked and instead murdered Morgan. However, Birdseye could never prove his theory.

Morgan's disappearance and the maddening failure to account for it produced a movement made up, as historian William Preston Vaughn has noted, of many factions: dogged followers of the case; evangelicals bugged by Masonry's faux-religious trappings; populists suspicious of the order's pomp and circumstance; and alarmists wondering, luridly and at length, about what went on in those secret Masonic confabs.

And there were politicians who saw an opportunity in forming an Anti-Masonic Party. In 1828 Andrew Jackson won the White House in a landslide as the tribune of the common man. But Jackson was a Mason. Anti-Masonry was a way to hit Old Hickory on his populist flank. Opponents of Jackson running as Anti-Masons won state-level offices in New York and Pennsylvania; among the party's young sparks, later to be nationally famous, were Millard Fillmore, William Seward, and Thaddeus Stevens. Five Anti-Masons won House seats in 1828, 17 in 1830; in 1831 the party took its first governorship, in Vermont, foreshadowing a similar victory in Pennsylvania four years later.

The new party dreamed bigger yet. The Anti-Masons wooed Henry Clay, already the favorite of the National Republicans, as their presidential candidate in the 1832 cycle. But Clay, a dedicated Mason, refused to dis the order. Former president John Quincy Adams, who had lost to Jackson, angled hard for a nomination, but Seward and other leading Anti-Masons nixed him as a loser. Seward preferred U.S. Supreme Court Justice John McLean. Fancying a move to the White House, McLean flirted, but finally decided the Anti-Masons lacked the muscle to put him there. The party made its decision at a convention in Baltimore in September 1831—an American first. Presidential candidates hitherto had been tapped by each party's congressional delegation, causimg in the nation's capital—a mode which had fallen out of fashion as elitist. The Anti-Masons pioneered a new tack, assigning the choice to 111 delegates from 12 states. Journalists were given a press box, and the guest of honor was Chief Justice John Marshall, passing through Baltimore on his way to a doctor's appointment. After five ballots, the nod went to former attorney general and Patrick Henry biographer William Wirt. Wirt opposed Jackson, but in every other way was unqualified: ailing, unwilling even to write letters in his own behalf, and, to top it all, a lapsed Mason. Come November 1832, although Anti-Masons upped their House seat count to 25, Jackson was re-elected in a rout. Wirt carried only Vermont.

And then—nothing much. New York State had ended its Morgan investigation the year before. Anti-Masonic politicians fused with the National Republicans to form a new anti-Jacksonian party, the Whigs. Abolition, nativism, and temperance became the new lightning rod issues. In 1880 a Christian group erected a monument to Morgan in the Batavia cemetery where he—or Mr. Munroe—lay.

Conspiracies are an ancient feature of political life, as readers of Tacitus, Machiavelli, and Shakespeare have long recognized. When an in-crowd monopolizes power, it will fight to keep that power—openly when possible, secretly when need be. But as politics grows democratic, behind-the-scenes power grabs become more alarming, seeming as they do to be aimed not just at given rivals but at the system itself.

At the same time, fantasizing about conspiracies can be soothing, because doing so explains the welter of events.

Why is everything such a mess? Because powerful evildoers will it so—unfortunate, but at least someone is in charge.

Let the record show, finally, that some conspiracy theorists identify genuine conspiracies. Abraham Lincoln's June 1858 "House Divided" speech is famous for his opening prediction that America would become all slave or all free. But the body of the speech asserted a conspiracy by presidents Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, Senator Stephen Douglas, and Chief Justice Roger Taney to push slavery into America's territories. "We find it impossible not to believe that [they] all understood one another from the beginning," Lincoln said. "All worked upon a common plan...."

At the time two of the supposed conspirators—Buchanan and Douglas—were feuding bitterly over the very issue—slavery in the Kansas territory—on which Lincoln charged they were in cahoots. But we now know, from posthumously published correspondence, that Buchanan indeed had conspired with two justices of the Supreme Court, urging them to back Taney's pro-slavery opinion in Dred Scott. Lincoln the conspiracy theorist was half right—and a lot more right than Q.
Wow! A Simple to Use Computer Designed Especially for Seniors!

Easy to read. Easy to see. Easy to use. Just plug it in!

“I love this computer! It is easy to read and to use! I get photo updates from my children and grandchildren all the time.”

– Janet F.

Have you ever said to yourself “I’d love to get a computer, if only I could figure out how to use it.” Well, you’re not alone. Computers were supposed to make our lives simpler, but they’ve gotten so complicated that they are not worth the trouble. With all of the “pointing and clicking” and “dragging and dropping” you’re lucky if you can figure out where you are. Plus, you are constantly worrying about viruses and freeze-ups. If this sounds familiar, we have great news for you. There is finally a computer that’s designed for simplicity and ease of use. It’s the WOW Computer, and it was designed with you in mind. This computer is easy-to-use, worry-free and literally puts the world at your fingertips. From the moment you open the box, you’ll realize how different the WOW Computer is. The components are all connected; all you do is plug it into an outlet and your high-speed Internet connection. Then you’ll see the screen – it’s now 22 inches. This is a completely new touch screen system, without the cluttered look of the normal computer screen. The “buttons” on the screen are easy to see and easy to understand. All you do is touch one of them, from the Web, Email, Calendar to Games— you name it… and a new screen opens up. It’s so easy to use you won’t have to ask your children or grandchildren for help. Until now, the very people who could benefit most from E-mail and the Internet are the ones that have had the hardest time accessing it. Now, thanks to the WOW Computer, countless older Americans are discovering the wonderful world of the Internet every day. Isn’t it time you took part? Call now, and you’ll find out why tens of thousands of satisfied seniors are now enjoying their WOW Computers, emailing their grandchildren, and experiencing everything the Internet has to offer. Call today!

NEW

Now comes with...

Enhanced Video Chat
Faster Email
Larger 22-inch hi-resolution screen – easier to see
16% more viewing area
Simple navigation – so you never get lost
Intel® processor – lightning fast
Computer is in the monitor – No bulky tower
Text to Speech translation – It can even read your emails to you!

FREE

Automatic Software Updates

Call now toll free and find out how you can get the new WOW! Computer.

Mention promotional code 114581 for special introductory pricing.

1-888-701-4006

WOW! Computer

© 2021 firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc.
On December 15, 1791, the first ten amendments to the Constitution were ratified, enumerating, among other rights, a guarantee that “Congress shall make no law... abridging freedom of speech.” From the start, few thought that that statement meant exactly what it said; it was assumed almost universally to mean that freedom of speech was sacrosanct except in special circumstances. In 1798, the members of Congress made clear they saw such limitations in the First Amendment by passing the Sedition Act. To lawmakers, the country’s naval quasi-war with France marked a special circumstance that allowed them to forbid statements that defamed government officials or which could incite hatred against them.

Though the federal government and individual states later moved to curtail free speech—“speech” meaning expressing a viewpoint in any form, from written comments to symbolic acts such as flag burning—no case challenging those restrictions ever reached the Supreme Court. Ergo, there was no established definition of when authorities could restrict speech.

Until 1919.

Shortly after the nation entered World War I, Congress passed the Espionage Act. That law broadly prohibited any statements made “with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces,” specifically barring efforts at obstructing military recruiting. The U.S. Socialist Party did just that, distributing some 15,000 leaflets urging men who were drafted to resist the call to arms. The pamphlet reprinted the 13th Amendment, which outlawed slavery, and insisted that conscription in effect constituted bondage of another sort.

Agents of the Justice Department and Post Office arrested two key Socialist Party officials. Charles Schenck was the party’s general secretary; Elizabeth Baer, head of the party’s education department, had campaigned in 1916 as the Socialist candidate for congressman-at-large from Pennsylvania. Both were convicted under the Espionage Act and sentenced to 90 days in jail. Schenck’s and Baer’s claims that the Espionage Act violated First
Amendment guarantees of free speech finally gave the Supreme Court an opportunity to lay out just how far the First Amendment went.

Writing for the unanimous court on March 3, 1919, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes made clear that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech was not absolute: “The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a crowded theater and causing a panic.” The line between permissible and impermissible curbs on speech “is a question of proximity and degree,” Holmes explained. The test: words can be banned if they “are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger.”

Despite the question of degree, the justices found that the Espionage Act—and the convictions—were in fact allowed under the First Amendment. “We admit that in many places and ordinary times the defendants in saying all that was said in the circular would have been within their constitutional rights,” Holmes wrote. But “when a nation is at war many things which might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterances will not be endured so long as men fight.” He deemed that distributing the pamphlet did constitute a “clear and present danger” because “we do not see what effect it could be expected to have upon persons subject to the draft except to influence them to obstruct the carrying of it out.”

The decision was an important one. The American Bar Association ranks it among 11 hailed as landmarks; the National Constitution Center lists it among 24 historic rulings. Upholding the Espionage Act seemed a setback for freedom of speech, but Schenck v. United States actually served to check censorship by establishing a gauge with which to assess the constitutional acceptability of a curb on speech. That standard acquired even more weight in 1925, when the Supreme Court made clear that the Bill of Rights bar on curtailing free speech applied to the states as well as to the federal government.

Courts didn’t interpret the “clear and present danger” as restrictively as Holmes intended. He issued dissents in two later cases he felt did not meet that standard. In one, the High Court OK’d government punishment of persons speaking against sending soldiers to Russia to fight the Germans in World War I; in the other, speakers had, without success, urged citizens to join together to overthrow the government.

In the 1920s, states experienced a vogue for “criminal syndicalism” laws banning advocacy of violent overthrow of the government and membership in any organization having such a goal. The justices upheld those state laws and by 1927 had expanded their interpretation of what constituted a “clear and present danger” to any speech evincing a “tendency” to incite lawlessness.

But countercurrents were flowing. On the same day in 1927 that the Court upheld the California criminal syndicalism law as applied to the Communist Labor Party, the justices ruled unconstitutional the conviction under a similar Kansas law of an official of the radical International Workers of the World. The difference: no evidence showed the IWW advocating violence. That ruling in Fiske v. Kansas was the very first time that the Supreme Court had found a prosecution to have violated the guarantee of free speech; the next three cases involving such laws held them to be unconstitutional restraints on speech.

In the late 1960s, as opposition to the Vietnam War was reverberating, states intent on muzzling protest tried criminal prosecutions. In 1969 a Supreme Court dominated by liberals curbed such prosecutions and established a stricter standard for when speech could be punished.

One such case involved the prosecution of a Ku Klux Klan member who told a rally near Cincinnati, Ohio: “If our president, our Congress, our Supreme Court continues to suppress the White, Caucasian race, it’s possible that there might have to be some retribution [sic] taken.” The opinion in Brandenburg v. Ohio, drafted by Justice Abe Fortas, built on the “clear and present danger” language by specifying that the danger had to be real and immediate. However, stung by scandal over a secret $20,000-a-year retainer he had accepted from the family of an imprisoned securities law violator, Fortas resigned from the court. The subsequent authorless unanimous decision was mainly Justice William Brennan’s revision of Fortas’s draft. Brennan essentially ended the Schenck era by dropping all reference to “clear and present danger.” Under the rubric Brennan set, the Constitution does not let government “forbid or proscribe advocacy of the use of force or of law violation except where such advocacy is directed to incitement or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action.”

The key word is “imminent.” Until 1969, courts held that the guarantee of free speech did not extend to incitement to violence, even violence sometime in the future.

The Brennan test requires officials trying to squelch speech to show not only that said speech is likely to cause violence, but that the violence will occur right away. Any more general call to action—even unlawful action—is protected under Brandenburg.

In 1973 the Indiana Supreme Court OK’d the arrest of a student protestor for shouts “intended to incite further lawless action.” On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court quickly overturned the arrest, reminding judges to hew to the Brandenburg standard, a point that the court stressed by italicizing “imminent” in quoting the 1969 ruling.

As is clear from numerous references to Brandenburg in the February 2021 impeachment trial of Donald Trump and to reliance on that ruling by the board deciding in early 2021 which posts on Facebook that company could remove, that’s been the standard ever since. ★
The full details of Jovita Idar’s remarkable life went up in smoke when her widower’s wife burned a trunk he had saved that contained all of Jovita’s papers. So no biography exists of this early pillar in the movement to gain civil rights for Mexican and American workers and women. However, photographs from 1914 show a tall, dignified young woman who looks perfectly capable of facing down Texas Rangers sent to shutter El Progreso, a Laredo, Texas, newspaper that had published an editorial by Mexican revolutionary Manuel García Vigil. Vigil condemned President Woodrow Wilson for sending U.S. Army troops to the border during the Mexican Civil War. A Progreso employee, Jovita turned away the Rangers, who came back later to destroy the presses and burn the building.

Born in the borderland boomtown of Laredo in 1885, Jovita Idar grew up amid crosscurrents of colonial Spanish and Anglo culture mingling with Mexican pride. As a teacher, journalist, and activist, she spent her life educating Mexican American youths, infusing them with self-respect, and promoting worker’s rights and women’s advancement. She had help from her family, notably her father, Nicasio, and brothers Clemente and Eduardo. The Idars’ contributions span more than 50 years of labor activism and trace landmark moments in Mexican American history.

Taught bilingually at a Methodist school, Jovita often wrote under the pen names “A.V. Negro”—pronounced in Spanish, “black bird”—and Astrea, the Greek goddess of justice and purity. The head for her column was “Para la Mujer que Lee” (For the Woman who Reads). She belonged to an echelon of well-educated, politically active strivers of Mexican heritage. Residents of Laredo, a crossroads for trains to and from the Mexican and American interiors, mostly spoke Spanish; Texas had been part of Mexico until 1836, when White settlers established the Republic of Texas, annexed by the United States in 1845. The 1846-48 Mexican War, a martial exercise in Manifest Destiny, ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, bringing what are now California and the American Southwest into American hands. Arriving in Laredo in significant numbers in the 1880s with the railroads, Anglos nonetheless made up less than a quarter of the population. Extensive cross-cultural
exchange and intermarriage did not gloss over divisions along class and color lines, and friction between Spanish-speaking workers and the Anglo and Mexican American, or Tejano, elites simmered.

Nicasio Idar, born in Point Isabel, Texas, in 1855, had been a railroad worker in Mexico before marrying and settling in Laredo in 1880. He became a railroad yardmaster in nearby Nueva Leon, Mexico. A gregarious Mason, Nicasio emerged as a prominent local figure. In 1895 he helped start La Crónica, one of a few area Spanish-language newspapers, most of which focused on community activities. Assuming ownership in 1910, Nicasio broadened the paper’s coverage to include events and issues on both sides of the border. In editorials, La Crónica forthrightly addressed American relations with Mexico and civil rights.

Daughter Jovita had trained and worked as a teacher but was disgusted by lack of resources. When her father became publisher, she joined the Crónica staff. Among her early big stories was the burning alive near Rocksprings, Texas, of Antonio Rodriguez, 20, a Mexican ranch hand accused of murdering an Anglo woman. Official American and Mexican disregard for a Mexican citizen’s slaying prompted riots across Mexico.

Besides inflaming resentment of American dominance in Mexico, the episode hardened sentiment there against Mexican President Porfirio Díaz for his coziness with North American commercial interests. Civil war broke out pitting Díaz against revolutionary statesman Francisco Madero and other insurgents.

In 1911 Nicasio Idar staged a six-day conference whose organizers, including Jovita, telegraphed its purpose in a banner reading Por La Raza y Para La Raza (For the People and By the People).

“Texas Mexicans have produced with the sweat of their brow the bountiful agricultural wealth known throughout the county,” Nicasio Idar said at the conference. “And in recompense for this they have been put to work as peons on the land of their forefathers.” Jovita founded La Liga Femenil, the first Mexican American women’s group, dedicated to feeding, clothing, and schooling poor children. La Liga members elected her the organization’s president.

The Idars were moderate backers of the decade-long revolution, during which as many as a million refugees fled to the United States, leading to great suffering, exploitative labor practices, and violence arising from suspicions about the refugees’ loyalty. In 1913, Jovita and some of her siblings crossed the border to help wounded soldiers in Nuevo Laredo, where a friend, Leonor Villegas de Magnón, had founded La Cruz Blanca—the White Cross—a relief organization.

When Nicasio Idar died in 1914, La Crónica shut down. Jovita went on to write for El Progreso, as did Eduardo, who later founded two Spanish-language papers and a library. In 1921, Jovita married. Moving to San Antonio, Texas, with husband Bartolo Juárez, she started a free kindergarten and worked on a Spanish-language Methodist Church publication.

Jovita’s brother Clemente became a union organizer. In 1918, his aptitude as a bilingual speaker and writer prompted American Federation of Labor president Samuel Gompers, with whom he shared the goal of allying workers across borders, to hire him as the AFL’s first Mexican American organizer. Under the aegis of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, founded that year in Laredo, Clemente began organizing in settings from Texas and Colorado to Nebraska and Mexico: miners, beet pickers, cigar and leather workers, launderers. Leonor Villegas de Magnón described him as able to “sway multitudes” in English or Spanish. Eloquence was no shield against prejudice, however. To AFL Secretary Frank Morrison, he described his need for constant vigilance. “I can not [sic] enter a hotel, get a shave or a meal because being of Mexican extraction I am a Mexican forever,” Clemente Idar said. “My citizenship in that section is not recognized. You have no idea under what conditions I have struggled while traveling in that section.” When Gompers died in 1924, Clemente lost his patron, but he stuck by the AFL despite health problems that forced him to decline an invitation from President Franklin Roosevelt to be secretary of labor. He died in 1934 of complications from diabetes. In a memoir, de Magnón recalled Clemente’s death and memorial services. “His last words—while he was suffering great pain—reiterated his doctrine of citizenship, union and progress,” she wrote. “Thousands of laborers saluted him upon his death, passing his coffin with their heads bowed. With tears overflowing, they said goodbye to their leader and champion.”

Jovita Idar worked in San Antonio as an editor, tutor, translator, and physician’s assistant. A devout Methodist, she had no children, but did raise her late sister Elmira’s offspring. Nieces and nephews recalled her dignity and devotion to cultural respect, bilingual education, and political participation. She said, “Educate a woman and you educate a family.” She died in 1946.★
All Her Trials

Suffragist Susan B. Anthony went looking for a fight—and found it
By J.D. Zahniser

On Friday, November 1, 1872, Susan B. Anthony strode into a newspaper shop near her home in Rochester, New York, followed by 14 women, including Anthony’s sisters Guelma, Hannah, and Mary. The shop was serving as a polling place. The women had come to register to vote in the election occurring Tuesday, November 5. Anthony believed the 14th Amendment, adopted four years earlier, acknowledged female suffrage. “If you refuse us our rights as citizens,” a poll inspector recalled hearing Anthony say, “I will bring charges against you in Criminal Court and I will sue each of you personally for large, exemplary damages! I know I can win.”

Poll inspectors allowed Anthony to register. The following week, she voted, only to have that vote challenged. The challenge prompted federal authorities to arrest Anthony for voting illegally. Her June 1873 trial became a national sensation, for a time shining a spotlight on the women’s suffrage movement and on Anthony herself.

By the early 1870s, Susan B. Anthony had become widely known as a result of her decades of constant travel in support of women’s rights, the abolition of slavery, and the temperance movement and its demand to outlaw alcohol. Born in 1820 in Adams, a town of 4,000 in western Massachusetts, Anthony grew up in a household strongly influenced by her father’s Quaker values. Daniel Anthony started a cotton factory but refused to buy cotton tainted by slavery; he later opened a general store but declined to carry alcohol. Daniel and wife Lucy, a Baptist, shared a belief in the equality of women and a commitment to living their creed; they raised and educated their six surviving children accordingly. They home-schooled Susan and her sisters for a time after teachers refused to teach the girls long division, later sending their daughters to a Quaker boarding school near Philadelphia.

Susan Anthony’s childhood was steeped in principle as well as penny-pinching. Her father, struggling to live by his personal values in the world of business, came to the end of the 1830s nearly bankrupt. His older children, including second-born Susan, looked to marry or to support themselves. Guelma and Hannah were soon to wed, but Susan had met no one who sparked great marital interest. Over the years, multiple fellows proposed, but as Susan learned more about married women’s lives, she grew reluctant to join their ranks. Later in life she said, “I never felt I could give up my life of freedom to become a man’s housekeeper.”

Teaching was one of the few occupations open to educated women. Susan hired on at a Quaker boarding school 200 miles south in New Rochelle, New York.

Within a few years, she had risen to be girls’ headmistress at Canajoharie Academy west of Schenectady. She took to teaching and administration but found the work draining—and chafed at the fact that her employers paid her half the salary that her brother, Daniel, a schoolteacher, made.

As Susan was establishing herself as an educator, her
No Nonsense
Anthony, here in 1870, stuck to her values and her causes without relent.
parents were getting out of retail. They now lived west of Rochester on a farm they worked. The western New York region was gaining notoriety for its embrace of reform activity. The Anthonys worked with the local Underground Railroad and continued their efforts on behalf of temperance and woman suffrage. On August 2, 1848, two weeks after the Women’s Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, Daniel and Lucy Anthony and daughter Mary attended a similar convention in Rochester. The event’s organizers included Elizabeth Cady Stanton, author of the “Declaration of Sentiments” presented to the delegates in Seneca Falls. Based on the Declaration of Independence, Stanton’s treatise laid out the full scope of female inequality and, most radically, demanded the vote. Susan’s teaching schedule prevented her from attending the convention but frequent letters kept her apprised of her relatives’ continuing reform work and she began to follow their lead. She joined the Canajoharie temperance league and in 1849 made her first public speech against demon rum, entitling “all our young ladies [to] come forth and boldly declare themselves on the side of reform.” When her audience celebrated her as “the smartest woman that was now or ever in Canajoharie,” she exulted. Two months later, she quit her job, rejoining her parents to manage the farm and enjoy an autonomy impossible for a teacher. She began to throw herself into projects such as working with the Sons of Temperance, a national organization to whose New York chapter she belonged.

In May 1851, Susan Anthony and a friend attended a lecture on abolition in Seneca Falls. Afterwards, on a street corner, the friend introduced Anthony to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, an ebullient figure who with husband Henry and their four daughters recently had moved to town. “Susan B.” and “Mrs. Stanton,” as the two came to address each other in correspondence, became fast friends. The Stantons were deeply embedded in reform circles. Elizabeth’s 1848 Declaration of Sentiments was only one of her controversial public statements regarding women’s rights. Stanton’s contributions, however, were increasingly constrained by a growing family; she and Henry would have three more children.

Six months later, an outraged Susan B. unburdened herself in a letter to Mrs. Stanton. The New York Sons of Temperance, of which Anthony was one of the most industrious members, had held their convention at Rochester. During the proceedings, Anthony had risen from her seat and asked to address the assemblage. The chairman shushed her. “The sisters were not invited...to speak but to listen and learn,” he told the entire body. Infuriated, Anthony walked out, as did other women, though most women present remained seated, fearing the backlash against such forthrightness. Galled by taboos against women speaking in public, Anthony and sisters-in-arms began thinking of forming a Women’s State Temperance Society. Would Mrs. Stanton help? “I will gladly do all in my power to help you,” replied Stanton, herself radicalized by a similar experience when the 1840
Mocking a Movement
An 1869 cartoon jeered Anthony as “Celebrated Man Tamer Susan Sharp Tongue.”

World Anti-Slavery Convention sidelined women participants.

Anthony’s embrace of the women’s rights struggle deepened in step with her relationship with Stanton. As the two discussed the frustrations that went with their work, Stanton incisively connected life’s daily vexations to a broader pattern of inequality, opening Anthony’s eyes.

In September 1852, Anthony attended her first women’s rights convention, at one point reading aloud to the crowd a message from Stanton. Anthony had no qualms about public speaking. “We do not stand up here to be seen, but to be heard,” she said. Her self-assurance did not go unnoticed; the convention elected her secretary.

Anthony began establishing a career in activism, first as a paid agent working on behalf of the Women’s Temperance Society—organizing petition drives, lecturing, raising funds. She soon had fashioned herself into a freelance lecturer on abolition and women’s rights, supporting herself—barely—on those speaking fees. When Daniel Anthony died in 1862, the family sold the farm. Lucy and Mary bought a house on Madison Street in Rochester. When not traveling on behalf of one cause or another, Susan stayed with them or at the Stanton home.

**Anthony called her partnership with Stanton** “a most natural union of head and heart.” They collaborated on strategy and speeches, corresponding continually. Stanton’s family obligations made it difficult for her to travel, so Anthony undertook most of the touring and organizing. Stanton later wrote of her pride in “turning the intense earnestness and religious enthusiasm of this great-souled woman” toward the cause of equality.

During the Civil War, Anthony maintained a fierce speaking schedule, usually traveling solo by train, coach, or wagon, a curiosity to some and a beacon to others. Tall and sturdily built, she parted her thick brown hair

---

**Cruel Cuts**
Traditionalists of both sexes caricatured Anthony as a mannish, strident spinster.
Constitution that were aimed at reconstructing the South altered Anthony’s course. She cheered the 13th Amendment’s abolition of slavery. The 14th Amendment emphasized that all citizens were entitled to “equal protection of the law;” “due process,” and certain “privileges or immunities.” Then Congress proposed a 15th Amendment stipulating that “race, color, or previous condition of servitude” could not be used to deny voting rights, in essence granting black men the vote. What about women, Anthony and allies demanded to know.

Anthony, Stanton, and others argued for a redrafting of the 15th Amendment to include the word “sex.” Abolitionist and women’s rights advocate Lucy Stone, Frederick Douglass, and others insisted that this was the “Negro’s hour.” Adding women would doom the amendment, they insisted. “When women, because they are women, are dragged from their homes and hung upon lampposts,” Douglass said. “When their children are torn from their arms . . . then they will have the urgency to obtain the ballot.”

Until now, women’s rights advocates had not focused on suffrage. The controversy over the 15th Amendment placed the vote at the movement’s core. Two competing national groups took shape.

The American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone, supported the original text of the 15th Amendment and the pursuit of the vote through state law. Stanton and Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association, which campaigned on behalf of a revised 15th Amendment that included women—white and black—alongside black men. Ultimately, the 15th Amendment, in original form, passed Congress and was quickly ratified, becoming law on February 3, 1870.

This outcome left the splintered women’s rights movement reeling and Anthony particularly dispirited. In 1869 and 1870, the territories of Wyoming and Utah extended the vote to women. This was heartening, but Anthony did not want to pursue the cause of suffrage state by state. State laws had been rescinded; not so any amendment to the U.S. Constitution. That was the course of action she took.

The idea that the Constitution conferred on women the right to vote came from St. Louis, Missouri, attorney and suffragist Francis Minor, who proposed focusing on “privileges or immunities clause” of the 14th Amendment, arguing that it gave women who were American citizens the right to vote. At first, Anthony hardly noticed Minor’s interpretation, but as others embraced that reading, Anthony got her second wind. “I feel a new inspiration,” she wrote. “We surely are going to vote for the next president.”

Anthony and Stanton enthusiastically supported the “new departure” strategy, which encouraged suffragists around the country to test Minor’s theory. In October 1872, Virginia Minor, Francis Minor’s spouse, tried to register to vote in St. Louis; upon being turned away, she and her husband filed suit against the registrar. Hundreds of women in Missouri and elsewhere followed Minor’s lead; most were rebuffed. The Minors’ lawsuit, Minor v. Happersett, began to move through the court system, but county courts peremptorily dismissed all other suffragist suits. While a few women did succeed in voting, no action was brought against them. Frustrated suffragists looked for a stronger test case.

Anthony’s celebrity made her the prime choice to be the plaintiff in a test case. She consulted prominent attorney Henry R. Selden, who agreed to represent her. On Friday, November 1, 1872, Anthony left her home on Madison Street in Rochester and walked to a news shop to register to vote. She expected to be denied but came prepared to push her luck.
Three young registrars were on duty. When the workers politely declined her request to register, Anthony read them the 14th Amendment. She threatened to sue each poll worker individually. “I know I can win,” she said. “I have Judge Selden as a lawyer.” Taken aback by Anthony’s vehemence, the registrars accepted Anthony’s registration, but avoided any blame by administering the required oath affirming that she was a qualified voter. The election workers also registered Anthony’s companions. When the afternoon papers reported that morning’s events, three dozen more Rochester women registered to vote.

On Tuesday, November 5, Anthony, accompanied by the 14 women from Friday’s appearance, arrived shortly after the polls opened. Anthony completed her ballot, notching, among others, approval of a second term for President Ulysses S. Grant.

Before poll inspectors could drop her ballot into the box, a Democratic poll watcher objected. Poll workers asked Anthony to take the oath she had taken Friday. She happily agreed. Vote cast, she rushed home and wrote to Stanton, “Well I have been & gone & done it! I positively voted the Republican ticket—strait—this a.m. at 7 o’clock & swore my vote in at that.”

The press extensively covered the story of the women’s registration and voting. “Miss Susan B. Anthony has had the honor of leading to the polls the advance guard of the coming squadron of female voters,” wrote the notoriously anti-suffrage New York Times. A Rochester paper printed letters to the editor on either side of the issue; of Anthony, one correspondent wrote, “the first of three had her (I suppose I can call her her; they call horses her and him sometimes) vote challenged by a man.” “Let nobody deny the influence of Susan B. Anthony,” another paper editorialized. Anthony plotted ways to capitalize on the attention she had stirred. She had expected to be bringing suit because officials denied her the right to vote; now, having voted, she thought all the possibilities lay in publicity.

On November 18, a deputy federal marshal called at Anthony’s home. A complaint by the Democratic poll watcher who had protested on Election Day had prompted the commissioner of elections to issue a warrant for Stanton’s arrest under the Federal Enforcement Act of 1870, under which voting illegally was a federal crime. Anthony invited the marshal in. They chatted in the parlor until he said he was there to arrest her. “Is this your usual method of serving a warrant?” Anthony asked. No, he said. She stood and extended her wrists. The marshal stared, then muttered that handcuffs would not be necessary. He escorted his prisoner to a nearby streetcar stop. When the trolley came, the marshal paid both fares.

Anthony asked if that was standard practice. “He said yes, he was obliged to pay the fare of any criminal he arrested,” she wrote with glee. “I never dreamed of the U.S. officers prosecuting me for voting,” she wrote another friend. Marshals arrested 14 women who had voted alongside Anthony; however, none of them were jailed or prosecuted.

At the U.S. commissioner’s office, attorney Henry Selden urged his client not to enter a plea; the goal was to force a hearing, not to let the government get away with a summary judgment. At hearings in November and December, the commissioner ruled it probable that Anthony had voted illegally. A grand jury indicted her. She refused to post the $1,000 bail, but the court declined to jail her. Trial in Monroe County, New York, court was set to take place in June 1873.

Anthony put her oratorical skills to work educating prospective jurors in Monroe County. In early 1873, she gave hour-long talks at 29 locations around Rochester, extolling her compatriots’ efforts to cast a vote and explaining how the 14th Amendment accorded suffrage to women. Appealing directly to men who might serve on the jury deciding her fate, she urged that they “fail to return verdicts of guilty against honest, law-abiding, tax-paying United States [female] citizens for offering their votes.”

Anthony’s speechmaking campaign prompted U.S. Attorney Richard Crowley to get a change of venue to Canandaigua, in neighboring Ontario County. That June, as part of his duties, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Ward Hunt would be presiding over the circuit court. Hunt’s presence on the bench would lend a verdict additional authority. As in Monroe County, Anthony scheduled speeches around Ontario County.

On June 17, 1873, onlookers crowded the second-floor courtroom in the neoclassical Ontario County Courthouse at 27 Main Street in Canandaigua. After opening statements before the 12-man jury, defense attorney Henry Selden argued at length that, according to the 14th
and thus is subject to the penalty of the law,” Justice Hunt said. “[T]here is no question for the jury.” He directed jurors to find Anthony guilty, shocking the entire assembly. The justice explained recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions which took a narrow view of the 14th Amendment’s privileges or immunities clause. The high court had held that a citizen’s rights at the federal level were limited to those specifically spelled out in the Constitution. Barring any explicit mention to the contrary—as with “race” in the 15th Amendment—the states conferred all voting rights, he said.

Squelching Selden’s calls for a new trial, Hunt turned to Anthony.

“Has the prisoner anything to say” why sentence shall not be pronounced?“ the justice asked. Anthony rose to her feet at the defense table, standing tall. The crowd hushed. “Yes, your honor,” she replied. “I have many things to say, for in your ordered verdict of guilty you have trampled underfoot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights, are all alike ignored. Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject, and not only myself individually, but all of my sex, are, by your honor’s verdict, doomed to political subjection under this, so-called, form of government…”

“The court cannot allow the prisoner to go on,” Hunt interjected. However, Anthony persisted through several attempts by the justice to silence her. Finally, she sat. Hunt asked her to stand to hear her sentence. “The sentence of the court is that you pay a fine of one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution,” Justice Hunt said.

“I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty.” Anthony replied, ready for a jail term and its accompanying martyrdom and notoriety. “Madam, the court will not order you committed,” Hunt said.

Under the appellate rules at the time, Hunt’s denial of Selden’s motion for a new trial meant that Anthony could not appeal her conviction, even if the justice had erred in directing the verdict.

Susan B. Anthony never did pay that fine. A month later, a federal marshal came to the Anthony’s Madison Street home to collect payment or seize property but found there to be “no goods or chattels [sic] land or tenements” to seize. Lucy Anthony owned the house, now a museum—susnanthonyshouse.org/index.php—and its contents; her daughter had few possessions. The government gave up trying to collect.

Federal Voting Rights Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1776:</th>
<th>1856:</th>
<th>1870:</th>
<th>1920:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White male landowners</td>
<td>All White men</td>
<td>Black men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On March 29, 1875, the U.S. Supreme Court, with Justice Hunt still serving, ruled on the case that Virginia and Francis Minor had brought in Missouri, concluding unanimously that the 14th Amendment’s protection of citizen privileges did not include women’s right to vote.

“So important a change in the condition of citizenship as it actually existed, if intended,” Chief Justice Morrison Waite wrote, “would have been expressly declared.”

The high court’s ruling in Minor v. Happersett ended the suffrage movement’s “new departure.” Anthony pressed on, taking up residence each year in Washington when Congress was in session. She secured an annual Senate hearing on female suffrage, but little else. A critical mass of support for women’s votes was slowly building as women increasingly sought higher education and employment outside the home.

Competing suffrage groups united in 1890, putting Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the head of the new National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Anthony, 70, known widely as “Aunt Susan,” was slowing down. In 1900, Aunt Susan passed the torch to new leaders. She mourned Stanton’s death in 1902. By 1920, when the 19th Amendment added woman suffrage to the Constitution, the National had a million members.

Anthony died in 1906, shortly after a speech to the annual suffrage convention in which she told listeners, “Failure is impossible.” Susan B. Anthony died knowing that once—one glorious time—she cast her vote. ★

Still Standing Tall
In 1900 Anthony posed at home for noted photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>All Asian-Americans</td>
<td>District of Columbia residents given presidential vote.</td>
<td>Discriminatory barriers removed from people of color voting.</td>
<td>Minimum voting age lowered to 18.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Blood and Sugar

The German Coast Uprising thrilled those in bondage and shocked mainstream Louisiana
By Larry C. Kerpeelman

After dark Tuesday, January 8, 1811, rain was general along a section of the Mississippi River called the German Coast. At the 1,900-acre Andry sugar cane plantation, 41 miles upriver from the port of New Orleans, proprietor Manuel Andry and his wife Marianne were asleep upstairs in their 4,000-square foot home, a Creole-style residence raised off the ground on 14-inch cypress beams. Son Gilbert Andry, 24, and his pregnant wife Marie lay asleep down the hall. Sometime in the night Manuel Andry, 54, suddenly woke to encounter a familiar but unexpected face. Charles Deslondes, the mulatto slave in charge of driving the plantation’s 80-plus bondmen in the cane fields and at the sugar mill, was standing over his master holding an ax. Andry leaped for his life. Making for the double staircase, he and Marianne encountered more armed Black men, some of whom slashed at the planter, leaving three long cuts on his torso. The Andrys raced downstairs, out the front door, and across a field of clover to a dock on the Mississippi, where the family kept canoe-like boats called pirogues. As attackers were hacking Gilbert Andry to death—they spared his wife—the elder Andrys were paddling across the Mississippi to the Perret plantation on the far bank.

The assailants descended to the ground floor of the big house where Deslondes knew Andry stored militia gear. About 25 slaves, including men named Valentin, Janvier, and Jupiter, selected muskets and battle drums. Joined by women, some of the slaves donned uniforms and hoisted flags. Deslondes ordered the crowd into the yard. In the clover, the rebels, most afoot, several on horseback, shouted, “On to New Orleans!” and started along River Road toward the territorial capital. As the marchers passed plantation upon plantation,
runaway slaves, some in purloined uniforms, others carrying flags, many armed, joined the enthusiastic procession.

What many historians deem the largest, most sophisticated slave revolt in the United States had been brewing for months. Charles Deslondes had conspired with fellow slaves like Kook and Quamana from the nearby James Brown plantation, and Harry and Guiam from the Kenner and Henderson plantation. In whispered exchanges in cane fields, at taverns along levees, and at the Sunday markets and dances most German Coast slaves were allowed to attend, the conspirators outlined an uprising meant to kill every White planter in its path, free their enslaved workers, and seize New Orleans.

SUGAR REFINERIES WERE SATANIC MILLS DENSE WITH HEAVY WHEELS AND CRUSHING EQUIPMENT. THE CANE FIELDS WERE NO SAFER FOR WORKERS.

The region known as the German Coast was a sliver of Louisiana, since the late 1800s a giant French holding save for just after the Seven Years’ War. So that Britain could not claim it, France briefly ceded title to Spain, an ally. In 1803, Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States. Use of the place name “German Coast” dated to the early 18th century, when impoverished German-speaking farmers, led by Karl Friedrich D’Arenbourg, emigrated from what is now southern Germany to what is now Arkansas only to see their embryonic settlements fail. Relocating to Louisiana, the immigrants farmed in St. John the Baptist and St. Charles Parishes on the Mississippi’s east bank. In 1721, the industrious Germans began providing food and supplies to a haphazard downriver encampment whose residents called their hamlet “New Orleans.” By 1800, the German Coast’s German speakers had become a minority, outnumbered by Francophone refugees.

In 1791, inspired by the American and French Revolutions, slaves had rebelled in France’s sugar-producing colony of Sainte Domingue on the island of Hispaniola. Fleeing the Black Jacobins, French planters crossed the Windward Straits to safety in Spanish-held Cuba. However, Spain and France fell out, prompting Cuba to deport French speakers. Many of them decamped to the German Coast, where they applied their savvy at sugar cane cultivation and production, which depended on enslaved labor.

The German Coast became a hub of sugar making, an endeavor with a hideous human cost. “Enslaved workers were consumed by the cane fields,” writes Harvard University historian Vincent Brown. Cane growing, harvesting, and refining was brutal, dangerous work. Planting involved relentless stoop labor under tropical conditions; harvesters worked with razor-sharp knives, axes, and machetes. Refineries were satanic mills dense with heavy wheels and crushing equipment. Atop cane agriculture’s industrial brutality lay the weight of life in bondage: subhuman status, murderous conditions, callous discipline. In Sainte Domingue, these factors had fired the slave Toussaint L’Ouverture to lead the uprising that routed the French and established the nation of Haiti. L’Ouverture’s coup
in turn inspired Deslondes and his collaborators. Their uprising failed, and in its wake came a stricter culture of White supremacy and militarism in Louisiana that helped solidify the South in its determination to preserve slavery.

At the Perret plantation, as their friends tended his wounds, Manuel Andry described his and Marianne’s ordeal. As word spread of the uprising, many local planters fled the German Coast for New Orleans. Other landowners began planning a counterattack. Perret and Andry rode to alert fellow planters—the d’Arensbourgs, St. Martins, Hotards, Zamoras, Rixners, Troxlers, Dorvins, and Delerys—and form a posse.

Advancing along the river on Wednesday, January 9, the rebels destroyed the residences of Pierre Reine and M. Laclaverie and the Meuillon plantation. The runaway slave Kook murdered one of the area’s most hated slaveowners, Francois Trepagnier. When they made camp for the night 15 miles upriver from New Orleans at the plantation Jacques Fortier had abandoned, the insurrectionaries, men and women, numbered between 200 and 500. As the rebels were rampaging, refugees on horseback were alerting military scouts at the western gates of New Orleans to the uprising. The road to the city “was crowded with carriage and carts full of people, making their escape...
Hampton had coraled two companies of volunteer militia and 30 regulars to face the rebels. Commodore Shaw decided to land sailors to help defend New Orleans. “With the white residents of the area clustered behind the city gates and the black slaves marching from the fields, it seemed all Claiborne could do was pray,” historian Daniel Rasmussen wrote.

Through Wednesday the rebels had met scant resistance, but after making a night-long march Hampton’s troops encountered the runaways near Jacques Fortier’s plantation. Hampton ordered an attack, but the rebels, some with military experience dating to life in Africa, dodged into the woods and swamps. Making good time, the runaways traveled about 15 miles northwest toward Bernard Bernoudy’s plantation.

At about 8 a.m. on Thursday, January 10, 80 planters led by Perret and Andry marched downriver. Within an hour, “We saw the enemy . . . numbering about 200 men, as many mounted [on stolen horses] as on foot,” wrote Perret. Pinned between Perret’s and Andry’s men behind and Hampton’s forces in front, the rebels formed a battle line.

Guns barked. Smoke rose. Bodies fell. The rebels soon ran out of ammunition. “Fifteen or twenty of [the slaves] were killed and fifty prisoners were taken,” an onlooker said, although Charles Perret reported that his forces “left 40 to 45 men on the field of battle, among whom were several chiefs.” Militiamen captured Kook and Quamana. Survivors ran for the woods, or, as Deslondes did, the swamps. Planters loosed dogs to track Deslondes. Run to ground on Friday, January 11, he was brought to a cane-brake where, a witness reported, militiamen chopped off the former slave driver’s hands and broke his thighbones, then shot him dead and roasted his corpse. Another version has Deslondes captured and a few days later tried, executed, beheaded, and dismembered.

Manuel Andry later reported on the battle to Governor Claiborne. “I have been able to collect a detachment of about 80 men, and although

CLAIBORNE USED THE EVENTS OF JANUARY 1811 TO PERSUADE LOUISIANA’S RULING CLASS THAT THE THREAT OF REBELLION WAS SO GREAT AS TO DEMAND THAT THE STATE ASK FOR A PERMANENT FEDERAL GARRISON AT NEW ORLEANS.
wounded, I have taken the command of [my] brave fellow planters,” Andry wrote. “We have been so happy as to meet the brigands who were in the neighborhood of the plantation of Mr. Bernoudi [sic], colors displayed and full of arrogance. As soon as we perceived them we rushed upon their troops, of whom we made a considerable slaughter.” According to the planters, not a single White combatant fell.

Reprisals continued as the militia hunted outlaw slaves in the woods and bayous. Hampton’s forces helped restore order, soon joined by federals from Baton Rouge under Major Homer Virgil Milton. Hampton directed Milton to prevent recurrences by touching “at Every Settlement of Consequence, and to Crush any disturbances that May have taken place . . .” In two days of combat, militiamen killed some 100 rebels and captured many dozens. With the slave leaders dead or in shackles and their followers routed, surviving rebels withdrew to the plantations they had left.

On January 13, 1811, a five-man tribunal presided over by St. Charles Parish Judge Pierre Bauchet St. Martin convened at the plantation of Jean Noel Destrehan, one of the German Coast’s richest cane growers. The two-day undertaking methodically tried and convicted rebels, sentencing many to death. Often, after hanging or shooting prisoners, authorities had the dead men’s heads severed and stuck on poles at the lower gate to the city and along the River Road. St. John the Baptist Parish and New Orleans held similar trials ending in similar verdicts and outcomes. A judge stipulated that “Daniel Garret the slave of Messrs. Butler and McCutcheon . . . shall be hung at the usual place in the City of New Orleans within three days of the date hereof and his head shall be severed from his Body and exposed at one of the lower gates of this city—New Orleans.” The heads resembled “crows sitting on long poles,” planter Samuel Hambleton remarked. Slave owners warily crept from hiding. Charles Perret, the planters’ leader, intent on reinvigorating sugar production and reestablishing control over bondsmen, ordered all to return to their properties, with slave drivers to “carry out the accustomed work at the usual hours.”

Since taking office in 1804, Governor Claiborne had been struggling to bring Louisiana into the mainstream. The territory was a stew of cultures, American in name but interlaced with Spanish and French influences and Britain still present nearby in spirit in West Florida. Claiborne wanted to inculcate in Louisianans a sense of themselves as Americans, but the insular French-speaking planters had resisted—until Hampton’s decisive victory over the insurrection. Claiborne used the events of January 1811, Rasmussen writes, “to dramatize American civil and institutional power, portraying himself as an effective governor and representative of federal authority.” Addressing territorial legislators in late January 1811, the governor urged Louisiana to formalize its state military force. “I could not avail myself of an occasion as favorable as the present, to renew my entreaties for a more energetic Militia System;” he said. Against the backdrop of the uprising, Claiborne’s overture gained support among planters, politicians, and New Orleans newspapers. “Insurrection among the slaves . . . proves to us the imperious necessity of a prompt organization and discipline of the Militia,” the planter kingpin Destrehan said.

The insurrectionist trials advanced Claiborne’s goal of Americanization. Meeting with the entire territorial legislature in the company of the victorious planters, the governor stressed a narrative of American control over the territory. Crime, in the form of insurrection, clearly had elicited punishment—a firm manifestation of governmental power. Claiborne...
actions helped convince the territory’s elite that White Louisianans needed the American government to ensure their safety.

To control slaves Claiborne, the legislature, and New Orleans Mayor James Mather regimented bondsmen’s existence. Mather asked the city council to prohibit sale of ammunition to Blacks, to bar slaves from dwelling in the city, and to prohibit large gatherings of slaves—funerals and Sunday dances excepted. Claiborne proposed stricter controls on Blacks, enslaved and free, by amending or enacting laws pertaining to limits on emancipation, movement, and assembly. To appease owners of slaves killed in the insurrection, the governor proposed that the legislature pay owners $300 for each dead bondsman and for one-third the assessed value of any property destroyed in the uprising. Claiborne also pushed to restrict importation of slaves; such “negroes are of Character the most desperate and conduct the most infamous,” he said. Planters disagreed with that proposal, however, and importation of slaves surged as sugar prices rose, demanding more enslaved labor.

Despite the chains of post-facto constraints, the German Coast uprising forcefully showed that enslaved Blacks found their conditions intolerable and preferred death to bondage. In May 1811, as a preliminary step toward statehood, Claiborne called for Louisiana to write a constitution. That gesture, and the status it produced, formed the last piece in a slaveholding Deep South reaching from Georgia to Texas. Statehood for Louisiana tipped “the nation’s balance toward the South, the West, and slavery,” Rasmussen wrote, and led to America becoming “a slave country.” Claiborne and planters James Brown and Jean Noel Destrehan subsequently became U.S. senators.

In July 1811, Marie Andry, Gilbert Andry’s widow, gave birth to son Michel Thomassin Andry. The combined populations of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama grew from 400,000 in 1820 to 2.5 million in 1860. Once these polities entered the Union, the nation’s slave population exploded, setting the nation on a course toward civil war. ✨
Record of Resistance

By the time revolts in America and France began triggering a global phenomenon of class-related conflicts, America had been the scene of hundreds of rebellions by people held in bondage. Historian Herbert Aptheker counted almost 250 revolts among slaves in what became the United States, often encouraged by slave revolts in the Caribbean and along South America’s Atlantic coast. Harvard historian Vincent Brown catalogued insurrections against the British on Barbados (1676, 1683, 1692) and Antigua (1736-37), against the Dutch in Surinam (1690-1750), and the Danish on St. John (1733). Reverberations from Tacky’s Revolt on British-held Jamaica in 1760-61, Brown wrote, combined with multiple other rebellions on that island to offer hope to people in bondage around the Atlantic. Slaves exiled from Jamaica for the crime of rising against their masters took the gospel of rebellion with them. As late as the mid-1800s, American slaveholders were referring to troublemakers among their human chattel as “Tackys [sic] among us.” The 1789-1804 Haitian Revolution arguably exerted the most influence on America’s enslaved, as shown on the German Coast.

The 1739 Stono Rebellion was pre-independence America’s largest slave revolt. Led by the slave Jimmy, 20 bondsmen gathered at the Stono River in South Carolina. They raided a warehouse and store, killing the owners and placing their detaché heads on the front steps. Shouting “Liberty!” and bearing purloined guns and other weapons, the rebels marched down King’s Highway, intending to reach St. Augustine in Spanish Florida, which had outlawed slavery. The rebels’ ranks grew to about 100 as they burned houses and killed Whites in their way. They never reached St. Augustine; colonial forces crushed them within a week.

In New York City in 1712, 30 men enslaved on Africa’s Gold Coast and transported to the colony took up guns, clubs, and knives, killing nine Whites and wounding seven. Colonial Governor Robert Hunter raised a militia that suppressed the rebellion. In 1741, with the municipality’s population about a quarter Black, the New York City Conspiracy brought together many Black men and a few poor Whites, male and female. The plot, alleged an indentured White youth, aimed to enlist slaves to rise up and kill White men, seize White women, and set fires. Supposed plotters were hanged or burned alive; 72 were deported to Canada, the West Indies, and the Madeira Islands.

In 1795, Antoine Sarrasin, overseer on a Louisiana plantation owned by Julien Poydras, conspired with that plantation’s bondsmen to torch buildings, seize weapons, and kill their masters. A few sympathetic Whites joined the Pointe Coupee conspiracy—named for the area, about 125 miles upriver from New Orleans—as did slaves from adjoining properties. Informants revealed the plot; in the aftermath 57 slaves were convicted of conspiracy against their owners, and 23 of those convicted were beheaded, their skulls nailed to poles along the Mississippi River’s banks.

Gabriel Prosser’s Slave Revolt took place in the vicinity of Richmond, Virginia, in 1800. The literate and physically imposing Prosser, who had fellow slaves’ admiration, planned a breakout with his brother Solomon and another servant on the Prosser plantation. Hoping to rally 1,000 runaways to march on the Virginia state capital, Prosser meant to seize the armory, take Governor James Monroe hostage, and hold Monroe until the state met his and his supporters’ demands for equal rights. A thunderstorm undid the rebels, miring them in mud. Militia units captured and hanged Prosser, two of his brothers, and 23 other slaves.

Nat Turner’s Rebellion is probably the best-known of the American slave revolts. Turner, above, organized the August 1831 uprising, a rampage involving some 70 armed slaves and free Blacks. The rebels fatally bludgeoned Turner’s owner, Joseph Travis, and his family at their farm in Southampton County, Virginia. The following day the rebels attacked and killed about 60 Whites. A quickly marshalled militia force captured many of the rebels, but others among those who had risen up evaded pursuers, some for more than a month, before being run down. Of the captured Black insurrectionists, 21 were hanged and 16 were sold down the river. Turner was found, tried, convicted, and hanged in Jerusalem, Virginia. Vengeful Whites skinned and decapitated Turner’s corpse and distributed body parts as souvenirs. Many rebellion participants who were not captured, as well as other Blacks, fled Virginia. —Larry C. Kerpelman

JUNE 2021 39
They had had to cover only 25 miles, but during the parched summer of 1926 teamsters leading horses laden with 80 boxes of dynamite and 500 barrels of black powder had needed most of a week to cover that paltry distance. The drag was the 1,300-foot ascent between the Belton, Montana, rail depot, from which the pack train had departed, and the train’s destination along a faint mountainside trail deep in the cavernous contours of Glacier National Park. At the high end, construction gangs were waiting with ropes and drills. Explosives in hand, the strongest among the crewmen belayed the gutsiest 100 feet down a nearly vertical wall of ancient argillite. Pulling wool socks over their boots so no hobnail would strike a spark and blow them to hell, the dangling drillers bored for hours into the amber stone, packing every hole with powder and TNT and running detonating leads up the face.

Powdermen set off the charges; 10,000 cubic yards of shattered argillite thundered into McDonald Creek Valley, 1,000 feet below, raising dust that filled the big sky. When the cloud had cleared, the crew—halfway through a 13-year, $2.25 million project to build what may be the American national park system’s most scenic road—had an unparalleled view of a dozen dazzling white glaciers tucked in the rugged pockets of the seemingly endless Lewis Mountains.

Two-Lane Blacktop to Glory
A latter-day photographer captured the road after it had been repaved with asphalt.
Once crews completed the roadway, the average visitor would have a way to get to the same panorama. The dual lanes of the Going-to-the-Sun Road would stretch 52 graved miles, 10 of them chiseled from a nearly sheer rock face, the first instance of vehicular access to the interior of one of America’s great treasures and the fount of a program that in time would accomplish the same in parks nationwide.

A hundred and seventy million years ago, two huge fragments of the Earth’s crust collided in what is now northwest Montana. The western plate prevailed, its more ancient sedimentary rock inexorably overriding the younger eastern plate. That geological encounter created the Lewis Overthrust of the Rocky Mountains as well as part of the Continental Divide, the north-south ridgeline spanning the Americas that generally splits its watersheds between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Subsequent glaciers carved the heights into corrugated crests, some exceeding 10,000 feet, and shoveled aside iron-rich tailings to form an unsolvable maze of finger-shaped valleys and cascading streams.

Blackfeet, Flathead, and other Indian tribes inhabited the surrounding plains, but seldom ventured into the harsh interior of the Lewis Range, where snow on the Divide’s east slope could drift to depths of 80-plus feet. White trappers and fur traders, prospectors, and surveyors who were summiting the outer peaks in the 1850s encountered a wilderness paradise: precipitous gorges dotted with more than 60 glaciers and 200 alpine lakes.

“The scenery is grand, game plenty, the fishing unexcelled,” wrote James Willard Schultz, an author living among the Blackfeet in 1884.

But paradise was hard to reach. In 1893, the Great Northern Railway laid the tracks of its new transcontinental line along the Middle Fork of the Flathead River, improving access to the area for those able to afford a ticket. Importuned by conservationists and Great Northern President Louis W. Hill, Congress created Glacier National Park in 1910. The million-acre federal preserve was bounded by the Middle Fork of the Flathead to the south, the North Fork to the west, the Canadian border to the north, and the Blackfeet Indian Reservation to the east. Hill promoted the region as “America’s Switzerland” and spent heavily building luxury chalets on his rail line, as well as a few along rough foot trails inside the park. Thousands took the bait but were unsatisfied seeing only Glacier’s outer edges.

Save for the hardiest hikers and horsiest tourists, there was no way into the park’s wild interior, and no budget for making one. Upon becoming America’s eighth national park, Glacier had joined a motley of scenic reservations—Yellowstone, Sequoia, Yosemite, Mount Rainier, Crater Lake, Wind Cave, and Mesa Verde—carved from the vast federal lands of the West and managed by the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and War. This awkward coalition of bureaucracies lacked a unified vision for protecting parkland from poachers, fires, and private business interests, let alone for activities aimed at enhancing access. Generally, only locals and vacationers who could swing the cost of opulent lodgings and sure-footed guides visited the parks, which fell into desuetude.

By 1914, complaints about the national parks’ sorry state had piled high enough to impel Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane to try to elevate the parks’ quality and popularity. Lane’s preferred means was to seek as his parks administrator a marketing-savvy outdoorsman wealthy enough to roll with a laughable annual salary of $2,750. Around this time Stephen T. Mather, who had been a classmate of Lane’s at the University of California, happened to write to his Berkeley pal decrying trail conditions and depredations by cattle at Yosemite and Sequoia Parks.

Mather was the perfect candidate to be Lane’s parks czar. Born and raised in California but descended from the same resolute New England stock as Puritan preachers Increase and Cotton Mather, he had roamed
every acre of Yosemite and far beyond. After briefly reporting for the New York Sun, he had promoted the Pacific Coast Borax Company, then co-launched a rival venture that quickly grew to dominate the lucrative borax industry. Blue-eyed and prematurely white-haired, the 61” Mather, 47, was highly personable and energetic, an early riser known to stampede slumbering tentmates onto trails by deflating their air mattresses. At Lane’s invitation, Mather was sworn in as assistant to the secretary of the interior in January 1915. Lane offered his private clerk, a fellow Golden Bear and sharp law student named Horace Albright, 24, as Mather’s aide.

During his first nine months on the job, Mather put nearly 30,000 miles on a new 12-cylinder Packard Twin Six touring car while surveying his purview. His familiarization trips hoisted the need for better park roads high onto his agenda—Glacier drove to the top. Mather beheld Glacier for the first time on September 11, 1915, as the park was closing for the season amid an early and violent winter storm. Arriving from Yellowstone in south-central Montana, he and Albright left the Packard at Glacier’s east entrance and hopped a Great Northern train 60 miles west to Belton.

From the park’s west entrance, Mather and Albright hired a boatman to motor them 10 miles across crystalline Lake McDonald, Glacier’s largest. The view they beheld was arresting. Below them, a rainbow of erosion-polished pebbles; before them, the towering snow-capped gateway to the park’s interior. Ignoring locals’ warnings, they saddled horses and rode east across the Continental Divide in a blizzard that made Mather, a steely mountaineer who’d summited half a dozen 10,000-foot peaks, contemplate turning back. Two arduous days later, the men arrived exhausted at Great Northern’s pricey Going-to-the-Sun Chalet on Glacier’s second largest lake, St. Mary. The park’s east side boasted few roads, all crude. More than once, horse teams had to haul their vehicle out of mudholes. Mather saw past the liabilities to Glacier’s attributes, stiffening his resolve to run a passable road through the heart of every park he oversaw.

“They belong to everybody,” he wrote to a friend. “We’ve got to do what we can to see that nobody stays away because he can’t afford it.”

Congress disagreed. Until Europe went to war in August 1914, Americans had been spending $500 million a year touring the Continent. Legislators hesitated to fund park infrastructure unless parks got busier. Mather countered with a promotional campaign aimed at drivers. Domestic auto manufacturers were turning out 500,000 new vehicles annually, democratizing the American way of vacationing. At Mather’s instigation, newspapers touted the serenity and adventure awaiting in national parks. The Great Northern and other railroad operators encouraged travelers to “see America first.”

The hoopla worked. In 1916, 335,000 people visited what were now 11 parks. Congress established the National Park Service, with Mather its first director. He set about designing a thought-ful roadway for each site. In 1918, his chief engineer mapped Glacier’s Transmountain Highway, which would connect Lakes McDonald and St. Mary via Logan Pass, named for Major William R. Logan, Glacier’s first superintendent.

In 1921, Mather obtained a $100,000 appropriation for the Glacier road, along with similar sums for roads into Mount Rainier and Sequoia. By August 1922, visitors entering from Belton were able to drive Lake McDonald’s cedar-lined southern shore. Improved access to lodges, campgrounds, and hiking trails fueled a 35 percent increase in park patrons in 1923.

Roadbuilding crews ground along, by mid-1924 stretching the road to 18.5 relatively level miles on the west side—to the junction of

**Early Days**

*Top: Heading for the lowest camp, a Fordson tractor driver pulls supplies along McDonald Creek. Above: In June 1925 prospective contractors clambered up a snowfield below Logan Pass to assess the job they would be bidding on.*
McDonald and Logan Creeks—and eight miles on the east side. That spring, Congress authorized $7.5 million for national park roads, trails, and bridges for 1925-29, earmarking just enough federal financing for Glacier to take the Transmountain Highway to Logan Pass from the west.

With Park Service staff divided as to the best route to the 6,664-foot summit, Mather enlisted the aid of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, predecessor to the Federal Highway Administration. Senior Highway Engineer Frank Kittredge reached Glacier on September 11, 1924. Kittredge and a ragtag survey team bushwhacked brush and tiptoed narrow ledges, frequently crossing paths with bears and battling blizzards as they broke a preliminary trail through the unforgiving terrain. Every day somebody quit on him.

That November, Kittredge packed out of the park through a yard of snow to pen his proposal for a road so marvelously engineered as to be an attraction in itself. The Transmountain Highway would follow McDonald Creek as that streambed curved north, then gradually ascend the western flank of the rocky ridge constituting the Continental Divide. Two miles in, the route would tunnel nearly 200 feet through a protruding cliff. The stone exposed in the tunnel’s jagged interior would illustrate the makeup of these massive mountains. Two aeries cut into the rock as observation points would open onto vistas of a parallel crest line to the west. At 4,300 feet, a switchback would redirect the road nearly 180 degrees to the right. The remaining 10 miles of roadway, a 2,300-foot climb to Logan Pass, would skirt the “Garden Wall,” a steep, colorfully striated rock face.

Travelers would be simultaneously unnerved by the argillite climbing to their left like a rickety staircase and enchanted by snow-striped Mounts Cannon and Oberlin rising to their right across the emerald Logan Creek Valley. From this vantage, Kittredge noted, “the impression is more that of seeing the country from an aeroplane than from the ground.” The route would descend east along the curvy contours of Going-to-the-Sun Mountain, named by James Schultz in the 1880s, to connect with the existing east-side road on the north shore of St. Mary Lake.

The remaining 22 miles of road would cost $1.16 million. To facilitate snow removal, Kittredge specified minimal guard rails. To protect the environment, he argued against using high-volume explosives and heavy machinery like the recently invented bulldozer, a tractor with treads instead of wheels that gnawed up terrain the way tanks had in the Great War. Under this policy, demolition would produce enough usable loose stone to build bridges and culverts that blended with nature. With a maximum grade of six percent, drivers should never have to downshift out of third gear.

So enthusiastically did Mather embrace the road plan that in spring 1925 he forged an inter-agency partnership under which the Bureau of Public Roads would be building all National Park roads. Beginning with the Transmountain Highway, the National Park Service would supervise the awarding of contracts but leave project stewardship to road bureau experts.

The Park Service opened bids for the 12.4-mile stretch of road from Logan Creek to Logan Pass on May 21, 1925. The following week, agents of 35 prospective contractors, many wearing suits, rode horses to the snowline and hiked crusted, wind-dimpled snowfields in pouring rain to study the route. Only 12 submitted proposals. Williams & Douglas of Tacoma, Washington, prevailed with a bid of $869,145 and a requirement for leave to use a few pneumatic jackhammers and power shovels to keep the project in budget and on time. The region’s heavy snowfall confined work on the road to mid-June through mid-October. With Mather expecting to be able to drive to Logan Pass before winter hit in 1927,

Meat in the Sky
To keep bears from making off with provisions, the survey crew’s cook hung them high.
Punching the Clock on the High Rock
A west-side crewman takes a break from blasting away argillite to create a bench for the road. Below: A chainman scales a cliff to stake a path for construction crews.

W&D had less than 12 working months to accomplish its herculean task.

The Bureau of Public Roads named William G. Peters resident engineer. Peters moved his wife and two young daughters into a crude cabin a few miles below the site of the proposed switchback and set to work staking Kittredge’s route to guide road builders.

Williams & Douglas split the project into six sections to be built simultaneously, eventually connecting in a single artery. The company hired 225 skilled laborers, divvied into six distinct crews, one assigned to build each section. The first gang of these brawny men arrived at the Belton railway station on June 22. Local merchants supplied the crews’ log-framed, canvas-walled bunkhouses, which dotted the route from the junction of Logan and McDonald Creeks to the top of Logan Pass. Horse or mule teams hauled stoves, cots, mattresses, provisions, and construction materials along precipitous hiking trails. At peak construction, 60 pack horses were tramping the trails daily, yielding to occasional trekkers.

Through 1925, crews chipped away six days a week. That August, with about five percent of the route done, Mather, accompanied by his daughter, visited to inspect progress and celebrate the girl’s 15th birthday. Peters satisfied the director with a tour—and a fresh trout dinner Mather delightedly devoured while perched on a dynamite box in Peters’s rustic kitchen.

The following winter Glacier had a record light snowpack. Eager to advance the roadway as far as the switchback, now called the Loop, and to bring power shovels within reach of the Garden Wall, Williams & Douglas set the company’s first section crew to work in late spring on the 192-foot tunnel Kittredge had planned half a mile below. Wearing war-surplus steel helmets lest debris from above skull them, tunnelers blew apart the rock face with explosives and jackhammered the result into excavatable slabs to clear the 20-foot wide, 18-foot high opening.

August was bone-dry. On the park’s west side, forests caught fire. Road crews spent weeks fighting blazes. By the time a September snowfall quenched the flames, more than 50,000 acres had burned. High-elevation work paused, but the tunnelers bored on in three ‘round-the-clock shifts until November 15, when -32° temperatures forced them to pack out, leaving the tunnel ready for grading come spring. Peering through its two windows in the driving snow, the men could barely make out the white-capped profile of 9,000-foot Heaven’s Peak across the McDonald Creek Valley.
In spring 1927, crews cleared melting snow and mud from the road to the Loop, now nearly complete, then pivoted to the Garden Wall for the 10-mile press to Logan Pass. The line that seemed so neat and manageable on Kittredge’s survey map was daunting in 3-D. To reach the summit, the men needed to hack a 16-foot roadbed—not including shoulders—into an uneven wall of rimrock that in places offered no foothold. On their way, they had to slice through dense alpine forest and engineer aesthetically pleasing ways to cross gushing glacial streams and protect drivers from crumbling rock.

The work was not for the acrophobic. At each of the five remaining sections, an engineer led a crew of 10 men staking Kittredge’s route. In every kind of weather, workers shuffled to the dizzying edges of cliffs, often hundreds of feet above the theoretical road, and rigged ropes to lower men who set and pounded in survey stakes as they were hanging in midair.

Where the terrain was forested and the grade reasonable enough, laborers followed the surveyors, clearing fir, spruce, birch, and tamarack, roots and all. Men chiseled the underlying rock by hand, progressing perhaps 100 feet per day, or used Denver jackhammers that were powered by Sullivan air compressors.

**In steeper, rockier sections where jackhammering** would not suffice, dynamite or powder did. To minimize debris size, the contract ordered Williams & Douglas to favor small charges. Occasionally fatigued crews would shoot off larger blasts; one broke loose a 17-foot limestone boulder that crushed every plant it met on its long, loud tumble to the valley floor.

To minimize scenic impact, the Park Service had designated specific areas where detritus could be dumped. Crews laid temporary rail tracks in the nascent roadbed and mucked the debris by hand into carts they pushed to the selected slag heaps. Men fortunate to be working adjacent to stretches of completed road were able to perform their assignments using power shovels, trucks, and makeshift 12-cart trains pulled by gas-powered locomotives. Gangs of eight to 20 men surfaced the roadway with gravel and undertook construction of bridges, culverts, and other masonry work.

For all the sweat and grime, there was an artistry to the job. Suspended men in hopelessly filthy garb chiseled and cast into form Kittredge’s vision of a road that would both humble and inspire travelers. With visitor safety paramount, crews assured the integrity of any rocks protruding above the road. W&D crewman Charles Rudberg was rappelling from an overhead trail to check one boulder when he slipped and fell to the road. He died of his injuries before Peters’s assistant could transport him out of the park.

More than once, summer snows collapsed

---

**Bored and Blasted**

The west side tunnel as it appeared in 1930.
camp tents. On vertiginous trails ornery, territorial mountain goats stood their ground, refusing laborers passage. Black bears snatched lunches and loitered outside field kitchens. In fall 1927, a park ranger guarded Camp 6, home to a crew of 16 hard-working Russian émigrés whose makeshift meat locker had lured grizzlies.

Spring 1928 came early, with crews back at work by May 15. Williams & Douglas declared the project finished that October 20. Nature had blown Mather’s deadline by more than a year and his budget by more than $100,000, but the public was not disappointed.

“We just couldn’t see how they were ever going to put a road up through that kind of country,” said Cora Hutchings, one of the first skeptical locals to drive to the top of Logan Pass that fall. “It was breathtaking.”

**Stephen Mather never drove the road** he worked so hard to create. In November 1928, a stroke debilitated him. He turned the National Park Service over to Albright the following January. In mid-May 1929, Glacier Park employees purchased a three-quarter-yard gasoline-driven Osgood shovel and spent three weeks clearing 25,000 cubic yards of snow from the new west-side road to make way for tourists. That season some 14,000 vehicles entered Glacier, 46 percent more than the year before. Visitors parked at the Loop to take in Heaven’s Peak and wedged their autos into strategic pull-outs along the Garden Wall to ogle 492-foot Bird Woman Falls tumbling from the saddle between Mounts Oberlin and Cannon three miles to the south. At Logan Pass, tourists stopped in the fenced parking area to stretch their legs among glacier lilies and beargrass and scan the encircling hills for bighorn sheep before turning around.

**Depression-era park roads funding shrank to near nil**, but in 1931 Albright wrangled the cash to solicit bids on the last 10 miles between Logan Pass and St. Mary Lake. The contracts went to Colonial Building Company of Spokane, Washington, and A.R. Guthrie of Portland, Oregon. Devoid of lengthy rock faces as sheer as the Garden Wall, the east side mainly challenged Colonial, whose territory included a 408-foot tunnel 1.5 miles east of Logan Pass. Because crews were to work on the entire stretch simultaneously, heavy machinery could not use finished road to reach the tunnel site. As an alternative, Colonial’s men hacked a supply trail to haul explosives and jackhammers from Logan Pass along Mount Piegan’s southern slope about 200 feet above the stake line. To reach the job site, workers warily walked tools along a steep descending path, then climbed down two tall, flimsy ladders. In 1931 Colonial ran shifts around the clock, punching through solid limestone by alternating between dynamite and jackhammers powered by hoses strung from air compressors on the trail above. In August, a falling rock struck laborer Carl Rosenquist in the head, killing him. The following summer, stone mason Gus Swanson died in a rockslide.

On stretches at lower altitudes, crews made creative use of heavy equipment. Colonial subcontracted two miles of its portion near the west end of St. Mary Lake to Douglas, part of the firm that had built the west side road. Douglas floated supplies up the lake on a pontoon barge, then deployed bulldozers on muddy grades as steep as 22 percent to deliver supplies and gear to its camp. By the end of July 1931, the contractor had two power shovels on the job.

Guthrie’s portion of the task was generally level, but rocky. Crews often hung from ropes to chisel back limestone slopes and make way for...
the roadbed. Dynamite, used sparingly, came with its own quirks. When one charge failed to blow, exasperated workmen discovered a live deer tangled in the detonating wire. The crew freed the nervous animal and resumed work.

Over Baring Creek, which fed into St. Mary Lake about two-thirds of a mile from that body of water’s western end, Guthrie was to build the project’s largest bridge. Landscape architects swarmed the worksite to make sure laborers weren’t being excessively precise in setting the boulders that formed the span’s arch. The look had to be as natural as possible.

By the time snow covered the project in late October 1932, the East Side Tunnel and Baring Creek Bridge were complete, and Colonial and Guthrie had but scant miles of grading to finish come spring. The Park Service scheduled the grand opening of the highway it had renamed Going-to-the-Sun Road for July 15, 1933.

Winter 1932-33 brought a prodigious snowpack. As green shoots finally were poking through the park’s white blanket in early June 1933, Guthrie set to work on its final section while snow removal crews raced up the west side to clear a path for Colonial. Immediately east of Logan Pass, the Osgood shovel met its most formidable foe: The Big Drift. Winds striking this mile-long slope each winter could bury the road in 80 feet of snow. The park dispatched a Bates tractor and a dozer to help. Guthrie completed its section of the road on July 7. Four days later Colonial declared victory.

On July 15, a cloudless Saturday, drivers streamed to Logan Pass from both directions, bringing 4,000 visitors to marvel at the mud-splattered snow walls towering on either side of the new road. To the tune of the Blackfeet Tribal Band’s playing and with suit-clad dignitaries singing the byway’s praises, families lazed among the alpine flowers, soaking in the sunshine and reveling in the stunning views. Early arrivals got to enjoy the chili lunch for 2,500 that park staff had prepared.

The Going-to-the-Sun Road’s popularity would exceed expectations many more times. That year, 20,483 vehicles entered the park, carrying visitors from every state, various territories, and foreign countries. The 13-year project had cost taxpayers $2.25 million and three men their lives. Working together the National Park Service and the Bureau of Public Roads had delivered a road of higher quality and greater scenic array than either could have constructed on its own.

Many of the road’s visionaries attended the ceremony, configured as a memorial for the one who could not. Mather had died in 1930. In his honor the Montana State Highway Commission installed a commemorative bronze plaque at the exact summit of Logan Pass. Glacier Superintendent E.T. Scouey read a statement from Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes enumerating Mather’s achievements, including the acquisition of seven national parks and the expansion of many others.

“No man ever did more to add to human happiness,” Ickes said, “by leading people to enjoy our greatest blessings, God’s free out-of-doors.” ★
Which Way Up?

When in 1918 Stephen Mather sent Chief Engineer George Goodwin to map a road running into Glacier National Park’s heart, the new Park Service was struggling to balance the competing goods of wilderness conservation and public access. Using the criteria of scenic views and relative ease of construction, Goodwin was to evaluate a half-dozen routes. His choice skirted the southern shore of glassy Lake McDonald and followed the creek of the same name 10 miles east, then turned south to begin a steep, 15-switchback ascent up the Logan Creek Valley, using Logan Pass to cross the Continental Divide at 6,664 feet. At the pass were relatively level flower-filled alpine meadows from which “scenery of unrivaled beauty is ever before one,” Goodwin noted. The descent hugged the north shore of St. Mary Lake all the way to the park’s eastern entrance. Goodwin estimated the road would take five years to build and might attract 15,000 vehicular visitors annually.

When a 1924 appropriation made it possible to complete the course of the roadway as far as Logan Pass, Mather dusted off Goodwin’s 1918 plans and passed them to his assistant landscape architect Thomas Vint for his review. The drawings horrified Vint. Goodwin’s switchbacks would tear up the Logan Creek Valley “like miners had been in there,” he said.

That August, Mather, Goodwin, and Vint rode horses to Logan Pass to consider options. Vint proposed having the road run further north up McDonald Creek. At 4,300 feet the path would turn sharply southeast, rising to Logan Pass in a steady line along the Garden Wall. Vint’s ambitious rerouting not only offered better scenery but faced the roadbed toward the sunnier south, fastening the spring melt and allowing an earlier seasonal opening. Goodwin scoffed; that choice would be too costly and dangerous he said.

Kittredge finally went for a route approximating Vint’s. Carving a highway into the Garden Wall’s 20°-to-60° slopes would be a formidable task, but the sweeping views and extra sunshine would be worth it.

Even Goodwin admired Kittredge’s work, which resulted in a road that now accommodates more than three million park visitors annually—200 times the volume George Goodwin had predicted. Parlaying and improving on their success at Glacier—between 1938 and 1952, crews replaced that gravel surface with more durable asphalt—the National Park Service and the Federal Highway Administration, formerly the Bureau of Public Roads, built and today jointly maintain 5,500 miles of paved roadway in America’s national parks. —Jessica Wambach Brown
Giant Steps Are What You Take
Walking on the Moon, Apollo 11 astronaut Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin pauses by the lunar module’s legs at Tranquility Base on July 20, 1969.
Late on the night of Sunday, July 20, 1969, 125 million Americans, more than half the country’s population, were watching as astronaut Neil Armstrong stepped onto the surface of the Moon. Crowds gathered in bars, restaurants, bowling alleys—any place with a television set; 93 percent of households tuned in. At Yankee Stadium, the home team and the Washington Senators paused play in the eighth inning so 33,000 fans could absorb the moment. Worldwide, some 650 million people watched the Moon landing, with millions more listening on the radio.

The Apollo 11 landing was more than a technological and operational achievement. Armstrong’s first steps on the Moon gave the United States something to celebrate in a year and a decade of frustration and upheaval. Amid racial unrest, a divisive war, and a string of assassinations, the landing reminded Americans of the nation’s ability to achieve great things.

Popular memory of the Apollo program has generated an image of Americans united by a common goal of sending countrymen safely to and from the Moon. In reality, Apollo was an extremely controversial undertaking that enjoyed majority support only once Armstrong and fellow astronaut Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin had landed on the Moon. In the years preceding, the program stirred bitter conflict among politicians, scientists, and the public, with skeptics arguing that the Moon race was a costly gimmick of scant scientific value that diverted attention and funding from genuine...
concerns. In fact, as Armstrong and Aldrin were hopping around on the lunar surface. President Richard Nixon was looking for ways to replace Apollo with more economical, less ambitious space projects. Even at the height of Apollo's success, the program's days were numbered.

**Intense debates over goals and costs** tracked back to the space program's earliest days. In the 1950s, most American decisions regarding politics, national security, and technology hinged on the need to stay ahead of the Soviet Union. President Dwight Eisenhower, though eager to put American know-how to work on space research, saw no need to rush. Eisenhower favored missions that produced scientific findings over simply scoring firsts. Even the startling Soviet launch on October 4, 1957, of Sputnik, the world's first man-made satellite, did little to change Eisenhower's deliberate view.

Other politicians and the media were far less relaxed. Of *Sputnik*, *Washington Post* reporter Chalmers Roberts wrote, “the United States had suffered the worst psychological licking in the history of its relations and struggle with the Soviets and the Communist world.” “The Soviets have beaten us at our own game,” said Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Texas), who scheduled hearings into the space program, ensuring that the issue—and LBJ himself—would remain in the headlines for months. An unrattled Eisenhower remained confident of American missile superiority over the Soviets. When grilled by the press, he said that *Sputnik* “does not raise my apprehensions, not one iota.”

This matched the view of most Americans, **“The Soviets have beaten us at our own game,”** Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Baines Johnson said, scheduling hearings on space.

**Throwing Down a Gauntlet Up High**

With innovative successes like Sputnik and cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin’s epochal trip, the Soviet Union put the United States on notice that there would be a race to see who ruled space.

who upon hearing the news of *Sputnik* were rather composed. Polls weeks after the Soviet satellite began orbiting found Sputnik near the bottom of Americans’ roster of major concerns. However, critics cast Eisenhower as out of touch with the reality that the Soviets were beating America in the race to control space.

That criticism deflated after America put the satellite *Explorer I* into orbit on January 31, 1958. On July 29, President Eisenhower signed a bill establishing the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The agency began Project Mercury three months later. This large-scale program, named after the Roman god of speed and travelers, intended to put a man in orbit, study that individual’s performance and ability to function in space, and bring him and his spacecraft safely back to Earth.

The president, conscious of cost and wary of a space race with the Soviets, warned against letting NASA or Mercury grow beyond its means. T. Keith Glennan, NASA's first administrator, later wrote, “Ike and I agreed that we were mature enough as a nation not to let some other country determine our behavior and our policy.” However, Glennan knew America could not allow Soviet space achievements to go unanswered.

As NASA engineers began designing the Mercury capsule and the rocket the capsule would ride, the search began for “astronauts”—jet pilots with college degrees, high mechanical and engineering aptitudes, and superior reflexes and cognitive skills, no taller than 5' 11” and weighing no more than 180 lb. so the spacecraft, designed for economy, not comfort, could accommodate them. NASA debuted the astronauts, all seasoned military pilots, on April 9, 1959. The charismatic members of the squad, known as the Mercury Seven, became instant celebrities thanks to the NASA public relations juggernaut, a story told by Tom Wolfe in his 1979...

**President John F. Kennedy** briefly emulated his predecessor’s cautious approach to going into space. As an ambitious Democratic member of the Senate, Kennedy had been comfortable using *Sputnik* and a supposed “missile gap” with the Soviets to pummel the Republicans for being soft on communism. Early in his presidency, however, Kennedy focused more on international and domestic issues than on space, a subject about which he knew and cared little. He left space to his vice president, Lyndon Johnson, now chairing the National Space Council.

Events drastically rearranged Kennedy’s outlook. On April 12, 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human to orbit Earth—another Soviet surprise, and a world-shaking blow to American prestige. “If the United States is to compete in space, we must decide to do so on a top-priority basis immediately, or we face a bleak future of more Soviet triumphs,” *New York Times* correspondent Hanson Baldwin wrote. “The neutral nations may come to believe the wave of the future is Russian; even our friends and allies could slough away.”

Five days after Gagarin circled the Earth, anti-communist exiles tried to invade Cuba. Fidel Castro’s forces crushed the haphazard expedition, an Eisenhower-era leftover. The Central Intelligence Agency-backed debacle, combined with the Gagarin flight, led critics to accuse Kennedy of being the one who was soft on communism.

Needing a political win and a bold, headline-friendly initiative and aware that Mercury wasn’t enough, Kennedy looked to Johnson for ideas. The vice president turned to the Space Council and NASA, now under the direction of James Webb, a savvy Washington insider since the Truman administration. Johnson came back to Kennedy with Project Apollo.

Continuing NASA’s proclivity for naming its programs after mythological figures, Apollo—the Greek and Roman god of the sun—was developed by NASA’s Manned Lunar Working Group as a follow-up to Mercury. Apollo would carry a three-person capsule to the Moon and back. Given American industrial capacity and scientific know-how, administration officials and NASA experts determined the best chance for achieving superiority in space was a manned lunar landing. NASA believed that with enough money and effort the agency could make it happen before 1970.

**On May 25, addressing a joint session of Congress**, Kennedy went all in. Enumerating national priorities, he called upon Congress to fund an effort
to take astronauts to and from the Moon before the end of the decade. “This decision demands a major national commitment of scientific and technical manpower, materiel and facilities, and the possibility of their diversion from other important activities where they are already thinly spread,” Kennedy said. “It means a degree of dedication, organization, and discipline which have not always characterized our research and development efforts. It means we cannot afford undue work stoppages, inflated costs of material or talent, wasteful interagency rivalries, or a high turnover of key personnel.”

Kennedy confided afterwards to speechwriter Ted Sorensen that Congress did not seem enthusiastic about his Moon proposal. But Congress and much of the nation embraced the idea. Besides global prestige, Project Apollo offered enhanced national security, advances in technology, science, engineering, and economic stimulus. Within weeks, NASA’s budget grew 89 percent, and in 1962 agency funding doubled.

The Apollo undertaking called for the development of new machines, including a command module and a lunar landing module, as well as an immensely powerful rocket. The Saturn V, a 363-foot, three-stage vehicle, was to be capable of generating 7.5 million tons of thrust, enough to push a 50-ton payload to the Moon. The Saturn, the tallest and most powerful rocket ever, needed a home. At Cape Canaveral, Florida, the agency built a 130-million-cubic-foot building in which to stack the rocket stages. New launch complexes and control centers were built at Cape Canaveral, Florida, and Houston, Texas, along with key facilities elsewhere, including the Jet Propulsion Lab in Pasadena, California, and the Marshall Space Flight Center at Huntsville, Alabama.

Apollo, the largest partnership between government and the private sector since World War II, required the interlacing of multiple private enterprises involved in hundreds of small and large projects. By 1963 Apollo had more than 200,000 people working for its contractors.

As Apollo continued to grow, NASA Administrator Webb worried that the sense of crisis that had motivated politicians to get behind Kennedy’s proposal would diminish over time. He was correct. By early 1963, as the Apollo program was beginning to take shape, the dream of going to the Moon was colliding with political reality.

Senator J. William Fulbright (D-Arkansas), head of the Senate Foreign
Relations Committee, saw Apollo as a threat to government social welfare, education and to employment programs that he enthusiastically supported. Representative Thomas Pelly (R-Washington) denigrated Apollo as a “costly political stunt.” Representative James Weaver (R-Pennsylvania) accused Kennedy of using Apollo to camouflage his administration’s failures with the Soviets. Representative Donald Rumsfeld (R-Illinois), part of a group demanding that any space program emphasize national security, said, “This country should direct itself toward inner space and not place our top priority in the direction of the Moon.” Fulbright challenged the national security rationale; countries didn’t cave to Soviet influence “because of communist successes in space,” he said. Senate colleague William Proxmire (D-Wisconsin) contested the equitability of NASA’s bidding process, claiming the agency favored doing business with large firms.

Prominent scientists openly questioned Apollo’s practical worth. Philip Abelson, director of the Carnegie Institution of Washington’s Geophysical Laboratory and editor of the influential magazine Science, despised the program. “The diversion of talent to the space program is having or will have direct and indirect damaging effects on almost every area of science, technology, and medicine,” he told the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. “Manned space exploration has limited scientific value and has been accorded importance which is quite unrealistic.”

Over these and other objections, thanks to Webb’s ceaseless politicking, NASA’s budget rose in 1964 and again in 1965, reaching $5 billion. Webb wasn’t above invoking the murdered Kennedy’s memory to keep Apollo alive. In December 1963 the NASA Launch Operations Center at Cape Canaveral had been renamed the John F. Kennedy Space Center at Cape Kennedy. Funding rose sharply due in part to the last-minute addition of a manned flight program that would bridge Mercury and Apollo.

Gemini, named for the twins of Roman mythology who were patrons of travelers, would put a series of two-man missions into orbit to work out the rendezvous, docking, and maneuvering procedures needed for Apollo. Gemini launched 10 crewed missions in 1965-66.

**Apollo had a loyal friend** in Lyndon Johnson, who soon after taking office in November 1963 asked what NASA planned to do after reaching the Moon. In January 1965, the agency unveiled the Apollo Applications Program. Using technology like the massive Saturn rocket boosters powering the lunar trip, the agency proposed an array of grand projects: space stations, a permanent Moon colony, a manned mission to Mars. But discord over priorities mired the applications venture in debate.

Johnson was flailing in a mire of his own making. The president’s ambitious, multifaceted Great Society social program to address poverty, racism, and economic inequality and his near simultaneous decision to go to war with North Vietnam was more than the federal budget could cover. Something had to give. NASA was among agencies on the chopping block.

In 1966, NASA’s budget had peaked at $6 billion, nearly five percent of the total federal budget. Apollo was consuming two-thirds of that; the program’s workforce totaled 420,000 contractors and federal employees.

For the next fiscal year, Congress cut NASA’s outlay, a first for the agency. The $500 million reduction bushwhacked Apollo, which had to cut staff and Saturn booster orders. Apollo’s future was beginning to look uncertain, and the program hadn’t even left Earth.

The public, not nearly as emotionally in thrall to Apollo as it had been to Mercury, largely supported space program cuts. All through the 1960s poll data showed Americans far more concerned about pollution, jobs, and poverty than space. *Newsweek* magazine wrote in 1966, “The Vietnam War and the desperate conditions of the

---

**Power Pack**

*The Saturn V second stage’s J-2 engine could generate more than 200,000 lbs. of thrust.*
nation’s poor and its cities...make space flight seem, in comparison, like an embarrassing national self-indulgence.”

And this enterprise was not only expensive but dangerous. During a launch rehearsal at Cape Kennedy on January 27, 1967, a spark in the oxygen-rich locked capsule ignited a blaze that killed astronauts Edward White II, Roger Chaffee, and Virgil Grissom, one of the Mercury Seven. In the aftermath engineers made major changes in the capsule and NASA’s workings with civilian contractors underwent a complete review. James Webb, boss of NASA since Apollo’s creation, faced intense scrutiny in Congress, the media, and the public. He resigned in October 1968.

After a stall lasting months, Apollo adjusted and moved forward. The first manned launch, Apollo 7, orbited Earth for 11 days in October 1968. In December, Apollo 8’s three astronauts circled the Moon. A December 24 color photo of Earth by astronaut William Anders showcased the planet’s fragility and later was seen as helping inspire the environmental movement. While orbiting in March 1969 Apollo 9 tested docking and maneuvering methods, and in May Apollo 10 rehearsed landing, bringing the manned lunar module within 50,000 feet of the lunar surface.

When President Richard Nixon took office in January 1969, he was intent on rethinking NASA. Making clear that he intended to economize, Nixon appointed a Space Task Group of top administration and NASA officials chaired by Vice President Spiro Agnew. Their brief: to develop recommendations for a post-Apollo world.

In a first, as Apollo 11 was lifting off from Cape Kennedy on July 16, 1969, a majority of the American public was registering support for the space program. But that enthusiasm was not unanimous. A large cohort of young Americans, soured by the war in Vietnam, deeply distrusted government, viewing any emphasis on technology as feeding the war machine.

Many African Americans saw Apollo as a distraction and a drain on resources needed to fight poverty. At the Apollo 11 launch, Ralph Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led a protest calling attention to the poor in American cities. In “Whitey on the Moon,” Black poet and activist Gil Scott-Heron encapsulated the dichotomy:

A rat done bit my sister Nell (with Whitey on the moon)
Her face and arms began to swell (and Whitey’s on the moon)
I can’t pay no doctor bill (but Whitey’s on the moon)
Ten years from now I’ll be payin’ still (while Whitey’s on the moon)

Apollo 11’s success and subsequent patriotic fervor flared and faded. Only four months later, despite a lightning strike 40 seconds after liftoff, Apollo 12 made a precise landing on the Moon, watched by a significantly smaller television audience. “It’s old hat, it’s not like the first time,” a Tennessean told The New York Times. Uncomprehending of or uninterested in
Apollo’s scientific and technical implications for life on Earth, many Americans had decided the United States had whipped the Soviets in getting to the Moon, and it was time to move on.

This was what Nixon thought. He rejected the Space Task Group’s post-Apollo recommendations for an ambitious progression from a 12-person space station to a permanent Moon colony with a space shuttle to travel between them by 1976, and, by the 1980s, a human mission to Mars. Faced with budget constraints, Nixon rejected these ideas in favor of an austere approach dedicated to Earth-orbit programs like the Skylab orbital space station, a legacy of the 1965 Apollo Applications Program, and an Earth-orbiting space shuttle. With the budget axe set to fall again, NASA in January 1970 canceled Apollo 20, the final lunar mission set for December 1972, meanwhile suspending production of Saturn V rocket boosters.

Still, the missions went on. Apollo 13 departed Earth on April 11, 1970, bound for the Moon carrying astronauts James Lovell, Jack Swigert, and Fred Haise. An oxygen tank exploded 56 hours into the mission, threatening the crewmen’s lives.

For three days, the nation and much of the world watched a drama unfold as NASA struggled to bring the astronauts home. The trio returned safely on April 17 as heroes, and once again the American public was interested in space. Twenty-five years later, the event was reimagined in the hit film Apollo 13. Director Ron Howard accurately recounted the mission, the mishap, and the technological ingenuity and human spirit that turned potential disaster into one of NASA’s finest hours.

Budget cuts led to the scrapping in September 1970 of two more Apollo missions, forcing NASA to reorient remaining missions. Apollos 14, 15, and 16—highly technical operations rather than dramatic displays—went into space in 1971 and early 1972 amid little public interest. Little fanfare greeted the last Apollo Moon landing in December 1972. Apollo 17 spent more time in lunar orbit than any preceding mission, spent the most time on the lunar surface, and brought home the largest collection of lunar samples. Cape Kennedy was renamed Cape Canaveral on May 18, 1973, after a campaign led by Florida Governor Reuben Askew.

Apollo saw its ambitious arc cut short by government budget cuts and lack of public enthusiasm, but did have one more celebrated heyday. An American crew in a craft left over from a canceled mission orbited in July 1975 to dock with a Soviet Soyuz capsule. The Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, a shining moment of Cold War détente and a precursor of greater international cooperation in space, was Apollo’s finale. ★

Brothers in Arms
Astronauts Donald Slayton, left, and Alexei Leonov aboard Apollo-Soyuz in July 1975.
Playing the Angles
As a young architect on the make, Bulfinch took on an unlikely cascade of assignments to earn a living at a gentleman’s trade.
Born to Build

As a businessman, Charles Bulfinch was a hot mess, but as an architect he designed for the ages
By Richard Jensen

In July 1811, the designer responsible for the Suffolk County Courthouse in Boston, Massachusetts, had a unique vantage point from which to superintend his project’s construction. Charles Bulfinch, the first professional architect born on the American side of the Atlantic, could observe work crews making progress toward completing the courthouse through the window of a cell in the Court Street Jail. Renowned now as a pioneering American designer, Bulfinch achieved notoriety then for having exhausted his family’s fortune in yet another failed real estate venture. Enthusiastic about architecture since youth, he took up the practice as a trade and a career enabling him to claw his way out of debt and in the process evolved a neoclassicist style that still stands, reflected in structures in Boston, Washington, DC, and Hartford, Connecticut.

Charles Bulfinch was born in August 1763 to a Brahmin family of Boston’s comfortable class. Earning a master’s degree from Harvard College in 1784, young Bulfinch spent a year and a half on the Grand Tour commonly enjoyed by young men of means, soaking up Europe from London to Rome. Keen on architecture from an early age, within a year of returning from the Continent he had drawn his first design as an amateur: a church on Hollis Street that refracted St. Paul’s in London in miniature. Family wealth—the Bulfinches traded in both goods and slaves—exempted him from having to stoop to hawking his design services. In 1787 he entered and won a design competition announced by the state of Massachusetts for a statehouse to be built in Boston. His design featured a dome, visually echoing classic Roman governmental style.

In 1788, the year his Hollis Street church made it from paper into plaster and brick, Charles married Hannah Apthorp, a cousin. As an investment he put family money into a voyage by the ship Columbia, commissioned to travel to the Pacific Northwest for furs, then to the Orient for silk. Columbia was the first American ship to reach China. Departing Shanghai for Boston, Captain Robert Gray took the long way home, and upon anchoring in Boston harbor in 1790 Columbia became the first American ship to have circumnavigated the globe. The following year, Bostonians elected Bulfinch to the Board of Selectmen, which managed the city. He held that office for 24 of the next 27 years. That same year, he received his second major architectural commission, the

First-Person Experience
A creditor had Bulfinch confined in the jail that served the Boston courthouse, left.
design of the Connecticut statehouse in Hartford (see “Built by Bulfinch,” p. 65).

In 1793, Bulfinch decided to unite his architectural interests with his family’s bankbook. Boston, a boom town steadily outgrowing the crowded peninsula it occupied at the confluence of the Charles and Mystic Rivers, badly needed housing. No doubt inspired by England’s Royal Crescent, a 500-foot sweep of 30 townhouses in the old city of Bath, Bulfinch planned a similar array of residences in matching arches, each arc featuring 16 houses sharing walls and facing one another across a greensward.

Nobody had ever built townhouses in Boston, nor undertaken a project of this size anywhere in the United States. Bulfinch’s proposed 480-foot crescent rivaled Bath’s.

The dwellings at Franklin Place were to occupy a swath of reclaimed marsh that included a manmade fishpond. The Bulfinch family fortune alone could not float Charles’s deal. As mainstays of the Boston establishment, the clan initially had little trouble finding investors, but wasted so much time trying to structure funding as a tontine (see p. 65) that the project got caught in a national economic downturn. The Panic of 1793 can be traced to a host of factors, including the outbreak of yet another war between France and England, which played particular havoc with Eurocentric Boston. Fiscal headwinds unnerved Bulfinch’s backers, with the result that he was able to raise less than half the funds needed for the south crescent. He began building anyway. Rather than adjust to suit the troubled times, he used borrowed money to buy out skittish investors. Then, thinking buyers would be more eager to own houses in a finished development, he borrowed even more money to complete the south crescent. By this point, short of both cash and credit, he had to scale back the north crescent. Instead of a second parenthesis of 16 townhomes, Bulfinch built four duplexes, each with a small side yard. House shoppers went for the duplexes more enthusiastically than for the facing rowhouses. Franklin Place was finished before the end of 1794, but not one dwelling on the south crescent had sold.

In January 1796, to sate creditors, Bulfinch had to liquidate his family’s assets—including his own residence—repaying loans in full and compensating tradesmen at the rate of 90 cents on the dollar. However, the
Bulfinches were busted, reduced to shabby gentility and living on cuffs extended by friends and relations, a bourgeois social safety net that stretched only so far. Charles Bulfinch had to get some kind of job.

**Massachusetts never had acted on Bulfinch’s proposal** to design a capitol, but as 1795 neared the notion of building a structure to house the legislature regained urgency. In January, Bulfinch asked to revise his 1787 state house design “for the purpose of adding improvements as experience may suggest.” However, he kept that prominent dome. In February, the General Court selected his updated design, ambitiously scaled but specified to be built, like most contemporaneous public structures, primarily with brick and other workaday materials. Bulfinch’s tall, central dome, probably his salient contribution to American architecture, stood out atop the first incorporated state capitol building. The feature became synonymous with “government” and today domes adorn the United States Capitol and 39 of 50 state capitols, as well as any number of county courthouses, city halls, and kindred facilities.

Connections may have helped land Bulfinch the Massachusetts State House job. Even in penury a Bulfinch was still a Bulfinch, and the Bulfinches were stalwart Federalists in a Federalist town. Plus, architects were in very short supply in the United States.

Such building designers as existed were most often dabblers and dilettantes, generally lacking education, training, and portfolios, whereas the admittedly self-trained Bulfinch could claim to have gotten actual buildings built, like the Connecticut state house that was nearing completion. His practical record was evidence that, however badly he might stumble in private business, Bulfinch could be trusted with the design and construction of a public building. As architect and one of several construction superintendents on the Massachusetts state house, Bulfinch earned around $1,400, and the capitol was finished by 1798.

**In 1799, with the Massachusetts state house commission under his belt and the disastrous Franklin Place project some distance behind him, Bulfinch ran for reelection as a selectman. He not only won a seat on the board for the first time since 1795, he was named the board’s chair. Most selectmen had independent means, freeing them to devote as much time as they chose to civil service. Bulfinch, however, was by no means rich, and in 1800 the city appointed him superintendent of police with a $600 annual salary, a sum raised to $1,000 in 1810.**

That title is misleading to 21st century eyes; the notion of “police” as a uniformed municipal entity authorized to enforce the law came about later in the 19th century. As police superintendent, Bulfinch’s duties did include hiring constables responsible for maintaining public order, but he was also assigned oversight of street maintenance, municipal construction, and other public works projects. His steady though moderate income as a public servant supplemented the commissions he earned as an architect. However, he was not content to toil along, and set about rebuilding his family’s holdings. He began that quest in 1801 by purchasing investment properties such as a stretch of tidal flats northwest of Beacon Hill, another stab at capitalizing on the city’s incessant need for housing.

Bulfinch had learned a bit from his woeful siege at Franklin Place, but not enough. In seeking to profit on the tidal flats, he tried to limit his exposure by planning only to fill and improve the land, then sell lots without building houses on them. However, the tidal area proved soggier than expected, boosting the expense of filling it in, and again Bulfinch, once more up against the wall financially, went borrowing rather than scale back his project. By 1807, he had amassed debt to the tune of about $37,000, a considerable burden for a man whose income so far had rarely exceeded $1,000 a year.

And, as had befallen Franklin Place, international affairs were sapping Boston’s economy and Bulfinch’s finances. Great Britain had never recognized claims to United States citizenship by individuals born in Britain, regardless of how long they had lived in America, and during its ongoing war with France the empire, straining to staff its navy, authorized royal warships to stop

**A Building on a Hill for a City on a Hill**

*The Massachusetts State House and its dome influenced the design of many state capitols.*
and board American vessels, seizing any man thought to be a British subject for impressment into service with the royal fleet. By the late 1700s, British crews were even kidnapping sailors from American ports.

While Americans objected to the British Navy’s seizing U.S. citizens, Britain objected to the practice of crafty American shippers and merchants who profited by claiming that shipments between France and her overseas possessions originated in the United States, thus exempting them from seizure, even when the freight had never spent a moment on American soil. In Congress, the combination of outrage at Britain over its violation of American sovereignty and embarrassment at the smuggling and dishonest practice of American shippers led to the Embargo Act of 1807, which forbade trading with any European belligerent. The law had little effect on the illegal traffic between the U.S. and France and did not stop British impressment efforts. The only thing it did was strangle legitimate commerce between the continents.

Amid this crisis, Bulfinch, yet again deep in debt, had no one to buy him out or refinance his obligations. As before, he had to liquidate assets painstakingly reconstituted since his last bankruptcy. But he was not without friends, even if he did owe them a fortune, and for about three years his creditors, mostly fellow nabobs of the Boston establishment, sat on their claims against him while he wrestled with his finances. That forbearance enabled Bulfinch to finish filling in the Beacon Flats. He sold the resulting lots in 1810 for $25,000, substantially erasing his debts.

Neighbors and peers had been quite generous toward Bulfinch during the Beacon Flats ordeal, but in 1811 the hardware merchant Benjamin Andrews, to whom Bulfinch owed $400, had him arrested for non-payment. That July Bulfinch surrendered to the bailiff managing the Court Street Jail, where the architect spent a month watching the new Suffolk County courthouse rise across the green. In August, an anonymous benefactor covered his debt to Andrews or paid his bond. Personal impecuniosity aside, Bulfinch was a conservative and capable steward of municipal funds. As superintendent of police, he paid down most of Boston’s debt. He also urged the city to straighten and widen its tortuous maze of cramped streets and byways, and to mandate the use of fireproof materials in large construction projects. However, prescience and competence did not translate into popularity. Selectmen were chosen annually at Boston’s town meeting, and most years Bulfinch retained his board seat only by the narrowest of margins. In 1815 he was excluded from the board at the annual town meeting in March—however, this prompted the other nine selectmen to resign simultaneously, triggering a new election and another teeter-totter victory in April that saved Bulfinch his seat.

As Bulfinch’s personal fortunes were experiencing upheavals and setbacks, something of the same thing had been occurring on a much larger scale with construction of the nation’s new capital city, Washington, and its array of government facilities. Pierre Charles L’Enfant, who had laid out the district’s original street plan, also had been in line to design the U.S. Capitol, the seat of the national legislature. However, L’Enfant refused to commit his plan to paper, insisting that he “carried the design around in his head.” By 1792, District commissioners had grown tired of L’Enfant’s eccentricities and informed him that the plan in his head was no longer needed.

A call went out for designs for the Capitol, but no submissions appealed to the commissioners. In January 1793, while there was still no official plan for the Capitol, Dr. William Thornton, a gentleman architect from Philadelphia, submitted a design directly to President George Washington, proposing a modest structure with a central dome based on that of the Pantheon in Rome.

The president approved the plan and put architect Etienne Hallet in charge of construction. Work began shortly thereafter, but Hallet, whose own design for the Capitol had been rejected on the first go-round, so drastically rejiggered the Thornton plan that in 1794, the district’s commissioners fired him. Thornton assumed responsibility until 1803, when a change of administration brought in Benjamin Latrobe.

Latrobe, like Bulfinch, could claim no formal training or apprenticeship as an architect, having chosen the occupation because it was a suitable pursuit for a man of independent means. Unlike Bulfinch, Latrobe had been born in Britain, though of French Protestant ancestry, and did not arrive in the United States until 1796, more than three years after Washington had selected Thornton’s plan for the Capitol.

Latrobe, who disliked Thornton’s plan and repeatedly sought to change it, also devoted much of his time to private commissions, giving the
Capitol assignment short shrift and further delaying construction. It was 1807 before the House of Representatives, which had been meeting for over a decade in a wooden hall tied to the Senate wing by a breezeway, had a permanent home. Seven years later, during the War of 1812, when British troops marched west from Bladensburg, Maryland, to burn the Capitol, the central rotunda was unfinished and largely open to the elements.

After the war, Latrobe resumed his role as Architect of the Capitol, on increasingly strained terms with both Congress and the White House. By 1817, newly elected President James Monroe was intent on replacing him.

**That summer Monroe was in Boston.** As chairman of the selectmen, Bulfinch often found himself in the president's company. Returning to Washington, Monroe conferred with Capitol auditor William Lee, and in September Lee wrote Bulfinch informing him that the government wished to replace Latrobe, whose successor would be making $4,000 or $5,000 per annum. Bulfinch responded warily, not wanting to be the cause of

**Capitol Idea**
*(Top)* One artist portrayed the planned building coexisting with farm animals. *(Middle)* The Capitol as it looked partially completed before the War of 1812. *(Bottom)* The burned hulk left by British troops when they invaded Washington from the east and ravaged the seat of government as well as the presidential residence.
Latrobe’s dismissal. He also said that he would require a salary of at least $3,500, a startling display of dunderheadedness, considering that Lee already had declared the government ready and willing to pay significantly more.

Bulfinch eventually accepted the position, at a salary of $2,500, and in 1818 he and his family left Boston, with mixed feelings on the part of both Charles and wife Hannah. Bulfinch had championed many of the improvements that had made Boston one of the first cities in the nation—but they felt the city had shortchanged him for the work that he had done. In addition, his hometown had been the stage on which he had endured considerable financial embarrassment. His time in Washington could not change the past, but it could change his reputation.

As those taking on the project before him had, Bulfinch diagnosed a multiplicity of shortcomings in Thornton’s plans. The good doctor had an eye for aesthetics but little practical knowledge of construction and engineering. Hallet and Latrobe had responded to technical defects in Thornton’s plan by redrawing it; Bulfinch tried to correct Thornton’s practicably problematic plan while preserving its artistic character.

Bulfinch’s influence on the building’s design was so restrained that almost the only aspect that can be attributed definitively to him is the original copper-clad dome, and even that went up amid interference from both President Monroe and Congress. Bulfinch had planned to follow Thornton’s drawings, constructing a hemispherical dome that would not rise much above the Capitol’s roof. His masters judged that insufficiently magnificent and instructed him to make it taller. The result satisfied almost no one, and when, under General Montgomery Meigs, it was replaced during the Civil War with the 288-foot-tall cast-iron dome that still stands there was little if any protest.

**Congress and five presidents had spent almost 30 years** dithering and neglecting the Capitol before finally finding in Bulfinch an architect and administrator capable of navigating bureaucratic mazes and slashing through Gordian knots of construction challenges. By 1829, after just over ten years with Bulfinch at the controls, the Capitol was completed, though not yet topped by the now-familiar dome. Bulfinch’s tenure on the project is noteworthy precisely for its lack of noteworthy events. In stark comparison to predecessors, he brought to the Capitol project measured and much needed professional competence.

Unlike Latrobe, Bulfinch limited his private commissions during his tenure in Washington. One of the few jobs of architectural work that he did while superintending construction of the Capitol and designing its grounds was designing a Unitarian church in the capital in 1822, and the Maine statehouse in Augusta, undertaken in 1829 while work on the Capitol in Washington was winding down. In 1826, he prepared a report on prisons for Senator Andrew Jackson, perhaps drawing on personal experience, and put those ideas into practice by designing a Federal prison constructed across the Potomac in Alexandria, Virginia.

The office of Architect of the Capitol was eliminated in 1830—it would be recreated in 1851, when the Capitol was expanded—and Bulfinch, now in his mid-60s, returned to Boston. Effectively retired, he lived quietly there until his death at age 80 in 1844.
Built by Bulfinch

The irony of Charles Bulfinch’s innovative Franklin Place, above, is that, when new, the development was too far from Boston’s business district to appeal to the city’s masters of the universe. However, Boston grew so quickly that by the time the ellipse/duplex configuration made practical sense, commercial structures crowded around it, killing any attraction among the city’s fashionable elite. By the 1840s, most of the residences had devolved into boarding houses and by the 1850s, neighborhood conditions had deteriorated such that the city of Boston acquired the entire property “for the public convenience.” The city razed the crescent and homes opposite in 1858, sparing them destruction in the Great Fire of 1872, which consumed the brick and stone warehouses lining Franklin Place. Redevelopment addressed varied purposes, the street eventually being absorbed into the financial district.

As an arrangement for financing Franklin Place, Bulfinch attempted to organize the project as a tontine, a business structure so novel in America that Bostonians called the development the “Tontine Crescent.”

Though alien to the New World, tontines were familiar on the Continent. This ownership structure resembled a cross between a lottery and a life insurance policy. Money put into a tontine property bought each subscriber a proportional but non-refundable life interest in the holding.

Subscribers received annual interest payments—or, in the case of real estate tontines, income from sale of portions of the property. Upon an investor’s death, the surviving cohort divided his share. The last party standing owned all the property held by the tontine. Real estate tontine subscribers were betting that the property would sell out before they died—or that they would outlive everyone else. Before construction began on what came to be called Franklin Place, the Massachusetts General Court refused to recognize the articles of incorporation that framed Bulfinch’s arrangement, forcing the architect/developer to drop the tontine approach and adopt a conventional ownership structure.

Connecticut’s Old State House, still standing in Hartford, above, may be the best preserved of Bulfinch’s early works. Unlike the Massachusetts State House, it has been fitted with no significant additions save for a cupola and balustrade. With the construction of a new capitol building in 1879, it was sold to Hartford, which used it as a city hall until 1915. Restorations undertaken after decommissioning have removed many structural alterations made by the city of Hartford to adapt the building for their purposes, but its original interiors are lost to the ages. —Richard Jensen
The task of managing public information is very much at the core of modern governing. So it should have surprised no one when President Joe Biden included in his first personnel announcements the seven women who make up his key White House communications team. Until World War I, however, government publicity machinery was not only frowned on but forbidden. A 1913 statute barred putting any publicist on the government payroll without specific congressional OK.

Four years later, all that had changed. The United States entered the war raging globally, and President Woodrow Wilson, having just won reelection beneath the slogan “He Kept Us Out of War,” had to alter public attitudes, and fast. Without congressional authorization or appropriation, Wilson established the Committee on Public Information, which quickly grew into a bureaucratic behemoth for feeding news outlets at home and abroad stories that the Wilson administration wanted audiences to receive while at the same time overseeing the censorship of independent reporting.

“When the peace came, propaganda was entrenched in governing,” Louisiana State University journalism professor John Maxwell Hamilton writes in Manipulating the Masses, his prodigious history of the CPI. “It changed the way America was governed.”

Thanks to misplaced records and principals’ self-serving memoirs, the full story of the CPI has not been told until now. Hamilton has pored through hundreds of reports and personal papers at some 30 institutions to chronicle in detail the CPI’s activities, ranging from its steady stream of press releases—averaging more than ten a day—to its secret funding of “patriotic” organizations enrolling foreign-born Americans. Manipulating the Masses is an impressive scholarly accomplishment, with 102 pages of notes, although perhaps more comprehensive than most lay readers want.

But Hamilton aims to do more than recount the CPI story. He warns that the committee “set in motion the expansion of government
propaganda that has occurred relentlessly since,” a reach the author terms “a poison to democracy.” At the same time, Hamilton acknowledges, a president cannot achieve major goals without “the effective communication of ideas and ideals”: providing information to assist citizens in making life or death decisions, such as how to minimize Covid-19 risks; explaining what government agencies are doing; and justifying policy decisions. The problem is that one person’s fact may be another’s agitprop, a dilemma Hamilton never resolves. However, his final advice is not a bad start: “Every source of information must be questioned.”—Before BusinessWeek magazine offered him a job, SCOTUS 101 columnist Daniel B. Moskowitz, fresh from college, interviewed for a slot as a CIA propaganda analyst.

**BETTER ANGELS AT WORK**

**Its cover would seem to give away** Voyage’s plot, but author Stephen Puleo surprises and moves by illuminating so much more than that elevator-pitch subtitle might imply. The catastrophic famine occurred when the potato crop, central to the diet of a land then under hammer-headed British dominion, failed beginning in 1845, recurred in 1846, and in 1847 immeasurably worsened. The Great Hunger—in the Irish language, Ocras Mór—and Britain’s response intensified a tradition of Irish emigration and still resonates in Eire as a nationalist chord; vide electoral successes accorded Sinn Fein, a party founded as the Irish Republican Army’s political wing. And in the life-saving mission, undertaken even as the United States was waging a war of expansion against Mexico, debuted on the world stage, what emerged was a characteristic national duality of martial swagger and good works. Between these points Puleo noks the arrow of research, draws the bow of writerly skill, and lets fly a gripping, heartbreaking story propelled by a string of unexpectedly intertwining themes. His protagonists are American shipping magnate Robert Bennet Forbes and Capuchin priest Theobald Mathew. Forbes, whose fortune’s sources included the opium trade, captured U.S. Navy sloop of war Jamestown, stripped of 20 of 22 deck guns to hold 8,000 barrels of provisions and clothing. Tipperary-born Father Mathew, who had been advocating for Ireland’s poor, attacked the famine by reframing his approach from preaching temperance to keeping beleaguered people alive. Besides a dramatic narration of the Navy three-master’s storm-tossed voyage and a study of the intricacies of incunabular international relief work, other threads follow the actions of President James K. Polk and British Treasury official Charles Trevelyan, as well as of the American people, who after decades of scorning immigrant Irish and their papist ways responded to tragedy with unified and alacritous generosity. Eventually in excess of 100 American-flagged relief vessels streamed to Irish ports. Puleo takes care to explain how the potato became essential to the Irish—and to profile his tale’s true villain. The fungus Phytophthora infestans caused the blight that killed the crops. The chronic island-wide starvation that resulted from years of failed harvests consigned multitudes to mass graves. Other thousands, skeletal but drawing breath, left their homeland as refugees, many of them sailing across the Western Ocean to “Amerikay.”—American History editor Michael Dolan is descended from Felix Dolan, who in 1861, amid the Great Hunger’s ongoing reverberations, immigrated to Chelsea, Massachusetts, from Fermanagh, Ireland.

**Voyage of Mercy:** *The USS Jamestown, the Irish Famine, and the Remarkable Story of America’s First Humanitarian Mission*  
By Stephen Puleo  
St. Martin’s, 2020; $28.99

**Ship of Food**  
Jamestown, with its compassionate cargo, set a course for Eire that 100-plus relief vessels eventually plied.
In the final decade of the 19th century, the bicycle reshaped the American city as swarms of riders vied with streetcars and horses. A forceful bicycle lobby compelled local governments to pave roads and pass traffic laws, bringing order to urban transit’s fin-de-siècle roar. Urban Americans briefly embraced the bicycle as their preferred vehicle and cycling as their favorite pastime. At the peak of the craze for two-wheeling, 50 cycling periodicals circulated, Madison Square Garden boasted an in-house cycling academy, and Chicago hosted 400 bicycle shops. And then, as abruptly as a punctured tire, the bicycle boom went bust. Production dwindled from a million bicycles in 1900 to 250,000 in 1904. Membership in the League of American Wheelmen plummeted from 103,000 in 1898 to 6,000 in 1902.

In The Cycling City, historian Evan Friss reveals the crucial role of bicycles and bicyclists in shaping the modern metropolis. At the dawn of the bicycle era, anarchy ruled the streets. The cycling lobby muscled New York in 1897 to enact the first comprehensive city traffic rules. The “wheelman’s vote” drove civic leaders in New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago to pave thousands of miles of road.

The bicycle arrived at a time when many Americans could journey no farther than their feet would carry them. Bicycles brought liberation and escape: Now, an urbanite could pedal several miles to work and ride out to the country on weekends. New York and Chicago “led the way in creating cycling-related infrastructure,” Friss writes, noting that this approach anticipated bicycle-friendly urban planning in Paris, London, and Amsterdam. Then, because Americans are fad-happy, bicycles lost cachet and vanished from American streets.

A hundred years later, a millennial cycling revival is under way in America’s cities. In Europe, though, bicycles never went away. One reason is ancient European cities’ density and inherent bicycle-friendliness. But Friss points
to another factor, one that speaks volumes about American consumers’ fundamental frivolity. Europeans have always purchased bicycles for utility, while Americans mainly see the two-wheeler in terms of sport. Once the first flush of the fad waxed and waned, America’s city planners bowed to the ascendant automobile. The Cycling City takes a breezy circuit through a forgotten chapter of America’s urban history. —Daniel de Visé is author of The Comeback: Greg LeMond, the True King of American Cycling, and a Legendary Tour de France.

During the four months between Abraham Lincoln’s November 6, 1860, election and his inauguration on March 4, 1861, paranoia and predictions of apocalypse swept the nation as one by one seven Southern states seceded. Lincoln remained on the sidelines in Springfield, Illinois, until he departed on his titular journey to inauguration in Washington, DC.

Brown University historian Widmer (Young America, Martin Van Buren) prefaces his account of that passage by reminding readers that slave states Maryland and Virginia encircled the capital, where bondage was not only legal but enjoyed the endorsement of a majority of citizens. With Lincoln’s election outraging most Southerners and not a few Northern sympathizers, rumor had militias poised to burn the capital city or install their own president—perhaps Kentuckian and incumbent vice-president John Breckinridge, heir of November’s losing Southern ticket.

On February 11, 1861, having invested 100ish pages in the restless three months that Lincoln spent at home in Springfield, Widmer gets his man aboard a Washington-bound train packed with associates, dignitaries, reporters—and two cars’ worth of paying passengers. The expedition’s circuitous 900-mile-plus route afforded Lincoln many a campaign-style whistle stop.

That same day, Jefferson Davis departed his cotton plantation at Davis Bend, Mississippi, for his inauguration as the Confederacy’s president in Montgomery, Alabama, 250 miles east. The South’s scanty rail network meant Davis had to ride 800 miles.

Widmer generally reconstructs Lincoln’s meandering journey. The president-elect interacts with state officials, communes with crowds, shakes too many hands to count, and delivers cheerful speeches, too often trading in Pollyannaish bromides.

Eyewitness descriptions of Lincoln seen in the flesh abound, suggesting that anyone catching a glimpse of him took notes, from ordinary folks to future presidents to rising literary and business figures.

Rattled by the crowds and a steady stream of threats, officials responsible for Lincoln’s security hired Allan Pinkerton and his famous detective agency. Pinkerton operatives turned up a plan to kill Lincoln in Baltimore, Maryland, a famously unruly city of a pro-Southern bent. At Pinkerton’s insistence, Lincoln surreptitiously switched trains and traversed the Pearl of the Chesapeake in disguise, a move he regretted when news of his getup got out and newsmen questioned his manliness. Lincoln had no easier time once in Washington, but that’s as far as Widmer goes, and readers will enjoy the trip. —Mike Oppenheim writes in Lexington, Kentucky.
**Review:**

A Crisis of Peace: George Washington, the Newburgh Conspiracy, and the Fate of the American Revolution

By David Head

Pegasus, 2019, $28.95

---

**Scene of the Plot**

Washington’s HQ in Newburgh jitters with tension over the alleged conspiracy, a fever dream.

---

**Main Points:**

- **Myth says the American Revolution** saw a gaggle of amateur militiamen handily defeat the world’s preeminent military professionals. Fact could not differ more strenuously. Success went to a Continental Army that George Washington’s European drillmasters had honed into stalwart regulars not unduly threatened by the era’s wayward, smoke-spewing muskets and skilled at employing close-order infantry formations to avoid annihilation by British cavalrymen. Crisis explains the myth’s origins and how, 18 months after Yorktown, mythopoiesis nearly undermined the revolution.

- The fallacy’s foundation was an ideology of sophisticated paranoia that preceded Lexington and Concord. This logic, which pervaded revolutionary America, maintained that professional soldiers were inherently mercenary, that only tyrants maintained professionally trained armies, and that true patriots—selfless amateurs whose virtue trumped professionalism—fought pro bono. In 1783 these chimerical assumptions threatened to undo the rebel army whose mere existence was by then enough to secure independence—and whose ruin might snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

- As 1783 began, a bankrupt, largely impotent Congress had to come to terms with the years of back pay it owed Continental Army officers. In addition, skeptics claimed that long-promised postwar pensions would breed a population of “useless dependents” living off the “hard work”—which didn’t include getting shot at—of “virtuous citizens.” Congressional dithering pushed veterans still in uniform toward action.

- But what sort of action to take? Officers and politicians endorsing a strong national government allied to push political changes needed to get Congress back into the black. Other officers considered resigning en masse, theorizing that Congress then would have to choose between providing redress and giving King George III another shot at reconquering the colonies. A handful of disgruntled officers advocated low-level mutiny—rather than march on Congress, they proposed to declare their intent to defy postwar disbandment orders until the pows paid up. Old rivalries within the high command reemerged. Anxiety redlined.

- In painstaking yet fascinating detail, Crisis reveals the Newburgh “conspiracy” to have been largely a bad dream. Most of the episode amounted to standard political networking. Mass resignation was considered by officers who thought politicians and civilians were putting self-interest ahead of principle. Mutiny could have occurred only if its few advocates had been able to fire their comrades into a Rubicon-crossing spasm of unthinking passion. Washington cooled tempers so quickly because ideologues had gotten the army’s nature so wrong—though with the potential for fallacy to become prophecy. —James Baresel is a freelance writer in Annandale, Virginia.
HONORING
OUR HEROES

DELVE INTO HISTORY AT THESE ATTRACTIONS:

VIETNAM VETERANS REPLICA WALL MEMORIAL
TUPELO VETERANS MUSEUM
NATIONAL BATTLE SITES AT BRICES CROSSROADS, TUPELO AND OLD TOWN CREEK
HERITAGE TRAILS
MS FINAL STANDS CIVIL WAR CENTER

FEATURING A NEW EXHIBIT

“THEY SERVED HERE”

For history and heritage itineraries and more information, visit tupelo.net/military or call 662-841-0521

*MyTupelo

The health and safety of visitors is our top priority. Visit tupelo.net/travelcaring to stay up-to-date on how you can safely explore Tupelo.

#MyTupelo

American History

Hellbent on Revenge

Washington knew the Benedict was innocent. He was going to hang him anyway.

Subscribe Now!

Historynet is the world's largest publisher of history magazines; visit SHOP.HISTORYNET.COM to subscribe to any of our nine titles

HOW MANY TIMES HAS THE DESIGN OF THE U.S. FLAG CHANGED?

27, 31, 36 or 40?

For more, visit WWW.HISTORYNET.COM/MAGAZINES/QUIZ

HISTORYNET

ANSWER: 27. THE CURRENT DESIGN HAS BEEN IN PLACE SINCE 1960 WHEN THE FLAG WAS MODIFIED TO INCLUDE HAWAII, THE 50TH STATE.
Sitka, Alaska...

...owes its existence to geology. Alaska’s former territorial capital is on Baranof Island, 110 miles from the mainland. The highest point on Baranof, the country’s 10th largest island, is a western promontory left 10,000 years ago when ice sheets carved two harbors peppered with islets. Around 2300 BCE an eruption 16 miles west on a landmass now called Kruzof Island created a striking volcanic cone. In the 1700s, indigenous Tlingit fortified the Sitka promontory, consequently seized from them in 1804 by Russian explorers led by Alexander Baranof (see Mosaic, p. 10). Seeking furs, gold, and to expand the czar’s empire, Governor Baranof in 1808 topped the promontory with a wooden castle. Around that keep a port—Russian America’s capital—grew, looking west onto what is now called Mount Edgecumbe, above. Sitka soon had an Orthodox cathedral and bishop’s residence—and blockhouses to repel Tlingit raids. When the United States bought the Alaska Territory in 1867, the town became a nexus of fishing, canning, and gold mining. To pacify the persistent Tlingit, U.S. Marines arrived in 1879; their updated barracks is now an assisted living facility. Along with the blockhouses, St. Michael’s Cathedral and rectory, inset, at Lincoln and Matsonoff Streets, are among 22 local structures on the National Register of Historic Places. —Mike Coppock most recently wrote “Orphans of Empire” (February 2021).
One of the most beloved coins in history is a true American Classic: the Buffalo Nickel. Although they have not been issued for over 75 years, GovMint.com is releasing to the public bags of original U.S. government Buffalo Nickels. Now they can be acquired for a limited time only—not as individual collector coins, but by weight—just $49 for a full Quarter-Pound Bag.

100% Valuable Collector Coins—GUARANTEED!
Every bag will be filled with collectible vintage Buffalo Nickel from over 75 years ago, GUARANTEED ONE COIN FROM EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SERIES (dates our choice):
• 1920-1929—“Roaring ’20s” Buffalo
• 1930-1938—The Buffalo’s Last Decade
• Mint Marks (P, D, and S)
• ALL Collector Grade Very Good Condition
• FREE Stone Arrowhead with each bag

Every vintage Buffalo Nickel you receive will be a coveted collector coin—GUARANTEED! Plus, order a gigantic full Pound bag and you’ll also receive a vintage Liberty Head Nickel (1883-1912), a valuable collector classic!

Long-Vanished Buffalos Highly Coveted by Collectors
Millions of these vintage Buffalo Nickels have worn out in circulation or been recalled and destroyed by the government. Today, significant quantities can often only be found in private hoards and estate collections. As a result, these coins are becoming more sought-after each day.

Supplies Limited—Order Now!
Supplies of vintage Buffalo Nickels are limited as the availability of these classic American coins continues to shrink each and every year. They make a precious gift for your children, family and friends—a gift that will be appreciated for a lifetime.

NOTICE: Due to recent changes in the demand for vintage U.S. coins, this advertised price may change without notice. Call today to avoid disappointment.

30-Day Money-Back Guarantee
You must be 100% satisfied with your bag of Buffalo Nickels or return it within 30 days of receipt for a prompt refund (less s/h).

Order More and SAVE
QUARTER POUND Buffalo Nickels (23 coins) Plus FREE Stone Arrowhead $49 + s/h
HALF POUND Bag (46 coins) Plus FREE Stone Arrowhead $79 + s/h SAVE $19
ONE FULL POUND Bag (91 coins) Plus FREE Stone Arrowhead and Liberty Head Nickel $149 + FREE SHIPPING SAVE $47

FREE SHIPPING over $149!
Limited time only. Product total over $149 before taxes (if any). Standard domestic shipping only.
Not valid on previous purchases.
For fastest service call today toll-free 1-877-566-6468
Offer Code VBB517-07
Please mention this code when you call.

GovMint.com is a retail distributor of coin and currency issues and is not affiliated with the U.S. government. The collectible coin market is unregulated, highly speculative and involves risk. GovMint.com reserves the right to decline to consummate any sale, within its discretion, including due to pricing errors. Prices, facts, figures and populations deemed accurate as of the date of publication but may change significantly over time. All purchases are expressly conditioned upon your acceptance of GovMint.com’s Terms and Conditions (www.govmint.com/terms-conditions or call 1-800-721-0320); to decline, return your purchase pursuant to GovMint.com’s Return Policy. © 2021 GovMint.com. All rights reserved.
Proudly serving our brave military

Get your discount today.

geico.com/military | 1-800-MILITARY