

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	From: Linda Lader, To: Hillary (31 pages)	1/3/95	Personal Misfile
002. card	From: Kathryn Lanouette, To: Mr. and Mrs. Clinton (2 pages)	3/10/96	Personal Misfile
003. card	From: Meryl Langbort, To: Mrs. Clinton (2 pages)	3/18/96	Personal Misfile
004. card	From: Susan Lamia, To: Hillary (3 pages)	5/6/96	Personal Misfile
005a. letter	From: Hillary Clinton, To: Leonard Laster (1 page)	5/16/96	Personal Misfile
005b. letter	From: Leonard Laster, To: Mrs. Clinton (1 page)	4/29/96	Personal Misfile
005c. note	Routing Instructions for letter from Leonard Laster (1 page)	nd	Personal Misfile
006. letter	From: J, To: Hillary (2 pages)	6/17/96	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Pam Cicetti
OA/Box Number: 10598

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - 1996 Personal - L [3]

2014-0159-S

sb240

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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CONRAD C. LYSIAK
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
FARM CREDIT BANKS BUILDING
WEST 601 FIRST AVENUE
SUITE 503
SPOKANE, WASHINGTON 99204

TEL: (509) 624-1475

FAX: (509) 747-1770

February 5, 1996

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: LAB DATE: 11/12/13

ADMITTED
OKLAHOMA
WASHINGTON

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Hillary:

I regret that I was not able to attend the Maine South class reunion this past summer. While I had made plans to be there, unavoidable business events prevented my travel to Washington, D.C.

I did want to let you know how much I enjoyed It Takes a Village. I look back at my childhood and realize how sheltered my childhood was; how safe and innocent Park Ridge was; how controlled my life was; and how safe our peer group was.

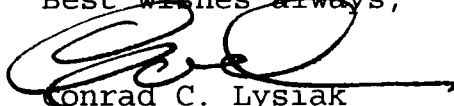
Today's kids have a tougher situation being exposed to and having readily available adult vices and in most cases not having the constant parental supervision that we had when we were growing up.

By the same token, the degree of discipline that exists in today's schools is far more lenient than when we went to school. I can still remember the 45 minute detentions for not being in our seats in study hall when the bell rang as well as the dress codes. Today, teachers and administrators here in Spokane turn their heads away from minor violations. One counselor confided in me that he had been sued for expelling a student who brought a weapon to school. Times sure have changed.

Hillary, if you have time, I would appreciate you autographing the enclosed copy of It Takes a Village. If you are unable to do so, donate the book to a school or library in D.C.

I wish you and Bill the best in the future. I am confident that the public will support Bill in his bid for reelection. If there is anything I can do for you out here, please call me.

Best wishes always,


Conrad C. Lysiak

3/19/96 mailed

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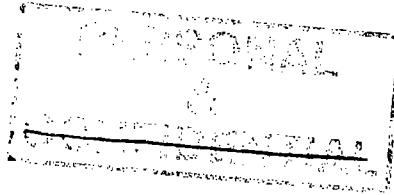
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MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 1.5 (c)
Initials: LAB Date 11/13/13

THE WHITE HOUSE

March 22, 1996

Mr. Mark Lindquist
Route 2
Box 247
Quincy, Florida 32351

Dear Mr. Lindquist:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your stunning catalogue with its thoughtful inscription. I hope I will have an opportunity to visit the Renwick exhibit and to experience your great gifts of artistry and craftsmanship.

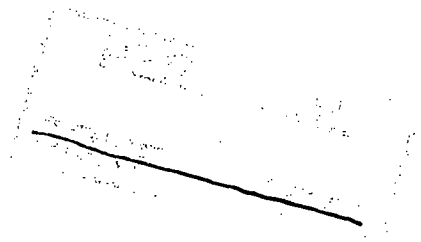
With appreciation and kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Hillary Rodham Clinton

see gift wrap

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Initials: ADB Date 11/12/13



THE WHITE HOUSE

January 31, 1996

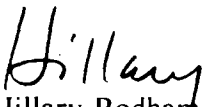
David S. Leiderman
Executive Director
Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
440 First Street, N. W.
Suite 310
Washington, D. C. 20001-2085

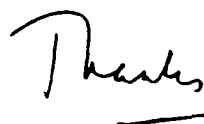
Dear David:

Thank you for your very thoughtful expression of support. Wherever I went on my recent book tour, I was encouraged by the many people I met who care about a better future for our children and our country and whose attention will not be diverted from these goals. I will continue to draw strength and optimism from them and from your friendship.

With gratitude and warm regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton





Child Welfare League of America, Inc.

440 First Street, NW, Suite 310, Washington, DC 20001-2085 • 202/638-2952 • FAX 202/638-4004

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Nic L. Knoph

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

David S. Liederman

January 18, 1996

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

This too shall pass!

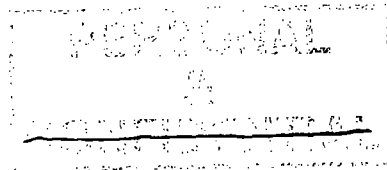
Hang in there—we need your leadership.

Sincerely,

All the very best

David S. Liederman
Executive Director

Scott (212) 749-8902 h
663-3657 jaf



THE WHITE HOUSE

February 2, 1996

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 3.3 (c)

Initials: ADB Date 11/12/13

Friends of Nancy LaMott
c/o Scott Barnes
275 West 96th Street
New York, New York 10025-6271

Dear Friends:

Music is unique in its ability to evoke our deepest emotions. We can lose ourselves in a perfect song perfectly sung and in her short, brilliant career, Nancy LaMott helped us do that over and over again.

The President and I had the great fortune of hearing Nancy perform at the White House on two occasions. We were captivated by her voice, her style and her spirit. We listened to her heart and she filled our own.

Just the other day, I had one of Nancy's songs playing so loudly that a staff member could not hear me speak. Nancy was truly present, and she will be always as her music lives on in all of us.

With gratitude for Nancy and her enchanting gift of song, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Hillary Rodham Clinton

*hard copy mailed
2/5*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE FIRST LADY

FROM: Ann Stock *AS*

DATE: January 16, 1996

As you may know, a memorial service for Nancy LaMott is going to be held in New York at The Church of St. Paul the Apostle on February 11.

Her friends and family are compiling short anecdotes and reminiscences from her friends to be included in a commemorative program for the memorial service. They would be extremely touched to have you or The President send an inclusion. The message should be sent by February 4 to the following address:

Scott Barnes
275 West 96th Street #32G
New York, NY 10025-6271

Thanks and please advise.

letter to be read

*twice performed
did not know
captivated by voice + style
spirit + spirit
beauty voice*

LISTEN TO MY HEART

words & music by
David Friedman

HERE WE ARE, YOU AND I AT LAST
IN THE RIGHT PLACE, AT THE RIGHT TIME
EVERY DREAM I'VE DREAMED HAS COME TO PASS
'CAUSE YOU'RE RIGHT HERE, AND YOU'RE ALL MINE
I CAN'T BELIEVE THE YEARS OF HOLDING BACK ARE THROUGH
AND I CAN FIN'LY SHARE WHAT'S IN MY HEART, WITH YOU
LISTEN, LISTEN

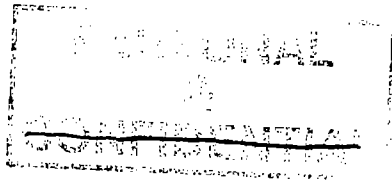
LISTEN TO MY HEART, LISTEN TO IT SING
LISTEN TO MY VOICE, IT WANTS TO TELL YOU EVERYTHING
THERE'S SO MUCH TO SAY, I DON'T KNOW WHERE TO START
BUT IF YOU WANT TO KNOW THE LOVE I'M FEELING, LISTEN TO MY HEART

ALL MY LIFE, I'VE BEEN ON A ROAD
GOING ONE WAY, TOWARD ONE DREAM
THE ROAD WOULD WIND, AND DOWN IT I WOULD GO
ALWAYS SEARCHING, NEVER FINDING
BUT EVEN IN MY DARKEST HOUR I ALWAYS KNEW
THAT SOMEDAY, SOMEHOW THE ROAD WOULD LEAD, TO YOU
AND WORDS CAN'T EXPRESS, HOW MY HEART'S FILLED WITH HAPPINESS
LISTEN TO IT

LISTEN TO MY HEART, LISTEN TO IT SING
LISTEN TO MY VOICE, IT WANTS TO TELL YOU EVERYTHING
LISTEN TO MY SONG, LISTEN TO IT SOAR
I'VE WAITED ALL MY LIFE FOR THIS ONE MOMENT I'M NOT WAITING ANYMORE

LISTEN TO MY HEART, AS IT CRIES, FOR ALL THE YEARS THAT IT WAS LONELY
LISTEN TO MY HEART, AS IT SMILES TO KNOW
THAT NOW AFTER SO LONG, I CAN FIN'LY SING MY SONG
AND YOU'RE HERE, AND YOU'RE LISTENING,
YOU'RE LISTENING-----

(Listen to my heart, Listen to it sing)
LISTEN TO MY VOICE, AND IT WILL TELL YOU EVERYTHING
ALL ABOUT THE LIFE, THAT'S JUST ABOUT TO START
FOR IF YOU WANT TO KNOW HOW MUCH I LOVE YOU
LISTEN TO MY HEART
LISTEN TO MY HEART
LISTEN TO MY HEART



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MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 3.3 (c)
Initials: AOB Date 11/13/13

THE WHITE HOUSE

January 11, 1996

Mrs. Eleanor Lake
99 Woodland Road
New Canaan, Connecticut 06840

Dear Mrs. Lake:

Thank you for your holiday card and wonderful reminiscence. I so appreciate your encouragement and would like to share a quote of Mrs. Roosevelt's that I keep on my desk: "If you put a woman in hot water she is a lot like a tea bag -- the hotter the water, the better she gets."

With kind regards and best wishes for a happy and healthy New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Hillary Rodham Clinton

dec 1

*Tony
Lake*

my own) Eleanor Roosevelt,
see of them, for different reasons,
found White House life difficult,
with its ill-defined role for the
First Lady. (You may remember
that Grace Coolidge said, "I think
the Goldfish begin to pity me.") She
was a fine woman. Mrs. H. I
personally found too icy, but she
too suffered, (my J. and M. met with her
secretly to try to "humanize
Hoover" and admit. Think of anything
he wd. agree to. He once brushed by
me in my family's house, as the
savior, and averted his head
rather than say hello!) Of course, E. B.
simply burst the hold in and how she
was vilified by men and older women!!
Alas, White House inhabitants must
desist for history to try to find the truth -
(which is hard on the living) EHL

May the peace and goodwill
of Christmas
be with you throughout
the coming year

"Tony Lake's mother" Eleanor
Lake -

I am sending this to you
rather than to both of you because
I have a special message for
you - (among your thousands, I know)
In my Washington youth I was
privileged to know (via my
parents) Grace Coolidge and
hon. Henry Hoover and later (as

The Presentation of the Temple from
Hours of Charles the Noble, folio 83 recto
Ink, tempera, and gold on vellum, ca. 1404-05
19.4 x 13.7 cm, French, Paris
© The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1994
Mr. and Mrs. William H. Mariatti Fund, 64.46

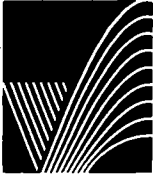
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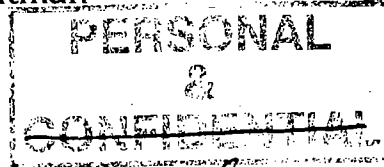
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NEW YORK / ZÜRICH
Printed in Switzerland





Judith L. Lichtman

President



Dear Hillary -

The week between Christmas & New Year's provided the perfect time to catch up on reading & I knew would be fun if I could ever get to it. And so... I just finished reading your speeches at the Beijing conference. - They make me proud to be an American and proud that you are my friend. Thank you for being there for all of us.

Sometime when we both have time

WOMEN'S LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 710 • Washington, DC 20009 • 202/986-2600 • Fax: 202/986-2539

I'd love to tell you a wonderful story about "Women's rights are human rights" from a contemporaneous battle in Israel around the issues of personal status and fundamental civil rights and liberties. These issues are the same all over the world.

My best to you and your family in this holiday season & of course for the new year.

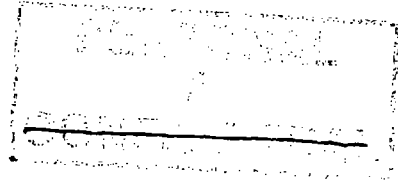
Warm regards,

Judy

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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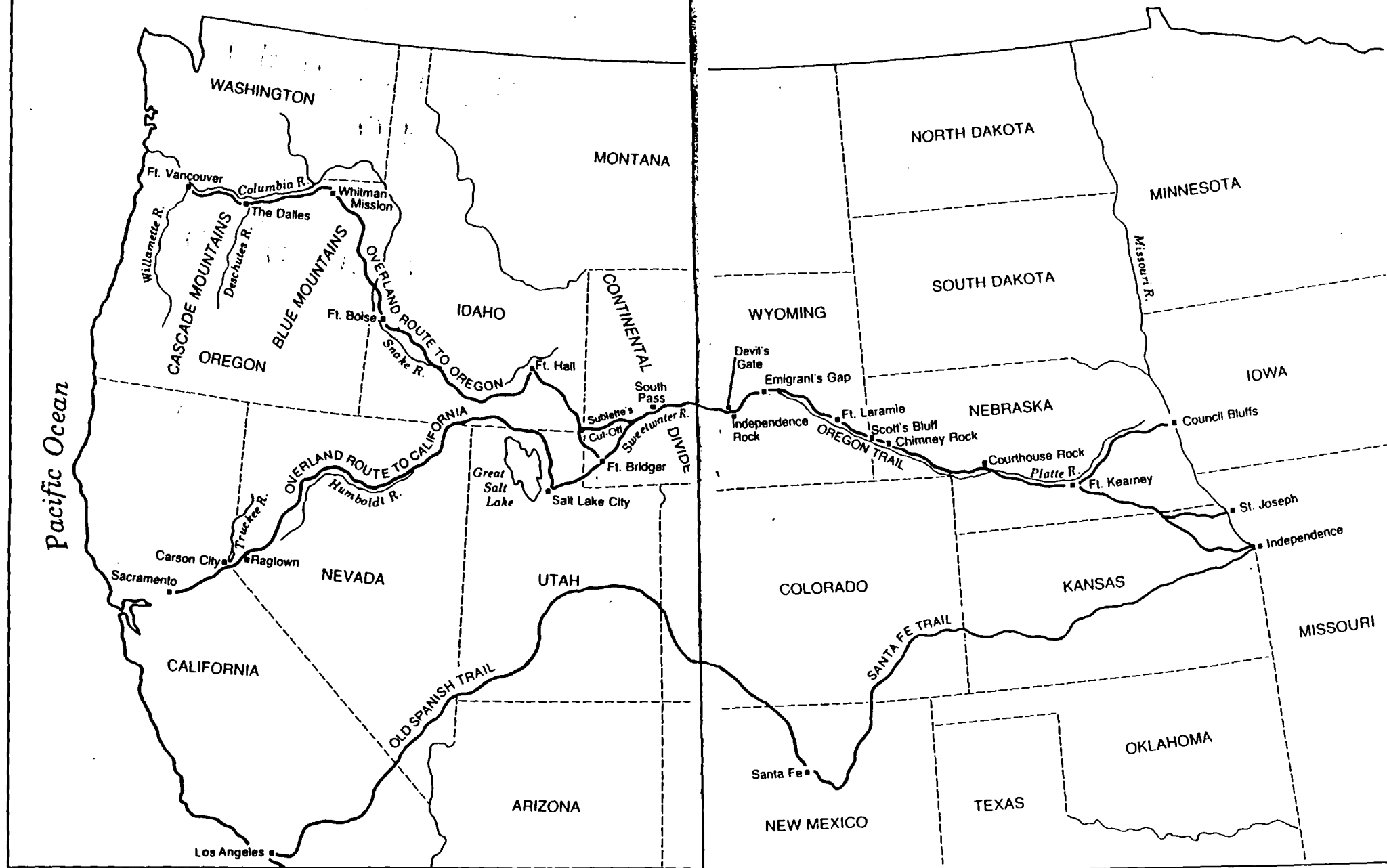


The Role of Women on the Oregon Trail

...they talk about the times that tried
men souls but if this were not the times
that tried both men and wemon's souls...

Agnes Stewart, 1853

Hannah Miller Lerman
Women's Studies Thesis
April 28, 1995



OVERLAND TRAIL

Adapted from a map of the Oregon Trail, 1846, published by the
United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Public Roads

Introduction

The story of women on the Oregon Trail was first told in their own words through their diaries. Each subsequent generation of historians has retold their story. Women on the Oregon Trail tell their story through their diaries and through other modes of self-expression such as their quilts. The women of the Oregon Trail are part of the heritage and history of the identity of American women. Their story continues to be retold and this paper is the most recent interpretation of their story.

Why study the past if each historian tells it differently? The study of history is valid not only because it teaches us the path of the past, but also because it highlights the issues which are important to the person telling the current generation of the story. These new ways to tell old stories can help the contemporary reader examine events from the past in the light of current issues. Textbooks and popular culture often do not take into account the reality of the Oregon Trail. Evidence regarding the role of women on the Oregon Trail is often ignored, therefore the historical record is inaccurate. The facts which describe the contribution women made to the great migration on the Oregon Trail must be part of the dominant discourse on the West. Much of the story of the Oregon Trail is missing when women are ignored.

The image of the lone cowboy on his way west on the Oregon Trail to settle his own land with his own hands is not an accurate profile of the average emigrant on the Oregon Trail. The trail to Oregon Territory that became a popular

route west from the Mississippi River in the mid-nineteenth-century was travelled by families, not lone individuals. An early emigrant woman Ketulah Belknap wrote in 1847 before she left her home in Ohio for Oregon that

This past winter there had been a strange fever raging here (it is the Oregon fever) it seems to be contagious and it is raging terribly, nothing seems to stop it but to tear up and take a six months trip across the plains with ox teams to the Pacific Ocean.¹

This emigration westward would be the largest migration the United States had seen yet.

The thousands of miles between what were the United States and Oregon Territory meant that homes and families had to be relocated. For at least the six months actually on the Trail these families had no home. The journey on the Oregon Trail meant that women would lose one of their main sources of identity: their homes. The home was the sphere which was designated as the proper one in which women were to function. Given this social construct, women lost a large portion of their usual routine with the loss of their homes and communities. However, on the Oregon Trail women often tried to maintain their traditional roles.

Wife and guardian of the home was the only acceptable role for a grown woman to play. She was to be all that men were not: pious, pure, submissive and domestic. Religious and sexual purity were the ideals for a woman. She was to be the keeper of the home as a haven for men and submit to the

¹Butruille, p. 51.

will of her husband. The leisured upper-class woman was the purest form of this model. Most women in America did not fit this ideal. Some had to work in their muddy barn-yards or on their master's plantation or in a textile mill away from home. Those women who could not afford a life of leisure often protected the aspects of this ideal that applied to their lives. Their status was through their family.

The fact that they took this role on the Oregon Trail is no surprise. Even on the dusty Trail women wore crisp, ironed, white aprons and served supper on an ironed tablecloth. Maintenance of Sunday, the Sabbath, as a day of rest versus a day to make mileage, became a point of contention in many families. The female culture of ties to home and the male culture of rugged individualism clashed in this arena. The American ideals of individualism and one-upmanship for men, and community and support for women, separated the culture of the sexes. On the Oregon Trail, where life and home were in upheaval, this separation gave the sexes different goals and perspectives.

Virtually every American history textbook has a section about the Oregon Trail. The traditional approach to the topic follows the theory that history is the product of "great men." Explorers such as Lewis and Clark and fur trading company owners top the list of those who influenced the settling of Oregon Country. Various government officials get recognition for the deals they signed and, often forcibly, coerced other nations into signing. This view neglects the fact that it took thousands of settlers' presence to keep control of the region, regular, everyday

folks who do not even get a footnote in traditional history books.

Some recently published accounts recognize the role that social history played in the formation of the United States. Some accounts even recognize that the settling of this continent, especially west of the Mississippi, meant the displacement of native people.

The role of women in United States' history has also recently come under examination. Until now women have typically been left out of "great man" versions of history because the sphere in which they functioned historically was not one that allowed for public acknowledgement of their accomplishments. Since most historians and reporters of the day did not record the role of women in the settlement of the West, the best sources for this information are the women's own accounts. Without the editing role which a historian plays, the stories of these women's lives takes shape.

In the history of the United States, only the Civil War provoked more people to keep journals than did the passage on the Overland Trails to the West.² These records of everyday events become history. Because newspapers and legal documents do not cover the subjects of everyday life for nineteenth-century women, the records left by women themselves give a rare glimpse of their daily lives. Their role was to remain out of public view generally and so too their daily routines remained out of view. Taboos surrounding aspects of life such as sex, pregnancy and childbirth and conventions of the role of women in

²Schlissel, p. 10.

nineteenth-century America act as an editor for what became the text of a diary. Through these conventions and self-censorship, a modern reader is able to learn what in fact was taboo. What is not written is often as meaningful as what is on the page.

Diaries of the overland traveller often fall into the area of public record more than of private insight. They were intended in some cases to be published in hometown newspapers or sent to relatives intending to make the trip in the future. The diaries were written originally for an audience in some cases. The content of many of the diaries is overwhelmingly practical. They record births, deaths and illnesses as well as tips about survival on the journey. Watering holes and fertile spots for the cattle and teams of oxen to feed were important facts for future travellers to know. The record that the diaries keep serve as a family tree and the story of a family's history. In almost all diaries though, the emotion of the writer comes through.³ Nineteenth-century women compiled a history recorded privately in diaries and journals rather than in the public documents of military, court, legislative and town records.⁴

More than eight hundred journals and diaries written by emigrants on the trails to the West have been published or archived. Merrill Mattes used over six hundred diaries to describe the journey from the Missouri River to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains in The Platte River Road Narratives.⁵ Diaries have also been used as evidence for

³Schlissel, p. 11.

⁴Cross, p. xvi.

⁵Mattes.

revisions of the history of the West by John Faragher, Julie Roy Jeffrey and John Unruh, among others.⁶ Kenneth Holmes has compiled diaries of women travelling to Utah, New Mexico, California and Oregon in the twelve volume Covered Wagon Women.⁷

Based on Lillian Schlissel's approach in Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey⁸, this paper will examine how women's diaries illustrated the pressing issues in their lives. We know from secondary sources the key topics which affected emigrants on the Oregon Trail included food, water, fuel, and risks such as disease and trauma. These aspects of survival on the Oregon Trail are borne out in most women's diaries written on the Trail. Other aspects of life are not mentioned frequently in diaries. For example, sex, childbirth and communication between women are omitted from many women's diaries. From secondary sources we also know that these aspects of life affected the experience of emigrants on the Oregon Trail although they are not explicitly mentioned in the texts. This paper will use quotations from women's diaries and interpretation to illustrate information from secondary sources.

Methodology

Reading diaries as a source of history has its peculiar problems. When does one person's account explain the experience of a population? One person's account cannot be relied upon to play that role. Each diary or journal records

⁶Schlissel, p. 11.

⁷Holmes.

⁸Schlissel.

a personal experience at a particular moment. However, when a number of diaries record similar experiences, patterns emerge. In addition, while it is true that a whole family's history cannot be reconstructed from one member's diary, due to the domestic sphere they were formally given, women take on the role of the primary shaper of the family and it is they who can give us a view of the internal dynamics of the family.⁹ Additionally, women often kept the only journal of record for a family's journey on the Oregon Trail.

Unfortunately in a paper of this limited scope, it is impossible to examine all the other texts written on the Oregon Trail. The diaries and journals of men would add an invaluable perspective to the reading of the diaries of women. Diaries from both men and women exist from some wagon trains. A parallel reading of these texts would illustrate how different people saw the same event and whether this difference was based on gender or on individual personality. Even a reading of female slaves' journals from the Oregon Trail (there are a few published) would yield a valuable perspective on the free women's texts. However through the examination of twenty texts sampled from 1847 to 1857, this paper will illustrate some of the universal aspects and concerns of the role of women on the Oregon Trail.

The time span of journals quoted in this paper represents the peak of traffic on the Oregon Trail. The year 1847 is the first year in which a substantial number of people emigrated to Oregon. The years 1852 and 1853 produced the most accounts of the journey. The final year included in

⁹Schlissel, p. 12.

this paper, 1857, is the year before the next wave of emigrants on the Oregon Trail began and before the advent of the escape route, the transcontinental railroad. There is continuity within this time span as these were the first people to see Oregon as a chance to acquire land and attain a higher quality of life.

After reading the introductory biographies to dozens of diaries, including all the journals kept on the Oregon Trail in Lillian Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey and Kenneth Holmes' twelve volume Covered Wagon Women, the determining factor for a closer examination and inclusion in this paper was completeness. Diaries kept from the start of preparations for the trip westward or from the initiation of the journey itself until arrival in Oregon offer dimensions to the context of the author which an incomplete record lacks. The sample of women who authored these texts is representative of the bulk of the adult women emigrating on the Oregon Trail. The women quoted originate from a range in social and geographical location. Both single and married women are represented in this sample. The authors also represent an age span from their late teens to middle age. (Elderly women were a rarity on the Oregon Trail.) The texts are written by women from a geographic range from the northeastern United States to the Ohio Valley. These variables combine to represent the variety of women who travelled the Oregon Trail.

The diaries of women on the Oregon Trail describe both the traditional "woman's sphere" of cooking, child care, and other household chores and also the male spheres of hunting,

trading and livestock management. Accounts of the daily routines including cooking, washing and walking plus accounts of life events such as birth, illness and death, give shape to life on the trail. Women's accounts highlight the structure of marriage, the role of children and especially the hardships, the emotional and physical toll of life on the Oregon Trail.

Although men and women travelled in the same wagon, on the same trail and at the same time, their respective journals include some simple and subtle distinctions. Women certainly did not always see the journey in the light of the expectation of success. As the traditional attendants to the sick and dying they saw the reality of the Oregon Trail as accidents and disease. Women universally feared Native Americans but recognized their resourcefulness as guides and purveyors of services and reported these aspects as often as they reported Native Americans as enemies. Women's diaries, often with amusement, report their husbands' failure at hunting and later trading shirts for meat from the Native Americans. Having no stake in asserting their bravery, women were free to report these exchanges as part of life on the trail.

Although the bulk of first hand accounts from women on the Oregon Trail concern the day to day aspects of finding safe drinking water, a good camping spot, fuel with which to cook and other practical issues, the books which interpret women's diaries often cite the relatively rare entries which discuss interpersonal relations and emotions. The frequency of appearance in interpretive literature of these entries is

high compared to their frequency in the actual journals.

Despite the rarity of outright analysis in the historic diaries, the dynamics of gender roles and relationships are occasionally illustrated in women's personal narratives. For men, gender has been an unmarked category. Male is the norm whereas, female is "other." Although both sexes are certainly affected by the social construct of gender, women rarely write without reference to the dynamics of gender. The Personal Narratives Group, a group organized to develop a methodology for reading women's autobiographical narratives and diaries, points out that

Women's personal narratives are, among other things, stories of how women negotiate their "exceptional" gender status both in their daily lives and over the course of a lifetime. They assume that one can understand the life only if one takes into account gender roles and gender expectations. Whether she has accepted the norms or defied them, a woman's life can never be written taking gender for granted.¹⁰

The methodology of reading women's diaries must be based on the awareness of the existence of a marked group, a group which is identified as other than the norm.

The diaries which women wrote on the Oregon Trail are the stories of individuals, but they illustrate the logic of how a person functions within the system-level constraints of gender roles. Some diaries or parts of diaries can be read not as evidence of how women functioned within constraints, but how they did not act as they were "supposed to." These journals reveal the lives that contradict and challenge the

¹⁰Barbre, et al., p. 5.

rules. Both diaries that document acceptance and rejection of societal constraints are responses to the system in which they are created and reveal its gender dynamics.¹¹

Diaries of women on the Oregon Trail tell a story of the intersection of individual life and historic moment. These texts allow contemporary readers to examine how the author's own context affects the product which is the text. Although the great migration along the Oregon Trail between 1840 and 1860 took place against the backdrop of an agricultural society moving west to continue in agricultural endeavors, some of the original sources hint at the coming of the industrial revolution. They imply that social roles and gender dynamics were about to be challenged just as they would be a century later, after the Second World War and as they are now at the beginning of the Information Age.

Historical Background

Europeans first came to the New World for economic gain. The theory that history is the actions of economic entities seeking to maximize profits can be read in the drive to settle colonies in the New World. Later in the history of North America, settlement of Oregon Territory via the Oregon Trail can be interpreted to fit this model of history. The richness of the "New Country" drew them. Men's fashion supported the first people of European descent's voyages into what is now Oregon. A passion for fur hats made beaver pelts a popular commodity on both sides of the Atlantic. Some men made a better living in wilds of the mountains and valleys of

¹¹Barbre, et al., pp. 7-8.

the Pacific Northwest by trapping and fishing than they could earn in any city or on their farm in "the States." Word of the abundant natural resources, fur, fish and especially land, of the Pacific Northwest Territory reached the States.

The foundation for an American claim to the Pacific Northwest lies in the 1804 expedition of Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery. After explorers reported the existence of "heathen Indians" in Oregon Country, the next population to venture to the Pacific Ocean was the missionaries. In the 1830's the evangelical fervour of the nation was extended through this "heathen wilderness." The evangelical army included two missionaries, Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding, who were the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains for western lands in 1836.¹² Their experience, which ended for Narcissa Whitman in a raid on her mission by Native Americans, does not fit the pattern that most women's diaries describe. They did face a lot of the same problems of everyday life on the trail but their motivation to make Oregon their home came from a different direction than most settlers who followed the same trail years later. Merrill J. Mattes asserts in his book The Great Platte River Road Narrative that these missionary ladies "were spared cooking chores for...their husbands did all the work."¹³ However, Narcissa Whitman's own diary contradicts this account with a description of the difficulty of her daily life.

¹²Butruille, p. 155.

¹³Mattes.

The settlers on the wagon train of 1843 were the first group who resembled the large numbers who subsequently emigrated to Oregon. The 260 men, 130 women and 610 children who made the expedition to Oregon were the first families aiming for Oregon as the final destination. In the midst of a severe depression in the United States these families were persuaded by the argument that "You have everything to gain and little to lose by moving to the new frontier."

This group also had the advantage of newly available guide books and maps. In 1842, John C. Frémont of the United States Army's map making corps had travelled to the Pacific Ocean and wrote a detailed account of the best route through the Rockies. Frémont's maps were presented to Congress in March 1843 and published immediately. These reports convinced opportunity seekers that travel on the Oregon Trail was safe and easy.

This 1843 wagon train set an example of organization which future "overlanders'" expeditions would follow. They developed a constitution of laws and elected Peter Burnett, a lawyer, as captain of party. The leader chose former United States Army captain and veteran western fur trapper John Gantt as pilot. Sometime in the course of the trip, Peter Burnett plagued by "10,000 small disputes" quit as captain. This model of democracy and non-autocratic way of dealing with disputes was the rule rather than the exception for wagon trains on the Oregon Trail.

Manifest Destiny and Economic Opportunities

Facilitated by the Oregon Trail, this massive migration, a destiny which many Americans thought to be divinely prescribed, would be fulfilled. Many Americans believed a divine decree had placed the destiny of the western border of the United States at the Pacific Ocean. England continued to have a presence on this continent in the Pacific Northwest. Their settlements were a barrier on our road to Manifest Destiny. Although the term "Manifest Destiny" was coined in 1845 by a newspaper editor¹⁴, the theory of the United States' divinely inspired mission to cover this continent from coast to coast is in evidence much earlier. The rest of the world did not necessarily see the destiny of the United States as these Americans did. The Hudson's Bay Company and a thousand Englishmen settled on farms in the Puget Sound area and represented the continued interest of England in this region. Native Americans also inhabited this land. More than a thousand years of ancestors living in this land was universally nullified by the claim that they had made no "improvements" to the land such as building on it, tilling the soil or clearing forests. To the eyes of whites, people did not own land unless they held a paper which said they did or had built a permanent house or farm on the land. The lifestyle of Native Americans precluded them from satisfying these new comers' guidelines.

President Polk began his presidency in 1844 determined to annex Oregon. Oregon Country was held jointly under British and American control. Part of the problem was that

¹⁴Henretta, et al., p. 434.

some areas were claimed by both nations. Polk claimed that British intentions in the region violated the United States' policy of 1823 which said that the United States would not permit a European nation to settle a colony in North America. Britain recognized the United States' claim to the area south of the Columbia River. By 1844 almost five thousand American settlers had established farms in the fertile Willamette Valley. They demanded that their federal government establish control over the whole of Oregon Country, to its northern border of 54° 40' with the rallying cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight!"¹⁵ The 49th parallel became the international boundary with guarantees to the British of free navigation on the Columbia River to Hudson's Bay employees.¹⁶

The barrier of Native Americans to Manifest Destiny began to be officially eroded in 1831 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* that the Cherokee Indians in Georgia are a domestic, dependent nation, rather than a foreign nation. Removal of people from the land that they had inhabited for more than a thousand years was virtually complete by 1839 when the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole Indians were forced to march from their lands in the southeast to the Indian country in present-day Oklahoma.¹⁷ These precedents were more than enough to nullify the rights of any Native American to live on land that their ancestors had lived on before history was recorded.

As early as 1831, a Massachusetts schoolteacher organized the "American Society for Encouraging the

¹⁵Henretta, et al., p. 437.

¹⁶Ginger, p. 316.

¹⁷Henretta, et al., pp. 122-124.

Settlement of the Oregon Territory." The goal of his group was to "repeat with appropriate variations the history of the Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay."¹⁸ The goal was to settle a new Christian based society where only "heathen Indians" lived. At least ten other "Oregon societies" had been organized by 1839.¹⁹ Members in the towns of the Mississippi valley pledged to journey to the West. Letters, journals, guidebooks and government reports excited the imagination and promised a Garden of Eden in this lifetime. All one had to do was travel 2,000 miles across the unknown.

From the perspective of a prospective emigrant, the ideologies of Manifest Destiny, including elimination of the English, marginalization of Native Americans and cultivation of the wilderness, not only served the national economy but also and most importantly represented an opportunity for their own economic development. In 1842, the first "Pre-emption Bill," a homesteading act forerunner was passed. The Donation Land Act of 1850 granted free land to every adult settling in the Willamette Valley. So if a farmer could get free or cheap, fertile land in the process, settling the Northwest Territory was all to their own good and the good of the national purpose.²⁰ Through the 1850 Donation Land Act, the United States violated its own laws by allowing citizens to claim land in Oregon and Washington territories before the government had acquired title to them from their Indian owners.²¹ By 1851, the federal donation land law allowed each

¹⁸Billington, p.436.

¹⁹Billington, p. 445.

²⁰Billington, p. 323-24.

²¹White, p. 91.

man or man and wife to settle on a full section of land which was 640 acres. Those who came after 1851 and through 1853 were able to obtain a donation only half that size, 320 acres. This new law allowed settlers to claim 320 acres in their wife's name as well.²² Due to this clause, the demand for brides in Oregon Territory skyrocketed.

The first serious examination of the economic prospects of the Northwest Territory began when a prolonged depression struck the country in 1837. Banks were closing and by 1839 salaries dropped 30 to 50 percent. Cities were not the only affected populations. Agriculture was hard hit as well. Corn could be given away and steamboats on the Mississippi were burning grain for fuel.²³ During this period, citizens finally had very little to lose and possibly much to gain and so began the largest migration in American history.

Emigration to Oregon

On the Oregon Trail, the word emigrant was used for travellers rather than "immigrant". The view of the group known as emigrants was as people leaving the States, not as people entering Oregon. Emigrants became "pioneers" only when they had settled in Oregon. They are emigrants because they are leaving "the States" and not pioneers until they have settled on their own land.

The move towards Oregon began for most families with a move or two from the East coast to western Pennsylvania, the Ohio valley or to the Mississippi valley, "the West", as it

²²Holmes, Vol III, p. 10.

²³Bright.

was thought of then. As the population of the young nation increased, fertile land on the east coast fetched a premium price for those who owned it and was out of reach for most of those who did not inherit it. Land in the West was far less expensive. As hard as it is for us to believe today, people began to feel crowded even there. In one case a man is said to have started for Oregon because his closest neighbor, twelve miles away, felt "right under his nose."

Most emigrants to Oregon shared a common background. They were the children of parents who had moved to new lands. They themselves had made a move or two in search of more and better land. They had owned land before and would own land again. They had cleared land before and would again. One thing they had not done in their previous resettlements was travel without nearly contiguous settlements dotting their route. Their moves from Massachusetts to Mississippi or New Hampshire to Ohio had followed a path of settlements and ended with a homesite in reach of neighbors. The trail to Oregon, however, would cross an uninhabited route of almost 3,000 miles.²⁴

The emigrants to California differed from the emigrants to Oregon. Although these two migrations coincided in time, their sociologies were very different. The reputation of California as a place for adventure drew a different population than fertile Oregon did. Only one in five emigrants to California was a woman. The men who made up the bulk of the emigration were not travelling in a family group, but as solo travellers. They had often left their family in

²⁴Schlissel, p. 28.

the East or on their farm in Ohio or Pennsylvania intending to make a fortune in gold and to return home rich. Emigrants on the Oregon Trail, in contrast, were moving to Oregon to stay. Land was gold to them.

As the following story illustrates, Oregon-bound emigrants were downright snobby about the distinction between themselves and California emigrants. It is said that a fork in the trail was marked on one branch with a pile of pyrite, Fool's Gold, and on the other branch a sign that read "To Oregon." Those who could read followed the sign to Oregon while those who were illiterate headed for California.²⁵

For men, the move to Oregon can be seen as a stage in life when they felt they should better themselves or challenge themselves. This experience attains great proportions when it is seen as a national pattern in men's diaries and journals from the Oregon Trail. For women, however, the journey often came at a time in their life cycle when their energy and attention were focused on raising a family. The physical and emotional demands of this part of their life were not devoted to "breaking away" or testing and reaching. The scale of this universality is illustrated by the statistic that one in five women on the Oregon Trail was in some stage of pregnancy and virtually every married woman travelled with small children. Women's diaries reflect this "nest building" stage in their life cycle through notes of anguish about the decision to leave their homes. This

²⁵Butruille, p. 16.

anguish is absent from the diaries of men leaving their homes.²⁶

Emigrants were likely to move to Oregon at junctures in a family life cycle: marriage, after the birth of several children or when their children approached adulthood. All those times were points in life when men and women felt the need to acquire more land and new opportunities for themselves or their children. In one sample the average number of children in a family emigrating to Oregon was 3.4 and most of those children were small and, in addition, in 22 percent of the sample, the mother was pregnant with another child.²⁷

Before leaving their homes, women added to their responsibilities by outfitting their family for months on the road without an exact idea of what to expect. The proper outfitting of a family could mean the difference between a successful journey and death. The following estimate of an outfit, for one year, for three persons, with ox teams, is copied from The Emigrants' Guide to California by Joseph E. Ware²⁸:

Four yoke of Oxen		
\$50 each		\$200.00
One wagon, cover, etc.		100.00
Three rifles, \$20		60.00
Three pair pistols, \$15		45.00
Five barrels flour	1,030 lbs.	20.00
Bacon	600 "	30.00
Coffee	100 "	8.00
Tea	5 "	2.75
Sugar	150 "	7.00
Rice	75 "	3.75
Fruit, dried	50 "	3.00
Salt, pepper, & c.	50 "	3.00

²⁶Schlissel, p. 14.

²⁷White, p. 189.

²⁸Joseph E. Ware, *The Emigrants' Guide to California*

Saleratus	10 "	1.00
Lead	30 "	1.20
Powder	25 "	5.50
Tools, & c.	25 "	7.30
Mining tools	30 "	12.00
Tent	30 "	5.00
Bedding	45 "	22.50
Cooking Utensils	30 "	4.00
Lard	50 "	2.50
Private baggage	150 "	
Matches		1.00
One mule		50.00
Candles and soap		5.50
Total:	2,485 lbs.	\$600.00

Women did not rely solely on the guidebooks for advice on how to prepare for the trip across the plains, deserts and mountains. Friends, family and intuition were the additional guides. Guidebooks often neglected such issues as clothing for women and children, cooking with the unknown fuel of buffalo chips (dried buffalo dung), personal needs and medicine.²⁹

Women's contributions to the family's leave-taking were invaluable. Preparations for the thousands of miles they would travel began far in advance of the departure. Pickling meats and preserving fruits and vegetables which would not last much beyond the halfway point of the trail, added variety to the portable coffee-biscuits-and-bacon-menu of the Oregon Trail. One of the most time-consuming tasks of the preparation was sewing the clothing, bedding, canvas wagon cover, food sacks for the journey. Keturah "Kit" Belknap wrote of her preparations:

I dont want to leave my kins friends here
but they all think it best so I am
anxious to get off. I have worked almost
day and night this winter, have the

²⁹Butruille, p. 54.

sewing about all done but a coat and vest
for George.³⁰

Kit prepared for the journey in her in-laws' home because her own farm had been sold to finance the preparations and the trip. Two weeks after the death of her child, leaving only one of her four children still alive, Kit was busy making preparations for the trail.

Preparations for the trip did not stop at gathering and making the right survival equipment. Mental preparation for leaving a community of friends and family behind also had to proceed. Emigrants had to decide which family treasures and remembrances of friends to take to Oregon. Later on in the journey, as animals tired of pulling heavy wagons, many of these treasures would be left on the trailside as weight which, by necessity, had to be shed in favor of reaching Oregon before the first snows.

Outfitting often turned out to be a combination of mental and physical preparations. Keturah Belknap's friends came over to her house while she sewed the clothes which her husband George would need. She wrote of their visits that

they just pick up my sewing we think I
will soon get a lot done. Then they are
not the kind with long sad faces but
always leave me with such a pleasant
smiling faces that it does me good to
think of them and I try not to think of
the parting time but look forward to the
time when we shall meet to part no
more.³¹

³⁰Holmes, Vol. I, p. 215.

³¹Holmes, Vol. I, p. 213.

Kit's friends helped her prepare mentally and materially for the trip. The attitude of women travelling to Oregon seems to be affected by the climate surrounding their departure. The women who look forward to more land and a temperate climate and all that Oregon had to offer, view the hardships of the trail in much less pessimistic light. Kit's attitude and the support of her old friends produced a journal that, through the fears and dangers of the trail, remains basically optimistic.

A journal entry of Keturah Belknap, written from the witness perspective in 1847 illustrates in an extreme case how some couples fought about the prospect of leaving their community of established relationships.

She wants to turn back and he wont go so she says she will go and leave him with the children and he will have a good time with that crying baby, then he used some very bad words and said he would put it out of the way. Just then I heard a muffled cry and a heavy thud as tho something was thrown against the wagon box and she said 'Oh you've killed it' and he swore some more and told her to keep her mouth shut or he would give her more of the same.³²

Kit added that "The baby was not killed."

This violent episode, not rare in domestic life in the States or in the West, illustrates that husbands and wives did not always have the same optimistic vision of Oregon. Regardless of whether the decision to go to Oregon was made by a couple together, or by the husband or father alone, everyone in the family would be uprooted.

³²Holmes, Vol. I, p. 226.

"Jumping Off"

After a relocation or two westward, the specific journey to Oregon country officially began from a town on the Missouri River. Depending on one's point of departure, a steamboat, railroad or wagon got them to these "jumping-off points." These jumping-off points were originally the bases of fur traders and missionaries venturing into the wilderness. These gateways to the Oregon Trail ranged from Independence, Missouri to the south to Council Bluffs, Iowa to the north, 200 miles apart.³³ These towns became like ports for the prairie schooners that would depart on a 2,000 mile voyage across the unknown sea of the plains and mountains.

These jumping-off points were small towns that had to accommodate a huge boom in transitory populations in the late 1840's. Living conditions in these towns became quite poor, especially in the spring when wagon trains were organizing and emigrants were stocking their wagons. Mary M. Colby wrote in a letter to friends left back in the States that

we rented a room not much better than a hog pen for about ten days which we had to pay 4 dols a week for then we went out to the prairie and camped out for a weeke then we moved our camp 3 miles farther into the country where we now are in an old log cabbin where we go to bed on the flour at night the big norway rats run and caper over you so you can not sleep...³⁴

These towns prospered from emigrants' need for supplies and livestock. Agnes Stewart who travelled to Oregon in

³³McDermott, p. 27.

³⁴Holmes, Vol. II, p. 47.

1853, wrote in her diary while waiting in St. Joseph to begin her journey that she

found brick houses and plenty of whisky shops and every man I meet looks [as] if they were an ale cask themselves. To my opinion St. Joseph would rise a great deal faster if the people here did not take so much advantage of the emigrants.³⁵

According to journal entries, men found these jumping-off points to be places of revelry and comradery whereas women found themselves acutely aware of the distance between themselves and their old homes. "Jumping-off point" felt like an appropriate name for a place that was the end of civilization as the emigrants knew it.

One important role which these jumping-off points played was as a place for emigrants to organize to travel together. Most wagon trains averaged about twelve wagons. Wagon trains often elected a captain to make decisions and mediate disputes. The captain had often travelled to the West before although many trains had no such expert guidance. Each driver would take a turn at the head of the line. These rotations also changed who was at the end of the train in the dust.³⁶

Extended families often gathered at jumping-off points to travel to Oregon together. Although they made tremendous efforts to start west together, these groups were often divided by decisions to take a new cutoff or to drive the wagon at a faster rate or an equipment breakdown. It is

³⁵Butruille, p. 88.

³⁶Cross, p. 7.

peculiar that such care and attention was given to heading west together, yet once on the trail, unity was not given the first priority; survival became the first priority.

If a wagon train started with a large group it often divided when the members saw how difficult it was to manage a huge number of animals together. Scarcity of resources for feeding people and animals also caused wagon parties to divide. Safety was found in numbers but the expense of this security was a strain on the energy of the wagon train. As Lucia Loraine Williams wrote on August 13, 1851 the party she travelled in

Parted into three companies on account of grass being scarce. Are out of danger from Indians now. Two Indians moved with us. One of them showed how he had killed a Snake Indian. His arrow was bloody. Told where he shot him and how he tore off the scalp. I could not help but shudder. We are alone.³⁷

Although splitting wagon trains up did improve opportunities for ample food, water and fuel, the triad which supported life on the trail, it compromised security.

The Gateway and the Route of the Oregon Trail

The first explorers associated with the Oregon Trail are Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Lewis and Clark recommended that a fort be located at the mouth of the Platte River. A town did grow at this suggested spot, Plattsmouth in present-day Nebraska. However, the river's mouth did not become the starting point of the great migration on the Oregon Trail. Fort Kearney, 200 miles to the west along the

³⁷Holmes, Vol. III, p.144.

Platte River was the first point on the trail where emigrants to Oregon became concentrated. There were five usual approaches from the east to Fort Kearney. These routes began at jumping-off points where emigrants prepared themselves for the trip to Oregon Country. The five main points of departure were located where the current cities of Kansas City, Weston-Leavenworth, St. Joseph, Nebraska City and Council Bluffs-Omaha are located.³⁸

All of the jumping-off points involved travel by dangerous St. Louis steamer at one stage or another. The Kansas City and Weston jump-offs were usually approached by travellers on steamboats. St. Joseph, Nebraska City and Council Bluffs, on the other hand, were the starting points on the trail for people who had approached by wagon train, often from the upper Mississippi valley. To reach the western bank of the Missouri all of these travellers would have to brave the brown, swirling waters of the Missouri on the deck of a precarious ferry boat.³⁹

From Fort Kearney, the trail to Oregon followed the south side of the Platte River while the trail Mormons took to their promised land in Utah followed the north side of the Platte. The name of the Platte River tells a lot about the scenery of this part of the journey; "platt" means flat in German. The Platte River took the emigrants through present-day Nebraska and into present-day Wyoming. The gateway out of the monotonous flatlands of Nebraska was Scott's Bluff. It is a striking geologic formation that became a landmark

³⁸McDermott, p. 28.

³⁹McDermott, p. 28.

marking progress along the Oregon Trail. In Wyoming the trail followed the Sweetwater River to a place known as The Parting of the Ways. At this spot, travellers made the decision to head for California or for Oregon. For some friends and families it was the last place they saw loved ones before they took their separate routes.⁴⁰

On these prairies the Oregon Trail became broad corridors rather than a road. Wagon trains would spread out across four or five miles in order to avoid one anothers' dust. They would re-convene at river crossings, narrow hill passages and at night.⁴¹ The trail usually followed the route of least resistance. Earlier, animals in herds and migration had carved the basic path that the Oregon Trail would eventually follow.

In western Wyoming, the Rocky Mountains changed the scenery dramatically. Crossing the Continental Divide, near South Pass City, was a landmark and halfway point on the journey. The trail goes over the Rockies and into present-day Idaho where the Mormons headed southwest for Utah and those with Oregon fever continued northwest. In Idaho, the Oregon Trail follows the Snake River into Oregon Territory.

One of the most dangerous segments of the journey existed at this point when supplies were usually low and winter was nearly upon the travellers. Crossing the Cascade Mountains and the Columbia River were life threatening endeavors. Snow could fall at any moment and strand emigrants in the mountains. The Columbia River is a fast,

⁴⁰Butruille, p. 14.

⁴¹Butruille, p. 15.

treacherous river. After surviving 2,000 miles of dangers, nearly at their destination, a whole family could be wiped out. A rare family arrived in the Willamette Valley in Oregon intact.

The route just described is the basic path for emigrants on the Oregon Trail. Many variations existed within this basic route. Other trails and cutoffs could be short cuts to Oregon or they could add time and miles, a dangerous gamble. Decisions were based on information posted or passed by word of mouth. Sometimes the information regarding trail conditions ahead was accurate and up-to-date, sometimes it was not.⁴²

As the years passed more and more information became available about new and better routes. Almost from the beginning of the "Great Migration," alternate routes were sought to avoid the difficult crossing of the Cascade Mountains and the dangerous float by canoe or raft down the Columbia River toward the primary destination, Oregon City. Often conditions on land were dangerous too. People were often stuck with long delays to start their river trip. Supplies would become scarce as emigrants waited for the chance to pay the overpriced fare to be rafted down the river.⁴³

River guides were not the only ones to make money off of the emigrants. In 1846, Sam Barlow was granted a license by the provisional legislature to construct a toll road running east from Philip Foster's property in rural Clackamas County.

⁴²Cross, p.93.

⁴³Cross, p. 93.

By the fall of 1848, he had cut through thickets, built bridges over streams and finished an eighty mile road passable by wagon train. Barlow Road became a meeting place, camp location and supply base mentioned in many diaries. Between 1846 and 1849, 1,150 wagons and 5,770 people came over the Barlow Road. They often rested and camped near the Foster property before travelling on to other parts of the Willamette Valley.⁴⁴

The following table gives an estimate of how many people travelled the Oregon Trail.

Year	Estimate
1841	100
1842	200
1843	1,000
1844	2,000
1845	5,000
1846	1,000
1847	2,000
1848	4,000
1849	30,000
1850	55,000
1851	10,000
1852	50,000
1853	20,000
1854	10,000
1855	5,000
1856	5,000
1857	5,000
1858	10,000
1859	30,000
1860	15,000
1861	5,000
1862	5,000
1863	10,000
1864	20,000
1865	25,000
1866	<u>25,000</u>
Total	350,300 ⁴⁵

By the mid 1850's, the Oregon Trail's natural resources were becoming exhausted. The original travel guides became

⁴⁴Cross, p. 95.

⁴⁵Mattes.

out of date because the recommended camping spots had been ruined by over-use. Difficulty in finding food and potable water meant that unknown distances would have to be travelled. As grass and water supplies diminished, travel days were extended in an effort to find necessary feed and water.⁴⁶

Life on the Oregon Trail

Landscapes and People

Travelling from the States to Oregon Territory involved seeing and experiencing many things with which women and men had no experience. From the strikingly lofty formation of Scott's Bluff to squaws with a papoose, emigrants were entering a world where they encountered the new and, sometimes, unexpected every day.

One of the universal topics of the women's journals from the Oregon Trail is the landscape across which they were travelling. "The most romantic scene I ever saw" is a common expression throughout women's journals. Starting in Nebraska with "The Platte river is beautiful here"⁴⁷ (Harriet Talcott Buckingham, May 11, 1851) through the mountains of Oregon, the landscape was noted as beautiful. The scenery also came to be recognized for the dangers that each landscape possess; from violent hail storms on the Plains to runaway wagons on a mountain slope.

In a letter to friends back in the States dated May 6, 1850, Mary M. Colby writes a report of the scenery that is

⁴⁶Cross, p.39.

⁴⁷Holmes, Vol. III, p. 21.

quite positive, despite the fact that she has been sick for two months.

It would do your soul good just to se the fields of wheat some of them so large that you cannot se from one end or side to the other I wish in my heart you and your family were with us you would enjoy your self first rate I do for one but should feel better if I was rid of a bad cold and cough which I have had for this 2 months...⁴⁸

All the new and interesting scenery on this continent does not keep Mary M. Colby from yearning for the company of her old friends.

Mormons were another aspect of the Oregon Trail which was new to most emigrants. Their migration to present-day Utah coincided in time and sometimes in space with the migration to Oregon. The first place which emigrants on the Oregon trail were likely to meet Mormons was at the Platte River in Nebraska. The Mormon Trail to Salt Lake City in Utah followed the northern bank of the Platte River while the Oregon Trail paralleled it on the southern bank.⁴⁹ The two groups had little interaction. The emigrants to California had more interaction with Mormons because they sometimes stayed for an extended stopover to rest in or near Salt Lake City.

Those journeying to Oregon had a good deal of interaction with Native Americans. Although the Trade and Intercourse Act was intended to maintain boundaries between whites and Indians and control over white access to Indian land, it fell to expansionism in the West. Whites encroached

⁴⁸Holmes, Vol. II, p. 48.

⁴⁹Schlissel, p. 24.

on Indian lands along the Missouri River and crisscrossed them on their crossing of the plains bound for Oregon. Travellers killed and drove away game along the Oregon Trail. The emigrants' livestock could ruin the crops of agriculturally based peoples, such as the Pawnee, who lived near the trail. White emigrants sometimes blundered into conflict with Indian war parties engaged in battle over access to the buffalo plains. The Indians' inevitable resentment resulted in their demand for toll for passage across their hunting lands and in raids on the livestock of wagon trains.⁵⁰

Women's diaries included a variety of opinions and knowledge of Native Americans and the United States government's and whites' interaction with them. Some diaries reflected sympathy for people who were displaced from their homes, some illustrated fear of unknown customs and lifestyles, while some diaries reported friendly and helpful encounters with Native Americans.

Harriet Talcott Buckingham wrote on May 4, 1851 after crossing the Missouri River at Council Bluffs that her party came across numerous human bones and skulls and

After much speculation the fact was elucidated that, large tribes of Indians from the Middle States had been pushed off by our government to this frontier region to make room for white settlers, and had perished in large numbers by starvation consequent upon removal from familiar hunting grounds: they had been buried in large trenches with heads to the east. Skulls were thick: of peculiar shape differing from the Anglo Saxon type.⁵¹

⁵⁰White, p. 90.

⁵¹Holmes, Vol. III, p. 18.

This response to the grave of Native Americans illustrates Harriet Talcott Buckingham's understanding of the impact of emigrants like herself on Indians' lives. Although she blames the United States government directly, she lists white settlers as the reason for the policies which displaced Indians. Her description of the difference in biology represents an attitude that Indians really were a different people and did not have to be treated like Anglo Saxons because they were inherently different. This subconscious definition of "different" is the result of living in a society which believed it to be true. Although Harriet was personally sympathetic to the harsh treatment the United States government dealt to the Indians, she continued west with her family.

At one point the Omaha Indians demanded a toll from Harriet Talcott Buckingham's wagon train for passing through their land. Harriet warns on May 11, 1851, that

The Indians were so hungry & persistent- They levy tribute on all who pass- do not always get anything- but it is wise to do so as they will stampede the cattle some dark night if not well treated.⁵²

Harriet's fear of retaliation from the Indians had some basis in the fact that they resented not being paid for the use of their land. Many journals, however, reflect a fear based on the unknown facts or rumors of Native American life.

Amelia Hadley wrote on Thursday, July 10, 1851, what she had heard about the actions of Native Americans. She wrote "The indians are every day committing some depredation or

⁵²Holmes, Vol. III, p. 21.

other, they steal and rob from every train and those dirty french put them up to it."⁵³ This account does not seem to be based on experience but on rumor. In these earlier years on the Trail most of the interaction between the groups tended to be trading and curiosity. As eleven-year-old Lucy Ann Henderson Deady wrote in her journal in 1846, "They (Indians) looked so naked and wild. The men got out their guns, but all the Indians wanted was to see us and see if we would give them anything."⁵⁴ As settlers in the later years- after the mid-1850's- brought disease, death and destruction of natural resources to their land, the threat of Indian attacks became more substantial.⁵⁵

In a letter home from Milwaukie, Oregon to her mother in Ohio dated September 16, 1851 Lucia Loraine Williams wrote of a positive experience with the Indians near whom she and her family had settled. Lucia wrote that her 3-year-old daughter, Helen

could talk to the Indians and throw the lariat with a great deal of glee. An old squaw and a young one with a papoose came and sat on one side of the fire, the papoose tied to a board. (There were snakes) and commenced talking to Helen. She would jabber back and laugh then they would talk and laugh, until they got into quite a spree. The mother of the papoose wanted to swap her papoose for mine but I told her "no swap." I believe she would have done it as she seemed quite eager to trade.⁵⁶

This first-hand account of a friendship between white and Indian mothers and children is rare but nonetheless

⁵³Holmes, Vol.III, p. 87.

⁵⁴Butruille, p. 22.

⁵⁵Butruille, p. 94.

⁵⁶Holmes, Vol. III. pp. 132-133.

compelling. It represents the possibility of positive relationships between the two cultures.

Risks and Dangers

In addition to the dangers presented by human and cultural tension, the physical world presented additional threats. Prospective settlers were also warned about the violence and unpredictability of the weather in the West. On one hand weather was a major reason to leave the States for Oregon in the first place but on the other hand, weather could kill a person on her way there. Settlers wanted to leave the hot and humid summers of the Mississippi Valley for the cool, pleasant summers of Oregon. Mary M. Colby wrote a letter home from Oregon to her brother and sister in Ohio on February 8, 1852 that "the summer is beautiful not but a very little rain tho it is not so warm in the summer here as it is in the States the nights cool and comfortable and I can sleep like a roack."⁵⁷

Weather also played a major role in the experience of the trip itself. Weather is one of the most frequently described aspects of life on the Oregon Trail by diarists. The weather played a very powerful role in the health and happiness of a wagon train. Heat in the summer on the plains, without the shade of trees could devastate the animals pulling the 2,000 pound wagons. These work animals' energy was essential to the success of a wagon train. The range of temperatures as the group reached up into the Rocky Mountains could range from ninety degrees in the day to freezing in the night. If a wagon train was a little slower

⁵⁷Holmes, Vol. II, p. 50.

than they had hoped to be or if an early snow storm caught them in the Cascade Mountains they could be stuck without food or fuel and starve or freeze to death.

Another life-threatening aspect of the Oregon Trail was specific to women. Pregnancy and childbirth are experiences which women write about from a uniquely female perspective. Add pregnancy and childbirth to the normal physical and emotional stress of the journey across the continent and the result was an extraordinary test of human endurance. Given these circumstances a modern reader might expect pregnancy to be the consuming and salient issue of the journal of an expectant mother. However, some babies appear in a family's story as told by the mother without even any reference to their birth. The taboos surrounding pregnancy and childbirth were so prevalent that a women might not write of her own experience even once. The facts become clear when she wrote of an illness or some similar reference to "the baby" whom the modern reader has not read of before. Such taboos censor self and family in a way which illustrates that what is not written is as important as what is written.

Caroline Findley's journey on the Oregon Trail was her honeymoon trip. At the end of the journey, her husband, James, barely twenty years old, caught "mountain fever," probably typhoid, and died on December 23, 1847, two days before Christmas. Three months later Caroline wrote in her diary that she gave birth to her first child, Sarah. Caroline lived in her parent's wagon near Fort Vancouver, Oregon from the time of her husband's death until the birth of her baby. There is no mention of her pregnancy in her

journal until she actually gave birth. The dimension that her pregnancy adds to her account of their trip is tremendous. Caroline would have been in her sixth month of pregnancy as she rafted across the treacherous Dalles River in stormy December. Caroline reported another woman in her wagon train giving birth as "a terrific storm arose" and "Keen flashes of lightning rent the air."⁵⁸ In view of Caroline's pregnancy, her report of the women in labor, "Within a tent, during the storm, were nurses wading around a bedside placed upon chairs ministering to a mother and newborn babe,"⁵⁹ holds more personal importance than if that event were not upcoming in her own life. Caroline Findley may be thinking as she wrote this entry that she too might be so lucky as to have a few "nurses" about when the time comes for her to deliver her own baby.

Pregnancy was sometimes not a matter of public knowledge or acknowledgment even within a family. Catherine Sager wrote in 1844 that "on the 22nd of May we were surprised by the arrival of another little sister."⁶⁰ After travelling in a small wagon for months with her mother, she had no idea that her mother was pregnant. Her mother would have ridden in a stuffy, often damp and always rocking and bumpy wagon in the later stages of pregnancy without telling her children about her condition. She was probably not given any extra assistance in tending to her own small children or cooking for her family.

⁵⁸Schlissel, p. 57.

⁵⁹Schlissel, p. 57.

⁶⁰Schlissel, p. 39.

An expectant mother could never be sure where she would be when the time of labor arrived. She might be alone gathering fuel or in a wagon train without any women to serve as midwife, much less expect a doctor to be within call. The dirt surrounding camp and lack of sterile cloths and tools presented further dangers to the lives of the mother and baby. The fear of having no trained midwife nearby, compounded by the absence of shelter and lack of privacy only added to the anxiety of an expectant mother.

Due to the unsterile conditions, most deaths associated with childbirth were caused by infections.⁶¹ Death as a result of childbirth is also referred to obscurely in diaries. The term "sickened and died" with mention of the burial of the mother and newborn is not rare. The cause and effect relationship of childbirth and death were not usually spelled out in journals. The two events were often not written as explicitly related.

In one new father's journal, George Belshaw does not ever refer to his wife's pregnancy, daughter's birth or the baby's death and burial. One finds these facts in the diary of his sister-in-law, Maria Parsons Belshaw. Maria wrote on September 20, 1853 that "Mrs. George Belshaw gave birth to a daughter at 4 o'clock this morning." One week later Maria wrote: "All well but the baby...How dreary it seems. Can it be that I have left my quiet little home and taken this dreary land of solitude in exchange." On October 6, 1883, Maria wrote that they "came but a short distance on account of George Belshaw losing his infant daughter. She died at 9

⁶¹Butruille, p. 114.

a.m. of cancer of the stomach."⁶² The reference to the baby as George's, a man who did not even mention his daughter's birth, reflects the patriarchal organization of the family of the 1800's.

Neither pregnancy nor the care of very young infants was cause to delay travel. A new mother would be lucky to have even one layover day of rest before continuing on the trail. Childbearing did not in any degree determine the decision to emigrate. Pregnancy and preparation for childbirth did not in anyway excuse women from their routine responsibilities. Women were required to be strong enough to meet the demands of everyday life and to meet the uncommon demands along the way as well.

The routine of everyday life at home included privacy, modesty and a community of women. These values were brought along on the trip to Oregon. On the Oregon Trail the long skirts of the day did get brown and dirty from miles of walking on the dusty Trail, but they provided a portable privacy screen. Resistance to the fashion of bloomers was not only a social issue but also a practical issue. Bodily functions could be handled with a bit of privacy through the curtain which the extended skirt of another woman provided. Menstruation and excretion could become unspeakable problems if no other woman was around to make a curtain of modesty. Some women did find themselves solely in the company of men even on this "family" trail.

Charlotte Emily Stearns Pengra found herself in this situation when, due to a mechanical breakdown, she was

⁶²Schlissel, p. 109.

separated from the extended family with whom she was travelling. Travelling the Oregon Trail with her husband, her toddler daughter and three men after being separated from this larger family group, Charlotte wrote in her diary "I feel lonely and almost disheartened" and "I feel lonely and very tired- our folks not having come yet."⁶³ It is rare to find such an obvious sense of despondency in these texts from the Oregon Trail, no matter how negative the situation became. Charlotte was in the position that she suddenly found herself without any female company and could not voice this isolation to anyone.

Published reminiscences of women who travelled on the Oregon Trail often include more open references to pregnancy and childbirth than do the journals written at the time of the overland passage. Perhaps information considering pregnancy, menstruation, care of young children fell into the realm of oral exchanges between women on the trail.⁶⁴ In addition to the constant threat of illness and accidents on the Oregon Trail, women knew the potentially life threatening aspect of pregnancy and childbirth. The term "to see the elephant" was used by some overlanders to sum up the whole dangerous enterprise. In The Great Platte River Road, Merrill J. Mattes defines the elephant as "the poetic imagery of all the deadly perils that threatened a westering emigrant."⁶⁵

Death was a constant companion on the Oregon Trail. With the added risks of pregnancy and childbirth, women on the Trail felt the threat of death intimately. The diaries

⁶³Schlissel, p. 98.

⁶⁴Schlissel, p. 82.

⁶⁵Mattes, p. 61.

of women on the Trail reflect the omnipresence of death. Not even births were recorded as precisely as countings of the graves along the trailside. Cecelia McMillen Adams' diary of her journey from Illinois to Oregon in 1852 records the number of graves diligently. She followed the progress of her family through the loss others suffered. Her diary reads as follows:

Child's grave...smallpox...child's
grave...passed 7 new-made graves. One
had 4 bodies in it...cholera. A man died
this morning with the cholera in the
company ahead of us...Another man
died...Passed 6 new graves... We have
passed 21 new-made graves...made 18
miles...Passed 13 graves today. Passed
10 graves...

June 25	Passed 7 graves...made 14 miles
June 26	Passed 8 graves
June 29	Passed 10 graves...made 22 miles
July 1	Passed 8 graves...made 21 miles
July 2	One man of [our] company died. Passed 8 graves made 16 miles
July 4	Passed 2 graves...made 16 miles
July 5	Passed 9 graves...made 18 miles
July 6	Passed 6 graves...made 9 miles
July 11	Passed 15 graves...made 13 miles
July 12	Passed 5 graves...made 15 miles
July 18	Passed 4 graves...made 16 miles
July 19	Passed 2 graves...made 14 miles
July 23	Passed 7 graves...made 15 miles
July 25	Passed 3 graves...made 16 miles
July 27	Passed 3 graves...made 14 miles
July 29	Passed 8 graves...made 16 miles
July 30	I have kept an account of the dead cattle we passed and the number today is 35
Aug. 7	We passed 8 graves with a week...made 16 miles
Sept. 7	We passed 14 graves this week...made 17 miles
Sept. 9	We passed 10 graves this week...made 16 miles
Oct. 1	Have seen 35 graves since leaving Fort Boise
Oct. 17	Here are 12 graves all together...15. ⁶⁶

⁶⁶Schlissel, pp. 112-113.

Counting individual graves like this reflects the writer's feeling of the personal nature of death and the immediacy of the threat. Grand totals and aggregate estimates kept death at a distance. To start a journey like the one on the Oregon Trail by counting graves immediately illustrates the writer's knowledge of the risks of the journey and her reluctance to go. Given tallies recorded in diaries like this one and census records, the estimate that puts the price of the migration to Oregon Territory at seventeen deaths for each mile of the more than two thousand mile trail, a total of thirty-four thousand lives, is probably realistic.

The leading causes of death on the Oregon Trail were accidents and disease. Children were often less aware of the risk of accidents and therefore particularly vulnerable to accidental maiming and death. Since mothers were the primary care takers of children on the Oregon Trail, they were acutely aware of the possibility of loss if one was careless or just unlucky. Katherine Dunlap noticed, perhaps because she was travelling with a small child of her own, a pine board at the head of a grave which read "Two children, killed by a stampede." Katherine also reported that "A little girl was jostled out of a wagon run over and killed" in her own company.⁶⁷

One reason that emigrants left the Mississippi River Valley and the other States was the cholera epidemic. This epidemic which chased them out of their homes followed them on the Trail. This dread disease appeared in the United States through seaports on ships from foreign nations in 1849

⁶⁷Schlissel, p. 135.

and plagued the whole country until 1854. Lucy R. Cooke wrote in her journal on June 2, 1852 that she and another woman had gone to visit a lady sick with cholera.

Did what we could. But the next day, the woman's husband had died and there was no one to stay and care for her. Hated to leave her but... [we] went on. About an hour after a man rode by and said she was almost dead and the men in whose company she was were digging her grave so as not to lose time. There's no humanity on the plains!⁶⁸

Even after being on the trail a short time (June second is early in the travelling season) some people were mentally equipped to treat fatal diseases as a commonplace event. Lucy R. Cooke had not yet adapted to the reality that life on the Oregon Trail must go on without much interruption or hundreds of other lives would be at risk.

Alkali was another risk to the health of not only emigrants but also their livestock and teams. Much of the water on the Plains contained the mineral salt alkali. When the water evaporated the alkali was evident through the white dusting it left. Alkali could be poisonous. Some days the only source of water was contaminated with alkali. Humans knew not to drink from that source if traces of white alkali were in evidence. However, thirsty animals had to be driven away from the water, often with beatings. As Harriet Talcott Buckingham wrote on June 3, 1851 her wagon train "passed several small sheets of water which looked tempting but Death was lurking there in its limpid waters."⁶⁹

⁶⁸Schlissel, p. 114.

⁶⁹Holmes, Vol. III, p. 23.

Smallpox and dysentery were two other common life-threatening diseases familiar to emigrants on the Trail. When Charlotte Emily Stearns Pengra fell ill with dysentery, her husband Bynon cared for her. She notes that he "gave me a dose of opium and travelled 22 miles." Bynon kept her in wet bandages and steamy baths (based on the popular hydrotherapy cure of the day) and "made a good bed in the wagon"⁷⁰ when they had to move on. When Bynon became ill with dysentery, Charlotte assumed his role as teamster for the family, driving the team which pulled their wagon. In cases like this or in the case of a widow, the role a woman played extended beyond the traditional domestic sphere. Bynon's nursing of Charlotte seemed like an extraordinarily kind act whereas Charlotte's driving the team seemed obligatory. As Julie Roy Jeffrey writes in Frontier Women, "A man assuming female responsibilities was doing a favor. A woman doing a male job was doing what was necessary."⁷¹

Due to accident or disease a woman's role could expand into the traditionally male sphere. She herded the family's livestock, acquired provisions and dealt with other members of the wagon train. In no diary or journal did a widow put her belongings and family under the protection of another man. The Oregon Trail is a compelling study of women's ability to perform in all areas necessary without abandoning their overall desire to maintain the role that society defined as their "natural" one, focussed on caring for

⁷⁰Schlissel, p. 96.

⁷¹Jeffrey, p. 45.

children, maintaining the house and keeping religion as an integral part of family life.

Self-Expression

Women used the exchange of advice to connect with other women on the Oregon Trail. Even these diaries, journals and letters themselves are often intended as advice for others making the journey in the future. The oral advice shared on the trail can never be fully known. The tradition of women's lives shared through oral exchange is a continuation of that tradition from society in the States. This medium is one that women on the Trail were familiar and comfortable with.

Another mode of expression which women produced on the Oregon Trail were quilts. They are another tradition which women brought from their homes in the States across the plains, over the mountains and to their new homes in Oregon Territory. Quilts made on the Oregon Trail express many of the same issues which diaries and journals do. Life-cycle events such as births, deaths and marriages were recorded on quilts as the occasion for their production or as stitching regarding the dedication of the quilt. Practical life roles, such as bedding, were also roles which quilts played on the trail. Quilts were also a reminder of homes, friends and family left behind. An inscription by Betsey M. Wright Lee of Connecticut pieced between 1846 and 1851 for Lucy B. Lillie Webster Mays on a friendship quilt sewn as a remembrance of a friend's departure for the West reads as follows:

When far away from this dear spot

In a distant land do thou in

[Trust] pray, and when it is

[Well] with you, remember me.⁷²

Women maintained some semblance of normalcy for their traditional sphere of household through quilts and quilting. When necessity dictated that women assume traditionally male roles and tasks on the trail, quilts served as a valuable skill which was traditionally regarded as female. Quilts served as a social medium through these exchanges and displays of new patchwork designs.⁷³

Many of the new designs which originated on the Oregon Trail were inspired by women's interpretation of the landscape in which they found themselves. Themes also reflect the leave-taking from friends and family, months of living outdoors and the reliance on equipment and divine guidance. These themes of migration are translated into geometric shapes and colors. Many women pieced, appliquéd and quilted their response to their new home in the West.⁷⁴

Celebration themes in quilt patterns and inscriptions record and reflect important events. They honor births, marriages and successes. A recurrent theme in celebratory creations is having survived the Oregon Trail and successfully established a life in Oregon Territory. Quilts serve as visual mirrors to the emphasis placed on tasks recorded in diaries and journals. Both vehicles reflect women's desire to return to and maintain the female role of domesticity associated with nineteenth-century women back in the States.

⁷²Ferrero et al, p. 72.

⁷³Cross, p. xvii.

⁷⁴Cross, p. xvii.

Although some quilts emigrated to Oregon as treasures from home to be taken out of their trunks only when a new home was established, quilts in their most practical modes were used to shield emigrants from the harsh elements of weather on the trail. Quilts were used to line and insulate the canvas tops of wagons against cold, wind and rain. As bedding, quilts contributed to a comfortable night's sleep which was integral to the success of a wagon train. Quilts served as privacy barriers to wall off sleeping and dressing areas in the tents, much as they were used in the one room cabin homes.⁷⁵

Quilts were a valuable commodity on the Oregon Trail. They could even be used to pay the toll on the Barlow Toll Road on Mount Hood in Oregon. One quilt is recorded as payment for one wagon to use that road, the equivalent of five dollars.⁷⁶

Another use of quilts which incorporated both practical and symbolic uses was as a burial shroud. Since wood for coffins was scarce, families chose what was available and appropriate. Quilts were a way to assure the survivors that the deceased would still be linked to his or her family.⁷⁷

Women shared with other women this creative resource as well as clothing making through instruction and exchange of patterns. As Charlotte Emily Stearns Pengra noted in her diary in June 1853 after she had a visit from a woman in

⁷⁵Cross, p. 96.

⁷⁶Cross, p. 98.

⁷⁷Cross, p. 98.

another wagon: "[Mrs. Smith] woshes the pattern of my sunbonnet, which I gave her with great pleasure."⁷⁸

In addition to their practical contributions to family life, women were expected to be the repository of the family's spiritual heritage. Women's responsibilities in nineteenth-century America included their family's religious adherence and their children's religious education. On the Oregon Trail many women maintained this role through advocating a lay-over day on Sunday. Connections like this to traditions from home were also connections to women's assigned place at home of the moral superior but intellectual inferior of their husbands. Through economic depressions and booms, and industrial revolution, America was in a state of change. In the mid-nineteenth century, a time when society was changing, something had to remain constant and the role of women as the religious foundation of the family, even in this new setting, did.

The new setting which many emigrants found in Oregon was not as idyllic as they might have hoped. Amelia Stewart Knight wrote on September 17, 1853, a few days after her eighth child was born, that her husband "traded two yoke of oxen for half a section of land with one-half acre planted to potatoes and a small log cabin and lean-to with no windows. This is the journey's end."⁷⁹ After the physical and emotional challenges of the Oregon Trail, women found a new set of challenges in Oregon. They had to adapt to situations while continuing to try to maintain their traditional role in

⁷⁸Cross, p. 98.

⁷⁹Schlissel, p. 216.

the domestic sphere. Order, in this sense, provided a sense of security which was lost if one did not know what to expect or how to act.

Conclusion

The great migration on the Oregon Trail is not the only example of a time in recent United States history when the reality of women's lives did not parallel the role which society assigned them. After World War II, women who had been employed in factories and other workplaces to support the war effort were discouraged from working when the men who had fought abroad in the war returned. Although these women proved that they could be effective workers, their skills were downplayed while their roles as the necessary "June Cleavers" were emphasised. This model does not apply to lower-class women who have always had to work outside the home. Nor does it apply to upper-class women who did not leave their lives of leisure for the factories.

Although today the survival issues which women faced on the Oregon Trail are no longer the greatest stressors, the issue of juggling domestic and work responsibilities is currently a stress for many women. The physically and emotionally draining job of balancing the traditionally female domestic responsibilities with a career may be revolutionized through the Information Age. However, repeatedly through United States history, even through great social changes, women seem to retain many traditionally female roles while adding further responsibilities. Perhaps the Information Era will yield a revolution in which women's

lives are not layered and which permits women to participate and enjoy multiple roles without being stretched between outside, gainful employment and domestic activity. The situation of women on the Oregon Trail parallels this dilemma of double duties: women maintained their roles as homemakers while adding whatever traditionally male tasks needed to be done to support life on the Oregon Trail.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 3.3 (c)

Initials: ADG Date 11/12/13

THE WHITE HOUSE

March 8, 1996

Mrs. Michelle Levenson
15807 Chagall Terrace
North Potomac, Maryland 20878

Dear Mrs. Levenson:

I was saddened to learn of your father's death and extend my condolences to you and your family. I especially enjoyed his hospitality and friendship throughout the holiday season and appreciated his affiliation with the Pageant of Peace and decoration of the National Christmas Tree. Your dad's dedication to the civic and social life of this city will be sorely missed.

With thoughts and prayers, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Hillary Rodham Clinton

*see:
Gary
Walters*

OBITUARIES

Banker Joseph H. Riley Dies; Headed D.C. Board of Trade

By Bart Barnes
Washington Post Staff Writer

Joseph H. Riley, 73, a leading figure in Washington's business community for more than 30 years who had served as president and chairman of National Savings & Trust Co. and president of what is now the Greater Washington Board of Trade, died of progressive pulmonary fibrosis March 5 at his home in Potomac.

Mr. Riley joined the staff at NS&T in 1947 after World War II service in the South Pacific with the Marine Corps, and he remained with the bank until retiring in 1984. In retirement, he was a consultant to the bank's successor institution, Crestar.

He was an adviser on business and financial matters to then-D.C. Mayor Walter E. Washington and to Mayor Marion Barry during Barry's early years in office, and he was an officer and a supporter of a wide range of civic, service and charitable organizations.

In the banking and business communities, Mr. Riley was known as an advocate of the politics of consensus who generally tried to avoid friction and splashy confrontation in favor of behind-the-scenes accommodation. He had an encyclopedic memory for the names and faces and personal problems and everyday concerns of ordinary people, and he had a jolly sense of humor that masked a shrewd and hard-nosed business sense. He was equally comfortable and at ease in the boardrooms of high finance, the meeting places of inner-city community organizations and the putting greens of the exclusive Burning Tree Club, which he served as president.

As president of the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade in 1975, he was the primary representative of the area's most broad-based business organization to a new D.C. government that included many city council members who were deeply suspicious of business.

Historically, the Board of Trade had been opposed to home rule for the District, but Mr. Riley pledged the support and cooperation of the business community to the newly elected city government, and he won the confidence of top city leaders.



JOSEPH H. RILEY

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

organization to a new D.C. government that included many city council members who were deeply suspicious of business.

Historically, the Board of Trade had been opposed to home rule for the District, but Mr. Riley pledged the support and cooperation of the business community to the newly elected city government, and he won the confidence of top city leaders.

"The new government must be successful," he declared, promising that members of the Board of Trade "will be ready to furnish manpower for any kind of task . . . when requested to do so."

Mr. Riley was born in Pittsburgh and settled in Washington after his discharge from the Marine Corps after the war. He graduated from Benjamin Franklin University and joined NS&T as a clerk in the auditing department. During the Korean War, he was recalled to military service, then he returned to the bank.

He worked there in the securities and corporate trust departments, then was in charge of real estate lending for 10 years. He was named president of the bank in 1978 and became chairman of the board and chief executive in 1980.

In 1976, Mr. Riley was elected president of the D.C. Bankers Association. In that role he urged banks to support city businesses, declaring that "our strong push must be in encouraging and stimulating economic development in the District."

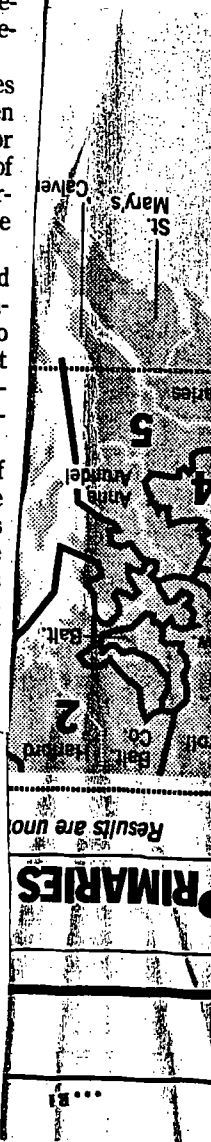
He also had served as president of the Kiwanis Club of Washington, the Washington Convention and Visitors Association and the National Alliance of Businessmen. He was on the boards of directors of the Boys Club of Greater Washington, Junior Achievement of Washington, the Community Foundation and Heros Inc.

In 1977, Mr. Riley received the man of the year award from the Board of Trade. In 1983, he received the National Conference of Christians and Jews Brotherhood Citation for "leadership in equal employment opportunities with NS&T and his long record of assisting religious and community organizations in the Washington area."

He was a member of Congressional Country Club, the University Club and the Metropolitan Club.

His wife, AnnaBelle H. Riley, died in 1994.

Survivors include a daughter, Michelle Riley Levenson of North Potomac, and two grandchildren.



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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. card	From: Susan Lamia, To: Hillary (3 pages)	5/6/96	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Pam Cicetti
OA/Box Number: 10598

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - 1996 Personal - L [3]

2014-0159-S

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RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE

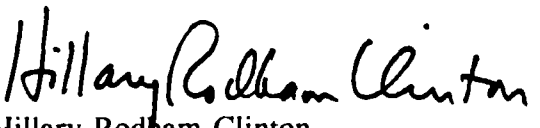
May 16, 1996

Ms. Heidi M. Lumberg
Editor
Smithsonian Institution Press
470 L'Enfant Plaza - Suite 7100
Washington, D. C. 20560

Dear Ms. Lumberg:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter and copies of The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies. I am delighted to know that it is being received so well and send best wishes for the book's continued success. I look forward to reading it.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

Smithsonian Institution Press

470 L'ENFANT PLAZA, SUITE 7100, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20560

25 April 1996

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20502

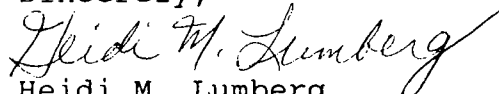
Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the Smithsonian Institution Press it is with great pleasure that I send you the enclosed copies of The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies. We were all thrilled last June to learn that you had agreed to write a foreword for the book, and your very gracious essay makes this a truly special first look at a previously neglected subject in children's nonfiction. I would like to add that your staff were exceedingly helpful and cooperative in coordinating your contribution. We hope all of you will be pleased with the finished volume.

The book has already received favorable mention in Publisher's Weekly magazine, and has been selling well to adults as well as children in Smithsonian museum bookstores.

On a personal note, let me say that it was an honor to work on a project in which you had a role, as I consider you to be an inspiring model for women everywhere.

Sincerely,


Heidi M. Lumberg
Editor

3571524

Foreword

I hope you will enjoy *The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies*. Since I have come to the White House, I have been so impressed by what I have learned about the First Ladies who came before me. Dolley Madison is one of my favorites. She cared about the welfare of children, spoke her mind about things, and in her infinite wisdom, saved priceless documents and art treasures from the onslaught of British troops who destroyed the White House during the War of 1812. Add to this her reputation as a fun-loving and magnanimous hostess and she won the hearts of the nation.

Among First Ladies in more modern times, I have become an admiring student of the life of Eleanor Roosevelt, who fought for the underprivileged and the ideals of social justice and human rights. Mrs. Roosevelt gave press conferences, lectures, and radio addresses. She even had her own daily newspaper column called "My Day." The role she chose for herself can best be described in her own words: "I am in a position where I can do the most good to help the most people."

The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies will give you a rich glimpse of the lives of these forty-three women and their places in history. You will learn about women of great wisdom; hostesses of grace, sophistication, and style; social activists and skilled campaigners; and the many who dedicated themselves to bettering the lives of the least fortunate in our country. Some have embodied all of these characteristics. In fact, be prepared for some surprises. At times our First Ladies behaved in ways that may not fit your view of the era in which they lived. Contradicting the customs of the day, dear Mrs. Madison used tobacco snuff in public and wore extravagant turbans in which she took her naps! Each, as you will see, defined her position in a way that was right for her at the time.

Many of America's First Ladies have left important legacies to the nation and others have suffered great personal sacrifices doing so. These brief biographies will guide you through our rich social history and the great dramas of our democracy. I hope you enjoy them and will come to appreciate these personal stories as I have—with admiration, affection, and respect.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

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005a. letter	From: Hillary Clinton, To: Leonard Laster (1 page)	5/16/96	Personal Misfile
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005b. letter	From: Leonard Laster, To: Mrs. Clinton (1 page)	4/29/96	Personal Misfile

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Pam Cicetti
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2014-0159-S

sb240

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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005c. note	Routing Instructions for letter from Leonard Laster (1 page)	nd	Personal Misfile

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First Lady's Office
Pam Cicetti
OA/Box Number: 10598

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION
1067 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20045

DETERMINED TO BE AN
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INITIALS: LOB DATE: 11/12/13

May 9, 1996

The Hon. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I am writing to thank you for coming to last Saturday night's annual dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association. Your presence and that of the President played a major role in what all agreed was a very successful dinner.

I was especially appreciative that you were able to come despite the scheduling conflict with the Sidwell Friends auction. As the father of two boys who attend schools that hold auctions, I know how important those occasions are.

We all were especially pleased that you and the President were able to stay after the dinner to greet our award winners and other guests at the post-dinner reception. That meant a lot to all who were there.

Thanks again.

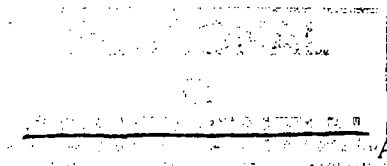
Sincerely,



Carl P. Leubsdorf
1995-96 President
White House Correspondents' Assn

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PRESIDENT



DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: ADB DATE: 11/13/13

April 24, 1996

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Hillary,

You may recall that last year when you attended our benefit for Iris and Bernie Cantor, I walked you through and discussed with you the models for our ambitious project to renovate our galleries for Greek and Roman Art. In your remarks at dinner, you spoke glowingly about this new project--a fact which we have called to the attention of more than one potential funder!

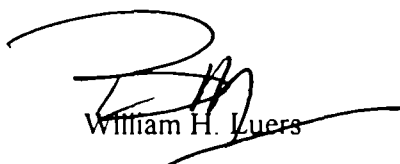
On Wednesday, May 29th, we will be celebrating the completion of the first phase of this project: the opening of The Robert and Renée Belfer Court. On behalf of the Museum and our Board of Trustees, I would like to invite you and the President to be our honored guests at dinner that evening.

When this project is completed, the Met will house the most comprehensive and coherent collection of Greek and Roman art in the hemisphere. Children who visit our Museum -- and they come from all over the world -- will be able to grasp and explore the roots of our civilization with an ease and level of accessibility that simply has not existed until now.

Your presence at this dinner will underscore the educational impact and promise of these new galleries. I do hope that you will be able to celebrate with us on May 29th.

Warmest regards to you from Wendy and me.

Sincerely,



William H. Luers

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PRESIDENT

April 25, 1996

Ms. Pam Cicetti
Assistant to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

BY FAX: 202.456.1715 ²⁸⁷⁸

Dear Pam,

I send, for your attention, letters to Hillary Clinton and Melane Veveer.

My very best to you.

Sincerely,


William H. Luers

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PRESIDENT

April 25, 1996

Ms. Melane Veveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Melane,

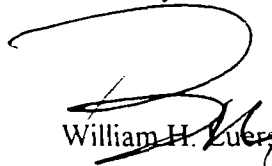
On May 29, the Met will hold a dinner to celebrate the opening of The Robert and Renée Belfer Court, the first completed phase of the reinstallation of our Greek and Roman Galleries.

The attached letter to Hillary Clinton is self-explanatory. I know that it is unlikely that the President will be able to attend our event on May 29, but we hold out hope that the First Lady may be able to come for dinner. Her presence would be both a treat and an honor for us.

Thank you in advance for any help you can give us in conveying this invitation to Hillary. Wendy sends her best.

My warm regards to you.

Sincerely,



William H. Luery

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MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 3.3 (c)

Initials: ADS Date 11/12/13

THE WHITE HOUSE

May 1, 1996

Ms. Martha Lottman
153 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Canton, Ohio 44709

Dear Ms. Lottman:

Thank you for your recent letter and my apologies for not responding sooner. I appreciate your continued support and look forward to meeting you should my travels take me to Canton.

With warm regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Hillary Rodham Clinton

Martha Lottman
153 Nineteenth Street N. W.

Canton, Ohio 44709

February 26, 1996

Mellany Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

As you probably know we have a unique Congressman's wife in Ohio's 16th District, Mary Regula. I know Mary in a variety of ways including the Board of her First Ladies Library. I worked closely with Rep. Regula and Mary when the grantee for our Head Start needed to be replaced - hard work!

I have heard Mary speak with real admiration about you, so I was only a little surprised when I read the enclosed article. But as a founding member of Women for Clinton Gore in '92 and of Women Re-united to Re-elect Clinton Gore this year, I was ecstatic. We hope you will be in Canton this year and look forward to welcoming all the Clinton and Gores.

Also I join Mary in fervently hoping
that you will be our guest of honor
when we dedicate the First Ladies
Library next year.

With deep regard,

Martha Lottman

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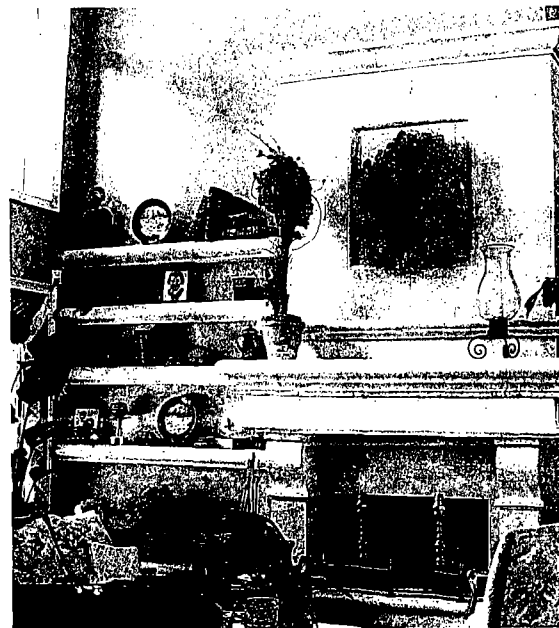
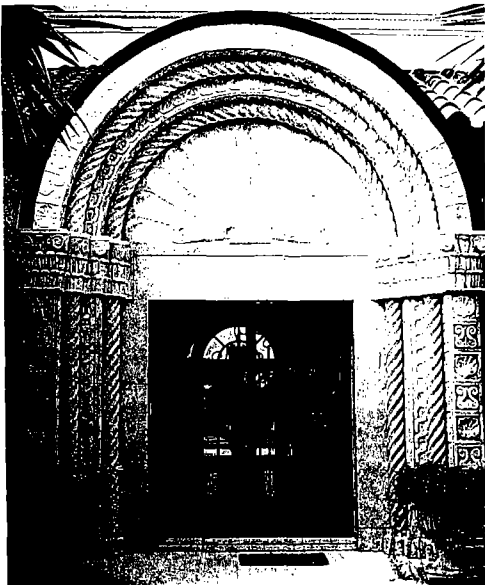
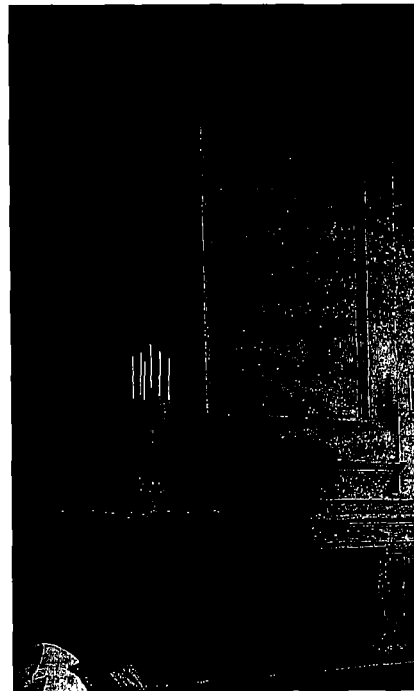
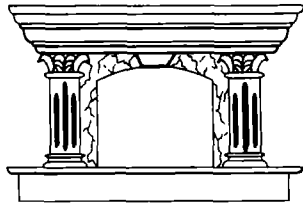
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Florida Architecture
Magazine Cut-out Pages
[10 Pages]

MANTLES 'N STONES



*A Collection of Natural Stone
Fireplaces, Fountains, Columns,
Flooring, and Architectural
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What a rare gift it is to see the world in brilliant hues of fantasy. Thomas McKnight sees the world this way, and paints his perceptions in magical, vibrant colors. In the Palm Beach home that he and his wife, Renate, renovated and expanded, his colorful art inspired much of the design.

Written by
Roberta Klein

Photographs by
Kim Sargent

"Tom had a great influence here because while we were looking for houses, those that we saw were very sterile," says Renate. "I said, 'Why can't we build a house that looks like your paintings?' We work together, we live together, we travel together. He takes a lot of my color suggestions and develops them into his paintings, and I took certain shapes and feelings that he creates and placed them through this house."



ARTISTIC FANTASY *in a* PRIVATE DOMAIN

Jeffrey Smith, A.I.A.
ARCHITECTURE

As a result, the home is an amalgam of Renate's and Tom's individual and collective memories, many of which are personified in his paintings and applied to the home like a living collage.

High up on a living room wall, for example, is an arched, medieval-looking window made of Italian bottle glass. The window harkens to Renate's childhood dream of secretly peeking into a ballroom during a lavish party. The tower housing Tom's studio echoes the Moorish architecture the couple admired in Spain, as do the arches throughout the house. And the breakfast room near the gleaming white kitchen suggests the interior of a ship sailing through the Greek Islands, where the couple first met.

When the McKnights originally saw their circa 1929 home, it was "drab, dark and dingy," and had been "for sale" for many months. Although built in the Spanish-Mediterranean style, architectural details of the genre were glaringly absent. Nonetheless, both the street on which it sat and the home's positioning moved the



Send her
cc my opinion

Rescuing the Greeks

4/19 to
Lefkowitz

A classicist defends the traditional version of Greek cultural achievement.

NOT OUT OF AFRICA

How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History.

By Mary Lefkowitz.

222 pp. New York:

A New Republic Book/Basic Books. \$24.

BLACK ATHENA REVISITED

Edited by Mary R. Lefkowitz and Guy MacLean Rogers.

544 pp. Chapel Hill, N.C.

University of North Carolina Press.

Cloth, \$55. Paper, \$19.95.

By Glen Bowersock

THE classical antecedents of Western civilization have long served to justify the study of ancient Greece and Rome. Philosophy, mathematics, sculpture, architecture, historiography, even democracy itself proclaimed the genius of the Greeks and their heirs in Rome.

A broader perspective would at once unsettle so confident an opinion. After all, the Chinese did something on their own in philosophy and science, the Assyrians in astronomy, the Indians in architecture. As for democracy, what the Greeks practiced, with the ownership of slaves and the silencing of women, could hardly be promoted as a model for today.

The porousness of Greek culture and the parallels to its achievements in other cultures have never been a secret. From Joseph Scaliger in the Renaissance to Walter Burkert in the 1980's, scholars have recognized and investigated the debts of the Greeks to non-Greek achievements. The Greeks did not emerge, like Athena from the head of Zeus, fully armed with their arsenal of culture, and few serious writers ever claimed that they did. An expression like "the Greek miracle" was a catchy phrase for great drama, heroic statues and the Parthenon, but all this had its historical context.

For the Greeks themselves, the context was Phoenicia and Egypt. Readers of Herodotus know that he believed that Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, was a Semite, and that many of the names of the Greek gods came from Egypt. Diodorus of Sicily, writing in the second half of the first century B.C., went to Egypt and was prepared to attribute large segments of Greek culture to that venerable land. A little later on, some Greek philosophers were even prepared to believe that Plato had learned his philosophy from Moses. None of this is new, but alien influence is one thing, the arrogation of an alien culture is another. The extent of the debt of Greek culture to Egypt has been so enlarged in some quarters recently as to leave the Greeks with virtually nothing of their own.

Glen Bowersock is a professor of ancient history at the Institute for Advanced Study. His most recent books are "Fiction as History: Nero to Julian" and "Martyrdom and Rome."

In 1987, Martin Bernal published the first installment of a voluminous work entitled "Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Culture." With a formidable array of erudition, the author, a Sinologist at Cornell University, explicitly set out "to lessen European cultural arrogance" by reassigning many of the Greeks' achievements to non-European cultures. Such an objective is not intrinsically reprehensible, and no one could accuse him of taking short cuts. However, his research was full of easily refuted errors and produced at times what the classicist Emily T. Vermeule called "the world turned upside down." But Mr. Bernal's mistakes should not be taken as an excuse to ignore the larger issues he raised, particularly modern ideas of the origins of Western civilization as they have evolved over the last three centuries. He was right to emphasize the Egyptomania that led to Freemasonry and "The Magic Flute," and he was right



DUSAN PETROVIC

to chronicle the demolition of Egyptian cultural primacy in favor of the Greeks.

Mr. Bernal's attempt to accept in full the ancient traditions of Greek indebtedness to Phoenicia and Egypt, and then to enlarge them, provoked a storm of protest unprecedented in modern classical scholarship in North America. Mary Lefkowitz's "Not Out of Africa" is now the definitive statement on the whole controversy and its implications. Her book illustrates why a subject that might seem academic and innocuous turns out to be so explosive. America watchers in Europe have found themselves bewildered by the Bernal phenomenon, even though some of them have been caught up in it. In his contribution to "Black Athena Revisited," a collection of papers edited by Ms. Lefkowitz and Guy MacLean Rogers, both classicists at Wellesley College, the eminent Italian archaeologist Mario Liverani observes, with palpable impatience, "Black Athena" must be the most discussed book on the ancient history of the eastern

Mediterranean world since the Bible."

What ignited the fire in this debate was twofold: the suggestion that modern classical studies had a covertly racist agenda in elevating Greek culture over Egyptian or Phoenician, and the espousal of Mr. Bernal's work by the current generation of Afrocentric theorists. Mr. Bernal locates the racist program in German classical scholarship of the 19th and the early 20th centuries — scholarship that indisputably dominated the study of antiquity for a century. Although no one would question the integrity of the great German classical scholars who constructed the Greece Mr. Bernal wants to bring down, the cultural atmosphere that encouraged their work is open to question. Paul Oskar Kristeller, a great medievalist now in his 90's, has troubled to say in print that Mr. Bernal was wrong about the German classical scholarship he knew as a student. However, the late Otto Neuge-

she attacks might have been ignored at another time as mere eccentricities. Ms. Lefkowitz's anger first surfaced in a review of Mr. Bernal's works and related Afrocentric texts, published in February 1992 in The New Republic. The rage that boils throughout "Not Out of Africa" is explained by her conviction that "was a subject which needs all the attention and more that I could give to it."

Ms. Lefkowitz was shocked to learn that there are writers and teachers who deny the primacy of the ancient Greeks in philosophy, science and democracy. She read in Afrocentric writings that Socrates and Cleopatra were black, and she heard one of the most eminent expositors of Afrocentrism assert in a lecture at Wellesley that Aristotle robbed the library at Alexandria. This kind of thing is scarcely new, as Ms. Lefkowitz soon discovered. Joel Rogers in "World's Great Men of Color" (1946) and George G. M. James in "Stolen Legacy" (1954) had made similar assertions half a century ago. But their views have been reinvigorated by influential Afrocentric authors like Yusef A. A. Jochannan (the lecturer at Wellesley) in "African Origins of the Major Western Religions" (1970) and Molefi Kete Asante in "Kemetic, Afrocentricity and Knowledge" (1990). "Black Athena" had an audience ready and waiting.

MS. LEFKOWITZ systematically demolishes Afrocentric contentions about ancient history. By a rigorous examination of surviving testimony, she demonstrates there is no rational basis for ascribing the whole of Greek culture to an Egypt populated by blacks. Without doubt most specialist scholars of classical antiquity would agree with her, and so would many blacks. But her arguments are unlikely to convince the Afrocentrists, because the methodology of her investigation is simply not theirs. She appeals to evidence: for example, no one in antiquity says that Socrates was black; the fact that the library of Alexandria was built after the death of Aristotle proves that the philosopher could not have robbed it. Such argumentation clearly has little weight with her antagonists, who would condemn her methodology as European. The Afrocentrists claim to work from what Mr. Asante has called "a theoretical construct that has implications for examining data: they are not the data themselves." Ms. Lefkowitz's book raises the disturbing possibility that we are attending a dialogue of the deaf.

The lack of communication here points to a serious problem. Evidence in history, as in law, is a tricky business. It is particularly tricky in understanding the ancient Mediterranean world. The Greeks themselves believed they owed much to Egypt, and the statements of Herodotus and Diodorus to this effect accordingly have to be treated as evidence. Ms. Lefkowitz mounts a powerful argument disproving what these ancient authors reported and what they themselves

believed. Her methods her argument, like the 1919 German case for Cadmus, respect the best traditions of historiographical exegesis since the 19th century. Yet it is hard to call for evidence when it can be selectively massaged out of existence. One would like to believe that evidence speaks for itself, but in historiography it usually requires a ventriloquist.

The standard scholarly position on Egypt and the Greeks goes as follows: The Greeks had great respect for Egyptian culture, which was older than theirs, and they observed parallels in their religion and thought to what they found in Egypt. So they supposed that they had borrowed from the Egyptians. However, in the 20th century we can show with the analytical tools of scholarship (above all, source criticism and documentary material such as inscriptions, coins and papyri) that they were wrong. I subscribe to this position, but we have to admit that it cannot be promulgated as proven fact.

Truth in the writing of history has come under fire repeatedly in recent years in relativist interpretations that have sometimes turned history into little more than rhetoric. The result has been a kind of collegial standoff in which anyone's views, no matter how bizarre, might be accepted as one possible way of looking at things. It is in this complaisant climate that Afrocentrist history has turned up in many classrooms, even at Wellesley College. Ms. Lefkowitz wants action to be taken. She understandably believes that bad scholarship should not be taught, but tenure can protect even bad scholars. Better to expose the folly and let the sunshine in. The context Ms. Lefkowitz has evoked shows why Martin Bernal and "Black Athena" have caused such a frenzy in the 1990's when similar extremist positions in the past did not.

NEITHER Mr. Bernal nor the Afrocentrists seem interested in asking why Egyptian origins or influences should be linked with Africans at all, except in the simple-minded geographical sense that Egypt is part of North Africa. Ancient Egyptians did not consider themselves Africans or blacks, and they consciously dissociated themselves from the blacks of Nubia to the south. The Greeks noticed that Egyptian complexions were darker than theirs, but they never confused Egyptians with the blacks they generically called Ethiopians. Even if there was a parallel goddess to Athena in Egypt, there is not the slightest reason to think she was represented as black. Mr. Bernal, whose intelligence and erudition are as formidable as his judgment is flawed, should have known better.

History is full of falsehoods widely believed and taught. Sometimes these falsehoods have made those who have believed them feel proud, but Afrocentrism presupposes, as Ms. Lefkowitz recognizes, thoroughly Western values. Her impassioned defense of the Greeks arises from the racial politics of our time. The achievement of the Greeks is not going to go away, whatever the nature and extent of their indebtedness to other cultures. The paradoxical conclusion to be drawn from Mary Lefkowitz's polemic is that the Greek legacy remains today so rich and attractive that even the most ardent foes of European civilization want to claim it for themselves. □

April 6, 1996

TO: Rahm Emanuel
FROM: Pam Cicetti
SUBJECT: Sandy Lewis

Mrs. Clinton asked that I forward to you the attached copy of a letter to her from Mitchell Rabkin, President of Beth Israel Hospital regarding Salim B. Lewis. I called Doug Eakeley to find out if the President and Lewis had had another meeting since their brief conversation at a Maine fundraiser last year. Eakeley said they had not and reiterated his strongly-held view that Lewis was someone who should be consulted about drug policy. Mrs. Clinton has asked that you follow-up with Lewis. If there is anything I can do to assist, let me know.

Thanks.

cc: Melanne Verveer

Status



Beth Israel HealthCare

**Beth Israel Hospital
Boston**

330 Brookline Avenue
Boston, MA 02215

(617) 667-2222
FAX (617) 667-2356
Internet:
rabkin@bih.harvard.edu

Mitchell T. Rabkin, MD
President
Professor of Medicine,
Harvard Medical School

23 May 1995

TO: Mrs. Hillary Clinton

A message from Doug Eakeley -- who has tried to connect the President with Eakeley's friend and client, Sandy Lewis -- with respect to thinking about drug use in the USA and other issues. Lewis is unique, and Eakeley feels it would be most useful to generate a one-on-one between the President and Sandy Lewis. When -- last summer -- the President at a fund raiser in Maine -- asked Sandy to step in the kitchen there and chat, Doug thought things were underway, but nothing followed even after Lewis sent to Mr. Clinton several pieces on illicit drug use and rehabilitation.

Sandy Lewis (Salim B. Lewis) is unique. He would spice your Hilton Head meetings with truly original ideas. To some he is not easy to take since he tells it like it is -- and he is clear-eyed.

May I respectfully suggest that you or the President call Doug Eakeley for more information? (201/992-8700 [office], 201/467-2688 [home])

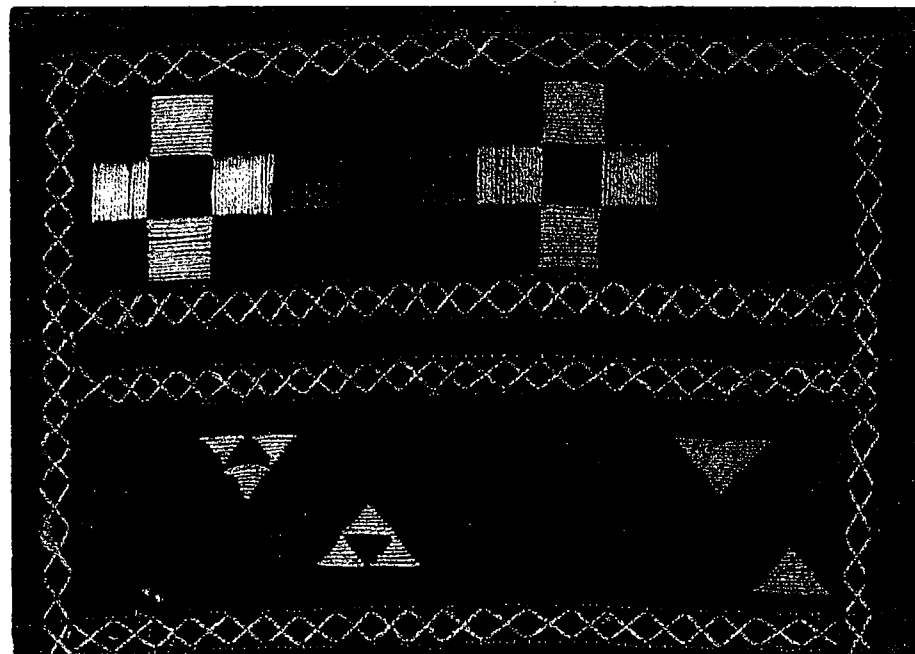
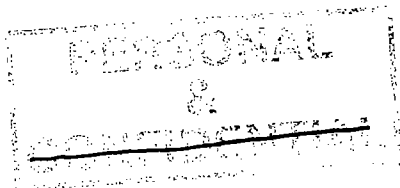
Warm thanks,

Mitchell T. Rabkin, MD
President, Beth Israel Hospital



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Dear Hillary - Pure M
Thank you for the big boost
yesterday at the Council + NGO
meetings. You have given me the
muscle I need to keep the Sept.
28 Conference on track.

Thanks also for your support
for the Women's Human Rights
appointment at State. There's lots to
be done ^{and} I look forward to doing
it. — Theresa

Anonymous * Pakistan * Pakistán * Textile (Detail) • Tissu
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THE WHITE HOUSE

~~bee~~
Maggie
Alice

June 26, 1996

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Ruth and Eugene Love
15115 Interlachen Drive
#314
Silver Spring, Maryland 20906

Dear Ruth and Eugene:

It was so good to hear from you again. Thank you for your very positive report and future plans. As always, your very thoughtful expression of support is greatly appreciated. I am hopeful that we will all get together again sometime this Fall and I will have the opportunity to thank you personally.

With gratitude and warm regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hillary
Hillary Rodham Clinton

*It is so gratifying to meet
Fun Club members all over
the country.*

Good Housekeeping

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ELLEN LEVINE
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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December 18, 1995

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20050

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

We are very pleased that GOOD HOUSEKEEPING will have the opportunity to host a very special event with you in the new year.

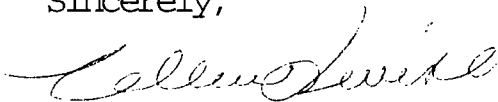
Our correspondent, Jurate Kazickas, has informed us after discussions with your staff that this forum, tentatively entitled "Our Children-Our Country: American Mothers Talk with the First Lady," will be held in Chicago in late February.

We feel this will be a unique opportunity for our readers to share their interests and concerns with you in the hope of making the future better for our children.

We look forward to confirming a date with your schedulers as soon as possible so we can begin working with your office to make this event meaningful and successful.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



cc: Lisa Caputo
Patty Solis
Melanne Verveer



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THE WHITE HOUSE

May 24, 1996

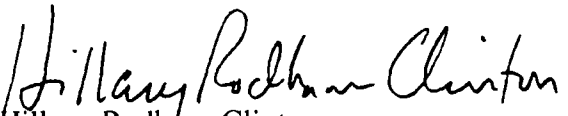
Jacklyn Lucas
75 Elks Lake Road
Hattiesburg, Mississippi 39401-8827

Dear Mr. Lucas:

Dennis Montgomery was kind enough to share your story in the *Marine Corps League* magazine. I enjoyed recalling our visit at the President's State of the Union address and hope my letter finds you and your family well.

With appreciation and warm regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

cc: Dennis Montgomery

Michael
Lindsey met
you at Jose Jackson's
birthday party at
B-Smith's and wanted
you to love this.
Do note to
him

Peggy
never gave
me a address

P.

SUNDAY, MAY 12, 1996

...R2

COURTLAND MILLOY

To Michael from Courtland **Credits** *With All the Best!!* **To Their Mothers**

To earn the master's degree in social work that he received from Howard University yesterday, Michael Lindsey had to give a lecture. It was titled "Resilient Characteristics of African American Males from Single Parent Homes," and it turned conventional wisdom about boys being raised by single mothers upside down.

"The situation of African American males from father-absent homes is often examined from a pathological perspective," said Lindsey, 24, one of six sons raised by a single mother in Anacostia. "Attention to those individuals who succeed in such situations has been lacking to almost nonexistent in social science literature."

So, rather than focusing on failure, Lindsey looked at what had worked. In a series of interviews with dozens of successful black men between the ages of 18 and 34 who had been reared in female-headed households, Lindsey came up with his list of resilient characteristics.

Chief among them was the ability to find meaning in suffering.

"The subjects in my study relate that debilitating life experiences presented them with challenges to grow and succeed," Lindsey said. "To find meaning in suffering is an escape from viewing difficulties or limitations as pathological."

Sixty-five percent of the young men interviewed said they had no interactions with their fathers and were hurt by the neglect. Although most of them related that they were very open with their mothers, 75 percent said they were unable to talk with their mothers about everything, especially premarital sex, and longed for the wisdom and guidance of an older man.

What helped there, according to Lindsey, was a strong social network, especially the support of ministers and deacons in church and coaches in organized sports. Sixty percent of the young men credited their mothers with helping to provide such a compensatory network and said that mom was the family member they most admired.

Lindsey's mother was certainly at the top of his list.

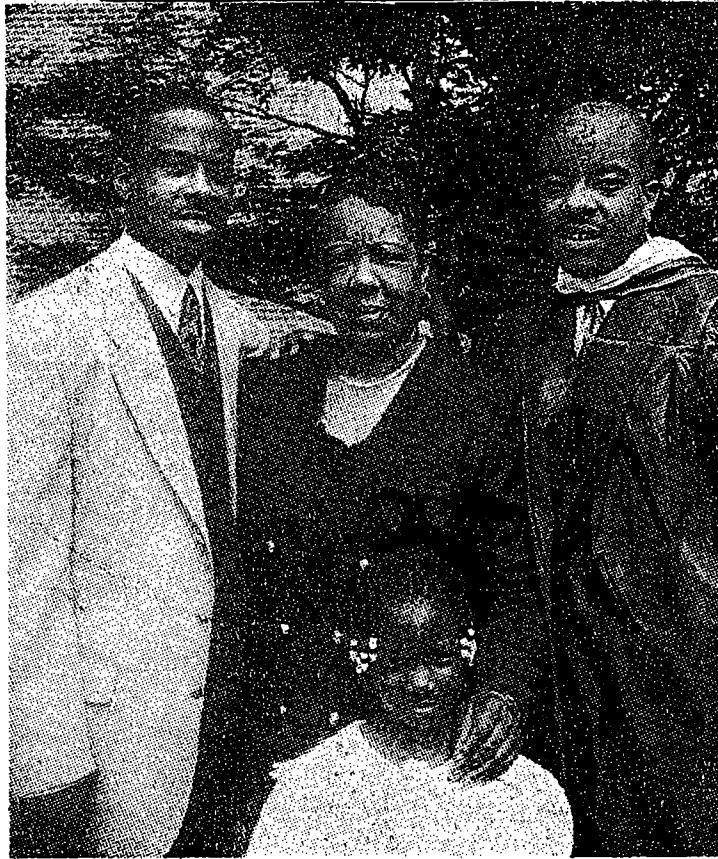
"My mother infused in me an indefatigable desire to succeed," Lindsey said. "For instance, when my friends were outside selling drugs and engaging in promiscuous activities, my mother demanded that I be in the house getting my homework done. She demanded that I go to school every day."

As a student at Sousa Junior High in Southeast Washington, Lindsey faced great distractions, including disruptions in class and threats by drug dealers that he would be killed if he returned to school. But with backup from teachers and the school principal, he persevered.

"I just had to ignore all of that and not let anything deter me from my desired goal," Lindsey recalled. "I was going to college. I was going to make something of myself. My mother had told me that I was the best, despite what the conditions around me suggested. Not that I was better than anybody else, it was just that I had been made by God, and God did not make junk."

Lindsey graduated at the top of his class. He won a scholarship to the elite Mercersburg Academy in Pennsylvania but returned home after a year to be with his mother. He then enrolled in the National

See MILLOY, B2, Col. 3



BY COURTLAND MILLOY—THE WASHINGTON POST

Michael Lindsey, right, and brother David with their mother, Charlotte Carter, and Jerniece Freeman before Howard University's graduation.

Single-Mother Successes

MILLOY, From B1

Christian Academy in Coral Hills, Md., and graduated as valedictorian.

After receiving a bachelor's degree from Morehouse College, he enrolled at Howard, where he was awarded the School of Social Work Cosby Fellowship.

Supported with a generous gift from Bill and Camille Cosby, it is awarded to outstanding second-year master's candidates committed to social work with African American families.

His mother, Charlotte Carter, was most pleased. She had started out as a house cleaner and cafeteria worker before going into business for herself as a day-care operator, and raising six boys along the way. Her oldest son, Jesse, 37, is an oysterman in Virginia; Wesley, 35, serves in the Army; Ronald, 29, is a D.C. corrections officer; David, 19, attends Bowie State University on a four-year scholarship. A sixth son, Gerald, died of leukemia in 1989 at age 27.

Carter was divorced shortly after her youngest son was born.

"I look at my sons' success,

and I am proud of them all," said Carter, who is adopting a 5-year-old girl, Jerniece Freeman. "I never really had to force or push them into anything. I basically lived a good life before them, aggressively maintaining my home and paying my bills.

"Being a single mother, they never saw me beg. They knew I trusted God for everything, and I let them know that what worked for me could work for them, too."

The respondents in Lindsey's study said they were striving to maintain a spiritual life and reportedly held civil rights and religious leaders in high esteem. Most of the men said they preferred reading "race-conscious" literature, especially biographies, because "having an affirmed sense of identity empowers one to be resilient in the face of adversity."

The median age of Lindsey's subjects was 25. Sixty percent were married, and all of them said they planned to stay that way.