

American History

Tulsa Race Riot:
What Was Lost

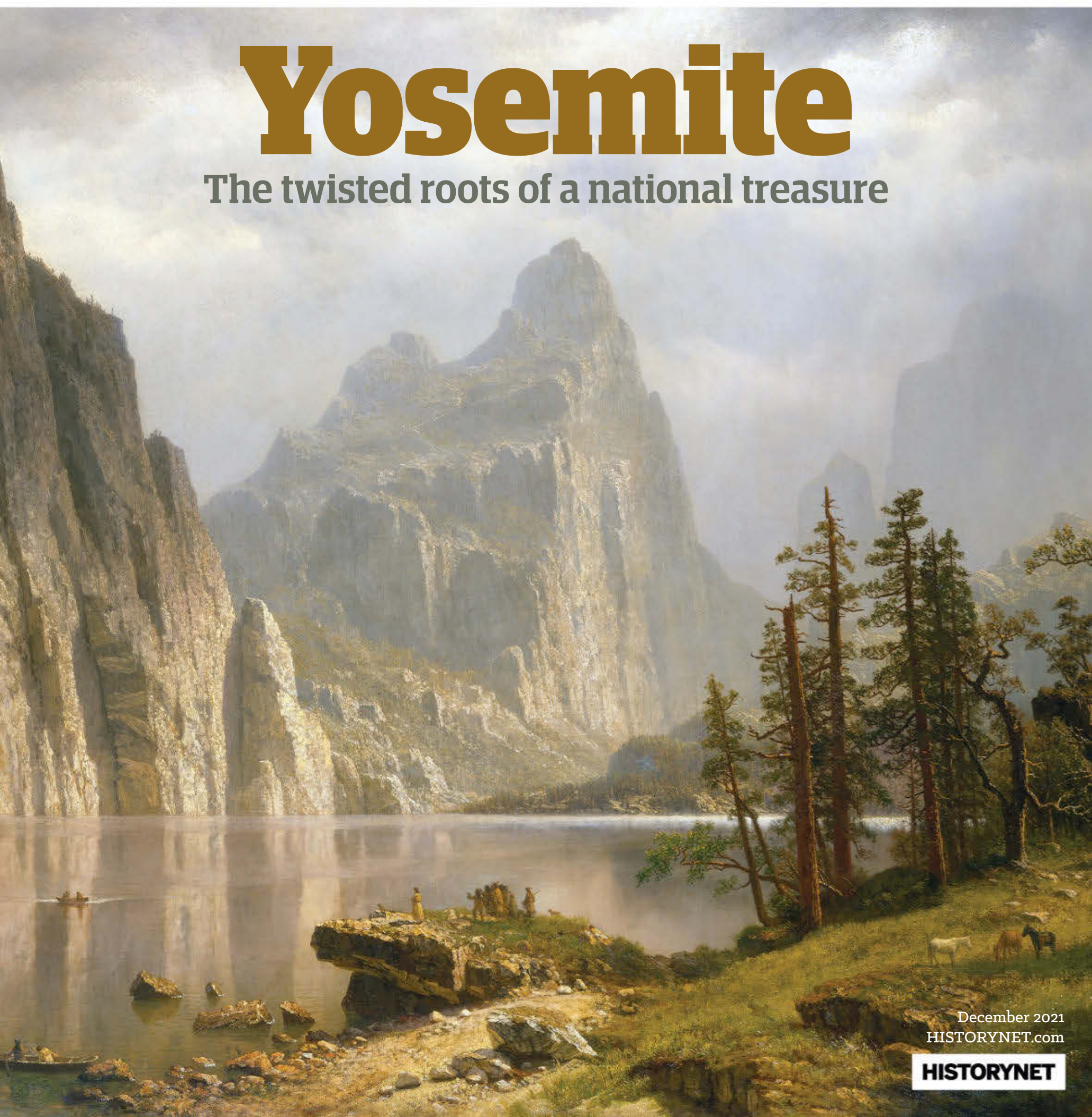
Colonel Sanders,
One-Man Brand

J. Edgar Hoover's
Vault to Fame

The Zenger Trial
and Free Speech

Yosemite

The twisted roots of a national treasure



December 2021
HISTORYNET.com

HISTORYNET



Personalized Super Sturdy Hammer

Hammers have a way of walking off.

Here's one they can call their own.

Hickory-wood handle. 16 oz., 13"L.

816350 \$21.99

Personalized 6-in-1 Pen

Convenient "micro-mini toolbox" contains ruler, pen, level, stylus, plus flat and Phillips screwdrivers. Giftable box included. Aluminum; 6"L.

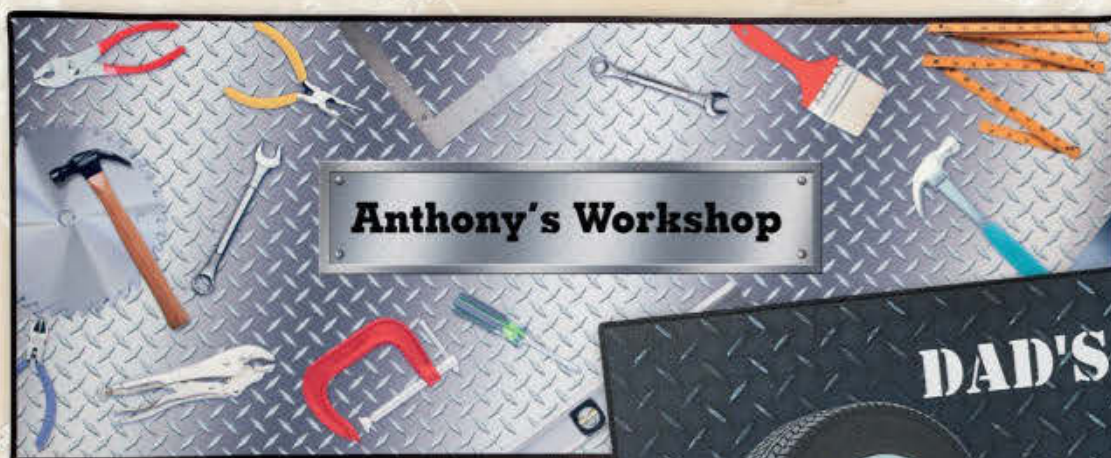
817970 \$21.99



Personalized Extendable Flashlight Tool

Light tight dark spaces; pick up metal objects. Magnetic 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " LED flashlight extends to 22"L; bends to direct light. With 4 LR44 batteries.

817098 \$27.99



Personalized Garage Mats

Grease Monkey or Toolman, your guy (or gal) will love this practical way to identify personal space. 23x57"W.

Tools 808724

Tires 816756

\$39.99 each



RUGGED ACCESSORIES FOR THE NEVER-ENOUGH-GADGETS GUY. JUST INITIAL HERE.

Our durable Lillian Vernon products are built to last. Each is crafted using the best materials and manufacturing methods. Best of all, we'll personalize them with your good name or monogram. Ordering is easy. Shipping is free.* Go to LillianVernon.com



Personalized Grooming Kit

Indispensable zippered manmade-leather case contains comb, nail tools, mirror, lint brush, shaver, toothbrush, bottle opener. Lined; 5½x7".
817548 \$29.99



Personalized Bottle Opener

Handsome tool helps top off a long day with a cool brew. 1½x7"W.
Brewery 817820
Initial Family Name 817822
\$11.99 each



Personalized Beer Caddy Cooler Tote

Soft-sided, waxed-cotton canvas cooler tote with removable divider includes an integrated opener, adjustable shoulder strap, and secures 6 bottles. 9x5½x6¾".
817006 \$54.99



Personalized Set of 6 Faux Leather Coasters

Elegant individuality, rugged durability, and quality craftsmanship combine to create a set to impress. Water-resistant; 4" dia.
817712 \$24.99

LILLIAN VERNON™

The Personalization Experts Since 1951

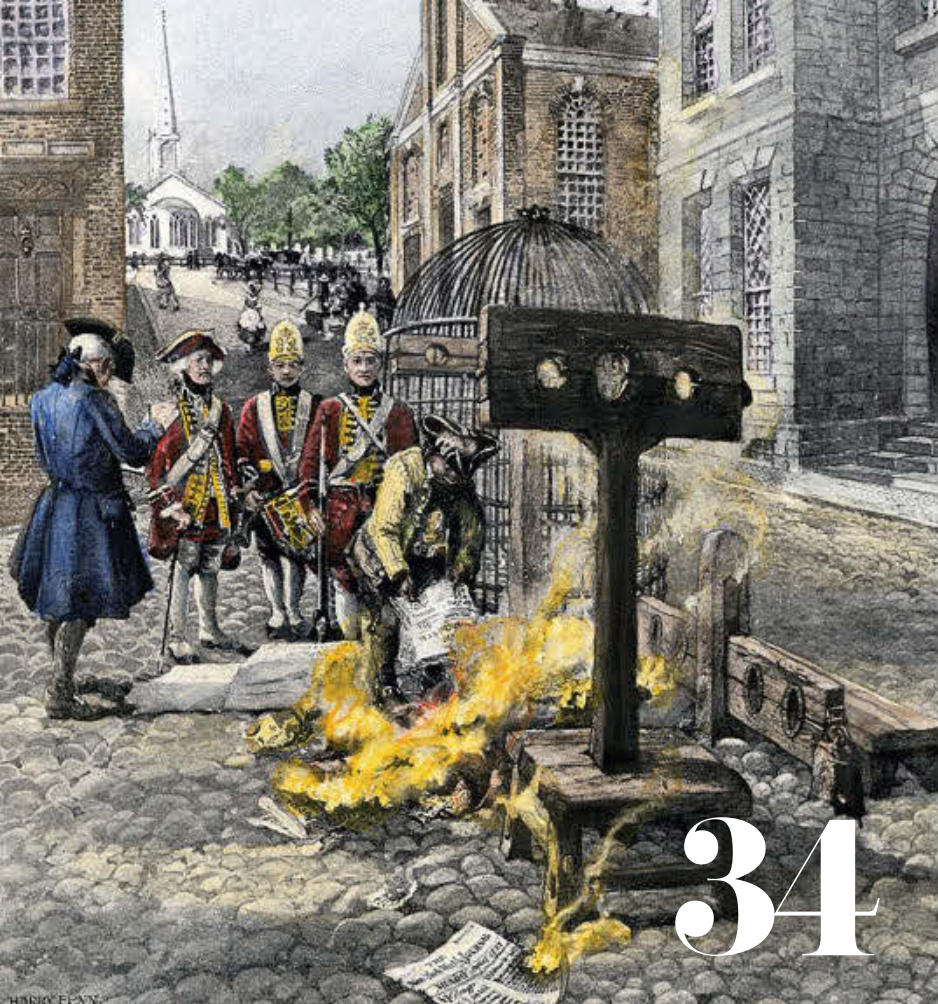
*FREE SHIPPING ON ORDERS OVER \$50. USE PROMO CODE: HISAHID1 LILLIANVERNON.COM/AHI

OFFER EXPIRES 1/31/22. ONLY ONE PROMO CODE PER ORDER. OFFERS CANNOT BE COMBINED. OFFER APPLIES TO STANDARD SHIPPING ONLY. ALL ORDERS ARE ASSESSED A CARE & PACKAGING FEE.

26



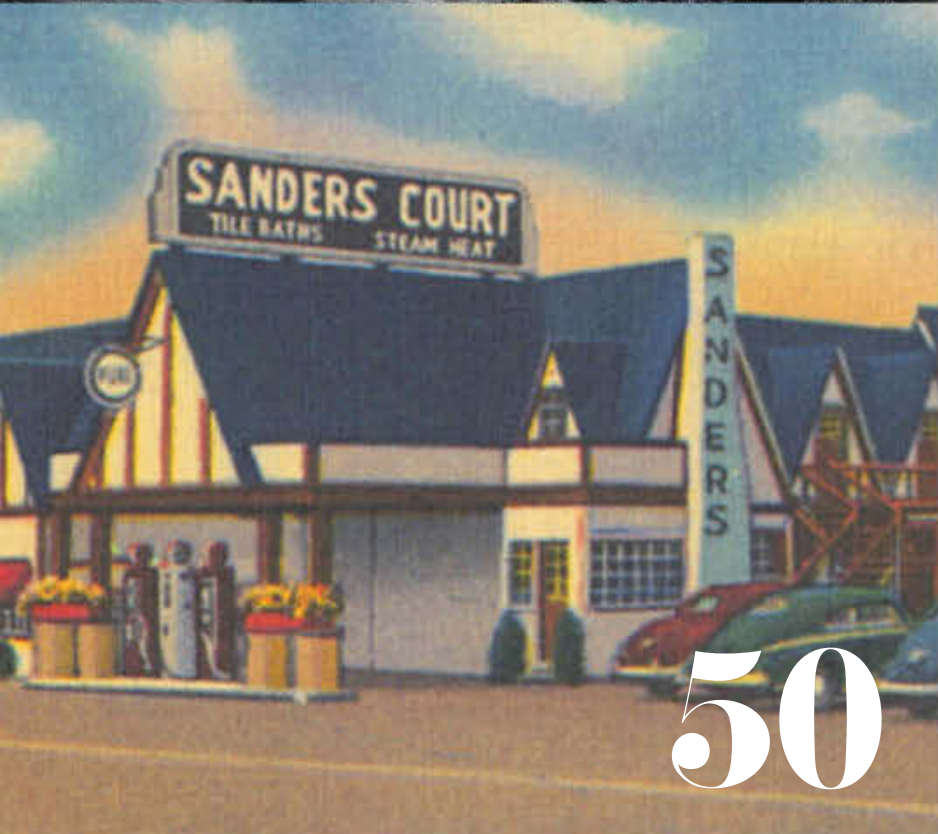
58



34



42



50

ON THE COVER: Painter Albert Bierstadt was one among many 19th-century artists to fall under the spell of the ravishing light and dramatic shapes at Yosemite.

American History

DECEMBER 2021

FEATURES

26 Selling Yosemite

A convoluted and, it turns out, wrong-headed tale helped secure an epic park's future. *By Dennis Drabell*

34 Zenger's Zingers

The notorious trial that everyone has heard about but not necessarily understood. *By Steven Neill*

42 What was Lost

Tulsa, Oklahoma's Greenwood neighborhood was Black and beautiful—and burned to cinders. *By Etamaze Nkiri*

50 One-Man Brand

Harland Sanders innovated his way to a fortune and immortality by sticking with chicken. *By Orrin Konheim*

58 A Road Paved with Reds

After the Great War, John Edgar Hoover rode fear of communism into a seat of power. *By Raanan Geberer*

DEPARTMENTS

6 Mosaic

News from out of the past.

12 Contributors

14 Déjà Vu

From square one, Congress has been a place to give and take lumps.

18 Interview

Newspaper columnist Drew Pearson named names and took no prisoners.

20 American Schemers

Feeling boxed in as a bondsman, Henry Brown shipped himself to freedom.

22 SCOTUS 101

In *Gregg v. Georgia*, the Court upheld the death penalty as constitutional.

24 Cameo

Flemmie Kittrell, PhD, kept home economics relevant.

66 Reviews

72 An American Place

Manitou Springs, Colorado



6

A very special silver dollar minted for a potentate fetched a fabulous price on the auction block.

PHOTO 12/GETTY IMAGES; PICTURES NOW/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; KENTUCKY HISTORICAL SOCIETY; U.S. MINT; COVER: HERITAGE IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

AMERICAN HISTORY ONLINE

Visit Historynet.com/American-History and search our archive for great stories like these:



How Don Knotts Became Barney Fife

For two veteran actors, a Broadway stint paid enormous dividends on television. bit.ly/2WmVXou

The Pledge of Allegiance's Roots

The beloved vow to the republic had its origins in a 19th-century magazine's drive to sell subscriptions. bit.ly/3gxH7mb

Now THAT Was What You Call Voter Fraud

After Reconstruction, some Whites spared no effort to keep Black voters from casting ballots. bit.ly/38aZyZt

HISTORYNET^{Now}

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



FOLLOW US AT
facebook.com/AmericanHistoryMag

HISTORYNET

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

American History

DECEMBER 2021 VOL. 56, NO. 5

MICHAEL DOLAN 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
nforman@mediapeople.com

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION: SHOP.HISTORYNET.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 31058, Boone, IA 50037-0058
List Rental Inquiries: Belkys Reyes, Lake Group Media, Inc.
914-925-2406; belkys.reyes@lakegroupmedia.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



Alicia, Army Veteran

★ PIN-UPS FOR VETS ★

 visit: pinupsforvets.com

Displaced by Rioters

African Americans standing in line for food after the 1921 riot in the Greenwood district of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The Threat of Success

The 1921 Tulsa, Oklahoma, Massacre (“What Was Lost,” p. 42), besides suppressing job status and home ownership among Blacks in that city for years, had a broader effect, report researchers from Boston University, Harvard, and Wheaton College studying patterns 1921 through 1940. Observing that newspapers in Tulsa and elsewhere covering the attack on the Greenwood community often characterized the massacre as something positive, the researchers found that in Black neighborhoods served by papers voicing that enthusiasm residents were less likely to own their residences. The research team reads that to hint that the massacre reached far beyond Tulsa as an episode of terror that instilled general fear in

Blacks. In addition, the study suggests, specific fear may have arisen of buying a house, particularly given federal authorities’ failure to aid victims in Greenwood. The drop in ownership was most pronounced in segregated communities like Tulsa. The Greenwood massacre came two years after the so-called Red Summer of 1919, when Whites and Blacks clashed in more than a dozen American cities. Migration by Blacks to northern states and increased competition for jobs after World War I had heightened racial tension. The segregation-induced concentration of successful Black businesses in Greenwood, the country’s wealthiest Black community, made the district an obvious and easy target whose torching would not antagonize other Whites. The authors hope to study residential moves by Blacks over generations. The paper’s appendix includes an exchange between an insurance company executive and Oklahoma Governor James Robertson surmising that accomplished Black scholar, activist, and NAACP executive W.E.B. Du Bois may have had a hand in what the correspondents called “this outrage.”

Inca Infrastructure

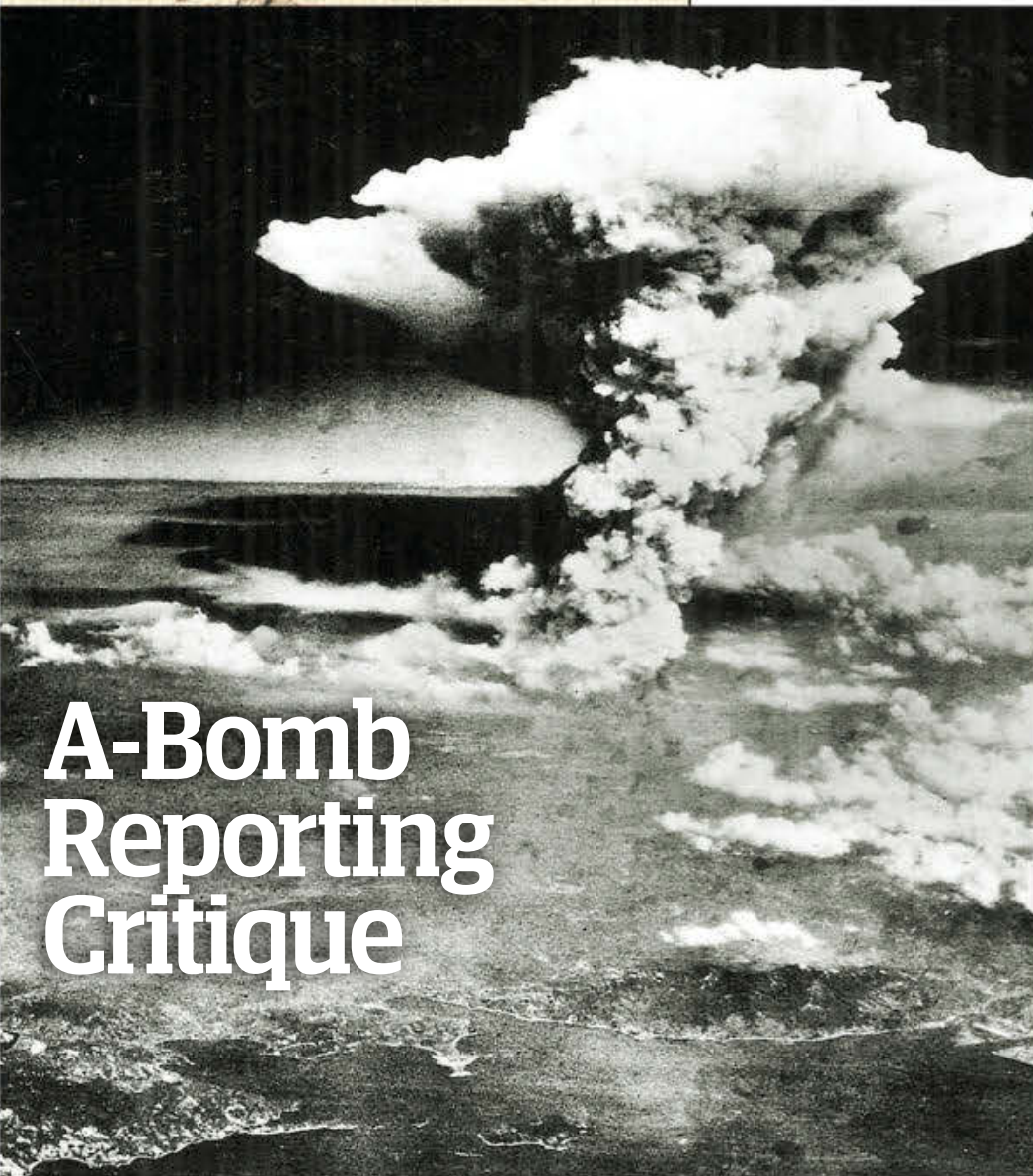
The Inca Empire controlled a formidable road network of 18,000-plus miles of well-designed paths, some paved, dotted by rest stops and warehouses, as seen right at Machu Picchu, Peru. Stretching north and south parallel to South America's Pacific coast and Andes range, the main roads improved on older versions and were built largely in the mid-1400s, more than a century before the Spanish

invaded. An analysis by three economists examines proximity to the road as a factor in community well-being, finding improved education, income, and child nutrition in communities located within 13 miles of the road even more than 500 years after its construction. The difference was much more pronounced among women. The researchers suggest that beside establishing property rights, Spanish rulers impressed Inca men to work in mines, forcing women into selling goods at roadside and so bringing more women into the public sphere. The Inca, who had not adopted the wheel, had used the road primarily to move military forces and allow all to move herds, goods, and information. Spanish establishment of mining as an industry recast the road as a channel for transit of goods among an elite in control of mining regions.



Freedmen's Bureau Records for Free

Records of enslaved persons may now be searched by name at Ancestry.com at no cost. The records are those of the Freedmen's Bureau, a federal repository for data on Blacks during the Reconstruction era. The Bureau, active 1865-1872—above, an office in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1866—filed data on marriages, labor contracts, rations, apprenticeships, and petitions.



A-Bomb Reporting Critique

On August 9, 2021, *The New York Times* contrasted two journalists' accounts of the consequences of U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima, left, and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945. One reiterated propaganda; the other was reasoned reportage, the *Times* wrote. The comparison illustrated federal suppression of information about the effects of radiation from the bomb's detonation. At the time, veteran *Times* reporter William Laurence reported that the bombs' impact was immediate and primarily due to the physical blasts and subsequent fireballs. Black war correspondent Charles Loeb, syndicated through the National Negro Publishers Association, likely drew on his education as a pre-med student to link radiation from the bombs to injurious effects. Loeb noted that members of a U.S. team investigating the effects had instructions to ignore radiation, while in an interview he conducted a top U.S. expert admitted radiation's powerful biological impact. The *Times* says that President Harry Truman may have been personally clueless about the bombs' impact on health, but U.S. military officers were not, and the consequences were intentionally concealed.



Forced Reorientation
Indigenous children wearing uniforms in a classroom at Carlisle Indian School, 1899.

Native American Student Resistance

While discovery of some 1,000 unmarked graves of indigenous students in Canada has been making headlines, the United States has its own record of forcing Native American youth into residential institutions for cultural re-education. In July remains of nine Sicangu Lakota students who died at Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania were returned to North Dakota's Whetstone Bay, the area the youths were taken from more than 140 years ago. More

than 100 children died at the Carlisle school. No exact assessment exists of the effects of American institutionalization of indigenous students. Sarah Klotz, assistant English professor at College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, is writing a book on re-educated indigenous children's efforts to maintain their tribal identities amid the pressures of a federal campaign to destroy Indian solidarity and remove indigenous people from their land. Sign language, a universal communication system widespread among Indians in North America, originally facilitated commercial and military negotiations among tribes but in the boarding school era saw use by students required to give up their native tongues.

Taps Off

Beer aficionados noted the demise of Henry Weinhard's Private Reserve, a lager that arguably set the stage for modern craft brewing in the Pacific Northwest by breaking free of the American commercial tradition of light, bland beer. Produced by a Portland brewery dating to 1856, Weinhard's debuted in 1976 and showcased Cascade hops, a product of Pacific Northwest hop breeding and cultivation. Reacting to consolidation of American



breweries in the 1960s and 1970s, Weinhard's sought to stand out, said Jeff Alworth of beervanablog.com. President Jimmy Carter's 1978 lifting of a federal ban on home brewing also figured. Within 20 years Portland, nicknamed Beervana, had become the capital of craft beer. But on August 2, 2021, owner Molson Coors pulled the plug on Weinhard's and nine similar beverages. Oregon has a long, fond relationship with beer. Included in a 2019 exhibit at the Oregon Historical Society was an 1863 photo, left, of men drinking dark beer in Jacksonville, Oregon. In winter 1805, men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition brewed beer from camas root at Fort Clatsop near Astoria. Portland's F.H. Steinbart began selling home-brew ingredients and gear two years after Prohibition began in 1919—the country's oldest home brewing business.

Now, THIS is a Knife!

This 16" full tang stainless steel blade is not for the faint of heart —now **ONLY \$99!**

In the blockbuster film, when a strapping Australian crocodile hunter and a lovely American journalist were getting robbed at knife point by a couple of young thugs in New York, the tough Aussie pulls out his dagger and says "That's not a knife, THIS is a knife!" Of course, the thugs scattered and he continued on to win the reporter's heart.

Our Aussie friend would approve of our rendition of his "knife." Forged of high grade 420 surgical stainless steel, this knife is an impressive 16" from pommel to point. And, the blade is full tang, meaning it runs the entirety of the knife, even though part of it is under wraps in the natural bone and wood handle.

Secured in a tooled leather sheath, this is one impressive knife, with an equally impressive price.

This fusion of substance and style can garner a high price tag out in the marketplace. In fact, we found full tang, stainless steel blades with bone handles in excess of \$2,000. Well, that won't cut it around here. We have mastered the hunt for the best deal, and in turn pass the spoils on to our customers.

But we don't stop there. While supplies last, we'll include a pair of \$99, 8x21 power compact binoculars, *and* a genuine leather sheath **FREE** when you purchase the **Down Under Bowie Knife**.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Feel the knife in your hands, wear it on your hip, inspect the impeccable craftsmanship. If you don't feel like we cut you a fair deal, send it back within 30 days for a complete refund of the item price.

Limited Reserves. A deal like this won't last long. We have only 1120 **Down Under Bowie Knives** for this ad only. Don't let this beauty slip through your fingers at a price that won't drag you under. Call today!

Down Under Bowie Knife ~~\$249~~*

Offer Code Price Only **\$99** + S&P **Save \$150**

1-800-333-2045

Your Insider Offer Code: DUK228-01

You must use the insider offer code to get our special price. **Rating of A+**

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. DUK228-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.stauer.com

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

California residents please call 1-800-333-2045 regarding Proposition 65 regulations before purchasing this product.

• Etched stainless steel full tang blade ; 16" overall • Painted natural bone and wood handle • Brass hand guards, spacers & end cap • Includes genuine tooled leather sheath

Stauer... *Afford the Extraordinary.®*

**EXCLUSIVE
FREE**

Stauer® 8x21
Compact
Binoculars
-a \$99 value-
with purchase of
Down Under Knife



BONUS! Call today and you'll also receive this genuine leather sheath!

**What Stauer Clients
Are Saying About
Our Knives**



"This knife is beautiful!"

— J., La Crescent, MN



"The feel of this knife is unbelievable...this is an incredibly fine instrument."

— H., Arvada, CO



Montpelier,
Orange, Virginia

Enslaved Communities Trail

The Arc of the Enslaved, a trail tracing the locations of communities of enslaved Blacks in Virginia, was among 40 proposals chosen for funding by the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, an arm of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The \$75,000 grant to the Montpelier Descendants Committee will fund plans for a statewide heritage tourism trail. The committee, whose members are related to workers enslaved at Montpelier, James Madison's estate in central Virginia, hopes to have a portion realized by 2026, the nation's 250th anniversary. More than 300 people lived in bondage over the course of 120 years at Montpelier, which for a decade has been sharing the stories of this community.

Other winning applications will fund projects related to a map of Green Book-listed businesses in North Carolina that offered shelter and services to Black motorists; a midwifery museum in Georgia; a historic Black church in Athens, Georgia, transformed into a Black arts center; restoration of a historic theater and ballroom in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; a museum in Denver focusing on Blacks in the West; salary for a director for preservation activities in New York City's Harlem neighborhood; and the Fort Monroe Foundation.

TOP BID
**\$7.68
Million**

An 1804 silver dollar, known as the "King of American Coins," sold for \$7.68 million at Stack's Bowers Auction in August. Minted for the State Department in 1835, the deluxe silver piece was among coins presented by President Andrew Jackson to Said bin Sultan Al-Said, Sultan of Muscat and Oman and a key figure in Indian Ocean trade. A treaty with Oman allowed the United States to sell cotton without impediment to merchants in the Middle East.



Otter Be Enough

Nearly wiped out by the fur trade, Pacific Northwest sea otters, below, are today a protected species. New data challenge assumptions about what constitutes a healthy size for an otter population. The study results matter especially to indigenous communities who historically hunted the species. Prevailing thought on sea otter population has constrained that activity. A recent study of mussel shells suggests that sea otters were never as abundant as has been thought. Researchers compared the size of mussel shells at Pacific Northwest sites across several thousand years. They found a pattern of bigger mussel shells near indigenous settlements but note that since hunting sea otters was banned, mussels have shrunk—presumably due to increased otter predation. Based on their analysis, the researchers suppose that Native Americans carefully managed otter populations by hunting otters, and using means like excluding otters from shell beds to maintain abundant mussel populations. The findings support an emerging view of indigenous as engaging in extensive management of wildlife and other natural resources.



Grab Your Piece of America's Silver Legacy

**99.9% Fine
Silver Bars**

Actual size is
30.6 x 50.4 mm

Fill Your Vault with Morgan Silver Bars

Not only are these hefty bars one full Troy ounce of real, .999 precious silver, they're also beautiful, featuring the crisp image of a Morgan Silver Dollar struck onto the surface. That collectible image adds interest and makes these Silver Bars even more desirable. Minted in the U.S.A. from shimmering American silver, these one-ounce 99.9% fine silver bars are a great alternative to one-ounce silver coins or rounds. Plus, they offer great savings compared to other bullion options like one-ounce sovereign silver coins. Take advantage of our special offer for new customers only and save \$5.00 off our regular prices.

Morgan Silver Dollars Are Among the Most Iconic Coins in U.S. History

What makes them iconic? The Morgan Silver Dollar is the legendary coin that built the Wild West. It exemplifies the American spirit like few other coins, and was created using silver mined from the famous Comstock Lode in Nevada. In fact, when travelers approached the mountains around the boomtown of Virginia City, Nevada in the 1850s, they were startled to see the hills shining in the sunlight like a mirror. A mirage caused by weary eyes?

No, rather the effect came from tiny flecks of silver glinting in the sun.

A Special Way for You to Stock Up on Precious Silver

While no one can predict the future value of silver in an uncertain economy, many Americans are rushing to get their hands on as much silver as possible, putting it away for themselves and their loved ones. You'll enjoy owning these Silver Bars. They're tangible. They feel good when you hold them, You'll relish the design and thinking about all it represents. These Morgan Design One-Ounce Bars make appreciated gifts for birthdays, anniversaries and graduations, creating a legacy sure to be cherished for a lifetime.

Order More and SAVE

You can save \$5.00 off our regular price when you buy now. There is a limit of 25 Bars per customer, which means with this special offer, you can save up to \$125.

Hurry. Secure Yours Now!

Call right now to secure your .999 fine silver Morgan Design One-Ounce Silver Bars. You'll be glad you did.



One-Ounce Silver Morgan Design Bar
\$49.95 ea.

Special offer - \$44.95 ea. +s/h
SAVE \$5 - \$125

**BUY MORE
SAVE MORE!**

Limit of 25 bars per customer

**Free Morgan Silver Dollar
with every order over \$499
(A \$59.95 value!)**



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

1-888-201-7144

Offer Code MSB158-01

Please mention this code when you call.

SPECIAL CALL-IN ONLY OFFER



GOVMINT.COM®

GovMint.com • 14101 Southcross Dr. W., Suite 175, Dept. MSB158-01, Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

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.

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?

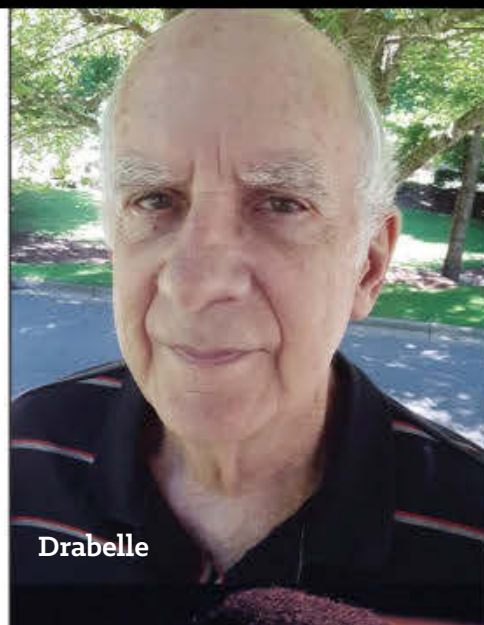
For more, visit

[WWW.HISTORYNET.COM/
MAGAZINES/QUIZ](http://WWW.HISTORYNET.COM/MAGAZINES/QUIZ)

HISTORYNET
HISTORYNET.com

ANSWER: THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND.
OFTEN CALLED THE WEATHERMEN, IN 1969
THE GROUP DECIDED TO "ENGAGE IN
GUERRILLA WARFARE AGAINST THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT" AND STARTED A BOMBING
CAMPAIGN. BY 1976 THE ORGANIZATION
HAD ALL BUT DISSOLVED.

CONTRIBUTORS



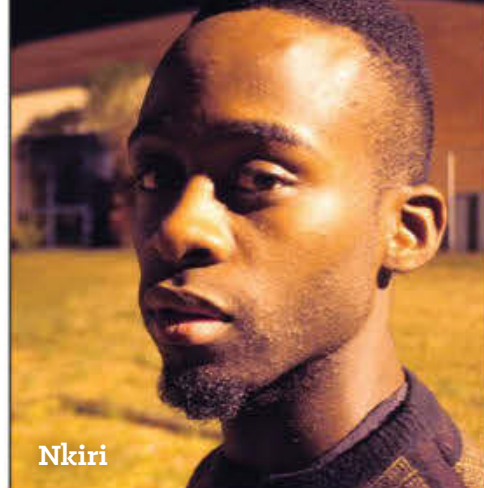
Drabelle



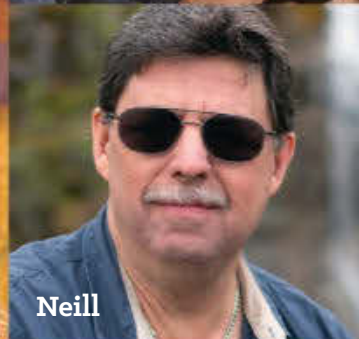
Geberer



Konheim



Nkiri



Neill

Dennis Drabelle, a former editor at the *Washington Post Book World*, writes frequently about Western history. He adapted "Selling Yosemite" (p. 26) from his new book, *The Power of Scenery: Frederick Law Olmsted and the Origin of National Parks* (Bison, 2021).

Frequent contributor **Raanan Geberer** ("Raiding Reds," p. 58) has written here about New York's Dutch heritage, the rise and decline of interurban rail, and Americans who fought in the Israeli war of independence. He lives in Manhattan.

Virginia-based **Orrin Konheim** ("One Man Brand," p. 50) has written for the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Times*, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, *Mental Floss*, and other outlets. He covers pop culture at OrrinKonheim.Medium.com and journalism on Patreon. He tweets as @okonhowp.

Steven Neill ("Zenger's Zingers," p. 34) has written for the *Journal of the American Revolution*, *The Bark*, and *History Magazine*. A graduate of Whitworth University, he has served on the Spokane Valley Planning Committee.

Etamaze Nkiri ("What Was Lost," p. 42) graduated in May 2021 with a B.A. in History from the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Oklahoma. As an intern with the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce in 2020, he built a blog to commemorate that historic Tulsa district.

WORLD WAR II

CONVICTED OF TREASON AND BEHEADED ON HITLER'S ORDER, she was an American at the center of the resistance. So why is her story little known?

—page 30

Plus

ADVENTURES OF THE WAR'S ONLY OFFICIAL CANINE POW
THE SECRET LUFTWAFFE TOOL THAT COULD HAVE DESTROYED BRITAIN

Michael Herrick, at 24, was a grad student in Winston.

OCTOBER 2021
HISTORYNET

It's Here!

An American grad student becomes an enemy of Hitler, who demands her beheading in 1942. Read the gripping story in the latest issue of *World War II*. Plus: Luftwaffe secret weapon, canine prisoner, and more!

Now available at

SHOP.HISTORYNET.COM

and your local newsstand

HISTORYNET



VINTAGE VIOLENCE

BY RICHARD BROOKHISER

This summer the House of Representatives appointed a special committee to investigate the Capitol riot of January 6. That body's makeup reflected the power enjoyed by House Democrats: Speaker Nancy Pelosi got to name eight members, minority leader Kevin McCarthy five. When McCarthy submitted his picks, Pelosi, in what she admitted was an "unprecedented decision," nixed two of them—Ohioan Jim Jordan and Indiana's Jim Banks—on the grounds that, as hard-core Trump supporters, they threatened the inquiry's "integrity." McCarthy, incensed, withdrew all his picks. Pelosi partly filled the resulting void by tapping Illinois's Adam Kinzinger, an anti-Trump Republican in the mold of Liz Cheney, whom the Speaker had already included among her allotted eight, making the final count seven Democrats Pelosi liked, two Republicans she liked, and four vacancies. McCarthy later said, at a fundraiser in Tennessee, that "it will be hard not to hit" Pelosi with the Speaker's gavel should he win it after the 2022 elections. A Pelosi aide called McCarthy's crack "irresponsible and disgusting."

Majorities leaning into their majority status; hardball nose counting; a

Hammer & Tongs
Vermont Rep. Lyons,
with fireplace tool,
and Connecticut Rep.
Griswold go at one
another on the House
floor in late 1797.

threat of battery: is this what the founders expected from Congress?

Maybe not, but it's what they—and we—have been getting almost from day one.

Yale prof Joanne Freeman has made herself the court reporter of violence in the halls of Congress. The recitation of rumpus begins almost comically in Freeman's book *Affairs of Honor*, at the end of 1797, when Representative Mathew Lyon, Jeffersonian Republican from Vermont, spat a stream of tobacco juice in the face of Connecticut Federalist Representative Roger Griswold, who had made a practice of taunting Lyon.

Two weeks later, on the House floor, Griswold moved to cane Lyon, who defended himself with a pair of tongs grabbed from the chamber's fireplace. Onlookers separated the combatants before either did any damage.

A barroom rumble—but there were both real

TODAY IN HISTORY

AUGUST 8, 1974

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON ANNOUNCED HIS RESIGNATION. UNDER SUBPOENA THE NIXON WHITE HOUSE RELEASED TAPES OF PHONE CONVERSATIONS TO THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ON AUGUST 5, 1974. THE MOST DAMNING PIECE OF EVIDENCE OBTAINED WAS THE INFAMOUS "SMOKING GUN" TAPE, WHICH DOCUMENTED THE EARLY STAGES OF THE WATERGATE COVERUP. NIXON ACCEPTED BLAME FOR HIS ROLE IN THE COVERUP, CITING A MEMORY LAPSE REGARDING WHITE HOUSE INVOLVEMENT.

For more, visit

[WWW.HISTORYNET.COM/
TODAY-IN-HISTORY](http://WWW.HISTORYNET.COM/TODAY-IN-HISTORY)

HISTORYNET

passions and real principles involved.

In provoking and poking at each other, Lyon and Griswold were defending their personal honor, as well as the honor of their respective parties (Republicans vs. Federalists) and of the supporters who had sent them to Congress (frontiersmen vs. old stock Yankees).

Freeman's follow-on book, *Field of Blood*, surveys dozens of instances of congressmen trash-talking, brawling, and worse, right up to the Civil War. She first spotted the trail of systemic mayhem in the *Congressional Globe*, the early 19th-century record of Congress's daily doings, which made terse asides to "sudden sensations" or "unpleasantly personal" talk. Cross-checking contemporary letters and diaries, Freeman translated these demure phrases as meaning uncontrolled uproar and vicious insults.

Tangible weapons, like Griswold's cane and Lyon's tongs, also made their appearance. During the long debate over the Compromise of 1850, Senator Henry Foote (D-Mississippi) drew a pistol on colleague Thomas

Hart Benton (D-Missouri); Foote was disarmed without firing. Six years later, Representative Preston Brooks (D-South Carolina) accosted counterpart Charles Sumner (R-Massachusetts) at his desk on the Senate floor and beat Sumner into unconsciousness with a gold-tipped hard rubber cane while Representative Laurence Keitt (D-South Carolina) discouraged intervention with a pistol.

And Representative John Potter (R-Wisconsin) earned the nickname "Bowie Knife" for his self-publicized willingness to use one.

Congressional violence, real and threatened, was a product of the culture of dueling, an aristocratic European import, and a style of frontier roughhouse all our own. Dustups have diminished over time—though not vanished. Jim

Wright (D-Texas), Speaker of the House from 1987 to 1989, employed as his top aide John Mack, who had done time for beating a woman in the head with a hammer, slashing her throat with a steak knife, and leaving her for dead (she survived, no thanks to him). Complaining Republicans and feminists finally got Mack fired.

Rules see more use as weapons than canes, pistols, or knives. Besides sparing life and limb and not involving the cops, they can tangle up Congress's business just as effectively.

In the 19th century Congress met to organize itself in December of odd-numbered years. When the House of the 26th Congress assembled on December 2, 1839, the clerk began the roll call geographically, as was then the custom, from Maine south. At New Jersey, a problem arose. New Jersey was one of six states which then elected representatives, not from districts, but in at-large contests. Because one heavily Democratic county's returns had been thrown out on a technicality, the state's seats had gone to six Whigs, who came to DC bearing certificates of their election. (The name given this kerfuffle would be the Broad Seal War, after the state's seal). But five New Jersey Democrats also appeared, claiming that the vote count at home had been improper. The dispute mattered because the House was so evenly divided that five Whigs or Democrats from New Jersey would tip the balance. Hold those five seats in abeyance, and

Democrats would enjoy a one-vote edge. House clerk Hugh Garland, a Democrat, proposed to hold off the New Jersey question until the House was officially organized—that is, organized in Democratic hands. Until then, Garland added, no motions, even as simple as adjournment, could be formally made.

There followed three days of angry ad hoc discussion. The diary of former president John Quincy Adams, a man of the House since 1831, describes the scene: Congressmen "made party speeches, frothy with the rights of the people, technicalities, and frauds....As the members were rushing out of the hall" at day's end, one told Adams, "Now we are a mob."

On December 5 Adams appealed to the mob "in the name of the people, of their country, and of mankind" to conduct themselves in an orderly fashion. In response the body tapped him, as an eminent and independent-minded Whig, to preside.

The House organized itself officially without the New Jersey members on the 12th. On the 16th balloting began for Speaker. On the eleventh ballot, all the Whigs and a few disaffected Democrats united behind Robert Hunter, a moderate Whig from Virginia. "I resigned to him the Speaker's chair," wrote Adams, "and retired to my seat, with an ejaculation of gratitude to God for my deliverance."

The question of which New Jerseyans to seat dragged on into the new year. Adams noted that after one long session, he had not eaten for 28 hours. The Broad Seal War ended with the Jersey Democrats seated at last.

Battles over slavery and the fate of the Union were an accelerant unique to the fiery early 1800s. Foote and Benton, both pro-Union, disagreed over how to save it. Brooks, Keitt, Sumner, and Potter were radicals on the slavery question, the first two pro, the latter two anti. But personalities also played a role: all six, like their most contentious peers, were masters of insult. Narrow partisan divides made for bad manners even when slavery was not on the table, as in the Lyon/Griswold fight.

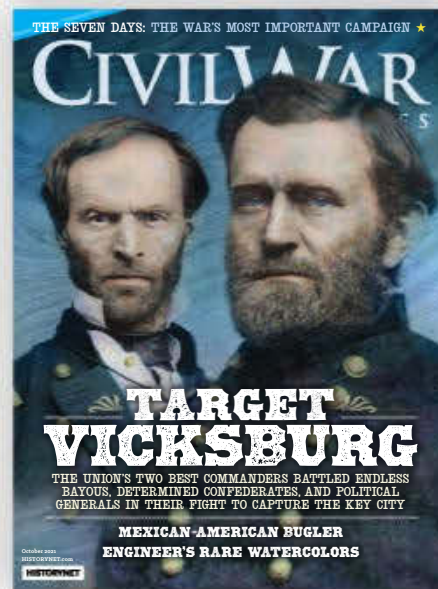
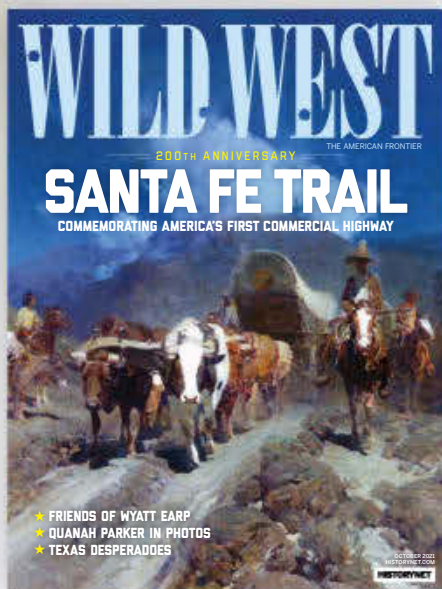
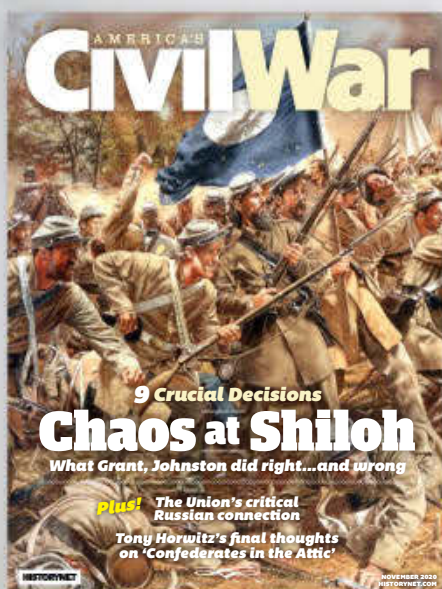
Violence brought into Congress from outside is a separate matter. On March 1, 1954, four Puerto Nationalists shot up the floor of the House from the visitors' gallery, wounding five congressmen (all lived). And on January 6 of this year, a mob breached the Capitol during the roll call of the states' electoral votes. And that was where we came in. ★

**AS WEAPONS,
RULES SPARE
LIFE AND LIMB
AND AVOID
BRINGING ON
THE COPS
WHILE TAN-
GLING UP
AFFAIRS JUST
AS WELL AS
BEATINGS.**

LIMITED-TIME HOLIDAY OFFER

TWO-FOR-ONE SPECIAL!

CHOOSE ANY **TWO** SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR ONLY **\$29.99**



CALL NOW! 1.800.435.0715
OR VISIT SHOP.HISTORYNET.COM PLEASE MENTION CODE **HOLIDAY** WHEN ORDERING

Order by December 6 and you'll receive **FREE** gift announcement cards that you can send out in time for the holidays!

*For each MHQ subscription add \$15

Titles are published 6 times per year except *Military History Quarterly*, which is published 4 times per year

Digging In

Pearson's home in the DC neighborhood of Georgetown functioned like a newsroom in a house, overflowing with legmen and stacks of paper.

REIGNING MUCKRAKER

BY RICHARD ERNSBERGER JR.



Drew's News

Ritchie portrays his subject as a man of intense scruples who saw his role as giving readers the inside scoop on who the heroes and villains really were in the nation's capital.

Donald A. Ritchie is Historian Emeritus of the U.S. Senate. At the Senate he ran an oral history program and edited for publication transcripts of 160 closed hearings Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisconsin) conducted in 1953-54 to qualify witnesses for his investigation into communist influence within the federal government. A former president of the Oral History Association, Ritchie also served on the council of the American Historical Association. *The Columnist: Leaks, Lies and Libel in Drew Pearson's Washington* (Oxford, 2021) is his fourth book on American journalism.

For 30-plus years, *Washington Merry-Go-Round* was a must-read nationwide. Why?

The column broke secrets, revealed classified information, and passed on rumors from sources high and low. More than 600 papers worldwide carried it, and surveys showed it consistently popular with readers. Pearson and Robert Allen launched *Merry-Go-Round*

in December 1932, naming it for their recent best-selling expose, *The Washington Merry-Go-Round*, and continuing that book's muckraking on a daily basis. They covered what was really happening in the nation's capital, not just what officeholders professed.

The two were as alike as chalk and cheese.

They made an odd couple. Pearson was a tall, urbane diplomatic correspondent. Allen was a short, scrappy reporter who concentrated on Congress. They relished a good fight and were unafraid of taking on powerful people. They developed sources throughout government who were ready to leak information. Pearson and Allen often fought over who and what to target. That personal friction added a spark that kept the column lively.

Pearson was a "keyhole peeper" who thrived on exposing malfeasance. Was he a moralist or a provocateur? Despite his hard-boiled

image, Pearson was a Quaker with a deep sense of morality. He held officials to high standards and seemed genuinely offended when he caught someone doing wrong. He believed that when those in power betrayed the public, journalists should be ruthless in exposing them.

Solid reporting drove the *Merry-Go-Round*. Was that unusual?

Newspaper columnists, then as now, trafficked mostly in opinion, interpreting news other reporters had revealed. Pearson and Allen broke news on their own and by hiring “leg men” who prowled the corridors of government seeking stories and turning up evidence.

At least five presidents and politicians from both parties called Pearson a liar; he was sued many times and followed by the FBI. Pearson laughed off charges that he lied. He often quoted them at length in the column, and once featured a “liar’s scorecard”—naming congressmen claiming he’d lied about them with details of the convictions and jail terms they’d earned for the crimes he’d exposed. Pearson was sued for libel more than any other journalist and won consistently by proving that what he had written was true. J. Edgar Hoover’s FBI tailed him and tapped his phones, but finally gave up trying to uncover his sources.

He felt it appropriate to publish classified material. Pearson held that bureaucrats classified far too much information, not to guard national security but to protect themselves and their agencies from revelations about embarrassing or illegal acts. But he put security ahead of news. Before publishing, he cleared classified information he had gathered with military officials.

Pearson repeatedly covered certain issues and individuals. He knew he could draw attention by repeating and expanding charges in multiple columns. Sometimes this had tragic results. In 1949 he devoted many columns and broadcasts to Defense Secretary James Forrestal’s mental instability. Forrestal committed suicide. And sometimes Pearson made his point, as in the 1960s when in 100 *Merry-Go-Round* columns he attacked Senator Tom Dodd (D-Connecticut) for corruption, leading to Dodd’s censure and defeat.

He played a big role in discrediting Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisconsin). Pearson did more than any other journalist to derail Senator McCarthy’s reckless crusade. McCarthy at first made himself useful to Pearson, leaking material. But when McCarthy began charging that the government was riddled with communist spies, Pearson challenged his assertions. This so outraged McCarthy that at a Washington

club he assaulted Pearson until Senator Richard Nixon (R-California) stepped in. Declaring Pearson a communist stooge, McCarthy called for a national boycott of his radio sponsors, costing Pearson half his income. The column later broke stories about McCarthy aides Roy Cohn and G. David Schine that helped trigger the Army-McCarthy hearings, the confrontation that eventually brought McCarthy down.

Pearson was a friend of Lyndon Johnson and offered LBJ policy advice when he was president. Pearson frequently assailed Johnson when Johnson was Senate majority leader, so when LBJ became president he sought Pearson’s approval. After years of being an outsider, Pearson found himself called to the White House to be asked his advice and handed inside information. This caused him to suppress his doubts about the Vietnam war. Ironically, Pearson’s closeness to LBJ raised more questions about the columnist’s credibility than all other presidential charges of lying.

From the mid-’30s to the ‘60s, did any columnist in DC have more clout? Walter Lippmann was the nation’s most highly respected columnist, and Joseph Alsop was one of the most argumentative, but in 1944 the Washington press corps voted Drew Pearson the D.C. journalist who exerted the most influence over public opinion. He was also the most widely published and most highly paid.

What would Pearson make of today’s digital-media culture that enables everyone to comment on everything?

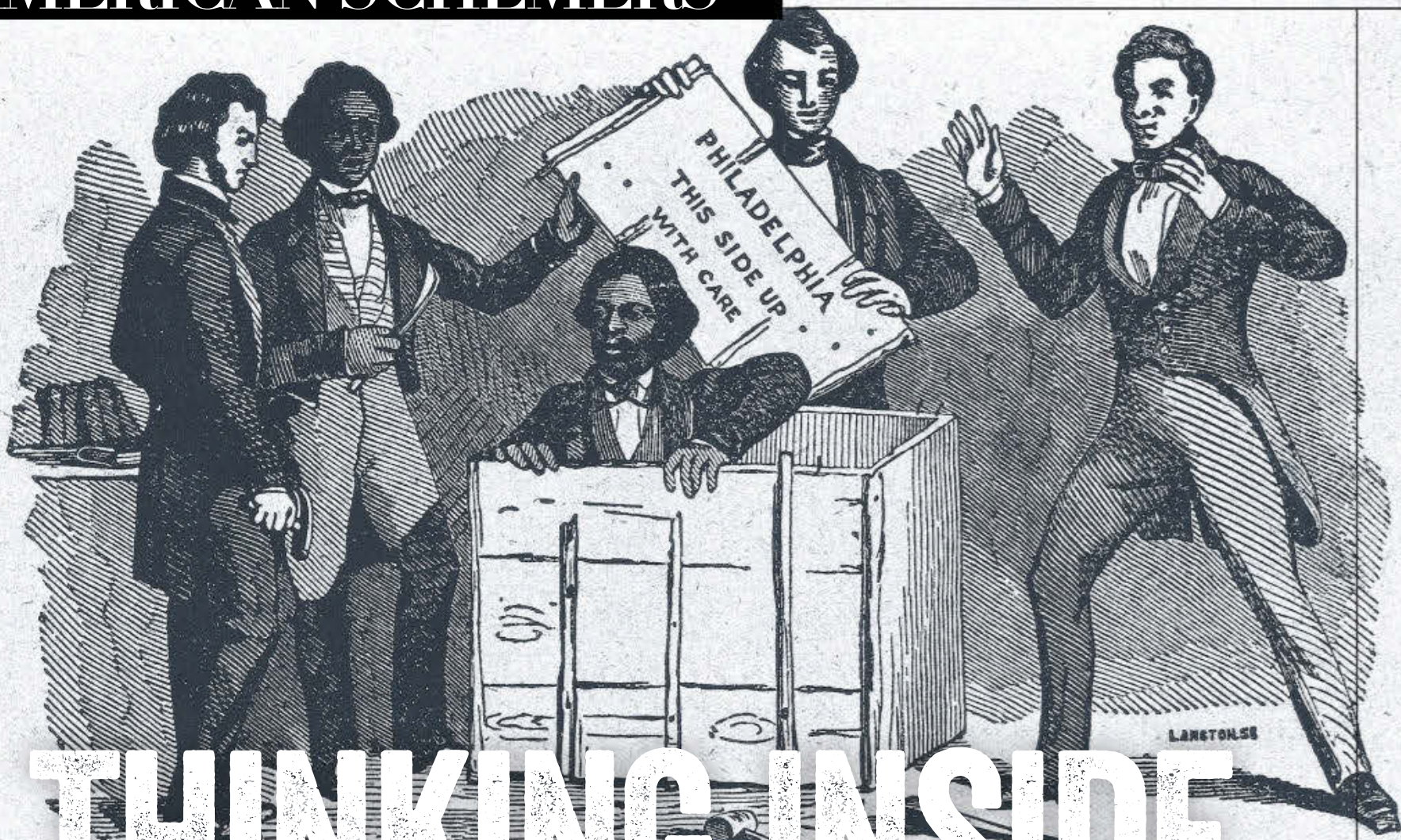
Late in his career, Pearson worried that broadcast news was undermining newspapers by draining ad revenue. That was one reason he also did radio and television. He died before cable and the internet, but no doubt would have tried

to adapt to them. Pearson would likely disdain talking heads who express opinions without producing facts. Editors paid him to report what was really going on backstage, he used to say. “They don’t want me to suck a column out of my thumb.” ★

Well-Connected

Pearson with President John F. Kennedy at a Big Brothers of the Capital Area event in Washington’s Mayflower Hotel, undated photo.





THINKING INSIDE THE BOX

BY PETER CARLSON



Tight Squeeze

An illustration shows the conditions Brown had to endure for 27 hours to leave behind a lifetime in bondage. Top, the big moment in Philadelphia.

Henry Brown escaped slavery by squeezing into a crate that a White sympathizer shipped to Philadelphia, addressed to an ally there. When the abolitionist opened the box, Brown popped out and sang a hymn: “Be joyful, be glad, be joyful and glad.” His theatrical feat soon brought Brown fame that he parlayed into an eccentric multi-media theatrical career on two continents.

“I entered the world a slave,” he wrote in a memoir. “They robbed me of myself before I could know the nature of their wicked arts.”

Born into bondage on a Virginia plantation in about 1815, Brown worked the fields until his owner died in 1830. The deceased’s son inherited Brown and put him to work in his Richmond tobacco factory. Brown married a woman who was enslaved on a nearby plantation; they had three children. In 1848, her owner sold Brown’s wife and children to a North Carolina minister. Brown watched help-

lessly while his family trudged off in chains.

Enraged, Brown resolved to escape. “One day, while I was at work,” he wrote, “the idea suddenly flashed across my mind of shutting myself up in a box and getting myself conveyed as dry goods to a free state.”

A free Black associate introduced Brown to a White shoemaker, Samuel Smith, who had helped other slaves escape.

On March 23, 1849, Brown climbed into a crate three feet by two feet by 30 inches. Smith nailed the lid and paid the Adams Express Company to ship the box to Philadelphia.

The journey was wretched. Train workers, teamsters, and steamboat crews repeatedly dropped and overturned the crate; sometimes Brown spent hours upside down. “My heart swelled in my throat; I could scarcely breathe; great sweats came over me; I gave up all hope.”

But after 27 hours, the package reached Miller McKim of Philadelphia’s Anti-Slavery

Society. Fearing the fugitive might have arrived dead, the abolitionist knocked on the box.

"All right?" McKim asked.

"All right, sir!" Brown replied.

"We opened the box," McKim wrote, "& up rose—with a face radiant with joy & gratitude—one of the finest looking men you ever saw."

Brown staggered across the room, then burst into song. "It was exceedingly affecting," McKim wrote. "He has a fine voice. It was impossible to listen to him without tears." Brown stayed with McKim a few days until abolitionists smuggled him to Massachusetts.

His coup thrilled his rescuers, but they kept their scheme secret so other bondsmen could try it. Six weeks later, Smith shipped two boxes, each containing a slave, but when a worker heard one container emit a cry of pain the game was up. Authorities arrested Smith and the press publicized the botched escape, which ruined Henry Brown's tactic but freed him to go public. Which he did, with maximum flair, for forty years.

He debuted his act in May 1849 at an abolitionist convention in Boston. He told his story, climbed into the very box, then popped out to sing his hymn. His performance was so popular that he reprised it the next night, rewarded by onlookers with "a generous contribution." Brown promptly took a pioneering step in what became known as personal branding. His name, he proclaimed, was now "Henry Box Brown."

Brown took his show on the road, appearing at churches and abolitionist gatherings. Soon he added a second number—a parody of "Old Uncle Ned." Popular on the blackface minstrel circuit, that Stephen Foster tune celebrated a contented slave in jauntily racist verse: "Den lay down de shovel and de hoe/and hang up de fiddle and de bow/No more hard work for poor old Ned/He's gone where de good niggas go." In his version, Brown sang, "Brown laid down the shovel and the hoe/Down in the box he did go/No more slave work for Henry Box Brown/In the box by express he did go."

Touring, Brown noted enthusiasm for panoramas—travel lectures illustrated by painted scrolls unspooled to go with the narrative. He recruited abolitionist artists to paint an elaborate, 49-scene panorama telling two stories—a fictitious tale of an African brought in chains to America, and his own true story. He called his show "Henry Box Brown's Mirror of Slavery," closing with a comic monologue mocking

the notion that God made White folks superior. "Mirror" drew well but in 1850 the United States enacted the Fugitive Slave Act, requiring all Americans to assist in the capture of runaways.

Now one of America's most notorious fugitives, Box Brown fled to England. He took along his panoramic prop, which he immediately began exhibiting. "We urge our readers to visit this panorama," the *Liverpool Mercury* proclaimed. The *Preston Chronicle* called the presentation "a brilliant piece of art." To enliven his performance, Brown added more music, including what he advertised as "Plantation Melodies, Serenades, and Anti-Slavery Songs."

Displaying a genius for self-promotion, Brown staged a Barnumesque publicity stunt, announcing that he would travel by train from Bradford to Leeds inside his famous box. At Leeds, the box was transferred to a coach and escorted to the Music Hall in a parade led by a brass band. "The procession was attended by an immense concourse of spectators," the *Leeds Mercury* reported. A packed house witnessed what Brown billed as his "resurrection" from confinement.

Brown's gleeful theatricality appalled Britain's more sobersided abolitionists. So did his mode of dress—ruffled white shirts, garish green jackets, glittering gold jewelry. His flamboyance equally appalled British bigots.

In 1852, as Brown was performing, the editor of a Staffordshire paper heckled him, then penned a nasty review titled "The Nigger Panorama," attacking Brown as "ludicrous and semi-baboonish" and a "bejeweled and oily negro." Brown sued for libel—and a jury awarded him damages of £100.

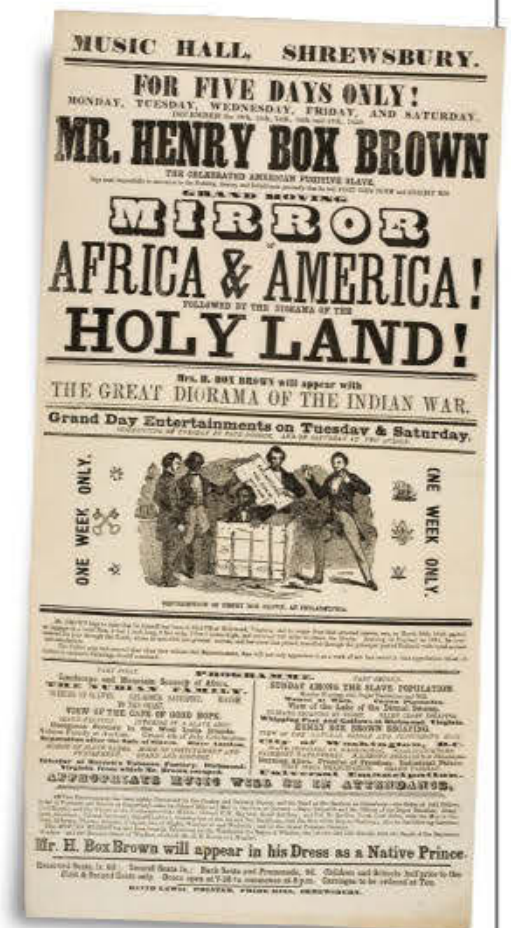
During the Civil War, Brown again updated "Mirror of Slavery," working battlefield scenes into the show.

After Appomattox, with slavery no longer a burning issue, Brown recast himself as the "King of All Mesmerizers." He performed magic tricks, escaping from chains and hypnotizing volunteers, sometimes convincing audience members that they were sheep, herding them around onstage, and feeding them cabbage.

In 1875, he returned to the United States with his English wife and two children. They settled in Canada.

Until his death in 1897, Brown continued to perform. Billing himself as "Professor H. Box Brown" or "The African Prince," he reenacted his escape, lectured on Mesmerism and "Electro-Biology," performed elaborate illusions, exposed the fakery in séances, and sang spirituals, sometimes accompanied by his wife and daughter.

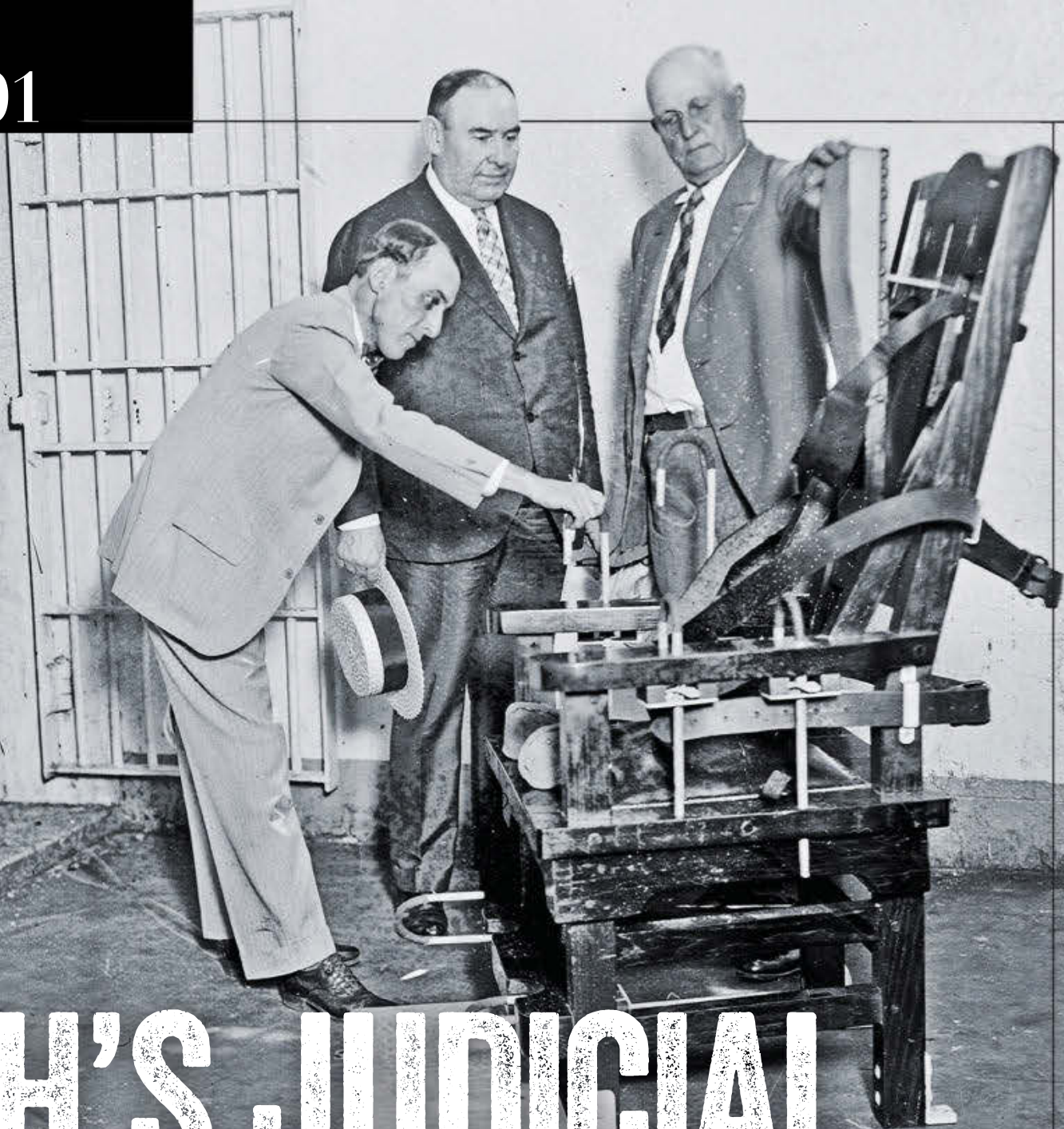
Brown's long, strange life was itself a kind of magic trick: An enslaved man climbed into a box and disappeared, magically transformed as a charismatic figure who never stopped transforming himself. ★



For the Benefit of Mr. Brown
A poster lists "H. Box Brown" among the multiple acts to appear as part of a music hall cavalcade passing through the city of Shrewsbury, England.

Final Destination

At Chicago's Cook County Jail in 1927, unidentified men examine the electric chair used to execute prisoners sentenced to die for their crimes.



DEATH'S JUDICIAL STING

BY DANIEL B. MOSKOWITZ

**GREGG V. GEORGIA
428 U.S. 153 (1976)
RULING ON FIVE
DEATH PENALTY
CASES, THE
JUSTICES FOUND
THAT THE EIGHTH
AMENDMENT
DOES NOT BAN
THE DEATH
PENALTY PER SE.**

When in 1789 James Madison penned what would become the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning “cruel and unusual punishment,” he knew he was drafting a flexible standard. He borrowed wording from the English Declaration of Rights of 1689, and punishment acceptable then, such as burning at the stake, was no longer socially tolerated.

Through American history, given the mutability of social standards, courts have had to rule repeatedly on exactly what “cruel and unusual punishment” means. In 1878, the Supreme Court rejected a claim that execution by firing squad was cruel and unusual. In 1910, the Justices found unconstitutional a 15-year prison term for the crime of falsifying a public record. In 1958 they stopped the government from taking away the citizenship of naturalized

Americans who deserted the armed forces in wartime. In 1962 the Court threw out a California law allowing imprisonment of persons for being addicted to narcotics.

But the Eighth Amendment's reach has most often come before the high court—and provided that body's most vexing issues—when the punishment at issue has been the death penalty. Every term death penalty cases come to the Justices, and though they usually do not take up those cases, refusals have impact because they leave as precedent lower court decisions okaying executions.

The key high court decision remains a 1976 ruling covering five death penalty cases from five states but known as *Gregg v. Georgia*. In the six different opinions issued in *Gregg*, the Justices found that the Eighth Amendment

does not ban the death penalty *per se*.

Gregg seemed to be a reversal by the Court. Only four years before, in *Furman v. Georgia*, the Justices had ruled that the death penalty could not pass constitutional muster if applied arbitrarily or in a discriminatory way—that is, if the sentence was imposed at the whim of judges or juries with no rational standards to guide them or if disproportionately visited on the poor and racial minorities. In fact, such was the case not only in Georgia and Texas, the states in the cases before the Justices, but also the federal government and all other states with a death penalty. *Gregg* effectively stopped executions nationwide.

By the time *Gregg* reached the high court, however, 35 states had revised their laws to try to correct the flaws the Court had cited. Congress had done the same for federal crimes. Those changes sought to eliminate arbitrariness in imposing the death penalty, either by stipulating factors to be considered in arriving at a sentence or by listing instances in which a death penalty would be mandatory, such as for first-degree murder.

The rulings in the five cases handed down by the court and generally lumped under the “*Gregg*” appellation all endorsed as constitutional the concept of the death penalty. But not all agreed that reforms enacted in response to *Furman* avoided the ban on cruel and unusual punishment. In North Carolina and Louisiana, legislators had tried to get around the problem of arbitrary jury decisions by mandating the death penalty for certain crimes. The Court held, 5-4, that such mandates violated the “fundamental respect for humanity” underlying the Eighth Amendment curb on punishment. Before setting punishment, the rulings said, jurors must be allowed to consider aspects of a defendant’s character or circumstances of the crime itself that would argue against imposing the death penalty.

A mandatory sentence, Justice Potter Stewart wrote, removes “the possibility of compassionate or mitigating factors stemming from the diverse fragilities of humankind.”

But in the other three cases that the Justices considered—from Georgia, Florida, and Texas—a court majority decided that the reworked death penalty procedure satisfied constitutional requirements. Seven of the nine Justices agreed with that outcome but took different paths to arrive at their conclusions; of the six

separate opinions, none garnered more than three signatures.

The version written by Stewart became the court’s official holding. That decision okayed the process under which Troy Leon Gregg drew a death sentence in Georgia for killing two men who picked Gregg up as he was hitchhiking; learning that one Samaritan had a wad of cash, he shot them both and stole the car.*

The procedure by which Gregg was sentenced to die was based largely on the American Law Institute’s Model Penal Code. That 1962 guide for state legislators did not address the advisability of the death penalty but did list what the Institute saw as proper procedures for applying it. As adopted by Georgia—and endorsed by the Stewart opinion—that regimen involved a jury first finding an accused guilty, then considering penalty in a separate procedure that included considering both mitigating and aggravating circumstances. A jury can impose the death penalty only if it finds at least one of ten specific “aggravating circumstances” to have been involved. Under the Georgia law, any death verdict is appealed automatically to the state supreme court. If the justices there agree they must find not only that jurors were not swayed by “passion, prejudice, or other arbitrary factor” but also must cite similar cases in which the death penalty was imposed.

At the time of the *Gregg* ruling, the Court was divided into three camps on the death penalty. Justices William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall believed that in all cases it was unconstitutionally cruel. A bloc led by Chief Justice Warren Burger felt each state should be free to make its own decision. The Stewart coalition that wrote the prevailing decision tried to find a way to mediate between the two camps, to, as some put it, “mend it, not end it.”

The Justices based their approval of the Georgia process—and of the death sentence’s constitutional permissibility—on two pillars. Juries had leeway to consider all aspects of the crime and the criminal as well as guidance on how to weigh those aspects. And the punishment did not violate prevailing concepts of what was cruel and unusual, as evidenced by the fact that Congress and more than two-thirds of the states had after *Furman* shown continued support for the death penalty by refashioning their processes to reflect the Court’s mandates.

In this century, the Justices have narrowed the range of cases activating the death penalty. They held in 2002 that it is unconstitutional when the victim did not die, even in cases of child rape. In another 2002 case the court said mentally retarded murderers may not be executed, and in 2005 that juveniles may never be given the death penalty. Including a Virginia measure implemented in 2021, 23 states have abolished the death penalty, 13 of them since the *Gregg* decision. But the *Gregg* ruling that the death penalty does not violate the constitutional ban on cruel and unusual punishment remains the law of the land. ★

* In July 1980, a day before he was to die, Gregg, with three other death row inmates, sawed through cell bars and fled Georgia State Prison in Reidsville. Within three days authorities had captured the others. By then Gregg had been killed in a fight. His corpse had been weighted down and dumped in a river.

**WORKING
FROM VARIED
ANGLES, SEVEN
OF NINE JUS-
TICES DECIDED
THE REWORKED
METHOD MET
CONSTITUTIONAL
REQUIREMENTS.**



TAKING HOME EC GLOBAL

BY SARAH RICHARDSON

As Flemmie Pansy Kittrell was departing South Africa on a U.S. government-sponsored visit in 1967, one of her Afrikaner escorts asked how she had enjoyed her stay in the apartheid state. “I have never been so unhappy as I am now, to think that you think I enjoyed my stay, but I thank you for your courtesy,” Kittrell diplomatically replied. A Black American professor of home economics serving informally as a goodwill ambassador, Kittrell had spent her life straddling uncomfortable barriers. Against the historic grain, she established an influential career in the emerging field of home economics and in 1936 became the first Black woman in the United States to earn a PhD in nutrition.

Often noted for that first, Kittrell was part of a wave of Blacks entering higher education. Before 1920, only 21 Black Americans had ever earned PhDs. Between 1930 and 1939 alone, the number was 189. Kittrell spotted and shaped opportunity through a career in which she and other Blacks encountered both new possibilities and persistent resistance. She was early to innovate in preschool education, creating programs Head Start drew upon when that effort launched in 1965. A quiet reformer, Kittrell was not so discreet as to avoid attention from the FBI, which kept a dossier on her activities as a pacifist and world traveler.

Born in 1904 in Henderson, North Carolina, to parents who were sharecroppers of Cherokee and African descent, Kittrell was the seventh of nine siblings. At 15 she lied that she was 16 to get into historically

Black Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia. Her teacher in Henderson, a Hampton graduate, had urged her student to apply.

Founded in 1868, Hampton, one of a handful of its kind, stressed training in the trades and the domestic arts; throughout their enrollment, students had to work on campus. Kittrell spent nine years at Hampton, completing high school and in 1928 a degree in home economics—which she chose over political science. The field, previously “domestic science,” dated to the early 1890s, formalized mainly by professional and personal partners Martha Van Rensselaer and Flora Rose. These two childless White women forged the renamed field at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, reaching beyond household skills to produce practitioners expert at managing nutritional and educational programs in rural communities in the United States and abroad.

Degree in hand, Kittrell was hired to create a home economics department at Bennett

College. The Greensboro, North Carolina, institution was one of only two historically Black colleges for women in the country.

Besides founding a study nursery school Kittrell launched a home making institute whose activist brief encompassed voter registration, public health, and better housing. Bennett students' civic engagement carried forward to the era of civil-rights lunchroom sit-ins.

Worldwide Reach

Left, Kittrell in the 1960s at a display illustrating the extent to which the Cornell Home Ec department exerted influence.

Kittrell spent summers completing graduate degrees at Cornell, there earning in 1936 a Home Economics PhD focused on Rural Education, Child Studies, and Nutrition. Like her mentors, Kittrell envisioned home economics as reaching far outside the home, into the community, and throughout the world.

Many elite schools scorned home ec, but Cornell, a land grant university, welcomed what was called "the art and science of the family unit." Even so, Cornell at that time housed some African American enrollees with international students rather than desegregate its dormitories, reports Kittrell scholar Allison Horrocks. Kittrell, her eyes on the prize, seems to have transcended this environment. "I think I can say that I did not have problems in general because I wouldn't allow myself to have problems," she said later.

Segregation went further. Until 1944, the American Home Economics Association segregated chapters, that year admitting southern Blacks, but only as at-large members. The motto of the New Homemakers of America, for Black teens, was, "If there is harmony and love in the home, there will be justice in the nation. If there is justice in the nation, there will be peace in the world." Kittrell pursued harmony, leaving a record in deeds, not words.

In her PhD work, Kittrell focused on analyzing nutrition for Black infants in North Carolina. Data from the city of Greensboro showed that of three Black children in any given family, two were dying. Black infant mortality overall was twice that for Whites. Malnutrition was pervasive. Kittrell knew the toll firsthand. Her older sister Mabel had died at 22 of pellagra, a disease of nutritional deficiency, in 1919, the year that Kittrell enrolled at Hampton. "Hidden hunger" caused by nutrient-poor diets remained a lifelong concern of hers.

In 1940, with a world war boosting demand for expertise in managing meals and other household services, Kittrell left Bennett to return to Hampton, where she relaunched the home ec department. In 1944 Howard University in Washington, DC, named her its dean of home economics. She revamped that program and led a successful campaign for a new building to house it. From her base at Howard, she ranged on stints overseas for government agencies. Her first, for the State Department, sent her to Liberia in 1946 on a childcare and nutrition survey. Cold War-era

assignments took her across Africa and Southeast Asia. One reporter described her as "a good will ambassador with a cookbook."

At home, Kittrell became deeply involved in the Johnson administration's Head Start early childhood education program, which built on models that she and earlier home economists had pioneered. Horrocks cites a 1939 *New York Times* article in which Kittrell emphasized the impact of early education, observing that "crime and delinquency" were "associated with homes that are poorly managed."

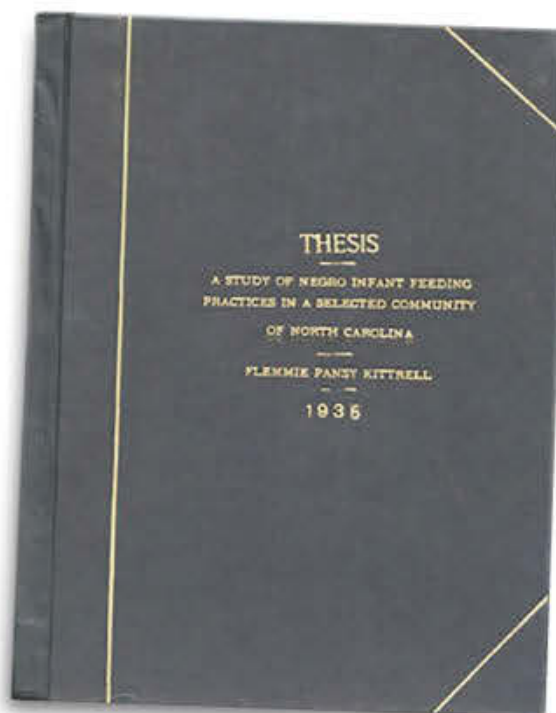
As a consultant, she set up facilities and trained some 2,000 teachers for Head Start. Respecting parents, she counseled, was critical for securing their trust.

Over her career, Kittrell promoted international outreach through 4-H programs, even though those entities' units in the United States were segregated. International renown did not spare her the sting of racism, such as when, in the early 1960s, she sat for lunch with colleagues at a Maryland diner. The White staff refused to serve her.

Like many professional peers of her era, Kittrell remained unwed and childless—laughing off queries about her private life by saying she "didn't sit still long enough."

During her career federal and private funding for higher education for Blacks rose, yet coincidentally the discipline came under attack for being too narrow, too broad, too political, and too conservative—all at once. Debates over the direction of home ec divided the profession, leading to another rebranding. In 1976, the year Kittrell retired, home economists voted to rename their field "human ecology," obliterating its once-central association with home and hearth.

In retirement Kittrell changed course, intending to make a museum and educational center of the residence in Gloucester, Virginia, of the late Thomas Calhoun Walker. A Black lawyer and Hampton and Tuskegee educator, Walker had promoted the importance of home ownership as a tool for building Black wealth. Before she could do so, Kittrell, 76, died. In 2009, the Walker property was nominated to the National Registry of Historic Places. Kittrell, quietly ahead of her time, again. ★



Groundbreaker

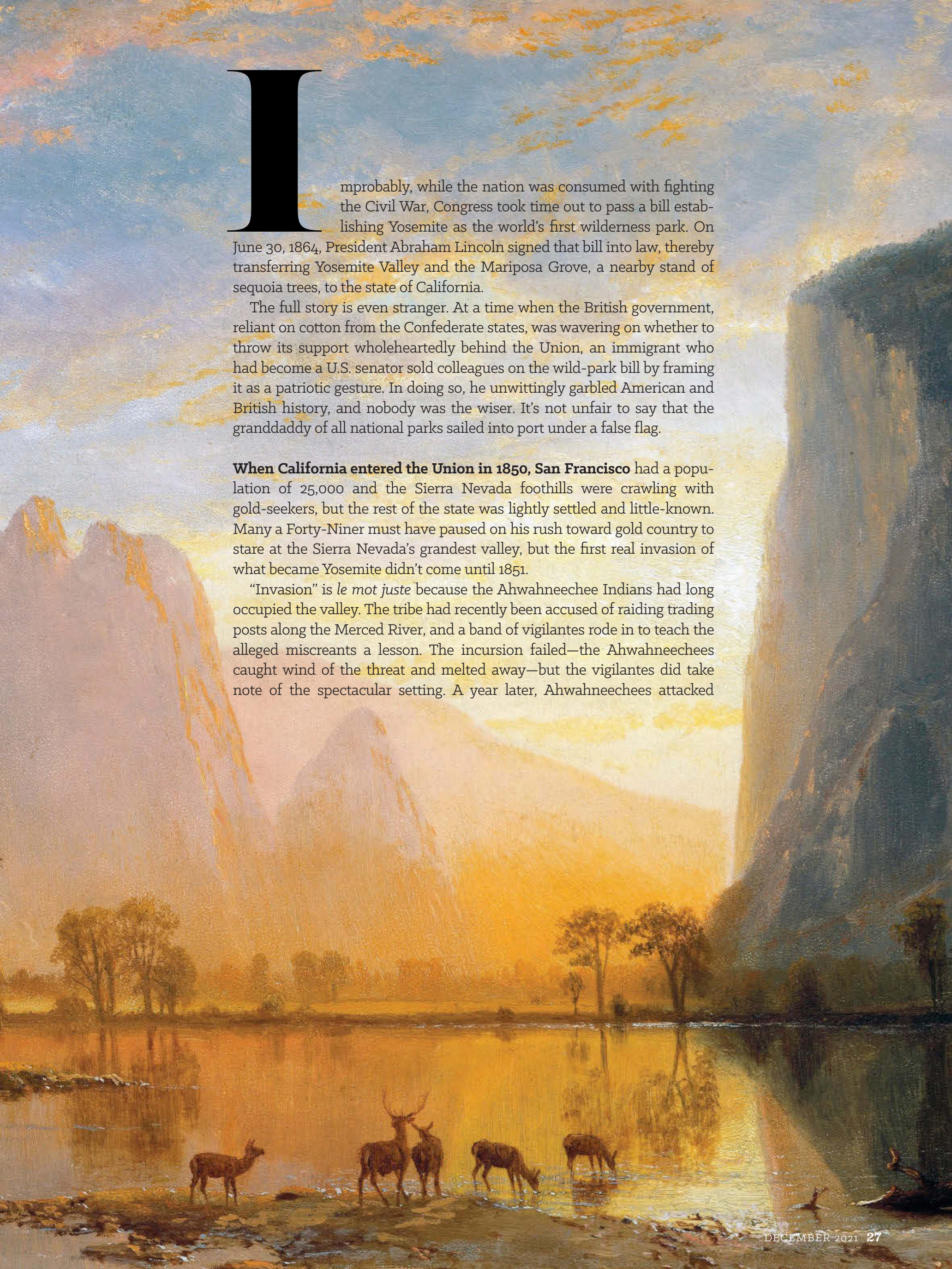
By obtaining her PhD in nutrition, Kittrell took a giant step on behalf of her career, her community, and her academic discipline.

Selling Yosemite

The tall tale that spawned
the national park system
By Dennis Drabelle

The Light in the Wilderness

In 1864 landscape artist Albert Bierstadt applied
his eye and hand to the Valley of the Yosemite.

A painting of a Yosemite Valley scene. In the foreground, several deer are gathered near a body of water, possibly a lake or a wide river. The water reflects the surrounding landscape. In the middle ground, there are several tall, slender trees, likely sequoias, standing on a grassy bank. The background features majestic, rugged mountains with steep cliffs and snow-capped peaks. The sky is filled with soft, golden light, suggesting a sunrise or sunset. The overall mood is serene and majestic.

Improbably, while the nation was consumed with fighting the Civil War, Congress took time out to pass a bill establishing Yosemite as the world's first wilderness park. On June 30, 1864, President Abraham Lincoln signed that bill into law, thereby transferring Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove, a nearby stand of sequoia trees, to the state of California.

The full story is even stranger. At a time when the British government, reliant on cotton from the Confederate states, was wavering on whether to throw its support wholeheartedly behind the Union, an immigrant who had become a U.S. senator sold colleagues on the wild-park bill by framing it as a patriotic gesture. In doing so, he unwittingly garbled American and British history, and nobody was the wiser. It's not unfair to say that the granddaddy of all national parks sailed into port under a false flag.

When California entered the Union in 1850, San Francisco had a population of 25,000 and the Sierra Nevada foothills were crawling with gold-seekers, but the rest of the state was lightly settled and little-known. Many a Forty-Niner must have paused on his rush toward gold country to stare at the Sierra Nevada's grandest valley, but the first real invasion of what became Yosemite didn't come until 1851.

"Invasion" is *le mot juste* because the Ahwahneechee Indians had long occupied the valley. The tribe had recently been accused of raiding trading posts along the Merced River, and a band of vigilantes rode in to teach the alleged miscreants a lesson. The incursion failed—the Ahwahneechees caught wind of the threat and melted away—but the vigilantes did take note of the spectacular setting. A year later, Ahwahneechees attacked



Painting Persuasively

An 1866 Bierstadt of Mt. Starr King helped build enthusiasm for the national parks. Below right: A glacial tarn reflects Mt. Conness.

prospectors who may or may not have provoked the incident and killed two of them. The U.S. Army retaliated by killing five Indians, and the Ahwahnechees abandoned the valley.

The tribe left a legacy: the name Yosemite, thought to translate as “some among them are killers.” Over the next decade or so, a succession of more benevolent visitors, notably Thomas Starr King, Carleton E. Watkins, Albert Bierstadt, and James M. Hutchings, shaped the valley’s image. King wrote glowing travel articles about the area for readers in his native New England. Watkins captured the valley in photographs, Bierstadt on canvas. Hutchings took up residence and became the valley’s leading innkeeper, glorifying the place in his eponymous *Hutchings’ Illustrated California Magazine*.

Yosemite also benefited from the close relationship between transportation modes and

**HUTCHINGS
TOOK UP
RESIDENCE
AND BECAME
THE VALLEY’S
LEADING
INNKEEPER,
GLORIFYING THE
PLACE IN HIS
EPONYMOUS
ILLUSTRATED
MAGAZINE.**

spectacular American nature. Before completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, travel by sea—interrupted by a portage across the isthmus of Panama—was the safest, surest way from the East to the Far West.

Enter Israel Ward Raymond, a California agent for the Central American Steamship Transit Company of New York. On February 20, 1864, Raymond wrote to California’s junior senator, John Conness. Offering as evidence a photograph taken at what is now known as Inspiration Point, Raymond raved to the senator about Yosemite’s scenic values and sounded a note that became a constant in early campaigns to carve parks out of federal land: “The summits are mostly bare Granite Rocks and in some parts the surface is covered only by pine trees and can never be of much value.” All Yosemite was good



for, in other words, was enthralling tourists.

Urging legislation to preserve the valley and, for good measure, the Mariposa Grove of big trees, Raymond proffered draft language. He proposed naming California the two tracts' owner and instructing that state to delegate management of them to a board of commissioners. Implementing Raymond's proposal would likely increase passenger traffic on Central American Transit steamships, but in other respects the bill was public-spirited, directing that profits from concessions go back into the park and that park commissioners serve gratis.

In Conness Raymond had found the right drum major. The freshman senator was born in County Galway, Ireland, in 1821, the last of 14 children. The family emigrated to America in 1836, settling in New York City, where the boy apprenticed to a piano maker.

In 1849, young Conness answered the call of the Gold Rush. He did all right as a miner, better at supplying provisions to others. In 1852, Conness ran for the state assembly as a Democrat—half a century later he recalled being apolitical until “efforts to ally California with proslavery” got his dander up—and won.

After four terms in the assembly and a failed gubernatorial campaign, Conness became a U.S. senator without having sought the job.

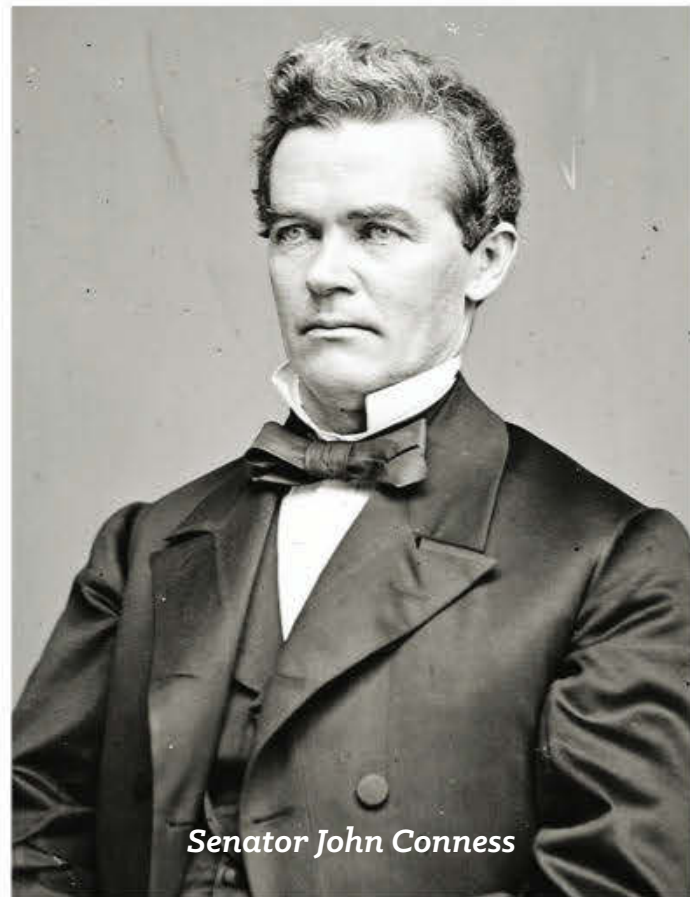
Until 1913 state legislatures, not voters, elected senators, and with a seat open thanks to a bribery scandal California lawmakers looked beyond

the declared candidates. Their gaze landed on Conness, a seasoned legislator of good reputation, and he went to Washington in 1863.

Senator Conness forwarded Israel Raymond's Yosemite letter to the commissioner of the U.S. General Land Office with a request to draw up a proper bill. The Land Office complied, and Conness introduced the bill on March 28, 1864. After a Senate committee favorably reported out the legislation on May 17, Conness made a strategic decision: focus less on the majestic valley than on the gargantuan trees. Accordingly, the *Congressional Globe* reported the floor debate under the heading “MARIPOSA BIG TREE GROVE,” with the much more extensive Yosemite Valley almost an afterthought.

When his bill reached the Senate floor, Conness walked fellow senators through its provisions. He emphasized a point made by Raymond: the tracts to be conveyed to and protected by the state were “for all public purposes worthless.” Yet, he added, those expanses “constitute, perhaps, some of the greatest wonders of the world.”

Then came trouble. Senator Lafayette Sabine Foster (R-Connecticut) piped up to ask what the state of California thought of taking on this responsibility. “The application comes to us from various gentlemen in California, gentlemen of fortune, of taste, and of refinement,” Conness assured Foster. “And the plan proposed in this bill has been suggested by them.” Foster kept at



Senator John Conness



Loved Nearly to Extinction

Clockwise from right: “Mother of the Forest” in Calaveras Grove, 305 feet tall, died when stripped of its bark; the great trees in Mariposa Grove in 1876; mammoth trees in Calaveras County; a 30-foot diameter section of the Big Tree.

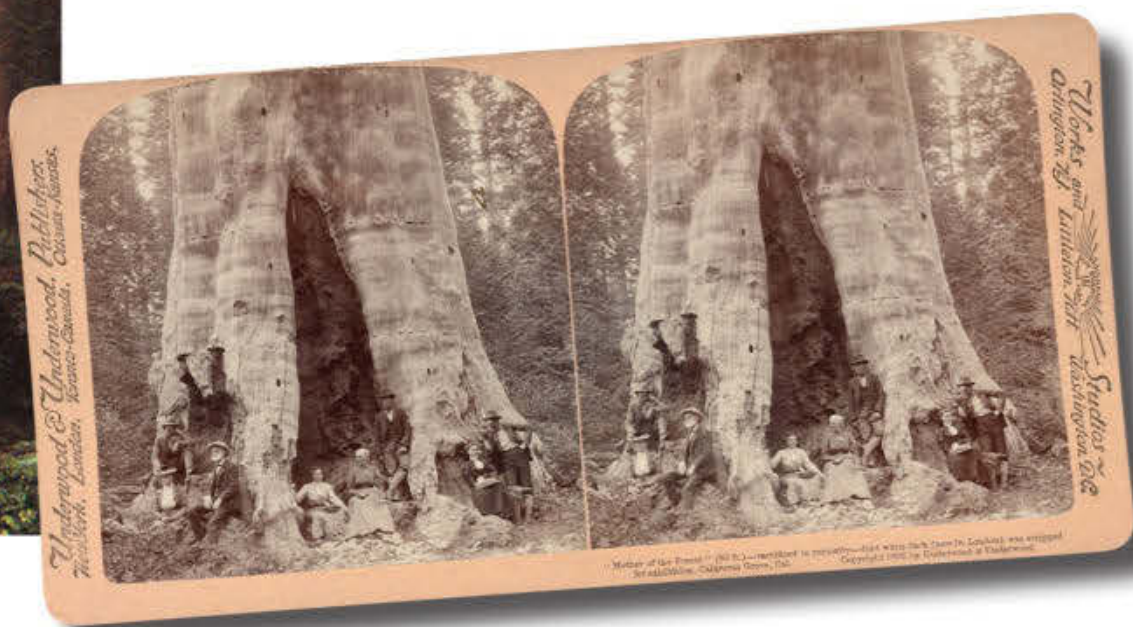


it, calling the proposal “a rather singular [one], unprecedented so far as my recollection goes, and unless the State through her appropriate authorities signified some wish in the matter, it might be deemed by the State officious on our part to make a grant of this kind.”

Conness, perhaps with a trace of Hibernian sarcasm, said in reply, “Ordinarily I should hope I spoke for the State of California here. I feel authorized to do so under existing circumstances. There is no parallel, and can be no parallel for this measure, for there is not . . . on earth just such a condition of things. The Mariposa Big Tree Grove is really the wonder of the world, containing those magnificent monarchs of the forest that are from thirty to forty feet in diameter.”

Senator Garrett Davis, a Union Democrat from Kentucky, asked how old the trees were, allowing Conness to administer his knockout punch. After giving a number—“estimated to reach an age of 3,000 years”—Conness claimed that at stake was nothing less than American credibility. Years before secession, from another grove of sequoias, the Calaveras, Californians had sent to London sections of felled trees to be exhibited, Conness explained. “The English who saw it declared it to be a Yankee invention, made [up] from beginning to end; that it was an utter untruth that such trees grew in the country; that it could not be,” he said.

Not even the disclosure that transporting the massive pieces of wood across the Atlantic had cost several thousand dollars, Conness asserted, could bring the British around: “They would not believe us.” He summed





BY CASTING ENGLAND AS A BÊTE NOIRE, CONNESS HAD SUCCEEDED IN FRAMING AN INNOVATIVE PIECE OF LAWMAKING IN A PATRIOTICALLY IRRESISTIBLE WAY.

honorable Senator from California had not the most perfect and entire right to speak for his State,” Foster backtracked, “and I am at a loss to understand what I was so unfortunate as to say which led him to suppose that I doubted it.” With that, the world’s greatest deliberative body prepared to vote.

“The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading,” the *Congressional Globe* reported, “and was read for the third time, and passed.”

The House followed suit, and the enrolled bill was promptly signed into law. By casting England as a *bête noire* and by reducing the issue before the Senate to the slogan-like phrase “They would not believe us,” Conness had succeeded in framing an innovative piece of lawmaking in a patriotically irresistible way.

up by pointing out that “the purpose of this bill is to preserve one of these groves from devastation and injury. The necessity of taking early possession and care of these great wonders can easily be seen and understood.”

By now it had dawned on the gentleman from Connecticut that his demand for the state of California’s opinion on the bill could be taken as a breach of senatorial courtesy. “I certainly did not mean to say anything which implied that the

It did not hurt that the era was one in which a politician could hardly go wrong by playing to anti-British animus. In 1862, *The New York Times* had reported that on that year’s annual Commemoration Day at Oxford University, mention of Jefferson Davis’s name had brought “tumultuous and unanimous applause” while Lincoln’s name “was greeted with hisses and groans.” In his *Memoirs*, Ulysses Grant recalled thinking that “our republican institutions were regarded as experiments up to the breaking out of the rebellion, and monarchical Europe generally believed that our republic was a rope of sand that would part the moment the slightest strain was brought upon it.”

Saving Yosemite and the big trees would teach England and other monarchical countries that the republic was no rope of sand, that Americans were telling the truth about their fabulous natural resources, and that they were willing to back up their words with action. Presented as a thumbing of the nose at John Bull, the Yosemite park bill had been an easy yes vote.

But for all of Conness’s caginess, his memory had played him false. The fair he cited, popularly known as the Crystal Palace Exhibition, had taken place in 1851. Those sequoia sections from California hadn’t reached England until 1857, when they scored an unequivocal triumph. What happened in between was a far cry from Conness’s claims.

In summer 1852, miners felled an enormous Calaveras Grove sequoia, cross-sectioned the massive trunk, and put the sections on display, charging the public for a look at the extraordinary things. After a brief run in San Francisco, the cross-sections sailed to New York via Cape Horn in the care of one Captain W.H. Hanford.

In New York, Hanford ran afoul of impresario Phineas T. Barnum (“Becoming Barnum,” February 2017). Striving to recreate London’s success with its exhibition of a year before, the city had built a copycat Crystal Palace, which flopped. Barnum had publicly vowed to reverse the hangdog hall’s fortunes by stocking it with wonders. Hanford was sure his tree sections would qualify. Barnum told him to get lost.

Undaunted, Hanford rented space, planning to exhibit the sequoia sections on his own—whereupon Barnum planted stories in New York newspapers deriding Hanford’s exhibit as fakery.

Most people believed Barnum—if the country’s huckster-in-chief said something was phony, then by God it must be—and gave Hanford’s



Phineas T. Barnum



Horace Greeley



exhibition a miss. The few who did attend came out muttering “that it was impossible, that such a thing never grew, and that they were being humbugged,” Hanford complained to a friend.

The stubborn captain readied his pieces of tree trunk for shipment to Paris, but disaster became utter when the enormous cross-sections burned in a New York fire.

In California, another gang of ax- and crosscut saw-wielding vandals was assaulting another sequoia, whose magnificence had earned that tree the sobriquet Mother of the Forest. The miscreants stripped the lower trunk of bark, removing eight-foot pieces nearly 24” thick. Shipped to New York in 1855 by entrepreneur George D. Trask, a sample of these strips enjoyed a much better reception than that accorded Hanford’s giant cross-sections.

The New York Crystal Palace had changed hands; now newspaperman Horace Greeley was about to reopen the hall under his management. Negotiating with Trask, Greeley renamed the “mother” tree the Mastodon, rounded up expert testimonials to its authenticity, and in an advertisement touting his exhibit ridiculed the Hanford display of three years earlier as “almost a pygmy.” On July 4, 1855, Greeley succeeded where Barnum had failed. Crowds queued to goggle at the big bark from California and kept goggling all summer, at the end of which the New York Crystal Palace had turned a profit.

Now to see how the Mastodon fared at the actual Crystal Palace. On April 10, 1857, the tree bark made its English debut in the original glass structure, relocated to another part of London.

CROWDS QUEUED TO GOGGLE AT THE BIG BARK FROM CALIFORNIA AND KEPT GOGGLING ALL SUMMER. THE NEW YORK SHOWPLACE TURNED A PROFIT.

The Yank spectacle did boffo business. “Twenty-seven thousand people were able to get in that first day, and it was estimated that an equal number were turned away for lack of room,” wrote historian Joseph H. Engbeck Jr. “From that time until the Crystal Palace was destroyed by fire in 1866, tens of thousands of people were able to see the gigantic display and to sense—at least dimly—the serene, inspirational quality of living giant sequoias.”

In sum, the truth about the tree’s welcome in Britain was almost the opposite of what Conness had said to sway fellow senators. Barnum had engineered the discrediting of the original sequoia exhibit, and gullible American patrons had echoed his lies. The episode was an exercise

in New York cynicism that the English took no part in. What’s more, when Brits finally had a sequoia exhibit at hand—starring the Motherly Mastodon’s woody skin—they flocked to it and loved what they saw.

Not that Senator Conness knowingly misled colleagues. With its two sacrificial sequoias, two Crystal Palaces, and four showmen, the story was an easy one to get wrong. Conness may well have believed every syllable of his spiel about the big trees’ English reception—although with that fillip about the exhibitors laying out “thousands of dollars” to ship the sections across the Atlantic he was surely winging it. In any case, nobody fact-checked Conness’s yarn, then or later.

Americans were soon referring to Yosemite as a “national park,” never mind that California owned the acreage and that the word “park” appeared nowhere in the law. The phrase’s most influential popularizer was state geologist Josiah Whitney, who in a guidebook he wrote for Yosemite characterized the valley as “an exceptional creation . . . it has been made a National public park and placed under the charge of the State of California.” Thanks to Whitney’s loose wording and Yosemite’s pedigree as a tract originating in the public domain, the place wore a federal halo during the period between its inauguration in 1864 and its return to federal owner-



Beauty Preserved
Clockwise from left: visitors pause on a ride; a stream in Yosemite Valley; Cathedral Rock.

ship as a thoroughgoing national park in 1906.

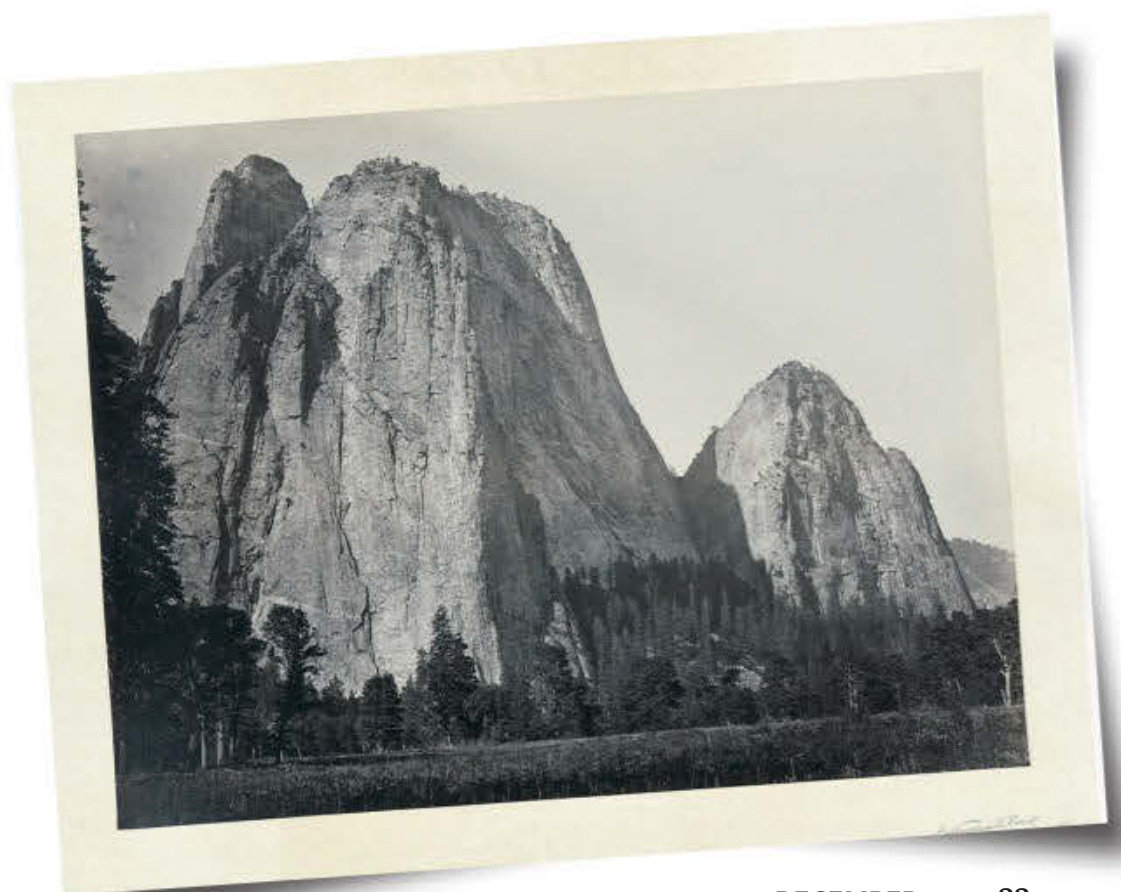
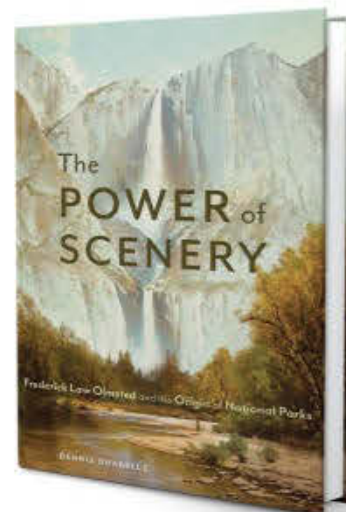
The important thing about Yosemite, however, was not the remarks advancing the park's establishment, or which level of government owned and took care of it, but the example it set. The 1864 law marked the first time that federal land had been set aside for "a strictly nonutilitarian purpose," historian Hans Huth wrote. "It is necessary to stress this point in view of the claims that Yellowstone set this precedent." Alfred Runte supports Huth's thesis in his book *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness*: "The park act of 1864 was the first instance of scenic preservation in the United States and thus represented the conceptualization of the national park idea." That this conceptualization emerged from a politician's garbled chronicle of Anglo-American relations hardly detracts from Yosemite's luster as the premiere of what became an American and then a global phenomenon. Since then more than 100 countries have established in excess of 4,000 national parks around the world.

Eight years after Yosemite achieved park status, Yellowstone—a tract some 40 miles square that lay mostly in Wyoming and partly in Montana—came up for similar consideration. There was no doubt about the region's scenic values or the importance of keeping Yellowstone wild, but the Yosemite solution of entrusting land to a state would not work because Wyoming and Montana were still territories. Hence the federal government retained title and control, and the first national park in the full sense of that adjective came to be.

By then John Conness was an ex-senator, denied a second term because his favorable stance toward his fellow immigrants the Chinese sat poorly with the California legislature. He withdrew from politics and moved to Boston, Massachusetts, where he lived quietly until his death in 1909. His role in establishing Yosemite Park, however, lives on: Mt. Conness and Conness Creek in the Sierra Nevada pay homage to his finest achievement. ★

Copyright Dennis Drabelle, 2012.

For more information, visit nebraskapress.unl.edu/bison-books/9781496220776/



Words That Burned
At Governor Cosby's
order, copies of the
New-York Weekly Jour-
nal are put to the torch
in a public display on
Wall Street.





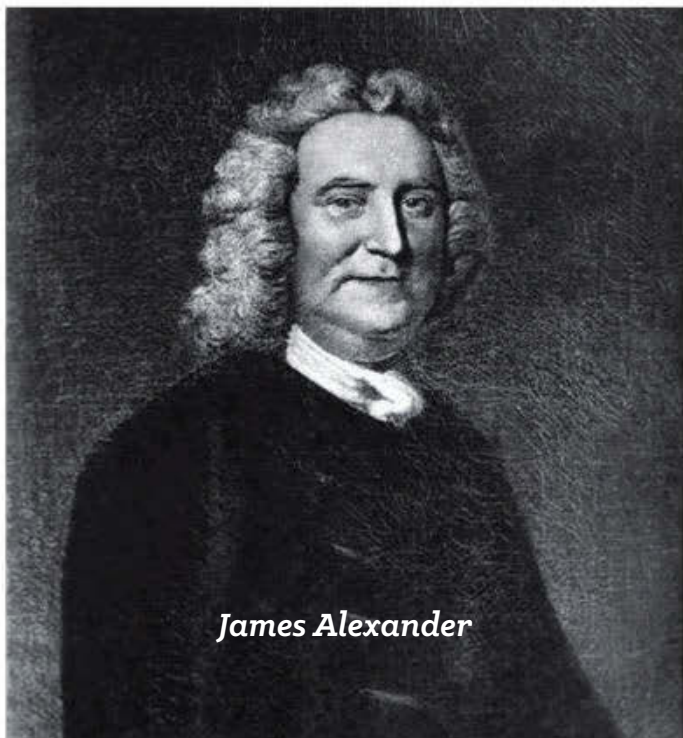
Zenger's Zingers

When the Colonial Press Grew Teeth
By Steven Neill

T

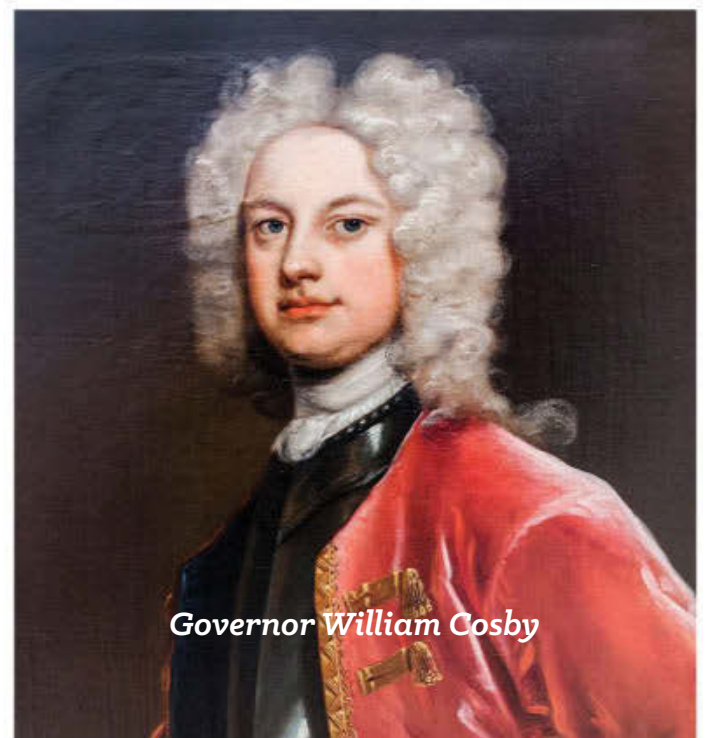
he United States was the first nation to enshrine freedom of spoken and written opinion—an inalienable right impervious to government control. But early Americans enjoyed no such liberty, subject as they were to the British government's tight control over the press. In the early 1700s, even as Parliament was beginning to relax licensing requirements for printed materials at home and in Britain's colonies, the crown still presumed any perceived criticism of the ruler by a publisher to be criminally seditious and punishable as a hazard to law, order, and the peace of the kingdom. Fear of harsh punishment kept all but a few of the most radical publishers, domestic and colonial, toeing the official line.

So, when on November 5, 1733, a New York City newspaper began publishing articles ridiculing that colony's recently appointed royal governor, readers were shocked, even though many agreed with the jabs. Owner and publisher John Peter Zenger had little to do with the *New-York Weekly Journal's* unattributed jibes at Governor William Cosby. Zenger was fronting for a cabal led by New York Supreme Court Chief Justice Lewis Morris and James Alexander, a highly successful attorney who was the paper's editor. Alexander, Morris, and their circle loathed Cosby, appointed by London, because of his flagrant disregard for the rule of law and his abuses of power. Besides mocking Cosby and other officials, Alexander covered local news, unheard of in an English press cowed by fear of official reprisal. As a shield against prosecution for libel, Alexander and his contributors satirized their targets, as when in early editions the *Journal* called a government minister an "impudent monster in iniquity," who might not "immediately be come at by ordinary Justice." But "let him yet receive the Lash of Satyr... and if he has no Conscience, rouse his Fear . . . sting him with the Dread of Punishment, cover him with Shame, and render his Actions odious to all honest Minds, and he might be



James Alexander

**EVEN WHEN
IN SOLITARY
CONFINEMENT,
ZENGER
REFUSED TO
NAME THE
AUTHORS
OF THE
OFFENDING
JOURNAL
ARTICLES.**



Governor William Cosby

held accountable.” Never naming names, the paper ran parables, plays, and anecdotes alluding to past, foreign, and mythological places and times populated by historical or imagined individuals or animals. Morris anonymously wrote in the January 21, 1734, edition, “Let this wiseacre (whoever he is) go to any country wife and tell

her that the fox is a mischievous creature that can and does do her much hurt, that it is difficult if not impracticable to catch him and that therefore she ought on any terms to keep in with him. Why don’t we keep in with serpents and wolves on this foot? Animals much more innocent and less mischievous to the public than some Governors have proved.”

Soon the *Journal* articles shifted from cheeky generalities to barely disguised verbal assaults on Cosby and cronies. Only Zenger’s name and title as publisher appeared in each edition. Columns went unattributed. After two months of public criticism, Cosby tried to bring libel charges against Zenger. But the Assembly, the Common Council, and grand juries all refused to participate in proceedings those bodies’ members recognized as a move to silence a critic exposing distasteful truths. On Sunday, November 17, 1734, Cosby had Zenger arrested for publishing articles “tending to raise Factions and Tumults, among the People of this Province, inflaming their Minds with Contempt of His Majesty’s Government, and greatly disturbing the Peace thereof.” Brought before the court, Zenger would not identify the *Journal*’s writers, leading the judge to levy a bail the publisher could not afford. Placed in solitary confinement, he continued to refuse to name the authors of the offending articles. The standoff led to a trial that helped establish the principle of freedom of the press.



Mr. Zenger;
I Have been Reading, the arguments of Mr. Smith, and Murray, with Regard to the Courts, and there is one Thing, I can’t comprehend, viz. If it is the same Court, I take it, that all the Writs ought to be taken out in England, and tested by the Judges there; if they are taken out here, the same Judges ought to test them here. If it is a like Court, it is not the same; and if not the same, it is not that fundamental Court which is established by immemorial Custom. I would be glad some of your Correspondents would clear up this Point; because in my poor Opinion, if the Exchequer Court here is not the same identical Court as the Exchequer Court in England, it is without Lawful Authority.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Dantzick, August 4.
Yesterday the Bishop of Cracow, in the King’s Name, received Homage of this City, and the Ceremony was very magnificent. His Majesty, before his Departure, issued the Universalia for holding of the Petty-Dyets in the Provinces. Those in Polish Prussia, will be held in 15 Days. The Russian and Saxon Troops will march suddenly to the Places where the Provincial Assemblies are to be opened; and the rest are to go and post themselves in Great Poland. M. Rewuski, the Crown Carver, is declared Regimentary, and is to command a Body of Troops, consisting of 2000 Russian Dragoons, 11000 Cossacks, and the Regiment Guards formerly in the Service of King Stanislaus.

Brussels, August 6.
Letters from Rome of the 17th past advise, That they had Advice there that the Siege of Gaeta was not yet formed, altho’ the Spaniards had there 70 Cannon, and Mortars, and were working on Batteries, but that all they raised in the Night was beat down next Morning by the Cannon of the Palace; and that the Heats being already Excessive, the Spaniards were in Fear of losing a vast Number of Men in the Reduction of that Fortrefs.

Hamburg, August 10.
According to Letters from the Camp before Dantzick, the Vessels there were taken up by Order of the Generals in Chief, to serve for carrying the heavy Artillery and Baggage by Water to Thorn and Warlaw.

We have certain Advice, that King, Stanislaus was departed from Brandenburg Prussia, and arrived safe in the Crown Army, under the Command of M. Kiowski, near Peterkow the 24th past, and immediately afterwards held a Council of War, wherein it was resolved to draw all the dispersed Troops into a Body, and march directly to Volhinia in Podolia.

Amst.

Read All About It

Besides giving the governor fits, the *Journal* reprinted news from around the world.

John Peter Zenger was 13 when he immigrated to New York with his family from the Rhenish Palatinate, a German-speaking region in war-torn central Europe. In a humanitarian gesture tinged with practicality, Britain’s Queen Anne in 1709, knowing of Palatine Germans’ reputation for industriousness, invited refugees from that area to settle in England, Ireland, or New York, a British holding since 1664. To pay off their voyages, those embracing the New York option, including children, had to indenture themselves as servants for eight years. The Zengers were among 3,000 Palatine refugees to immigrate to New York as indentures in 1710.

In New York, Johanna Zenger secured son John Peter an apprenticeship under William Bradford, the colony’s royal printer. In that role Bradford produced official documents, including the New York General Assembly’s laws and acts and the New York City Common Council’s ordinances, along with job-printing posters, broadsides, and tickets, as well as newspapers, and pamphlets and small books.

England had a long history of controlling privately distributed content. In 1275, the government defined the crime of libel as spreading “false tales”

which “may cause discord between the King and his people,” a category expanded in the 17th century to outlaw defaming a private person. Even a true statement could be criminally libelous; in fact, the more accurate the inflammatory comment, the more danger posed to the government and the more criminal the content. In 1538, King Henry VIII declared that publishers needed royal approval to print and distribute their output; anyone publishing without permission risked prosecution for disturbing the peace and sedition. Conviction could bring fines, imprisonment, the pillory, or amputation of the offender’s ears. Arrival in the 15th century of movable type and mass-production printing kept royal censors busy as nervy publishers tested the government’s patience. The restrictions came to North America along with British colonization. For example, after learning the trade from his father, young John Peter Zenger’s master, William Bradford, had been fined, jailed, and banished from Pennsylvania for printing materials objectionable to that colony’s powerful Quakers.

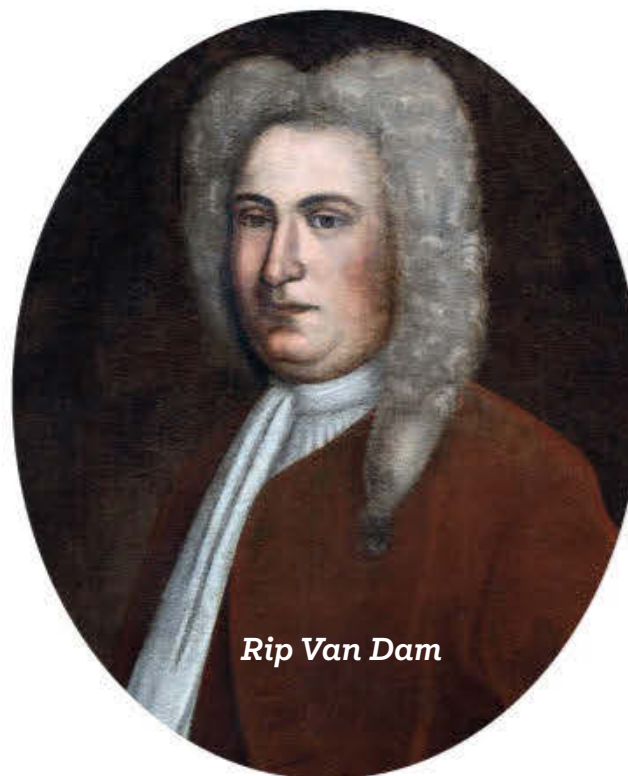
The Zengers arrived in New York amid political turmoil. Factions were jousting for control of the governor’s council and the Assembly. These included landed gentry led by the Morrisites, named for Council member Lewis Morris. Merchants dubbed “Delanceyites” followed Stephen Delancey, father of New York Supreme Court Justice James Delancey.

Gradually the Zengers worked their way into the city’s fabric. In 1719 John Peter completed his apprenticeship and married Mary White, who died soon after. In 1722 John wed Anna Catherine Maulin. In 1725, the 28-year-old Zenger partnered with Bradford, still the royal printer, to start the *New York Gazette*, the city’s first newspaper.

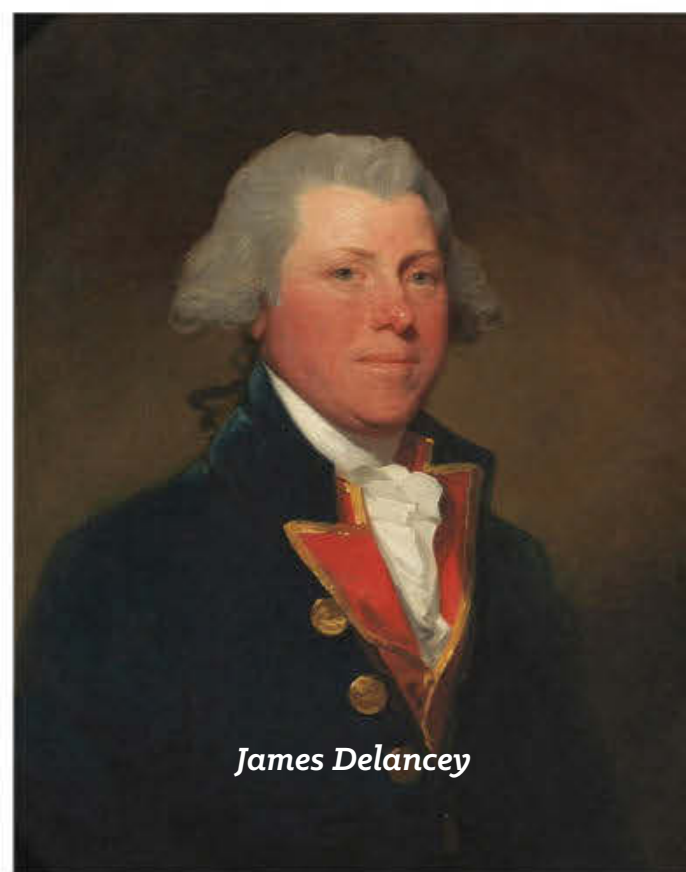
The weekly *Gazette* carried foreign news, government notices, shipping information, and advertising. A year later, Zenger quit his arrangement with Bradford to open a print shop specializing in religious sermons and tracts and works in German and Dutch. Zenger’s business dealings acquainted him with Councilman Cadwallader Colden and Senior New York Assemblyman Rip Van Dam, both friends of Lewis Morris.

In 1728, the balance of power in New York shifted toward the Delanceyites when William Burnett, a close friend and staunch ally of Morris, was reassigned from governing New York to become royal governor in Massachusetts. Burnett’s replacement in New York, Colonel John Montgomerie, stood with the Delanceyites, a reversal the Morrisites answered by enlarging their presence in the Assembly. Montgomerie’s unexpected death in 1731 dramatically altered the colony’s politics.

Well-connected to the British establishment through marriage, William Cosby, 42, was named New York’s governor in 1732 after being fired as governor of Minorca, a British holding in the Mediterranean, for poor performance. Cosby told the New York Assembly he would be staying in England to oppose enactment of the Molasses Act, a bill to levy an extremely high duty on sugar, molasses, rum, and spirits imported into British colonies from sugar-producing islands belonging to France, Spain, Holland, and Denmark. In Cosby’s absence, Assemblyman Van Dam held the fort. No evidence substantiates any effort by Cosby to stop the Molasses Act before it was passed and enacted or any effort by him to repeal the law once in effect. The New York Assembly nonetheless voted Cosby a generous annual salary of £1,650 for governing New York, a supplement of £400 for fuel and candles, £150 for travel, an additional £1,000 for managing New Jersey, and £750 for lobbying against the sugar bill—a special gratuity to which he was not legally entitled. Several Assemblymen resisted giving



Rip Van Dam



James Delancey



Governor Lewis Morris



Andrew Hamilton



Colonel Frederick Philipse

him a more significant bonus. “Damn them!” Cosby bellowed. “Why did they not add the shillings and pence?” Following a Cosby tirade over his £3,950 pay (\$941,680 in today’s dollars), the Assembly increased Cosby’s lobbying bonus to £1,000. Cosby then demanded half of what the colony was paying Van Dam as acting governor. Van Dam balked. Cosby sued. Realizing jurors in the local Chancery Court likely would side with Van Dam, the governor took his case straight to the New York Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court consisted of Chief Justice Lewis Morris and Justices Delancey and Colonel Frederick Philipse. Morris, a friend of Van Dam, opposed hearing the case because he felt Cosby was trampling the rules of legal jurisdiction. Cosby proceeded. At trial’s opening, Morris, stressing the court’s lack of standing to hear the case, criticized Cosby’s actions and left the building. Justice Delancey, citing a conflict of interest, recused himself, automatically bringing about a mistrial. Cosby demanded Morris’s decision in writing. Morris had Zenger’s shop print the ruling as a tract that the justice distributed publicly, drawing much attention. Cosby retaliated by removing Morris from the court and elevating Delancey to Chief Justice. Philipse kept his seat. The third position went vacant.

Intent on driving Cosby from office, Morris allied with like-minded lawyers James Alexander and William Smith. Based on the reception accorded Morris’s anti-Cosby tract, Alexander

hired Zenger to publish a new periodical, the *New-York Weekly Journal*, to provide the news and opinion with a Morrisite spin. An issue of the *Journal* consisted of a 12”x15” sheet printed on both sides and folded in half into four pages of large type spaced to be aesthetically appealing. Subscriptions cost three shillings per quarter. Advertisements cost three shillings the first week and one shilling weekly afterward. The only name on the masthead would be Zenger’s, but Morris, Smith, Colden, Van Dam, and other prominent New Yorkers would contribute articles. As a hedge against prosecution for libel, there would be no bylines, and letters to editor Alexander would go unsigned. As a further safeguard, the newspaper would never, ever mention Governor William Cosby by name.

In October 1733, Morris ran for the Assembly against Cosby lackey William Foster. In the vote count, sheriff and Cosby man Nicholas Cooper, trying to skew the results to Foster, illegally excluded 38 Quakers’ ballots. Morris still won. Debuting a week after the election, on November 5, the *Journal* reported on Cooper’s illegal election-day activities, also presenting essays, material reprinted from England’s *Spectator*, and other sources—plus critiques of New York’s colonial governors past and present. One item mocked governors whose last names began with “C,” insinuating that their tenures had “always proved unhappy” for the colony. Lambasting former governors Richard Coote and Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, the piece closed by observing, “what has once been may be again.” Other articles accused Governor Cosby of cronyism, election meddling, and real estate fraud. Advertisements ridiculed him and his associates; a lost animal notice described *Gazette* editor Francis Harrison as Cosby’s pet spaniel.

In the January 2, 1734, issue a letter to the editor declared that “a Governor who turns rogue does a thousand things for which a small rogue would have deserved a halter. And because it is difficult to obtain relief from him, therefore it is prudent to keep in with him and join in the roguery... And a fellow that is but one degree removed from an idiot shall, govern as he pleases, dispose of them [New Yorkers] and their properties at his

discretion..." The *Cosbyite Gazette* had been holding its fire, but now editor Harrison wrote in a letter he published in the *Gazette* that "there is nothing more scandalous to a government and detestable in the eyes of all good men as defamatory papers and pamphlets." The *Journal* replied, starting America's first newspaper war.

Quoting the January 2 *Journal*, Cosby pushed his compliant Chief Justice Delancey into calling for a grand jury indictment of Zenger and the *Journal* for libel, citing "[t]he recent publication of several papers... with a design and tendency to alienate the affections of His Majesty's subjects of the province, from the persons His Majesty has thought it fitting to set over them."

But Delancey's proclamation delineated no issues, articles, or paragraphs as libelous, and Cosby's name had never appeared in the *Journal*. The grand jury declined to hear the case. Cosby had Delancey call Zenger before the grand jury again on October 15. Cosby's lawyers presented *Journal* issues Number 7, 47, 48, and 49 as evidence of libel to the jury.

The court again declined to hear the case.

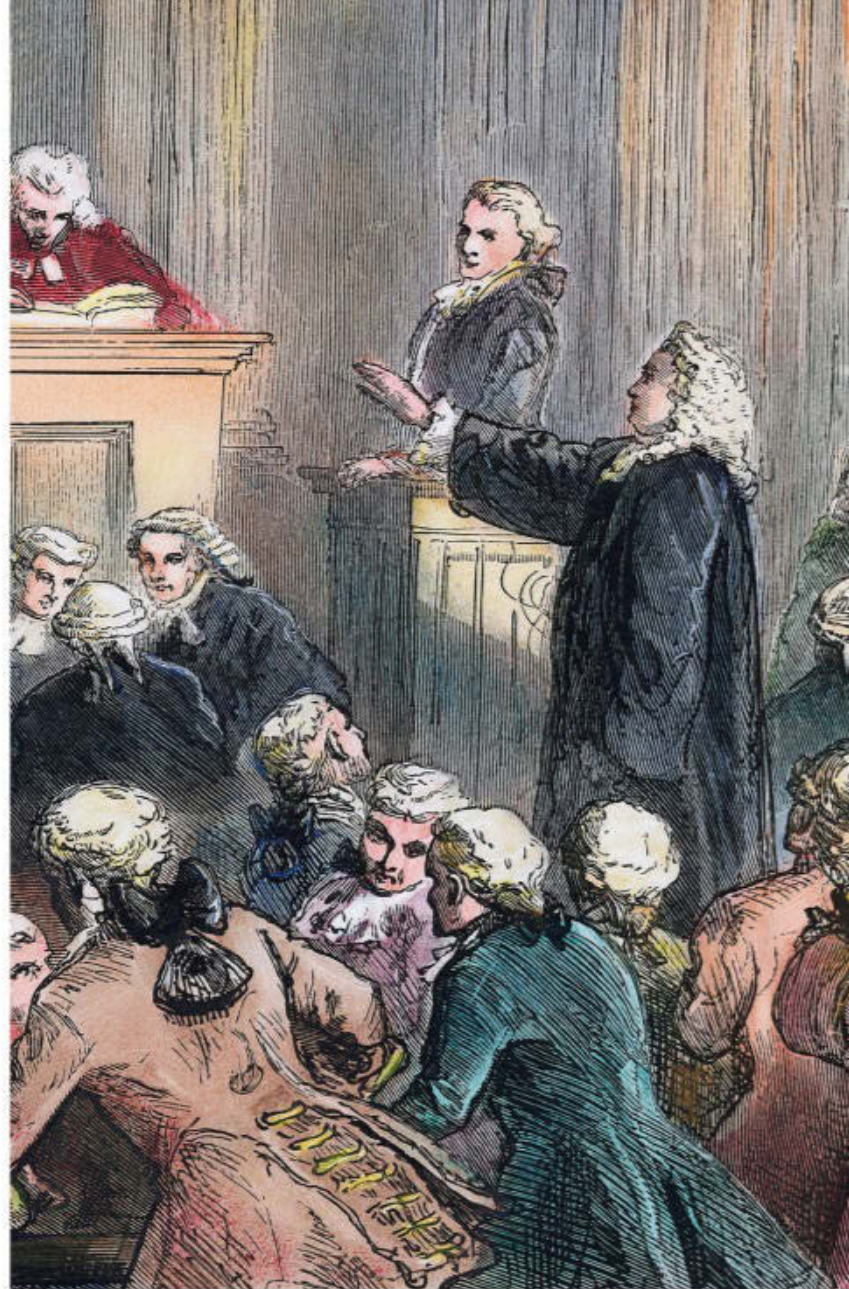
Cosby pressed the City Council, Provincial Council, and the Assembly to order the sheriff to burn the four offending *Journal* issues and offered a £50 reward to anyone identifying the writers of the offending columns. Both councils refused. The Assembly tabled Cosby's petition, consigning it to oblivion, and no one stepped forward to identify the authors.

Cosby, employing a dubious process called "an information," side-stepped the grand jury and had the sheriff take Zenger into custody. Chief Justice DeLancey denied Zenger access to his lawyers for several days and set his bail at £800 (\$210,000 today). When Zenger's lawyers, Alexander and Smith, challenged that bail as excessive, Delancey barred Smith and Alexander from practicing before the Supreme Court, then appointed John Chambers, an inexperienced attorney, to represent Zenger. In the publisher's forced absence, his wife, Anna, ran the print shop and newspaper, aided by her two sons and another worker.

Chambers immediately requested and obtained a delay to prepare a defense. Without telling Chambers, Alexander retained Philadelphia attorney Andrew Hamilton to join the defense team. Part politician, part actor, and boasting a 27-year career as an attorney, Hamilton was considered the best lawyer in the colonies and a perfect counter to Cosby's machinations. He had gained much of his considerable fame from the role he played in a case that almost led to war between the Iroquois Confederation and the Colony of New York. During a drunken brawl in 1722 English trader John Cartlidge killed a Seneca Indian named Sawantaeny. The Iroquois and the Susquehanna, being disinterested in war, urged a pardon for Cartlidge, represented by Hamilton. New York, similarly eager to avoid conflict, compensated the tribes with £100 and released Cartlidge, defusing the crisis. While young Chambers was building a defense for Zenger, Alexander and Hamilton collaborated on strategy.

On Thursday, August 4, 1735, a week before the trial was to commence, the *Journal* printed an article explaining how jurors hearing a case could engage in what is now called "nullification."

AS ALEXANDER HOPED, THE NEWS DREW HUNDREDS TO PACK THE SECOND-FLOOR COURTROOM AT NASSAU AND WALL, WITH THE OVERFLOW CROWDING THE STAIRCASE.



Hamilton for the Defense

Hamilton strenuously argued against convicting his client of the charge of libel.

Even if a judge were to direct a jury to reach a specific verdict, the newspaper wrote, jurors enjoyed latitude in determining whether the words alleged to constitute libel were criminal. District Attorney Richard Bradley subpoenaed the newspaper's staff, prompting the *Journal* to suspend publication during the trial, a move the paper ballyhooed.

Alexander was hoping news of this would flood the courtroom with onlookers, and it did. Inside City Hall at Nassau and Wall Streets, 250 to 300 spectators packed the small second-floor courtroom; gawkers crowded the stairs.

Attorney General Bradley charged Zenger with "publishing a false, scandalous and seditious libel" by which Governor Cosby had been "greatly and unjustly scandalized as a person who has no regard to law or justice."

Bradley had the prosecutorial burden of proving incontrovertibly that the printer had defamed a specific person or group.

That task was complicated by the fact that Cosby's name never appeared in the *Journal*. Bradley told the jurors they were only to determine whether Zenger had published the articles;



Trying Times

Above, a cartoon contrasts Zenger and mentor Bradford; below, the crowded courtroom.

it was for the judges to assess the extent of the libel.

"How do you plead?" Chief Justice Delancey asked.

"I am not guilty, your honor," Zenger replied.

As Chambers was beginning his opening statement for the defense, another member of Zenger's team stood. Andrew Hamilton, declaring that Zenger "was guilty" of printing libelous newspapers, argued that his client was "not guilty of libel, for it is the right of every free-born subject to publish the truth." Hamilton approached the bench. The courtroom was abuzz. Awed by Hamilton's presence, Delancey conferred with Justice Philipse before ordering the trial to begin. "As Mr. Hamilton has confessed the printing and publishing of these libels, I think the jury must find a verdict for the king," Bradley said. Delancey interjected that whether Zenger's published statements were the truth or not, the truth was not a defense against the charge of libel and that the jury had a duty to find Zenger guilty based on Hamilton's admission. Hamilton argued that jurors had the right to nullify. "I know, may it please Your Honor, the jury may do so," he said in his summation, which electrified listeners. "But I do likewise know that they



may do otherwise. I know that they have the right beyond all dispute to determine both the law and the fact, and where they do not doubt of the law, they ought to do so. Leaving it to the judgment of the court whether the words are libelous or not in effect renders juries useless in many cases.”

After Hamilton spoke, Delancey reminded jurors of his orders to return a guilty verdict. “The jury withdrew and shortly returned, being asked by the clerk whether they were agreed to their verdict and whether...Zenger was guilty of printing and publishing the libels in the information aforementioned,” Zenger recalled in a pamphlet he wrote and published. “Foreman Thomas Hunt answered: Not guilty. Upon which, there were three huzzas in the crowded hall, and I was released from prison the next day.”

Under British libel law, Zenger was guilty of having published articles critical of the governor. Still, Andrew Hamilton had convinced the jury that the charge of libel was baseless because Zenger had published the truth. In American jurisprudence, Zenger’s exculpation was the first example of the fundamental principle of “jury nullification.” Reported Benjamin

Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette*, “If it is not law, it is better than law, it ought to be law, and will always be law wherever justice prevails.” Founding Father Gouverneur Morris called the trial “the germ of American freedom—the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America.”

The Zenger trial lasted only that one day and did not establish legal precedent regarding seditious libel or freedom of the press. Still, the trial did sway public opinion. Not only did the arraignment display colonial lawyers’ rising independence, it also reinforced the jury’s role as a curb on executive power.

In refusing to name the authors of articles in the *Journal*, Zenger foreshadowed the now-familiar right of reporters to protect their sources. Finally, the episode laid groundwork for establishing truth to defend against libel complaints, which New York specified by law in 1805.

Colonists now had a shield against the arbitrary exercise of government power and freedom to criticize public officials. No printer was ever again convicted of libel in the colonies. After the Revolution, the Zenger precedent led Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, to include a guarantee of the rights of trial by jury, habeas corpus, moderate fines, and bail in all but alleged capital offenses in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. That law, that session’s last and probably most significant action, covered only the Northwest Territory. The ordinance barred cruel and unusual punishment and outlawed slavery in the territory and created the system by which states enter the union. That mechanism transformed the Northwest Territory into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. The U.S Constitution and Bill of Rights incorporated many rights stipulated in the Northwest Ordinance.

His trial made John Peter Zenger a hero and a best-selling author; by 1791, his pamphlet on the case had gone through 14 editions. In 1737, Zenger replaced Bradford as New York’s royal printer. He was 48 when he died in 1746. Anna continued printing the *Journal* until 1749, when she handed the family business to Zenger’s son John. *The New-York Weekly Journal* ceased publication on March 18, 1751. ★

Vindicated

John Peter Zenger rides triumphantly out of court after being found innocent of the charge of libeling New York Governor William Cosby.



What Was Lost

Greenwood was the heart of Black Tulsa, Oklahoma
By Etamaze Nkiri

In the early 20th century, the *Tulsa Star*, a weekly newspaper devoted to that Oklahoma boomtown's Black population, adhered relentlessly to local journalism's guiding principle; namely, that readers want to keep abreast of people and events. The *Star* made sure that news of the wedding of Annie Price and Eustice Jamerson in April 1913 spread quickly. Reverend H.G. Griffin, pastor of the Christian Methodist Episcopal (C.M.E.) church, officiated, having the previous Thursday celebrated at home with his family the coming of age of youngest son G.W. Griffin. Recent prominent visitors to the city, the paper reported, had included Hon. A.S. McRea, in town on business from Muskogee. Another was Professor H.P. Johnson, state inspector for colored schools, an important occasion given local fears that lack of state funding would force Tulsa to close its colored schools.

Several African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) pastors such as W.O. Clark from Okmulgee came to witness a revival on Greenwood Avenue at Vernon A.M.E., during which fellow cleric James A. Johnson recruited 11 converts and reclaimed four backsliders, enhancing his quickly growing congregation and reputation.

Not all the news that was fit to print that week was uplifting. Roy Benson, convicted of having plotted to murder one James Cherry, was sent to the penitentiary. Benson's alleged accomplice, Henry Randolph, was in the Tulsa county jail awaiting a trial that was set to begin April 16.

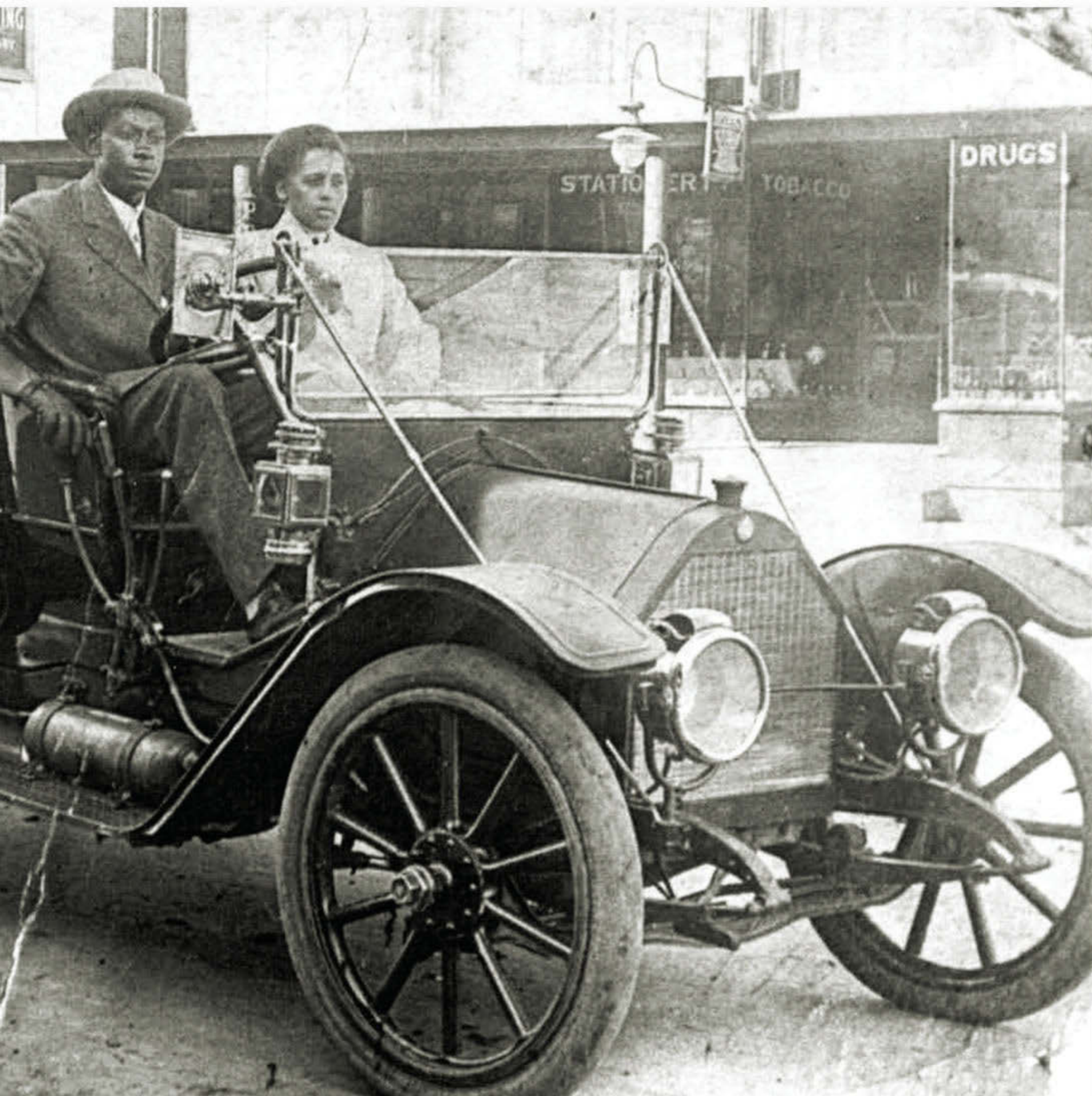


Well Established

Entrepreneur and Greenwood figure John Wesley Williams at the wheel with wife Loula and son W.D.

Throughout April, Kahn's, "the Greater Tulsa Greatest Bargain House," which billed itself as the most reliable department store in town, was hosting a grand sale, highlighted by 500 ladies' skirts, all styles and colors, at a reduced price, and 750 corsets starting at 49 cents.

In stock were 750 men's suits starting at \$7.50, plus boys' suits and aprons. The *Star's* directory alerted readers to local businesses. Mrs. Williams Confectionery on 103 North Greenwood



Avenue promised the best assortment of fruits, nuts, and candies, while across the street at 104 C.A. Hardy's Barbershop guaranteed a nice clean shave. Those addresses were telling. Greenwood Avenue had lent its name to what eventually became a bustling Black district, home to several hundred Black-owned businesses and a coterie of Black professionals. Greenwood was a magnet for Black Tulsans.

The Star, itself a pillar of Greenwood Avenue, was published by Andrew J. Smitherman. In April 1913, the paper

reported that the colored humane society had elected attorney Freeman L. Martin that newly established body's president, along with Dr. R.T. Bridgewater, named vice president, C.W. Henry secretary, and A.W. Anderson treasurer. On the society's executive board sat such movers and shakers as Ottawa W. Gurley, Dr. J.M. Key, and Mrs. J.B. Anderson. With E.C. Washington, Freeman Martin also owned an amateur baseball club that competed with other Negro teams on an informal circuit of ballfields. The Tulsa Oilers' ranks included left fielder J.W. Dorman, slugger Will Jackson, and shortstop

THE TULSA STAR

SUCCESSOR TO THE TULSA STAR
TULSA, OKLAHOMA, FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1889

Subscription \$1.00 Per Year

TAKES SHOT AT GOVERNOR

Cyclone Sam's Assault Chief Executive For
Abusing Veto Power.

In a daring attempt to assassinate the governor of Oklahoma, a cyclone named Sam, who had been known for his violent and unprovoked attacks on the people of the state, was today shot at by a party of men who were determined to bring about a change in the administration of the state. The governor, who had been known for his violent and unprovoked attacks on the people of the state, was today shot at by a party of men who were determined to bring about a change in the administration of the state.

World Meeting

The World Meeting of the State of Oklahoma, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.



And the
dunlop, you'll

Aerial View of Tulsa, Oklahoma, showing the city and the surrounding area.

Negro Case Ball Club

The Tulsa Negro Case, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

Would-Be Murderer

The Tulsa Would-Be Murderer, who was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

Boosters Banquet

The Tulsa Boosters Banquet, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

Subscribe Today

Subscription \$1.00 Per Year

Maxey may go to Senate

Talk of Sen's Resignation Causes Political Speculation

The Tulsa Maxey may go to Senate, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

NOTICE

The Tulsa Notice, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

COL. HUMANE

The Tulsa Col. Humane, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

CLUB WOMAN STAND

The Tulsa Club Woman Stand, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

RESERVE NOW

The Tulsa Reserve Now, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

SALUTATION

The Tulsa Salutation, which was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, was a most interesting and profitable one. The meeting was held in the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the 11th of April, 1889, and was attended by a large number of people from all over the state.

All the News That Fits

Andrew J. Smitherman, in the great American tradition, operated his Tulsa Star as a pulpit from which he enthusiastically espoused causes, rewarded friends, and exorciated enemies.

Buddie Hall. Colored women's clubs in Tulsa were trying to combat under-age crime by pushing for construction of a reform school for colored youth. Clubwomen hailed entrepreneur John B. Stradford for planning a fundraiser on behalf of a colored library. In national news, the Star reported a walkout at Chicago's Hotel LaSalle by 200 White clubwomen following a refusal by the LaSalle's owner to admit Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, president of the Chicago Colored Women's Club.

Greenwood's origins lay in the western expansion that swept the nation in the latter half of the 19th Century. In 1862, the United States mandated the first of several Homestead Acts that opened millions of acres west of the Mississippi River to small, independent farmers. A second such piece of federal legislation, enacted in 1866, opened the possibility of land acquisition to poor tenant farmers and sharecroppers in the South, allowing the formerly enslaved to participate.

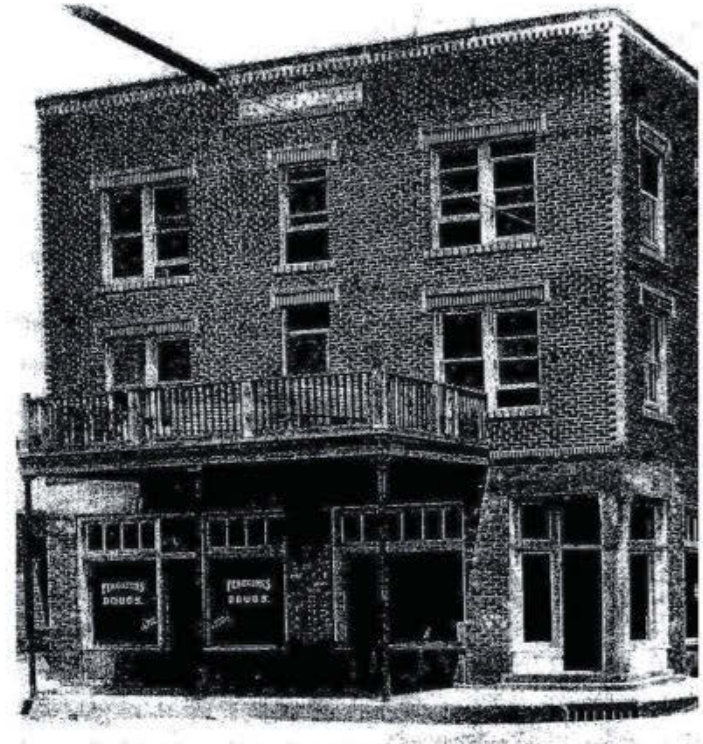
As thousands of homesteaders made their way west and clashes with Native tribes multiplied, the government adopted policies to undo Native claims to land and tribal sovereignty with several Indian Appropriation Acts. The 1871 act stripped tribes almost entirely of their rights to negotiate treaties with the government. The Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw, known as the five "civilized" tribes, were relocated from

ancestral lands in the East via the Trail of Tears to Oklahoma territory, losing their status as nations and erasing their ability to sign treaties and claim land for their use. The government labeled the newly acquired lands as "unassigned," open for claiming by homesteaders.

The final Indian Appropriations Act, signed by President Grover Cleveland on March 2, 1889, allowed Whites to settle the land. The following month, federal authorities in Oklahoma territory began staging "land runs." The first of these began on Monday, April 22, 1889, when around 50,000 homesteaders surrounded the unassigned lands, eager for a chance at claiming bits of the available two million acres. When noon struck, starting signals, mostly gunshots, initiated a mad dash. Rushing, usually on horseback, across the plains, settlers literally pounded stakes to claim to parcels of 160 acres, bidding, on a first-come basis or by lottery.

Once they had been staked, parcels were registered at and purchased from the United States Land Office and could settle on their property. To keep title, owners had to "prove up" by building a residence and clearing land. Within six hours that Monday, Guthrie, Oklahoma, gained 10,000 residents. By sunset Oklahoma City, founded that day, had its own additional 10,000. The following year the government designated Oklahoma a territory of the United States.

African Americans' presence in Oklahoma dated to the days of the Trail of Tears. The



The Stradford Hotel

Owner John Stradford made his facility a leader among the segregated hotels of the day.

THE DISTRICT RAN ON AN INFORMAL CLASS SYSTEM BASED ON COMMERCE AND EDUCATION AND LED BY THE PROFESSIONS —DOCTORS, LAWYERS, AND THE LIKE.

the community's success. Some 600 businesses eventually sprouted there, many owned or underwritten by Ottawa Gurley.

The district ran on an informal class system based on commerce and education. First and of foremost importance were the professionals—doctors, lawyers, accountants, pharmacists, teachers, and ministers. Next came mostly small business owners who, while not necessarily educated, were smart and ambitious and often successful. Third came the working class: clerks, hourly wage-earners, laborers, domestics, and a demimonde of criminals and sex workers, leading to reports like one in the *Star* noting that on Greenwood Avenue the night of January 11, 1918, Otto Parks, 19, fatally stabbed Willie Surley, 21, in a dispute over the affections of Maggie Stewart. The same month, the paper warned readers of a grifter hawking bogus *Star* subscriptions by offering eyeglasses as premiums.

Greenwood's professional class had stars. Andrew Cheesten Jackson, MD, who according to the Mayo Clinic was “the most able Negro surgeon” of the day, had graduated in 1904 from Nashville, Tennessee's Meharry Medical College. Dr. Jackson relocated to Tulsa to specialize in chronic disease and women's health. His office was at the corner of Archer and Greenwood, available at telephone number 2573, according to his advertisements in the *Star*. He worked mostly by night. He and his family lived off Greenwood Avenue in the 500 block of Detroit Street, the district's most exclusive stretch of residential real estate and home to other physicians, educators, journalists, and lawyers.

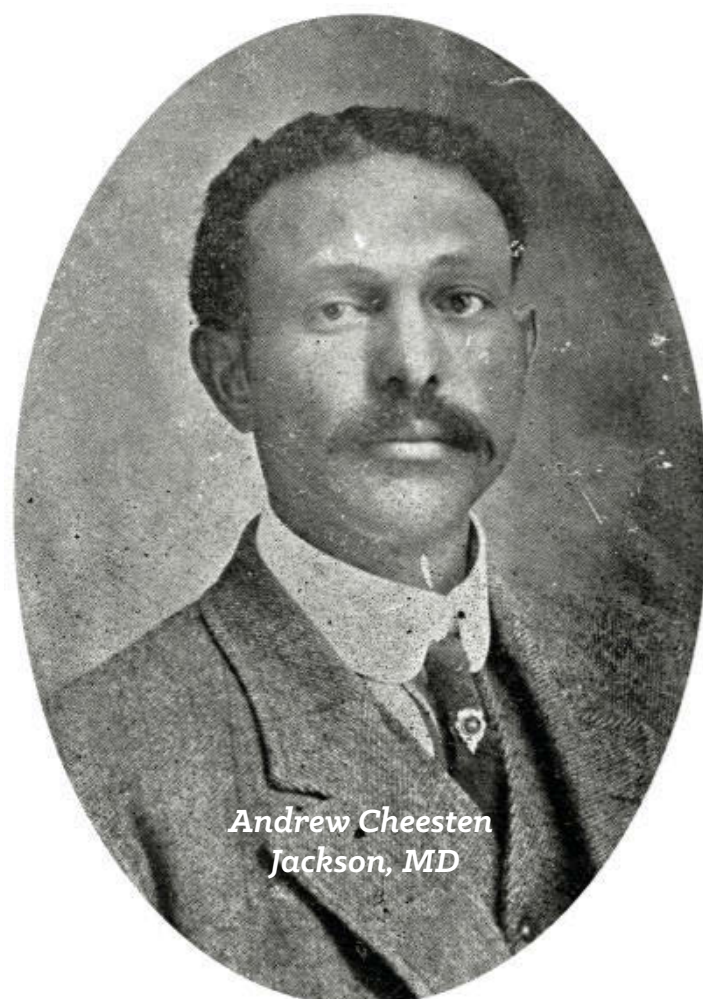
Detroit Street resident Ellis Walker Woods had gotten to town in 1913 by walking 400 miles from Memphis, Tennessee, after hearing that Tulsa was looking for a “Negro educator.” The school system hired Woods to be the first principal at the new Booker T. Washington High.

Tulsa Star owner Smitherman lived on Detroit. At a time when most African American papers leaned Republican, the *Star* was staunchly Democratic, preaching Black self-reliance and militancy in the face of racial violence. The *Star* heralded Smitherman's neighbor, physician R.T. Bridgewater, and several other men who, on March 17, 1919, occupied the Tulsa police department office to assure the safety of three Black men who had been arrested and were at risk of being lynched. Entrepreneur John B. Stradford was another resident of the 500 block of Detroit Street. The Indiana University graduate ran a close second to Gurley in Greenwood's entrepreneurial sweepstakes. Known as “J.B.” or “John the Baptist,”

fronted on Greenwood Avenue, on which Gurley, who envisioned a Black-owned hub where African Americans could live and work to their potential, built a rooming house. In time he acquired another 80 acres on which he commissioned construction of five houses and three two-story brick buildings. He built the Gurley Hotel, estimated value \$55,000, at 112 North Greenwood Avenue.

The street gave its name to a neighborhood that transformed into a city within a city known for its main stem.

More than a mile in length and situated entirely within Tulsa's black community, Greenwood Avenue and its vibrant mix of commercial establishments and residential areas embodied



Andrew Cheesten
Jackson, MD

Stradford lobbied regularly against Oklahoma's Jim Crow laws. He owned several dozen properties, prime among them the Stradford Hotel, the country's largest and most successful Black-owned hotel. The Stradford, at 301 Greenwood Avenue, had 54 rooms along with a casino, dining room, saloon, and pool hall. A guest seeking musical entertainment had only to cross the street to the Commodore Cotton Club. Another prominent Greenwood man, attorney Freeman Martin, practiced with partner S.D. McCree out of the Rosenfield building at First and Main Streets. In August 1913, Martin, whose outlook clashed with Smitherman's, accused the publisher of having libeled him. Martin caused Smitherman to be arrested; thanks to his popularity, the newspaperman was soon out on bail paid by admirers. The episode began a running conflict between the two, with the *Star* frequently impugning Martin and Martin as frequently trying to shut the paper down.

Religion was important in Greenwood. Per capita, Blacks in Tulsa worshiped at more churches—more than a dozen in the vicinity—than White counterparts. When Vernon A.M.E., at 307 North Greenwood Avenue, was dedicated on April 17, 1915, congregants donated \$132.65—around \$3,400 today. In February 1914, Reverend R.A. Whitaker gave his first annual address at Mt. Zion Baptist Church. Within the year he was



Escapist Enterprise
The Dreamland, at 127 Greenwood Avenue, was only one of the Williams family businesses.

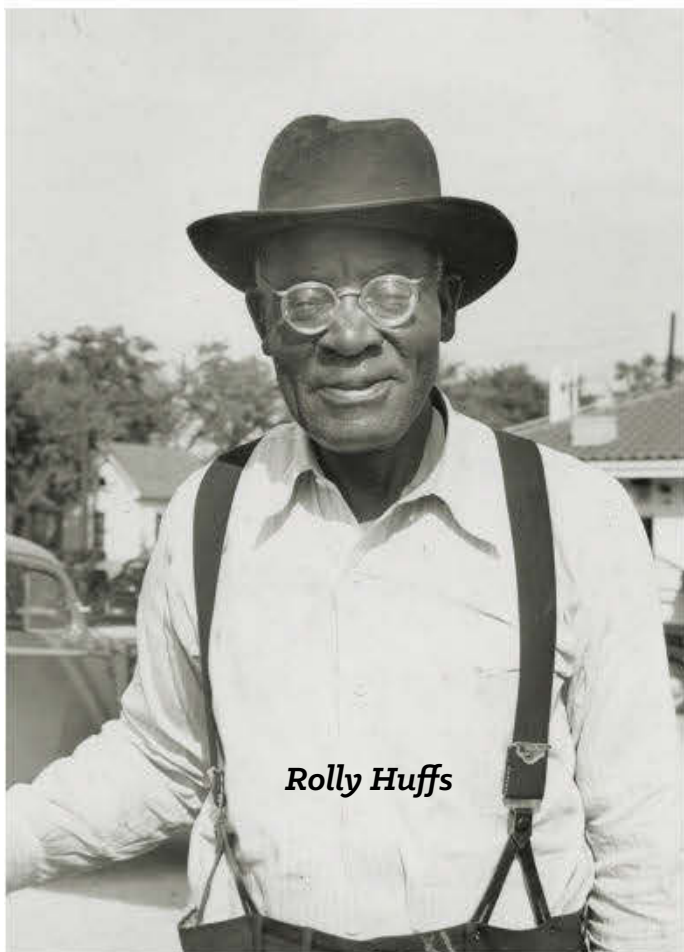
pastor, having boosted membership from 78 to 236, and had begun a building fund campaign aimed at raising \$15,000—a goal Whitaker surpassed, amassing \$42,000 augmented by a \$50,000 mortgage he took out. The congregation broke ground in 1916 and on April 4, 1921, held

its first service in the new sanctuary. Along with Mt. Zion, First Baptist, led by Rev. J.F. Kersh, the C.M.E. church, led by Rev. W.L. Brewer, and Paradise Baptist, led by pastor Rev. E.W. Franklin, held Sunday services at 11 a.m. and again at 7:45 p.m.

Greenwood was the commercial hub where Black Tulsa went to patronize barbershops, beauty salons, wineries, grocery and produce stores, laundries and washing facilities, haberdasheries, hotels, restaurants, cafes, and photography studios. John and Loula Williams exemplified the district's business class. The couple began in June 13 by building the Empress cinema at 17 West 3rd Street, followed a year later by a Greenwood landmark, the 750-seat Dreamland movie theater at 127 North Greenwood Avenue. John operated a popular garage; Loula had a sweets shop said to be the setting for more proposals of marriage than any other place in Tulsa. Both Black and White customers patronized their establishments, bringing such success that the couple owned two houses and expanded the Dreamland into a regional chain, with screens in Okmulgee and Muskogee.

Rolly and Ada Huffs owned a confectionery at 206 East Archer; Rolly may have been Greenwood's first mobile ice-cream vendor. In January 1921 Shakespeare Johnson opened a plumbing shop at Greenwood and Cameron, telling the *Star* that month that he would spare no expense to operate a first-class shop. The Red Wing Hotel, at 206 North Greenwood and managed by Julius T. Presley, promised homelike comfort, friendly and sociable employees, and luxurious rooms. Alexander Laundry at 514 East Archer advertised prompt, correct high class service and reliability.

Since state and local law ordinances generally barred African Americans from owning real estate, Greenwood's success stories were exceptions. As many as 90 percent of Black Tulsans rented rickety frame houses and held menial jobs. For women and girls, the usual path was to hire on as domestics for White households. Once a year Mabel Little, owner of



Rolly Huffs



Horrific Headlines

Above: The Black Dispatch and other papers pulled no punches in characterizing the event. Below right: Armed Whites roamed at will while police arrested thousands of Black men, detaining them until a White witness vouched for each prisoner.

Mabel's Salon on 612 E. Archer, hosted a "maid day," offering domestic workers free hairdos. Prostitution was such a fixture in and around the main stem that the *Tulsa Star* often hectored city authorities to shut down Greenwood's "underworld." In his editorials, Smitherman thundered that nighttime scenes on East Archer, Cincinnati, and other streets in Greenwood constituted an "epidemic of immorality."

Greenwood and its vivacity came to an end in spring 1921. Accused of assaulting Sarah Paige, 17 years old and White, Dick Rowland, 19 and Black, was arrested on May 31. To prevent a lynching, 75 armed Black men massed at the Tulsa jail. Shots were fired. Chaos ensued. For two days, armed Whites burned and looted Greenwood, killing many Black residents. Local National Guardsmen, ordered into Tulsa to quell the disturbance, arrested upwards of 6,000 Black men, detaining prisoners until a White person had spoken on a man's behalf. Some guardsmen joined in the rioting. Survivors described occupants of an airplane buzzing Greenwood dropping firebombs and firing on fleeing families.

The rampage left thousands homeless and destroyed some 35 blocks of Tulsa. Insurers refused to reimburse losses suffered by customers in Greenwood on grounds that Black residents had caused the riot.

The death toll remains unknown but is believed to have been several hundred, including Dr. Andrew Jackson, shot dead on May 31. Authorities initially charged Ottawa Gurley with inciting the riot. To secure his release, Gurley implicated Andrew Smitherman and John Stradford as having stirred the chaos. All three eventually fled the state, repeatedly fighting attempts to extradite them. The *Tulsa Star* folded. John and Loula Williams lost their buildings in Greenwood; looters wrecked their car and one of their homes. Their other movie houses sustained them as they set about





Aftermath

Clockwise from above: White mobs and city authorities devastated entire blocks of Black businesses and homes; a corpse, partially draped, lies in the middle of the street; the wreckage of the Dreamland moviehouse; when peace returned, Rev. R.A. Whitaker and his family distributed foodstuffs and other goods to those in the community left destitute by the destruction of more than 1,200 homes.



rebuilding. Loula died in 1927; when the Depression clamped down, John sold their properties. The destruction cost Gurley, Stradford, and other Greenwood entrepreneurs a significant portion of their wealth.

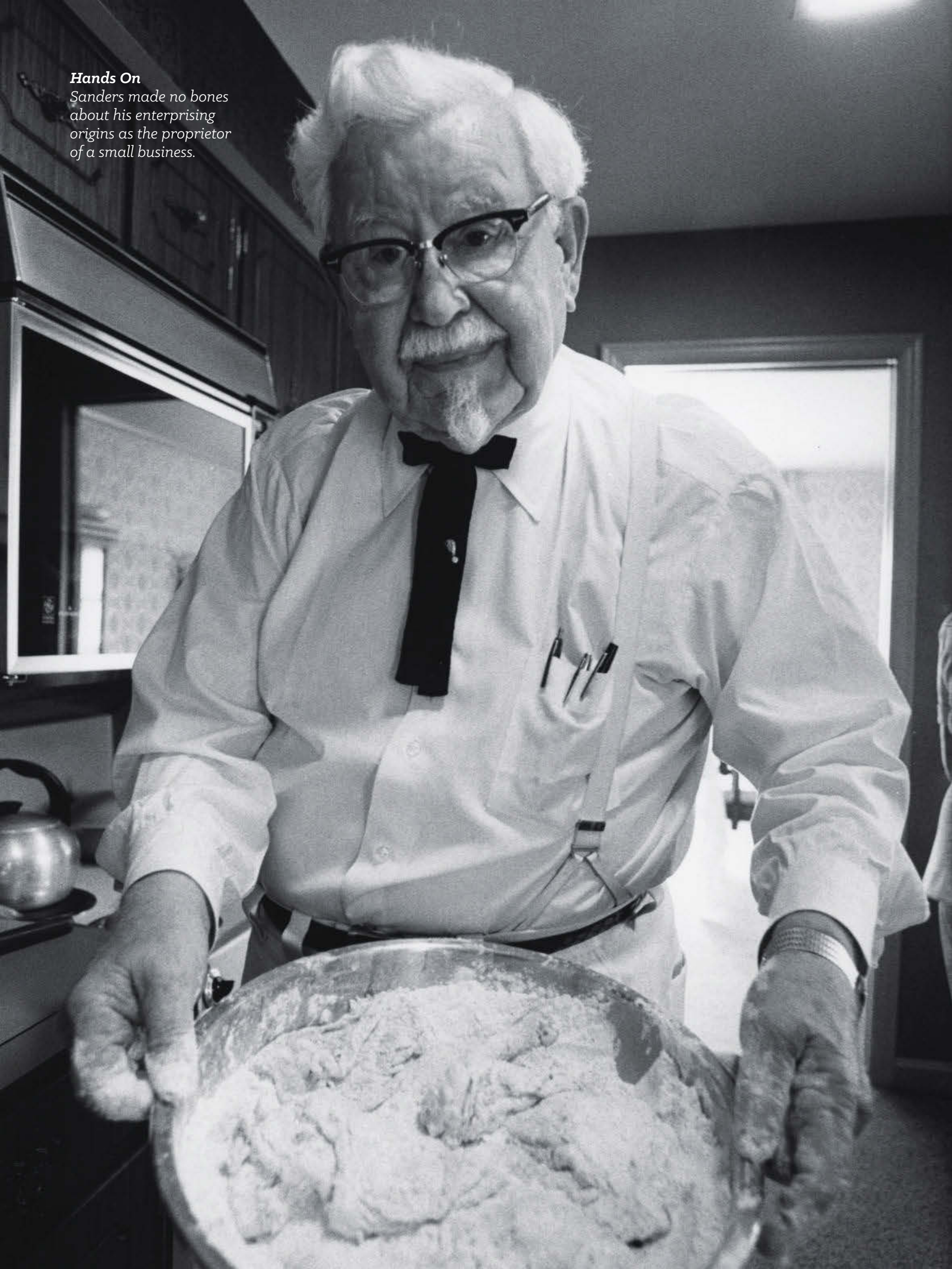
Stradford died in Chicago, Illinois, in 1935. Gurley settled in Los Angeles, California, where he and Emma ran a hotel. Ellis Walker Woods retired as principal at Booker T. Washington High School in 1948. Dedicated seven weeks before the riot, Mt. Zion Baptist, destroyed in the violence, was not rebuilt until 1952, long after Rev. Whitaker had left town under the shadow of that \$50,000 mortgage. Andrew Smitherman relocated to Massachusetts, where he started a second paper, moving on to New York City and



another newspaper that he ran until his death in 1961. Mabel Little successfully re-established her salon in the 1930s, when Greenwood rebuilt. Urban renewal in the 1970s cost Little her shop, but this time she walked away with a \$16,000 check. In later years she published *Fire on Mt. Zion: My Life and History as a Black Woman in America*, a memoir that earned her an honorary degree from Langston University, Oklahoma's sole historically Black university. Mabel Little was 104 when she died in 2001. ★

Hands On

Sanders made no bones about his enterprising origins as the proprietor of a small business.



One-Man Brand

How Harland Sanders popularized a regional dish, helped establish brand franchising, and became immortal
By Orrin Konheim

Harland Sanders was stuck. He was the proprietor of Sanders Café and Court, a successful roadside operation on Route 25 in Corbin, Kentucky, that included a restaurant, service station, and motel. The Sanders Café had become profitable thanks to hungry travelers pulling off the busy road, drawn by accolades from two Kentucky governors and a popular travel guide writer who raved about a fried chicken recipe Sanders had spent 15 years perfecting. He was making a little money on a franchise deal with a Salt Lake City restaurateur involving his chicken recipe. His tiny empire had survived a bloody gunfight with a rival gas seller, a catastrophic fire, and four lean years of wartime gas rationing.

But in 1955, just as Sanders was celebrating a quarter-century of hard work and material reward, the state had rerouted Route 25, crushing his cash flow. In 1956 the U.S. Congress passed the Interstate Highway Act, intended to stitch the nation together with limited access roadways. One of those was going to run past Corbin, but not in a way that would do Harland Sanders, 66, any good. He sold his business at a loss. His monthly income shrank to a \$105 Social Security check and a pittance from his lone franchisee in Utah.

Deciding the path to recovery lay in franchising, he and wife Claudia hit the road. By 1965, Sanders was a millionaire with a stake in hundreds of restaurants. He had elevated fried chicken from a low-budget utility meal into a nationally beloved cuisine and was the figurehead for one of the country's biggest restaurant chains. In a century crammed with corporate icons, from Mickey Mouse to Uncle Ben to the Jolly Green Giant to the genial Quaker on the oatmeal canister, Harland Sanders stood out as an actual human being turned corporate standard bearer. Even when designs reduced his presence to a few strokes of black and white, even after his death, he was and is the face of KFC.

Harland David Sanders was born in 1890 in a shack in Henryville, Indiana—a place that at the end of the 19th century

“might as well have been the eighteenth,” a biographer wrote. His father died when he was five. His mother remarried; he and his stepfather clashed. At 10 the boy started working. At 12 he left home. At 19, he wed Josephine King of Jasper, Alabama, and was shoveling coal for the Norfolk and Western Railroad. When the Norfolk and Western fired Harland for insubordination, Josie left, taking infant daughter Mildred to stay with her parents, the first of many separations in a rocky 39-year marriage. Harland found another railroad job. Two more children, Margaret and Harland Jr., arrived.

Inspired by payoffs he saw fellow railroad workers receiving when they pursued injury claims in court, Sanders decided to study law. Enrolling in LaSalle University correspondence courses, he kept his railroad job until representing an injured rail worker brought him a \$2,500 payday. Three years later, Sanders and a client fell to brawling in court and his legal career imploded. At 27 he went back to the rails, earning \$7.65 a day pounding spikes and unloading coal for the Pennsylvania Railroad.

In 1920, Sanders started a company that ferried goods and passengers across the Ohio River between Jeffersonville, Indiana, and Louisville, Kentucky. Looking for another success, he sold out and invested his profits in an outfit that made lamps that burned acetylene gas, billed as safer than kerosene. He hoped to sell mainly to farmers, but acetylene cost more than kerosene and rural areas were beginning to electrify. He went to work for Michelin Tire; the factory closed. Hitchhiking, he caught a ride with a Standard Oil executive who found his passenger so engaging he offered Harland a job managing a service station in Nicholasville, Kentucky. The Sanders family entered a placid six-year stretch shattered by the Depression. Standard Oil's business retracted; the Nicholasville station closed.

Harland landed a deal with Shell Oil to run a gas station in Corbin, Kentucky. He and his family would live rent-free on the premises; he would share in the station's profits. Soon after the Sanderses relocated in 1930, a rivalry with another



**HE CONVERTED
A ROOM OF THE
HOUSE INTO A
SIX-SEAT CAFE
AND BEGAN
PREPARING
THE MEALS
HE SERVED AT
HOME. LUNCH
WAS READY AT
11 EVERY
MORNING.**

station owner escalated into a gunfight that left one man dead and all participants under arrest.

Unlike many male breadwinners of his day, Harland did the cooking for the family. Now separated from Josephine, Harland began a relationship with café waitress Claudia Price, making a blended household of her two children and his two children (Harland Jr. died in 1932 at age 20 of blood poisoning).

Repeatedly hearing drivers ask where to find a good meal, he converted one of the family's rooms into a six-seat café and began preparing the same meals he was serving at home. He had lunch ready by 11 every morning.

If a given day's food went unsold, he and Josie and the kids ate it. Soon, he was making more

money cooking than pumping gas. Harland relentlessly analyzed his methods, paying close heed to quality and timing.

Battering and pan-frying an order of chicken took 35 minutes. Shortening the process ruined the result—until Harland retooled a pressure cooker designed to steam vegetables into a high-speed fryer, shrinking cooking time to nine minutes while maintaining the pan-fried taste. He similarly spent years tweaking what would eventually become a secret 11-ingredient mix of spices and breading; he entrusted the recipe only to daughter and official taster Margaret in case disaster should befall him.

Passing through Corbin in 1935, nationally-known food writer Duncan Hines patronized the Sanders Café and praised the chicken in his widely read guidebook, *Adventures in Good Eating*.

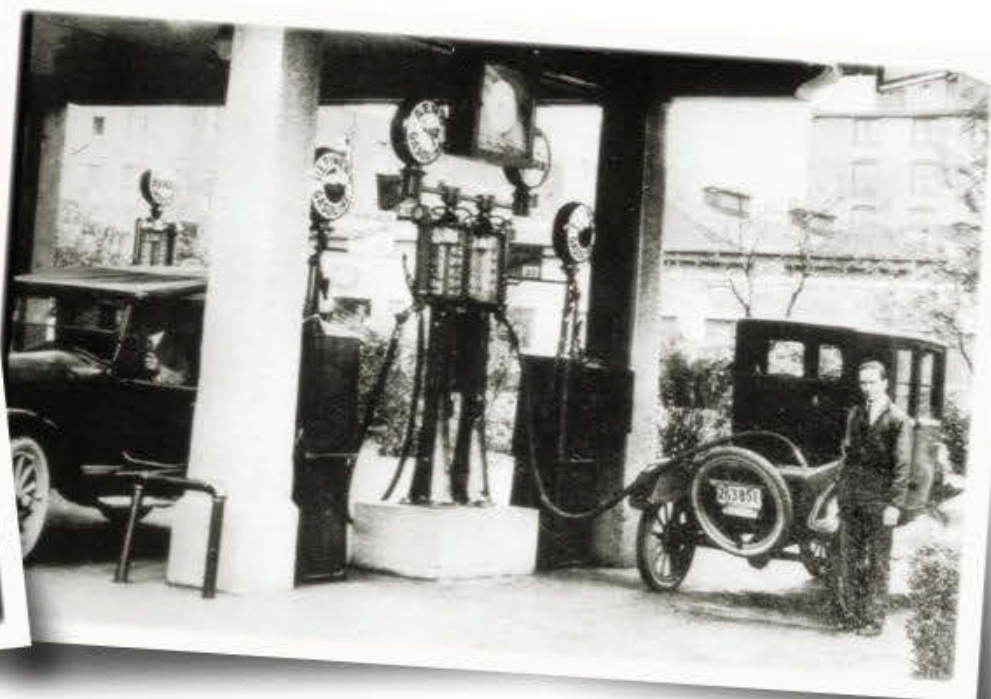
Governor Ruby Laffoon, tasting Harland's chicken, conferred on him the ceremonial title of Kentucky colonel, a quasi-military honor dating to the post-Revolutionary period and previously bestowed on, among others, Bing Crosby, Fred Astaire, W.C. Fields, and Shirley Temple. In 1937,

Harland enrolled in an eight-week course at the Cornell University School of Restaurant and Hotel Management in Ithaca, New York. That same year, he applied the ambition he had acquired in his business-school experience to build a separate building on the property that had a capacity of just under 150 diners. In a stroke of bad luck, a fire destroyed his restaurant in 1939. Despite \$5,000 in fire insurance coverage, Sanders took a massive loss. Daughter Margaret and other contemporaries report that he handled the news calmly and proceeded to rebuild the restaurant in short order.

When World War II gas rationing sapped his business, Sanders relocated to Hanford, Washington, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. In both locales he ran huge cafeterias that fed Manhattan Project workers, thus learning the drill of serving the masses en masse. In his absence Claudia ran the hotel, gas station, and café.

Upon divorcing Josie in 1948, Harland married Claudia. In 1949, another Kentucky governor renewed his colonelcy, an identity Harland now embraced enthusiastically.

Now 59, he had aged into the performance. He grew a goatee, dyed it and his hair white, and began sporting a white linen suit and string tie, all semiotic shorthand for the popular idea of a Kentucky colonel. "People around him played along with this," biographer Gregory Watson wrote. "At first they did it for amusement, but later on they did it in earnest."



- Spices - Mix with 2 Cops White Fl.
- 1) $\frac{2}{3}$ Ts Salt
 - 2) $\frac{1}{2}$ Ts Thyme
 - 3) $\frac{1}{2}$ Ts Basil
 - 4) $\frac{1}{3}$ Ts Origano
 - 5) 1 Ts Celery Salt
 - 6) 1 Ts Black Pepper
 - 7) 1 Ts Dried Mustard
 - 8) 4 Ts Paprika
 - 9) 2 Ts Garlic Salt
 - 10) 1 Ts Ground Ginger
 - 11) 3 Ts White Pepper

In 1951, at a restaurant industry event in Chicago, Illinois, Harland met Leon "Pete" Harman and wife Arline, operators of the Do Drop Inn in Salt Lake City, Utah. Pete mentioned that he was looking for a signature menu item. The next year, Sanders, passing through Salt Lake City on a business trip to Australia, looked up the Harmans, who proposed a day of sightseeing and dinner. Harland accepted, but insisted on cooking, which meant rustling up a pressure cooker and four chickens. The expedition ran five hours longer than expected. At 10 that night, Pete finally watched Arline tuck into a piece of Harland's pressure-fried chicken. "She never said anything, but she got the darndest gleam in her eye, and I knew it was good," he said. "It was so much better than any chicken we'd ever had."

In a handshake deal, Harman agreed to pay a nickel for every Sanders-style chicken he sold. To advertise his new menu item, Harman rented



Beginnings

Clockwise from top left, Sanders in the 1930s in an early incarnation of his cafe's kitchen in Corbin, Kentucky; the cafe dining room; the service station; the 11-ingredient seasoning mix that set his fried chicken apart from others; and a promotional postcard showing the multifaceted establishment where the self-made Colonel and his Kentucky Fried Chicken phenomenon began.

We fix Sunday dinner on



Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday,

Thursday, Friday, Saturday,

and Sunday

So you don't have to. All you do is take it from Colonel Harland Sanders. Take delicious Kentucky Fried Chicken home for the day, frozen or heated. If it probably cost you less than buying it yourself, and it's a whole lot easier. Just stay in tonight for supper service. And see some action. Oh yeah, the Colonel's spent a lot of time preparing his chicken... adding 11 secret spices and herbs (according to his own secret recipe). Most people call Colonel Sanders' chicken, better than their own. So it's really no surprise he's the World's No. 1 Chicken Salesman. The Colonel fixes chicken dinner seven days a week for millions of folks like you. Take some home tonight.

Take it from the Colonel...it's finger lickin' good!



Behind every great chicken dinner there's a Colonel

His name is Colonel Harland Sanders. He's the man behind every Kentucky Fried Chicken dinner. It's the Colonel's secret recipe that makes his Kentucky Fried Chicken so "finger lickin' good." And it's his patented cooking process that makes it so tender and tasty. Take home a really great chicken dinner tonight... ready to go at over 1,400 locations. Colonel Sanders will fix it for you. That's what he's back there for.



COLONEL SANDERS' RECIPE
Kentucky Fried Chicken.

We fix Sunday dinner seven days a week

Figurehead

Sanders boldly made himself the visage of his corporate enterprise.

HARLAND'S SALES SPIEL STRESSED HIS SUCCESSES, HIS SKILL AT CRITIQUING COOKING, AND A HANDS-ON PERSONAL DISPLAY OF FAST-FRYING TECHNIQUE.

a billboard on which he plastered a phrase he had coined: "Kentucky Fried Chicken." By the time Sanders came back from Australia a couple weeks later, sales at the Do Drop Inn had tripled. Harman booked the Colonel onto a local radio show; Harland's persona went over very well with Utahans. Harman shared his chicken man's entrepreneurial streak. Wanting to place a large order, a carry-out customer proffered a bucket; voila, a packaging innovation. A river of nickels flowed to Sanders, who started running trade journal ads pitching chicken franchises. He trademarked his image as "the Colonel."

In 1954, he saw a prospective Kentucky road map showing plans to reroute U.S. 25E away from Corbin and his businesses. Two years later,

word came that a new federal highway system would be bringing interstate U.S. Route 75 within two miles of his café, but those two miles might as well have been a million. Sanders sold out. "If I hadn't been 66 years old and had a \$105 Social Security check coming in every month, I don't know what I would have done," he wrote in his autobiography. "But for me it wasn't a matter of giving up. It was just a problem of what to do next."

What he did next was move to Shelbyville, Kentucky, and try to scale up the success he had enjoyed. He and Claudia went on the road, pitching his franchise concept to restaurant operators he judged capable of meeting his standards of quality and service and willing to grant him the right to inspect their kitchens. His spiel emphasized his successes, the positive results of his cooking critiques, and a personal demonstration of his fast-fry method. The deal was simple: a handshake and an understanding that either party could quit at any time. Franchisees absorbed capital costs; Sanders sold them his secret spice mix in bulk and pressure fryers at \$27.50 per. They paid him a nickel for every chicken sold.

The couple's home became Harland's demonstration center, with prospects coming for ballyhoo and dinner, whether recruited by Harland or one of his sales representatives. One prospect was Jim Matthews, operator of Washington, DC, area burger chain Tops Drive-Inn. One of Sanders's men called on Matthews, who was intrigued enough to attend a demonstration. When it came time to critique Matthews' menu, Sanders bluntly diagnosed Tops chicken as "a greasy mess" and recommended running the burners hotter. Impressed, Matthews signed a 90-day option. When that first weekend his flagship outlet sold 10,000 buckets of KFC-style chicken, Matthews paid \$5,000 for an exclusive deal to open KFC stores in Maryland, DC, and Virginia and to occupy a seat on the KFC board.

Franchising—licensing one company's products and marketing in a symbiotic relationship with another enterprise—has existed for centuries. In the United States, one of the best-known early franchise food service operations was the Harvey House chain of the late 1800s. Proprietor Frederick Harvey's tactic of situating restaurants near Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad depots inspired the 1946 Hollywood musical comedy *The Harvey Girls*, starring Judy Garland. Hamburger joint White Castle began franchising in 1921; A&W Root Beer, in 1922.

Sanders had in mind something different, a variant on the post-World War II casual dining industry that was centered in Southern California and

oriented to the automobile. Customers drove in, parked, and ordered food from a server, often female, clad in an eye-catching uniform and sometimes on roller skates.

But food preparation took time. Speed began to trump quality. Richard and Maurice McDonald of San Bernardino, California, revolutionized the sector. The brothers, who had opened their place in 1940, tired of broken crockery and lost utensils and having to train cooks. In 1948, the McDonalds completely recast their operation, eliminating menu items that required utensils and replacing china with paper plates and cups. The new menu allowed no substitutions, and the assembly-line kitchen not only demanded less skill but sped production. The brothers' success influenced other entrepreneurs. Fellow San Bernardino resident Carl Karchner had opened his first Carl's Jr in 1945. Seeing McDonald's burgers underselling his by 20 cents, Karchner adopted their system. After eating at McDonald's, Glen Bell Jr. opened Taco Bell. Floridian Keith Cramer toured the McDonalds' store before co-founding what became Burger King.

Sanders, who prided himself on elevating the quality of mom-and-pop restaurants he contracted with, disliked large companies.

"The business I developed was a personal one," Sanders wrote in his autobiography. "I knew most all of the franchisees by their first names, and many of them had slept in my beds and eat breakfast at my table. We was just one big family."

Franchisees had the option of renaming their establishments "Kentucky Fried Chicken" or simply advertising that they carried KFC chicken. Matthews, for instance, kept the Tops name and mascot, a figure of a boy. He ran advertisements featuring the mascot, the Colonel, and the Washington monument with the slogan, "I'm bringing something great to Washington." Quality set Sanders apart from competitors.

"I admired him for sticking to his guns. He didn't have much money in those days and he wanted his business to grow, but he wasn't so hungry that he'd let the quality of his product slide," said Wendy's founder Dave Thomas, one of Sanders's most successful protégées.

Born in 1932, Thomas had begun life much as Sanders had. A Midwesterner and school dropout early into the workforce, he left home to escape strife—and above all, had a knack for food service. Thomas had worked his way up to management head chef at the Hobby House in Fort Wayne, Indiana. His boss, Phil Clauss, was one of Sanders's earliest franchise recruits. As he had with Pete Harman, Sanders gave Clauss room to innovate—freedom Clauss extended to Thomas. The result boosted KFC's value. In 1959, investors approached Clauss about joining them to open four KFCs in Columbus, Ohio. Clauss sent Thomas to monitor the operation. When the restaurants' performance started to lag, Thomas, 30, moved his family to Columbus and took over as manager of the four stores, renovating the facilities to look more uniform and stately. He focused the menu on chicken, the stores' biggest draw, and along with advertising heavily on radio, designed a rotating billboard that KFCs nationwide adopted.

Driving everything was KFC's trademark chicken, a meal that historically had languished in the culinary shadows. Scottish émigrés to the American colonies had imported a distinct and nourishing, if bland, pan-frying



Follower and Fellow Pioneer

Above, working at KFC set Dave Thomas on the path to Wendy's. Below, Salt Lake City restaurateur Pete Harman thought up the catchy phrase, "Kentucky Fried Chicken."

style of cooking chicken that became a staple on plantations. Enslaved workers from West Africa and the Caribbean spiced up the recipe. Fried chicken became a regional dish across the South connoting lower social class, no matter one's race. "Nothing represented the communal nature of rural poverty more than fried chicken," Josh Ozersky wrote in U.K. newspaper *The Scotsman*. "Not everybody has hogs and a smokehouse, and it goes without saying that the poorest Kentuckians were not the sort of people who had herds of cattle contentedly grazing on broad, green fields."





Going Head to Head

Dissatisfied with what his operation had turned into, Sanders opened what became Claudia Sanders Dinner House.

HARLAND STILL WAS WORKING CLOSELY WITH FRANCHISEES WHILE ALSO KEEPING UP A ROUTINE OF INSPECTING PROSPECTIVE PARTNERS' KITCHENS.



Passing the Baton

His deal with John Y. Brown Jr. took some pressure off Sanders but also had its irritating elements.

Fried chicken was not served in restaurants—until Harland Sanders did. “None of this could have happened if his chicken wasn’t better than anything you ever tasted,” said Herbert Wallace, chief marketing officer emeritus of KFC subsidiary JRN Inc. “Your grandmother never made it; your mother never tasted it.”

By 1960, Sanders had 200 franchisees and his distribution center in Shelbyville. KFC had expanded across the Canadian border in 1959; the first franchises, in Alberta, belonged to William R. Jarvis and James Duncan Rae.

His board of directors consisted mostly of large franchisees. He kept management of the operation a family affair, with daughters Mildred and Margaret and a nephew orienting new franchisees and running a school for neophyte managers in Shelbyville. Harland himself worked personally with many franchise holders while also maintaining his kitchen inspection routine. Success was running him into the ground. “He was now having real trouble franchising, policing his franchises, running the Shelbyville headquarters and distribution facility, teaching at the regional schools he was setting up, checking on the books, hiring new people, and grappling with taxes and corporate law,” wrote John Ed Pearce in his 1982 book, *The Colonel*.

Harland was feeling under the gun in 1963 when, in Louisville for the Kentucky Derby, he met John Y. Brown Jr., another Bluegrass State success story. Brown’s father represented Kentucky as an at-large member of the U.S. House of Representatives. The son, who had excelled as a college football player, a lawyer, a salesman, and

as a gambler, had the aristocratic pedigree and polish that Sanders was striving to telegraph with his get-up and coiffure. The pair hit it off and decided to collaborate on a barbecue venture. In the course of that soon-abandoned undertaking, Sanders described how his company’s rapid expansion was pushing him beyond his limits. In 1964, Brown and Louisville investor Jack Massey proposed to infuse KFC with operating capital. Sanders sold them the business for \$2.1 million, plus an ironclad \$40,000-a-year stipend to serve as a brand ambassador.

Sanders kept control of his Canadian stores, organized under Colonel Sanders Kentucky Fried Chicken of Canada, Ltd. That business soon became Harland Sanders Charitable Foundation of Canada. The nickel each chicken earned up north would now go to local charities of a franchisee’s choice, after expenses.

“I just don’t see no use of anybody dying and leaving an estate of half a million or a million dollars when he knows a big percentage of that is going into taxes,” Sanders said.

Sanders had been born to the task of building a brand. “I’ve never met a better salesman,” Dave Thomas wrote in a memoir of their first encounter. “When he left, I had a sense this man was going to change my life,” Thomas wrote. “Maybe this Colonel in a white Cadillac had something.” For the last two decades of his life, Sanders wore the white suit, carefully calibrating his language and message to convey an authenticity that enveloped his product.

KFC’s new management began working overtime at making the Colonel into a public figure,

inveigling him onto popular TV talk shows to gab with Merv Griffin and Johnny Carson and taking care to have him present in the flesh at every store opening. “Food is a personal thing, and it’s tied closely to family life. People want to know the values of the person who is ladling out the goods,” Dave Thomas wrote. “Harland Sanders stood for values that people understood and liked.” In time Thomas followed in his former master’s footsteps, creating the Wendy’s chain and, in the service of promoting it, appearing in 800 television and countless radio commercials.

Commercials for KFC varied but they always showed the Colonel clad in his trademark uniform. Often, whether onscreen or on the radio, he touted those 11 special herbs and spices and his emphasis on quality, invoking his catchphrase “Finger Lickin’ Good!” The commercials presented the Colonel as a family man and his goods as family food.

KFC passed through successive corporate hands. In 1971, Brown and associates merged with liquor conglomerate Heublein in a \$250 million acquisition. In 1982, that company was acquired by tobacco behemoth R.J. Reynolds. In 1986 PepsiCo, having laid out \$850 million for Pizza Hut and Taco Bell, acquired KFC. Harland Sanders’s dream of developing something apart from the universe of fast-food empires had become...a fast-food empire. A 1974 survey found that 98 percent of American adults recognized the Colonel as the figurehead for KFC.

From Harland’s point of view, each change his successors made had taken KFC further from his vision, and he was not shy about saying so. In 1968, he tried to reenter the restaurant trade; he and Claudia opened the Colonel’s Lady in Shelbyville. Plans to expand that venture foundered when KFC sued its brand ambassador for unauthorized use of the fried chicken recipe he had created and the trademark he had fostered. Sanders counter-sued and bad-mouthed KFC’s food in the press, in particular

talking down the chain’s gravy in a 1970 *New Yorker* article. This standoff prompted a curious settlement: in exchange for \$1 million, Sanders would rename his new restaurant Claudia Sanders Dinner House, give executives of his former company a cooking lesson—and shut up about Kentucky Fried Chicken.

But Sanders would not shut up. In 1978, KFC debuted a “crispy” recipe. The Colonel, 88, railed to the *Louisville Courier Journal* that the new item was “nothing in the world but a damn fried dough ball stuck to some chicken.” He called the gravy “pure wallpaper paste.” A KFC franchisee in Bowling Green, Kentucky, sued Sanders and the paper for libel but the court threw out the case because Harland’s critique did not specifically malign that franchise. Throughout, his annual \$40,000 payments continued.

All those decades of posing had made Harland Sanders a presence beyond the merely mortal. When he died in 1980 of leukemia, his former company had 6,000 outlets in 48 countries. Today KFC has over 25,000 restaurants in 145 countries. Actors portray him in commercials. His face, distilled into a striking high contrast graphic, is visible worldwide, the essence of a man with white hair and a goatee, portly and self-possessed, always smiling. ★

Into Immortality

Nearly half a century after his death, Colonel Sanders remains a vivid visual presence.



A Road Paved with Reds

J. Edgar Hoover's path to a life of fighting crime began with the Palmer Raids
By Raanan Geberer

On the evening of Saturday, December 20, 1919, cold winds swept New York Harbor as 249 leftist radicals waited on Ellis Island to board USS *Burford*. The Army transport was to carry the deportees, most of whom were not American citizens, to Soviet Russia. The Soviet state formed after the overthrow of the czar in a 1917 revolution led by the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, aka the Bolsheviks. Some deportees' families, on hand to say goodbye, tried for one last moment with loved ones, but police officers pushed them back. Spectators included members of Congress, a crowd of journalists, and the youthful director of the U.S. Justice Department's General Intelligence Division, also known as the Radical Division, John Edgar Hoover.

The event's most famous deportee, Emma Goldman, was an anarchist, feminist, and advocate of free love. Unlike many of her companions, arrested the month before in raids Hoover had planned and executed, Goldman had been behind bars since 1918 for opposing United States participation in World War I and the draft. She also stood apart from the crowd on the wharf because she was a U.S. citizen, having immigrated from Russian-controlled Lithuania in 1885. Nonetheless, Hoover had dubbed Goldman "the Red Queen of Anarchy," ordering her



arrest under the 1918 Alien Act. She argued that citizenship precluded deportation, but Hoover persuaded fellow bureaucrats that because in 1908 the United States had revoked the citizenship of Goldman's equally radical Russian-born spouse, Alexander Berkman, also among those being sent away, Goldman shared Berkman's alien status. About to be exiled by her adopted country, the anarchist stood face to face with the bureaucrat who was deporting her.

"Haven't I given you a square deal, Miss Goldman?" Hoover asked.

"Oh, I suppose you've given me as square a deal as you could," the activist replied. "We shouldn't expect from any person something beyond his capacity."

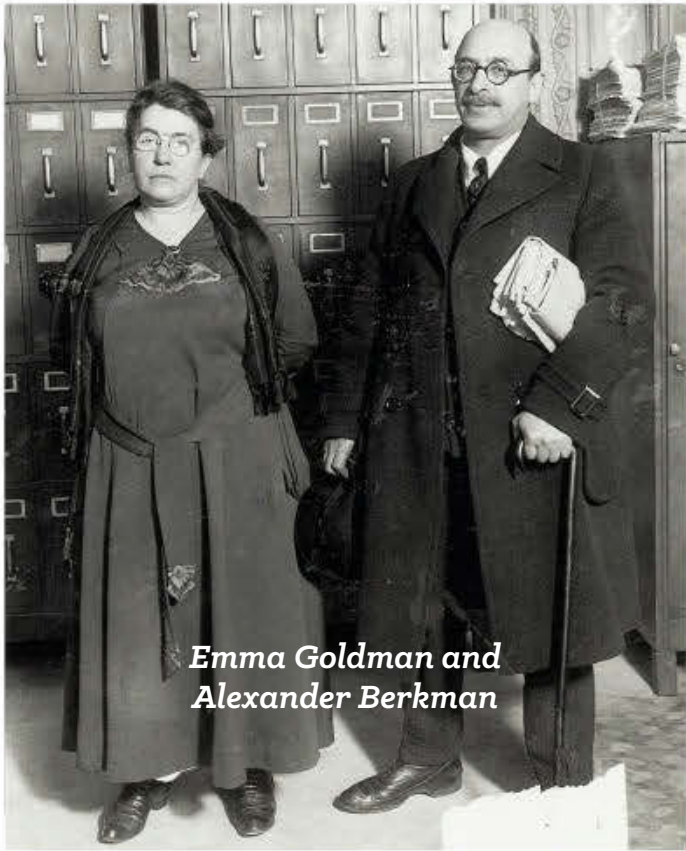
The United States did not recognize the Soviet state; *Burford's* 28-day voyage brought the deportees to Finland, where government officials escorted them to the Soviet border. Many were returning to a country they had left when the Czar still ruled.

Within the year, disheartened by Soviet repression, Goldman and Berkman left Russia to live as political vagabonds, supported by Goldman's writing. Hoover would never again cross paths with Goldman, who died in Toronto, Canada, in 1940. But the fervent anti-communist bureaucrat would ride the momentum of





Ideological Antipodes
In Emma Goldman, at left,
young John Edgar Hoover
met his polar opposite.



Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

EMBRACING THE “PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED,” ANARCHISTS ASSASSINATED A PRESIDENT AND SET OFF STRINGS OF EXPLOSIVE CHARGES, SOME OF THEM DEADLY.

women to vote, establishing a federal education department and a nationwide minimum wage, and doing away with child labor. During those decades, American voters elected about 70 socialists to be mayors and state and municipal legislators. Two Socialists served in Congress (See “Reds Scared Away,” April 2019).

In November 1917, after an internal power struggle, the Soviet Bolshevik faction in Russia triumphed. Led by Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks abolished private ownership of estates, nationalized major industries, and suppressed the multi-party Constituent Assembly. The Bolsheviks withdrew Russia from the Great War, killed Czar Nicholas II and his family, and instituted repressive social controls.

The revolution in Russia divided American socialists into three camps—the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party of America, both pro-Bolshevik, and a weakened, more moderate Socialist Party. Political anxiety among Americans about Germany, defeated in November 1918, transformed into fear of a communist takeover in the United States—hinted at in a wave of strikes stateside (see “Anxiety-Ridden Era,” p. 65).

In February 1919, more than 65,000 workers, including members of most union locals, staged a five-day general strike in Seattle, Washington. The workers were campaigning for higher wages following two years of wartime wage controls.

That September, the striking Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers shut down steel mills in at least seven states, while in Boston, Massachusetts, unionized police officers walked off the job, resulting in an outbreak of petty crime in that city. Authorities and the press portrayed strikers as Bolsheviks or “Red” fellow travelers, stressing that many strikers were immigrants and quoting them speaking broken English.

Another group working outside the conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties were anarchists, who since the mid-19th century had embraced individual responsibility, the overthrow of corrupt government,

so-called Red raids that he organized in 1919-22 on behalf of U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, then recast himself as “J. Edgar” and go on to head the agency that became U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation until his death in 1972.

In the early 1900s, the Socialist Party was a growing force in American politics, championing worker’s rights and the eventual abolition of capitalism. Though sometimes talking outright revolution, in its activities the party generally emphasized mainstream reforms like allowing



Vladimir Lenin



Strike Relief
Strikers and their families in Seattle, Washington, rejoice at receiving donated foodstuffs.



Round Up

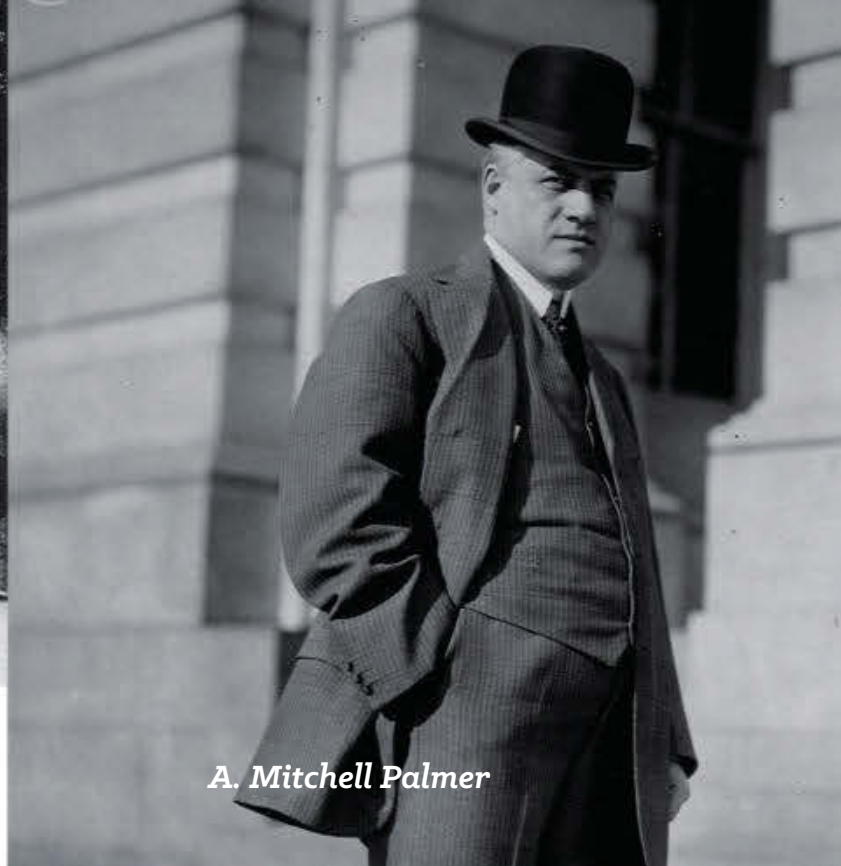
Police in Boston, Massachusetts, escort arrested leftists to confinement on Deer Island

and the role of voluntary associations in maintaining social norms. Some anarchists advocated change through violence, which they called “propaganda of the deed.” One was American anarchist Leon Czolgosz, who had assassinated U.S. President William McKinley on September 6, 1901. Nearly two decades later, on June 2, 1919, adherents of the radical Italian-American anarchist Luigi Galleani set off 11 bombs in eight cities—New York, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Boston and Newton, Massachusetts, Paterson, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. The blasts’ targets included prominent public officials and a silk company executive as well as Philadelphia’s Church of Our Lady of Victory and the home of a jeweler in that city. An explosive device went off at the Washington, DC, home of U.S. Attorney General Palmer, known as the “Fighting Quaker.”

The anti-personnel bomb meant for Palmer exploded prematurely, sparing the Cabinet member but wrecking his house at 2132 R Street NW. In the wreckage, Carlo Valdinoci, 23, lay dead. On Valdinoci’s mangled corpse was found a leaflet on pink paper reading in part “[T]here will be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will be murder; we will kill because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction.” Across R Street, Palmer’s neighbor, Assistant Navy Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt, was returning from a dinner party with wife Eleanor when he heard the blast. After making sure his family was safe, Roosevelt rushed to help.

The attacks convinced Palmer, a Democrat with ambitions to run for president, that he had to move against foreign-inspired radicalism. He began coordinating with chiefs of police in major cities, and at Justice established a Radical Division to monitor and neutralize radical groups and individuals. To head the unit, Palmer appointed Washington native Hoover, 24. The government clerk’s son had loved serving in his public high school’s cadet corps. He was an excellent debater, arguing forcefully against female suffrage and abolishing the death penalty, and was valedictorian of Central High’s class of 1913. Obtaining a law degree at George Washington University, also in the capital, young Hoover hired on at the Justice Department in 1917. He worked long hours, meticulously maintained a neat desk, and was a fiend for organization. In two years, superiors promoted him five times, including a wartime stint gathering intelligence on German aliens living in the U.S.

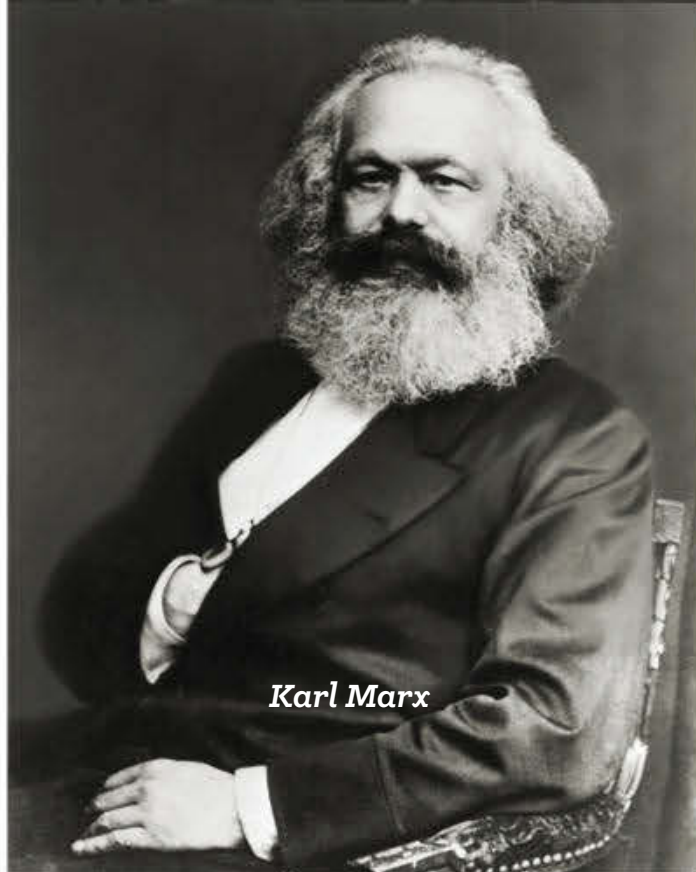
The growth of interest in the writings of Karl Marx and other radicals horrified the young conservative. Hoover soon had organized an archive of 50,000 index cards on radical individuals and groups. Palmer proposed, under the 1918 Immigration Act, to exile as many as possible of those on



A. Mitchell Palmer



Franklin D. Roosevelt



Karl Marx



Hoover's index cards who were not American citizens. Hoover believed alien radicals had penetrated the American labor movement to a dangerous degree, that left-wing groups had ties to Moscow, and that those groups could help stage an uprising. The 1918 law allowed deportation of aliens who were professed anarchists or who espoused violent overthrow of the United States. Palmer made clear his lack of interest in due process. Hoover endorsed deportation, even though deportation was not a Justice Department responsibility.

Any deportation program required the cooperation of federal immigration officials reporting to the Labor Department. Immigration chief Anthony Caminetti challenged Palmer's notion on constitutional grounds—until Hoover persuaded Caminetti to go along.

For the first raids, undertaken as a trial run, Hoover focused on the Union of Russian Workers. Since 1907, that émigré organization, which had anarchist ties, had been offering newly

TO DRIVE HOME A POINT, PALMER AND HOOVER SET RAIDS FOR NOVEMBER 7, 1919, THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION.

arrived immigrants a social setting and giving classes in subjects like English and math. Hoover saw the longer-established URW as a better target than the two domestic Communist parties, which had formed only months before.

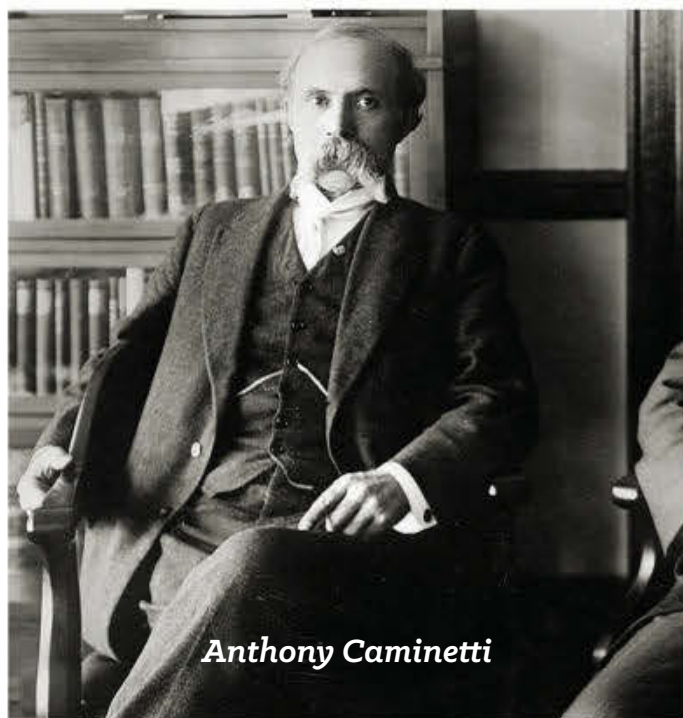
On October 30, 1919, Hoover wrote confidentially to immigration director Caminetti. He advised Caminetti that agents of the Bureau of Investigation, the Radical Division's parent body, would be sending Hoover "affidavits setting forth the names of the secretaries, delegates and organizers of each local [of the URW]. The department is desirous of obtaining the cooperation of your office in rounding up these undesirable aliens." Palmer and Caminetti gave the go-ahead. Palmer's ties to police chiefs smoothed the way, particularly in New York, where in March cops had raided the local URW.

Palmer and Hoover scheduled raids for November 7, 1919, the second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Federal agents supported by local police moved in 18 cities against URW offices and locations members were said to frequent. These included a Russian-language theater in Detroit and a pool hall in Monessen, Pennsylvania, a steel town near Pittsburgh. In raids that often turned violent, arrests nationwide neared 1,100. Most of those arrested proved to have no connection to the Union of Russian Workers—or to be American citizens.

In his 2008 book *From the Palmer Raids to the Patriot Act*, Christopher M. Finan describes how Russian-born Mitchel Lavrowsky, who had filed papers seeking U.S. citizenship, was teaching algebra at Russian People's House in Manhattan on November 7, 1919, when armed men identifying themselves as Justice Department agents entered the room. One asked Lavrowsky to remove his glasses. When he did, the agents beat him, threw him down a flight of stairs, and arrested him. Upon realizing their prisoner did not belong to the Union of Russian Workers, Lavrowsky's captors sent him home with fractures of the skull, shoulder, and foot.

Narrow Escape

U.S. Attorney General Palmer, right, at his home in Washington, DC, after an anarchist accidentally blew himself to bits there.



Anthony Caminetti

1919, Justice Department statement said that raiders had captured a counterfeiting operation in Newark, New Jersey, rooms rented by two URW members. The release added that authorities had found bomb-making materials such as gunpowder, copper and brass wiring, and batteries in a URW member's Trenton, New Jersey, home. The URW was "more radical than the Bolsheviks," the statement claimed, adding that "its principles do not favor the Bolshevik form of government, but they are willing to accept the support of any radical or group of men as an expedient for furthering their own particular needs." The media-savvy Hoover, with Assistant Attorney General Francis Garvin, set up an office to produce releases and pitch them to editors and reporters.

Playing the long game, Hoover let Palmer, about to run for the presidency, take credit for the raids and the expulsion of Goldman, Berkman, and the rest. Looking forward to having a patron in the White House, Hoover began planning raids for January 1920 on Communist Party and Communist Labor Party members and like-minded leftists. Still needing warrants from the Labor Department, Hoover badgered officials there to work faster and hectored their bosses to broaden the warrants' scope. In an effort to obtain maximum results, Hoover had his agents arrange for informants they had planted in communist groups to schedule meetings on January 2, the night the raids were scheduled. Agents were to break into homes and offices and confiscate any books and papers they found. Overnight that Friday, Justice Department agents made about 2,800 arrests, invading a party in Detroit, Michigan, dances in Lynn and Chelsea, Massachusetts, and an evening class on auto repair in Chicago, Illinois.

As had been the case the previous November, the January raids were brutal. Arresting Russian immigrants in New Hampshire, authorities transported the prisoners to Boston. To move their charges to a federal detention facility on Deer Island in Boston's harbor, police paraded the shivering prisoners in shackles and chains past taunting onlookers. On Deer Island, the prisoners endured frigid, unsanitary conditions. In Detroit, the *Nation* reported, authorities warehoused 800 prisoners for a day, unfed, in a federal building equipped with one water fountain and one bathroom. Police then dispersed the 800 among local precincts. At one station house, about 130 prisoners packed a 24' by 30' room. Prisoners had to sleep on the floor. Their sole nourishment came from friends and relatives. Release of American citizens and those with no radical ties left Detroit police holding only 300 prisoners, who were shunted to Fort Wayne, an old military bastion on the Detroit River, to await trial. In New York City, more than 500 prisoners were warehoused at Ellis Island.

When authorities complained that warrants in hand covered only about 150 of those inmates, Hoover pressed Caminetti to speed the warrant mill. The Labor Department had set bail at \$1,000 per prisoner—for many, a year's wages. Hoover urged Caminetti to increase that sum.

Again making his desk a command center, Hoover fielded calls and telegrams, many from officials seeking additional warrants to cover persons not on the original suspect list but arrested nonetheless. Hoover could only pressure Caminetti to get those warrants out. Local officials had trouble finding room for detainees and officers to guard them. Hoover's media presence began to pay off personally. On January 27, 1920, *The New York Times*, quoted "J.D. Hoover" as saying about two-thirds of aliens taken into custody were "perfect cases" for deportation because of their membership in the two Communist parties, and that two, three, or more "Soviet Arks"

would be made ready, pending convictions.

Raids continued for six weeks or so. In Paterson, New Jersey, on February 14, with Hoover himself on hand, G-men arrested 29 members of Italian anarchist group *L'Era Nuova*.

At a print shop used by the group, agents found reams of pink paper resembling the stock of the leaflet found in Palmer's front yard after his house was bombed.

Those January actions netted fewer than 100 deportable alien radicals. One reason was President Woodrow Wilson's March 1920 appointment of civil libertarian Louis Post as acting secretary of labor. Studying the paperwork, Post found many warrants for immigrant radicals improper, whether because federal agents had broken the law or because the parties named were not true communists but merely had attended a party meeting or enrolled in a class at a social center that also hosted a radical group. By May 1920, Post had dismissed about 75 percent of cases reviewed. He concluded that the Communist Labor Party posed less of a threat than the Communist Party did, so he freed all defendants arrested for belonging to the CLP. Post also reinstated a Labor Department rule, earlier eased at Hoover's demand, that agents making arrests promptly inform prisoners of their right to counsel. Deportation hearings, according to Post, showed most alleged defendants to have been "working men of good character who have never been arrested before, who



Louis F. Post

are not anarchists or revolutionists, nor politically or otherwise dangerous in any sense." Palmer enlisted allies in Congress to oust Post, but the acting labor secretary stood fast.

At Palmer's instigation, Hoover directed agents to investigate Post for links to radical groups. None turned up, but in his lawyering days Post had been on friendly terms with Emma Goldman. He'd defended the radical in free-speech fights and once amicably debated anarchism with her at his home.

On June 1, 1920, referring to what he considered Post's obstructive behavior, Palmer, with Hoover sitting alongside, told the House Rules Committee, "By [Post's] self-willed and autocratic substitution of his mistaken personal viewpoint for the obligation of public law, by his habitually tender solicitude for social revolutionists and perverted sympathy for the criminal anarchists of this country, he has consistently deprived the people of their day in court." Palmer did not mention that Post had signed Goldman's deportation order.

In a personal scrapbook that he kept, Hoover mounted a poem, "The Bully Bolshevik," possibly his own work:

*The "Reds" at Ellis Island
Are happy as can be
For Comrade Post at Washington
Is setting them all free
They'll soon be raising hell again
In every city and town
To bring on revolution
And the USA to down*

A PROGRESSIVE WHITE PAPER BLASTED THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FOR LETTING AGENTS BEAT PRISONERS AND MAKE WARRANTLESS ARRESTS AND SEIZURES.

Palmer's and Hoover's stances enraged progressive lawyers and their allies. In May 1920, the National Popular Government League published a white paper, whose authors included leading attorney Felix Frankfurter, Harvard Law School Dean Roscoe Pound, and Harvard Law Professor Zechariah Chafee. The white paper excoriated the Justice Department for letting agents beat prisoners, make arrests and seize property without warrants, use agents provocateurs, and force confessions. Detailed affidavits from raid victims are included in the report—bit.ly/3zhwdsd. Palmer and Hoover defended the raids and deportation orders. In "The Case Against the Reds" in the February 1920 issue of *The Forum*, a monthly magazine, Palmer wrote, "My information showed that communism in this country was an organization of thousands of aliens who are direct allies of [Bolshevik leader Leon] Trotzky [sic]. Aliens of the same misshapen caste of mind and indecencies of character." Hoover told a Labor Department hearing that Communist Labor Party membership justified deportation. The party, Hoover declared, was "a gang of cutthroat aliens who have come to this country to overthrow the Government by force." He attributed to communist organizations the influence behind recent strikes, *The New York Times* reported.

Palmer predicted that on May 1, 1920, American reds would start a revolution. When May Day came and went with only scattered demonstrations, Palmer's sails sagged. The press started to ridicule the Red Scare. On June 23 in Boston, Judge George Anderson ruled membership in the Communist Labor Party or the Communist Party insufficient as grounds for deportation. That ruling was reversed on appeal, but times had changed. Palmer's presidential campaign collapsed. Even after anarchists bombed Wall Street in September 1920, killing 38 people, few calls arose for



Harlan Stone
U.S. Attorney General

Wall Street Wrecked

Despite a bombing's murderous outcome, few voices demanded a resumption of raids.

Palmer-style raids. Republican Warren G. Harding won the White House.

Declaring his belief in civil liberties and due process, the adaptable Hoover maintained that during the raids he had been following orders, blaming the infamous warrants on local agents. The General Intelligence Division resumed its original name, its scope of work expanding beyond radical politics.

President Harding died in office. Successor Calvin Coolidge in 1924 named prominent New York attorney Harlan Stone U.S. attorney general. Stone appointed Hoover director of the Bureau of Investigation, soon to be renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a bastion of crime fighting, intelligence gathering, and press releases. Hoover remained a resolute foe of communism until the day he died. ★



Red Alert

Editorial cartoons and posters vividly portrayed the danger said to be posed by the left.

Anxiety-Ridden Era

Although the fighting never crossed the Atlantic, save for a few acts of sabotage, the First World War deeply disturbed Americans, heightening fears of an “enemy within.” In July 1916, German operatives triggered a blast on Black Tom Island in New York Harbor, detonating almost two million pounds of munitions meant for the Allies in Europe. In early 1917, discovery of the Zimmermann telegram revealed a plot by Germany to enlist Mexico as an ally against America if the United States sided with the British and French. That April, America declared war on Germany, arousing harsh suspicion of anyone or anything Teutonic. German Americans were pressured to buy war bonds to prove their loyalty, harassed for speaking German, and forced to kiss the flag. Sauerkraut was renamed “liberty cabbage.”

In 1918-19, the misnamed Spanish influenza pandemic, which may have started among military trainees at Fort Riley, Kansas, infected around a quarter of the American population and killed about 650,000 before becoming a global scourge. On domestic front pages, the pandemic and the war shared headline space with the Russian Revolution. That uprising, which remade czarist Russia into a socialist state, in the process slaughtering the Czar and his family, appealed to some Americans and horrified others.

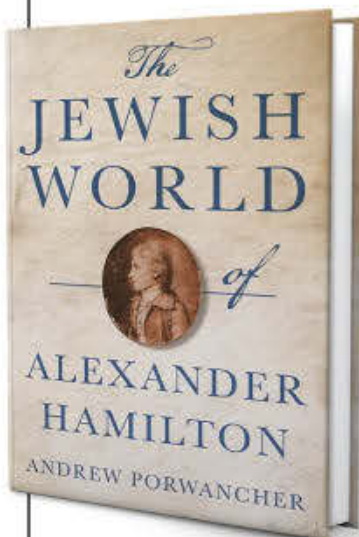
President Woodrow Wilson attacked the new Russia as “government by terror, government by force, not government by vote.” American unions’ increasing power, which the war solidified, met resistance when peace returned. A wave of strikes—steelworkers, miners, even police—in 1919 brought cries that organized labor was a socialist enterprise intent on bringing down the republic. The febrile language used lately against German Americans now was turned on supposed leftists, and soon alarmists were seeing socialist and communist threats everywhere in America. The Red Scare had begun. —Raanan Geberer

Nice Pitch, No Sale

Hamilton, standing, with Washington and fellow cabinet members Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, and Edmund Randolph.



IN THE ROOM, BUT NOT OF THE TRIBES



The Jewish World of Alexander Hamilton

By Andrew Porwancher
Princeton, 2021;
\$27.95

As much as Andrew Porwancher would like readers to think so, the lately much-discussed Founding Father is not the Sandy Koufax of the American Revolution. Porwancher's premise is that Hamilton's mother, Rachel Faucette Buck, may have converted to Judaism to marry one Peter Levine. Levine was a merchant—on the Caribbean island of Nevis, a common Jewish profession. Rachel and Levine separated and eventually she took up with James Hamilton, bearing Alexander out of wedlock in 1757. In his early years, on Nevis, the boy attended a Jewish school. Porwancher concedes that this enrollment is his best evidence that Hamilton was Jewish inasmuch as no other records indicate that to have been the case. Therein lies the problem. For all its plausibility, Porwancher's narrative, lacking direct evidence, skates on the thin ice of inference.

Jewishness is determined by matrilineal descent. Had Rachel Buck converted to Judaism, her son would be considered Jewish. To reinforce his assertion, Porwancher maintains

Hamilton to have been the only founding father who was not anti-Semitic or known to have made anti-Semitic statements.

But Hamilton never claimed to be Jewish and enemies never baited him for being such. Through his law practice, he was friendly with Jews in both the Caribbean and New York. But given New York City's prominence in international trade and finance, any lawyer there was guaranteed constant contact with Jews. In his role as the first secretary of the Treasury Hamilton found Jews useful allies in his efforts to stabilize the new nation's finances, which meant resolving its international debt.

Jewish World's true value lies in Porwancher's insights into Jewish civil and political life in colonial times in the Caribbean and in pre- and post-revolutionary America. New World attitudes toward Jews echoed those regnant in Europe, though more faintly, due to the need to populate the colonies.

Moreover, Jews were essential to international trade, among the scarce commercial

opportunities that Christian rulers and governments afforded them. Porwancher portrays colonial Americans' quotidian anti-Semitism and the Jewish community's general support for the revolution, in the process briefly detailing internecine Jewish relationships in New York and throughout the British colonies.

Porwancher hews relentlessly to the story he wants to tell, at the last invoking critics' skepticism about the dying duelist's sincerity in expressing desire to take communion as proof of his Jewishness. But that still does not make him Sandy Koufax. —Dennis Melamed writes in Alexandria, Virginia.

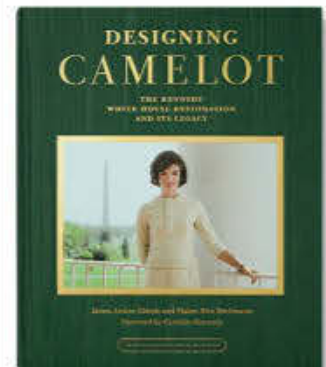
HOUSE PROUD

Sumptuously packaged, lovingly illustrated, and narrated with finesse, this latest among many volumes to address the Kennedy-era updating of the 132-room mansion at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW in Washington, DC, offers a wealth of information and insight, as well as pathos, bathos, and even comedy. A preliminary pass, *The White House: An Historic Guide*, appeared in 1962, with the project in question then still getting under way and its auteur, Jacqueline Kennedy, prefiguring an American phenomenon to come by daring to live on-site as she put her home through an extensive renovation.

That renovation—the “restoration” in the title was aspirational—sought to refurbish the presidential residence, whose stock of furniture and furnishings when the Kennedys took up residence suggested a high-end tag sale reflecting the passing fancies of 150 years' worth of occupants. Though oriented toward American antiques, Mrs. Kennedy's quest, thanks to her upbringing and personal taste, strongly tilted toward French style.

The 1962 *Guide* marked the publishing debut of the fledgling White House Historical Association, formed to facilitate Mrs. Kennedy's undertaking by raising funds and providing historiographical support for the first lady's efforts. The complex restoration/renovation died with President John F. Kennedy—hindsight knowledge of that inevitability looms over the brief heyday preceding it—but the association and its mission survived. In 1998 the association revisited the Camelot years with a book-length chronicle.

The new volume reprises its predecessor's title and topic but drills more deeply and broadly and—unbound by time's liberating passage—paints less worshipful, more realistic portraits of individuals who were central to the story. These include Jacqueline Kennedy, in a passage about a charmless space quoted as wisecracking about that hallway's resemblance to “a dentist's office bomb shelter.” Another key figure much mentioned is *Washington Post* reporter Maxine Cheshire, who applied a muckraker's diligence to the renovation's commercial intricacies and interpersonal rivalries. Cheshire's relentless reporting deeply vexed Mrs. Kennedy and associates by illuminating the sausage-making and horse-trading that made the sophisticated redecoration possible. The other two essential characters were Henry Francis du Pont, master collector of Americana, and French decorator Stéphane Boudin. Much of the tale telling in *Designing Camelot* 2021 concerns the competition that arose between these two aging lions as they struggled to score points with their proto-fashionista customer, and it does not require a great deal of imagination to see how a clever production team could repurpose Abbott's and Bachmann's engaging prose into a riveting HGTV docudrama. —American History editor Michael Dolan and family lived on-site while renovating a decrepit eight-room bungalow.



Designing Camelot: The Kennedy White House Restoration and Its Legacy

By James Archer Abbott and Elaine Rice Bachmann; foreword by Caroline Kennedy
White House Historical Association, 2021; \$65

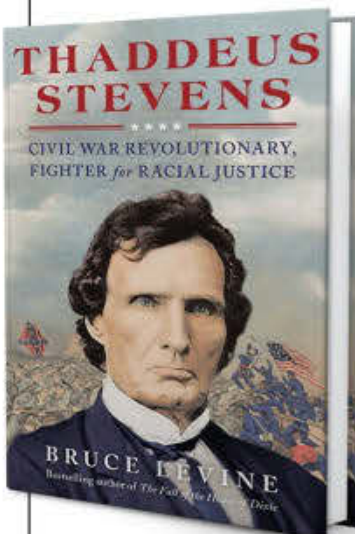
Showing the Colors
The Blue Room of the White House, recast during the Kennedy Administration along with much else.



Carrying On

Delegated to inform the U.S. Senate of the House's February 24, 1868, vote to impeach President Andrew Johnson, Stevens, too weak to walk, was carried to the Senate chamber door.

THE MAN WHO PEAKED TOO SOON



Thaddeus Stevens: Civil War Revolutionary, Fighter for Racial Justice

By Bruce Levine
Simon & Schuster,
2021; \$28

Considered Reconstruction's evil mastermind for a century after his death, Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868) stood tall among the rare White Americans to pursue Black equality. Northern states may have outlawed slavery, but their White inhabitants mostly disdained Blacks.

Historian Levine begins this fine, post-rehabilitation biography by noting that, as Abraham Lincoln did, Stevens came up poor, studied hard, read the law, and prospered.

Lawyering in Pennsylvania, he embraced abolition in the 1830s, opposing—unsuccessfully—a new state constitution that disenfranchised African Americans.

Abolitionists are today's good guys, but after the Civil War they were cast as villains, with historians mostly deploring their extremism and often scolding Stevens for excessive ambition. Residents of southern Pennsylvania, his home base, were not unsympathetic to slavery, and his views and his lifestyle—he had a Black mistress—drew smears and threats.

Levine reminds readers that southern politicians were prone to violent language and actions even on the floor of Congress. The pugnacious Stevens gave as good as he got, regularly speaking in the capital from within a protective cordon of allies.

When war began in 1861, Stevens and abolitionists in Congress urged emancipation. The realist Lincoln emphasized that the war aimed to preserve the Union. By 1865, northern resistance to emancipation had faded, but the Union mainstream had lost interest, and new president Andrew Johnson yearned to restore White supremacy. Once painted as Lincolnian, Levine's Johnson is in the running for America's Worst. President. Ever. Unlike counterparts Buchanan, Pierce, and Harding, who merely bumbled, Johnson was actively malign. He declared Blacks unfit for citizenship, insulted as subhuman those who called on him, encouraged lily-white southern state governments, and vetoed civil rights legislation.

Always a minority in Congress, post-war abolitionists needed a galvanizing cause. Southern Whites accommodated, letting slip brutality, massacres, and “black codes” imposing quasi-enslavement. For a decade this pattern outraged northern opinion, persuading moderates to back laws to help the formerly enslaved until Whites again lost interest. Lincoln had cleaned up the mess Buchanan left, but a century had to pass before Lyndon

Johnson forced through laws Andrew Johnson should have enacted after Appomattox.

Levine argues convincingly that Stevens rolled with the angels, but in politics the righteous don’t necessarily reach the payoff window and being right too soon is a handicap. Stevens’s efforts mostly failed; he was lucky to die in 1868, when Reconstruction seemed to have a future. —Mike Oppenheim writes in *Lexington, Kentucky*.

COMPANY MANHANDLED

Philip Agee (1935-2008) remains, except for Aldrich Ames, the CIA’s most hated renegade. This compelling biography maintains that Agee acted not out of shameful motives or communist sympathies but a sense of morality.

Historian Stevenson points out that most ex-CIA whistleblowers have denounced a particular program and that Ames was caught selling secrets for money. Agee was the first to attack the Company on strict ideological grounds and alone in publicizing intelligence officers by name.

Son of a wealthy, conservative Catholic family, Agee joined the agency after graduating Notre Dame in 1956. Favoring as it historically did Ivy Leaguers, the agency first posted him to Latin America, at the time an intelligence backwater. He arrived in 1960 as Castro’s takeover in Cuba was making that region a Cold War battleground.

For eight years Agee opposed Castro’s influence in Ecuador, Uruguay, and Mexico by supporting authoritarian movements and military coups. Everyone now agrees that the resulting violence, torture, and suppression of democratic ideals were disgraceful.

Stevenson turns up no complaints from Agee during his tenure with CIA, in his 1968 letter of resignation, or for some years after, during which he failed at several enterprises and considered returning to college. In 1971, having moved from Mexico City to Paris with a stop in Cuba on the way, Agee began publishing attacks that generated unflagging CIA attention. His 1975 bestseller *Inside the Company* revealed a host of deplorable activities, meanwhile naming several hundred agents.

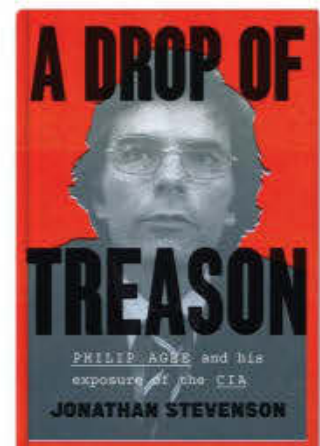
Furor followed; careers and operations did suffer, though Stevenson pooh-poohs the near-universal belief that Agee’s revelations killed agents. As he traveled the world to lecture and advise groups opposing American policy, the CIA shadowed him, harassed his family, and pressured a series of nations to expel him until he married a legal resident of West Germany and settled there.

In this vivid, mildly approving portrait, Stevenson labels Agee soft on communism but dismisses allegations that he was a KGB mole; he was always short of money. In 1980, to ease his difficulties traveling to and from the United States, Agee agreed to clear all manuscripts with the agency, which almost never objected.

Stevenson holds that the CIA suffered during this era, but more from its own blunders than Agee’s efforts, and both factors turned out to be temporary. Ronald Reagan’s election brought a friendly overseer, equally amenable presidents followed, and America’s preoccupation with terrorism has restored a CIA golden age. —Mike Oppenheim writes in *Lexington, Kentucky*.

Agent of Change

Agee, here in 1976, went from Company man to whistleblower but was not a KGB mole, says author Stevenson.



A Drop of Treason: Philip Agee and His Exposure of the CIA

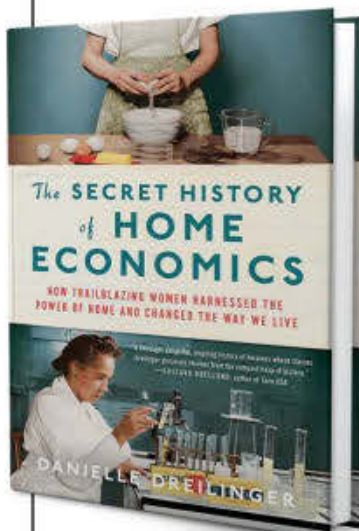
By Jonathan Stevenson
University of Chicago, 2021; \$27.50





Saving Nine
Howard University students during sewing class in Washington, DC, circa 1900.

SISTERS DOING IT FOR THEMSELVES



The Secret History of Home Economics: How Trailblazing Women Harnessed the Power of Home and Changed the Way We Live

By Danielle Dreilinger
Norton, 2021; \$27.95

Nothing makes assembling Ikea furniture with an Allen wrench a man's job and sewing a shirt woman's work. Far more than does the task of connecting pieces with nuts, bolts, and screws, sewing entails knowledge of materials, mathematics, and engineering. Nonetheless, the home economics movement's founders bisected labor by the worker's sex, according to Danielle Dreilinger. In *Secret History* she chronicles the movement as one of women initially fighting toward equality by seeking recognition of their work in the home. Educated White upper-class women and educated Black women conceived separate but overlapping visions of toil on behalf of hearth and household. These visions, Dreilinger writes, reflected the universe that constitutes home economics, foreshadowing many aspects of today's social justice agenda.

Dreilinger begins with pioneering efforts by two White women and one Black woman. In 1841, Catharine Beecher—of the abolitionist

Beechers—published *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*. *Treatise*, in a first, catalogued homemakers' medical, health, and homemaking duties and talents, rethinking the historic role of the submissive wife. Ellen Swallow, first woman to graduate what would become the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was a chemist. That training enabled Swallow to infuse domestic science with environmental—i.e., clean water—and consumer protection, extending understanding of women's place beyond the traditions of cleaning and sewing and child-rearing.

Margaret Murray, later to marry Booker T. Washington, was instrumental in educating Black women and men adjusting to life after bondage—and a force instilling in Black women dignity and self-worth. That White versions of the home economics movement excluded her shows that if racism is learned, home economics did some of the teaching.

Home economics expanded women's role

without directly challenging men while subtly expressing women's capacity to do much of the same work as men. The movement and its flagship institution, the American Home Economics Association, waxed and waned along with societal attitudes toward women. In the latter 1900s the AHEA and kindred groups advanced an expanded agenda, prompting conservatives to harp about going too far and liberals to grouse about not going nearly far enough. Dreilinger's most profound emphasis

is intersectionality—the concept that bias against women and minorities can arise from more than one source. *Secret History* reminds us that concepts like feminism and racism and xenophobia mean different things to different people depending on a fluid ratio of race, ethnicity and gender. —Dennis Melamed is a business and regulatory writer. An adjunct professor at the Drexel University College of Medicine, he teaches courses on biomedical research regulation.

1778 & ALL THAT

Walking a path well-trod by scholars, including the author, this is an insightful history of the long second act of America's revolution. Veteran historian Ferling emphasizes that the stunning October 1777 British surrender at Saratoga still preoccupies historians who consider that event the war's turning point. France, eager to avenge its defeat in 1763, turned up the spigot of aid and declared war in 1778. Fortunately, no one knew three discouraging years would follow before French money, French forces, and good luck guaranteed victory.

Ferling's evaluation of the leading generals produces a mixed bag. His Washington, a champ at charisma and political infighting, lost more battles than he won and, perhaps sensibly, fought none between Monmouth in 1778 and Yorktown.

Britain's first commander, General William Howe, had little trouble defeating Washington whenever they met but was otherwise oddly distracted. Howe's decision to ignore orders to join Burgoyne in his trek to Saratoga probably planted the kiss of death on Britain's hopes.

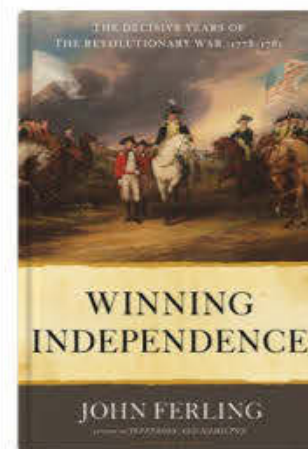
Howe's second-in-command, Henry Clinton, replaced him in May 1778 as France was entering the war. Popular histories rarely emphasize that, from this date on, fending off its traditional enemy was what preoccupied Britain. Much of the Royal Navy departed American shores, and Clinton had barely assumed command when he received orders to send a large fraction of his army to the West

Indies, Florida, and Canada.

While agreeing that Britain lost on Clinton's watch, Ferling considers him a good general operating with a hand tied behind his back. Washington going quiescent, Clinton turned his attention to the south, supposedly a loyalist haven. Encouraged by Savannah's fall in December 1778, he led an expedition that captured Charleston in May 1780, perhaps the colonists' greatest defeat.

Clinton returned to New York, but the army under Cornwallis remained to subdue the remainder of South Carolina and then move north, a process frustrating because too few loyalists mustered, and the countryside proved hostile. During his 1781 march toward Yorktown, Cornwallis and Clinton disagreed, and for years thereafter quarreled publicly over who bore responsibility for the surrender. Few readers will perk up when Ferling concludes that, but for the French and fortune, the colonists would have lost the Revolution, and the British could have won it.

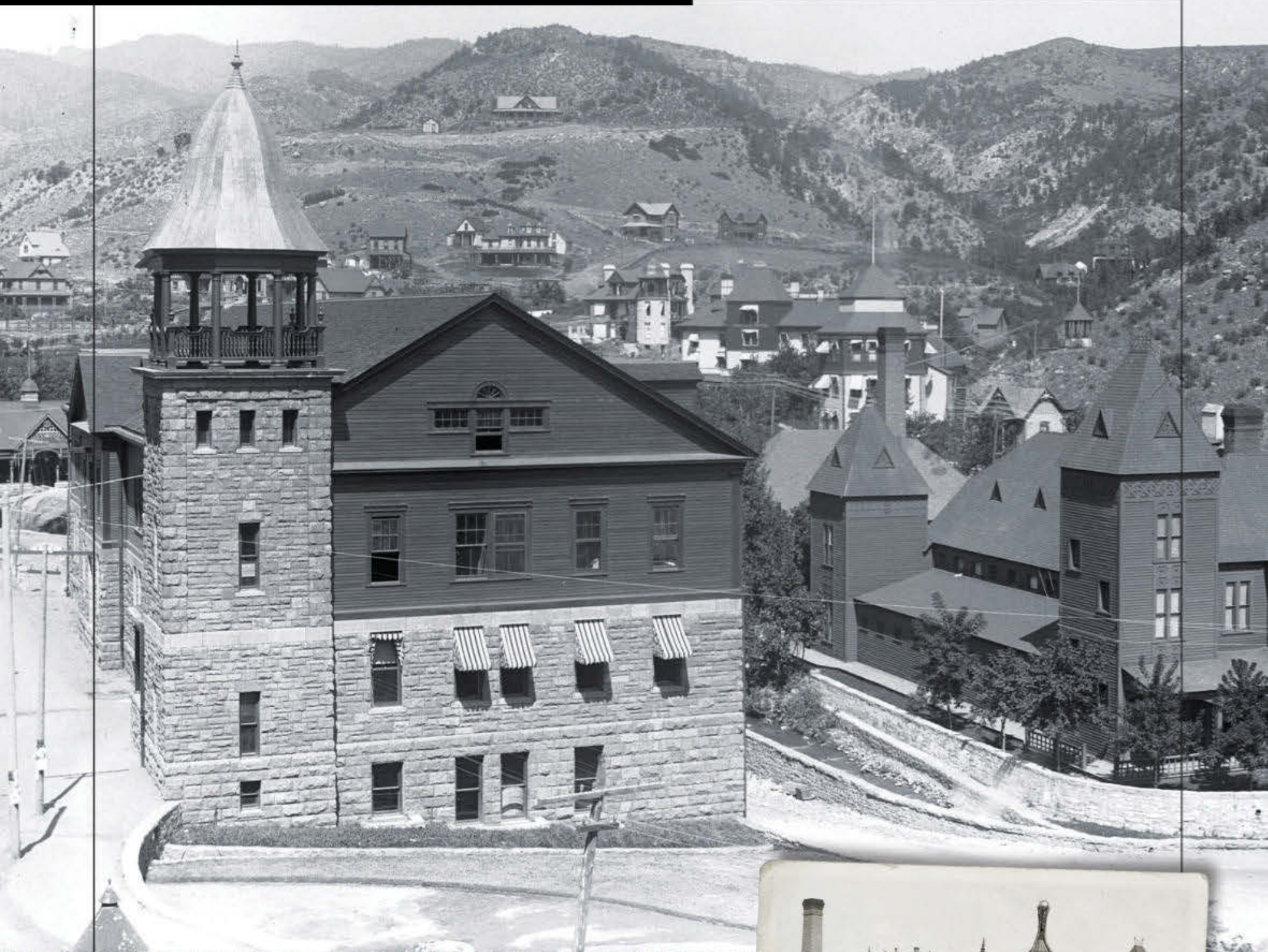
In 1976, Page Smith's eight-volume U.S. history covered the era in 900 riveting pages. Readers choosing Ferling's 600 will save time with no lessening of pleasure. —Mike Oppenheim writes in *Lexington, Kentucky*.



Winning Independence: The Decisive Years of the Revolutionary War, 1778-1781
By John Ferling
Bloomsbury 2021,
\$35

The Defeated
British General John Burgoyne, center right, surrenders to American counterpart Horatio Gates.

AN AMERICAN PLACE



Manitou Springs, Colorado's...

...nine mineral water sources perch at 6,400 feet in the Rockies 75 miles south of Denver. Each cold-water flow has its own flavor. White settlers learned of the locale from the area's Ute Indians, who had named the place for a peak thought to exert shamanic power. In 1870, business partners Dr. William Bell and General William Palmer saw dollar signs in the springs. Palmer, a Medal of Honor holder, had founded the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Bell, an English doctor, was known for photographing the Indian Wars. The entrepreneurs ran a spur line to the springs and built a European-style spa. Further explorations uncovered the crystalline Cave of the Winds. Bell flogged the springs' healing powers in a national marketing campaign. Wealthy Easterners and Europeans erected elaborate vacation homes. One, Jean Baptiste Francolon, a wealthy French priest, built his mother a castle. In 1904, hoping to save Anasazi pueblo cliff dwellings in southwest Colorado from looting, writer and Indian advocate Virginia McClurg paid to have the dwellings taken apart, moved, and reassembled next to the Cave of the Winds. By tradition Manitou Springs waters always have been free for the drinking. —Mike Coppock



Water World

A gazebo made to look as if fashioned of tree branches enclosed Navajo Soda Spring.

**AUTHENTIC
WWII STEEL
CENTS**

**SAVE OVER
\$60**



SECRET HOARD DISCOVERED:

World War II 1943 Steel Cents

When our buyer received the call, he nearly fell out of his chair. In his 19 years in the coin business, he had never seen a hoard like this. 20,000 coins—all 1943 Lincoln Steel Cents!

He quickly secured as many as he could, and now you can secure full rolls of this historic World War II-era coin at an incredible price.

What is a Steel Cent?

When the United States entered World War II, copper quickly became a coveted material. Required for our communications as well as munitions, every major supply of copper needed to be turned over to the war effort. That included the large supply of copper used by the U.S. Mint to strike Lincoln Cents!

The Lincoln Cent is the U.S. Mint's longest-running series, sitting in the pockets and piggy banks of Americans for more than 100 years. But for one year only—1943—the Lincoln Cent was struck in steel-coated zinc instead of copper. This unique, historic mintage is now one of the most coveted in U.S. history!

Authentic Pieces of WWII History

Each 1943 U.S. Steel Cent is an authentic piece of World War II History—an example of America's dedication to aiding the Allies and winning the war.

Buy a Full Roll and SAVE!

Look elsewhere for these coveted World War II Steel Cents in this same condition, and you could wind up paying as much as \$1.80 per coin, or a total of \$90 for a full 50-coin roll's worth! But while our supplies last, you can secure a roll of authentic World War II 1943 Steel Cents for just \$29.95 — a savings of over \$60!

In addition, you'll also receive a **BONUS** Replica WWII newspaper, reprinting front-page news from 1943!

There's no telling when or if another hoard of these historic WWII coins will be found. Don't wait — secure your very own piece of the Allied victory now!



1943 U.S. Steel Cent 50-Coin Roll - \$29.95 + s/h

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

1-800-329-0225

Offer Code RLC353-01

Please mention this code when you call.

GovMint.com • 14101 Southcross Dr. W., Suite 175
Dept. RLC353-01 • Burnsville, MN 55337



GOVMINT.COM®

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.

Meet the Watch That Shook Up Switzerland

A watch that revolutionized timekeeping at a price equally as radical.

In the history of timepieces, few moments are more important than the creation of the world's first Piezo timepiece. First released to the public in 1969, the watch turned the entire industry on its head, ushering in a new era of timekeeping. It's this legacy that we're honoring with the **Timemaster Watch**, available only through Stauer at a price only we can offer.

Prior to Piezo watches, gravity-driven Swiss watches were the standard bearer of precision timekeeping. But all that changed when the first commercially available Piezo watch came onto the market.

The result of ten years of research and development by some of the world's top engineers, they discovered that when you squeeze a certain type of crystal, it generates a tiny electric current. And, if you pass electricity through the crystal, it vibrates at a precise frequency—exactly 32,768 times each second. When it came on the market, the Piezo watch was the most dependable timepiece available, accurate to 0.2 seconds per day. Today, it's still considered a spectacular advance in electrical engineering.

"[Piezo timepieces]...it would shake the Swiss watch industry to its very foundations."

—Foundation For Economic Education

With the **Timemaster** we've set one of the world's most important mechanical advances inside a decidedly masculine case. A handsome prodigy in rich leather and gold-finished stainless steel. The simplicity of the watch's case belies an ornately detailed dial, which reflects the prestige of this timepiece.

Call today to secure your own marvel of timekeeping history. Because we work directly with our own craftsman we're able to offer the **Timemaster** at a fraction of the price that many Piezo watches cost. But a watch like this doesn't come along every day. Call today before time runs out and they're gone.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Spend some time with this engineering masterpiece for one month. If you're not convinced you got excellence for less, simply send it back within 30 days for a refund of the item price. But we're betting this timekeeping pioneer is a keeper.

Timemaster Piezo Watch ~~\$299~~*

Offer Code Price Only \$29 + S&P Save \$270

1-800-333-2045

Your Insider Offer Code: TPW279-04

You must use the insider offer code to get our special price.

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. TPW279-04
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 **www.stauer.com**

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



Stauer... Afford the Extraordinary.®

Wear it today
for only
\$29



- Precision Piezo electric movement
- Stainless steel caseback and crown
- Cotswold® mineral crystal
- Crocodile embossed leather strap fits wrists 6 1/2"–8 1/2"
- Date window display • Water resistant to 3 ATM