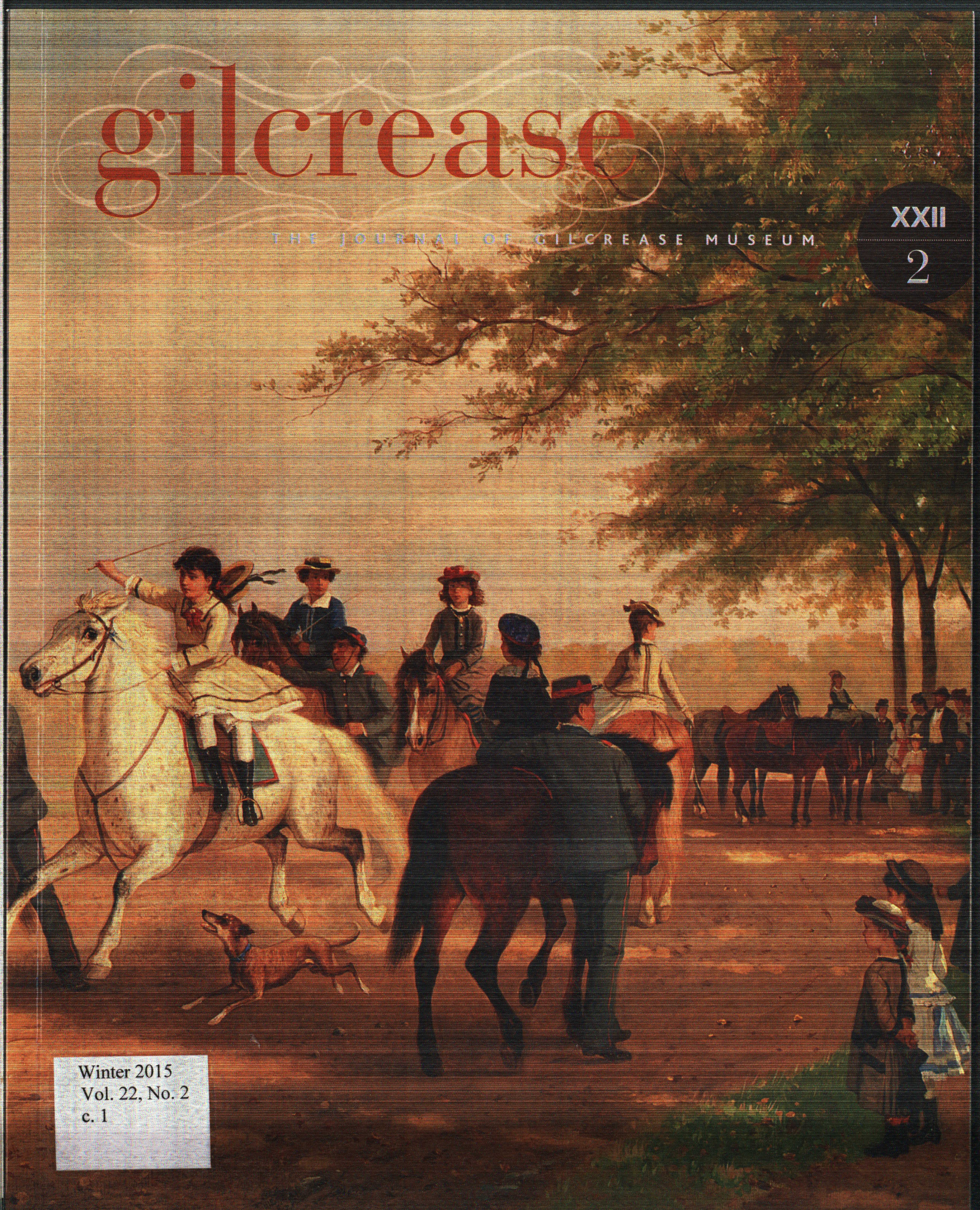
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THE JOURNAL OF GILCREASE MUSEUM

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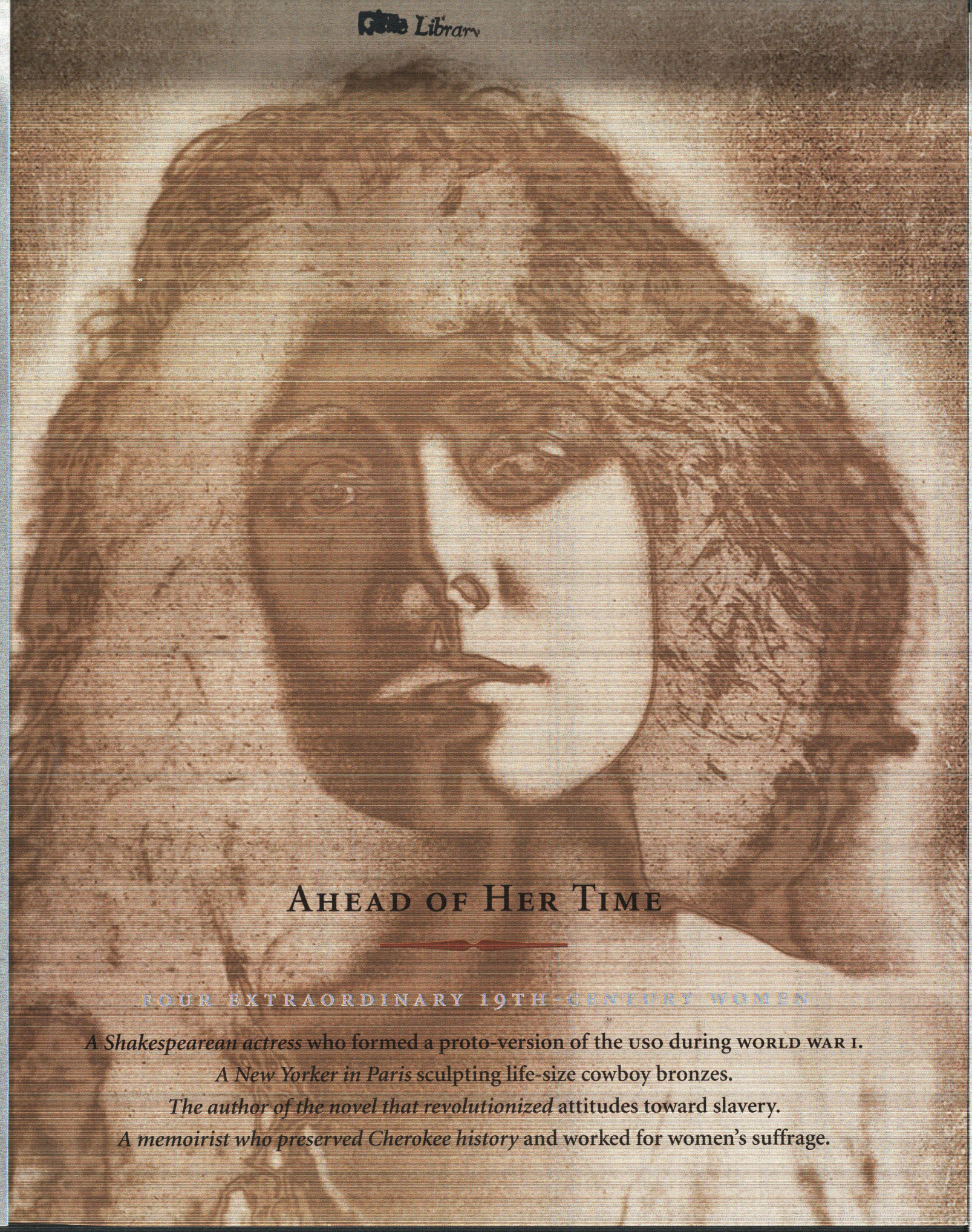
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Ahead of Her Time

FOUR EXTRAORDINARY 19TH-CENTURY WOMEN

A Shakespearean actress who formed a proto-version of the USO during WORLD WAR I.
A New Yorker in Paris sculpting life-size cowboy bronzes.
The author of the novel that revolutionized attitudes toward slavery.
A memoirist who preserved Cherokee history and worked for women's suffrage.

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Cover: WILLIAM HAHN, *Pony Path in Central Park*, 1878. Oil on canvas. GM0126.2299.
Page one: JULIA MARLOWE. Based on Stockbridge and Co. Lithograph, Cincinnati, 1899. Courtesy Library of Congress.
Facing: CONSTANCE WHITNEY WARREN, *William S. Hart*, bronze, 1921 (detail) GM0877.100.

AHEAD OF HER TIME

MISS JULIA MARLOWE 4
by Kimberly Roblin

CONSTANCE WHITNEY WARREN 18
by Scott A. Sullivan

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE 38
by Katherine Kane

NARCISSA CHISHOLM OWEN 56
by Betty Booth Donohue

SCENE

It is late on the evening of May 17, 1893.
We are at the World's Congress of Representative Women at the Chicago World's Fair,
which will also be known to history as the Columbian Exposition. A young woman takes the stage and the crowd quiets. Not yet thirty, she already bears one of America's best known faces and is adored by public and critics alike.
This night she has come not to perform but to speak on the history of women in the theatre.
The correlation between acting and activism might seem opaque, but for her there is hardly a distinction.
Art may entertain. But for her its true purpose is to elevate and educate.



Ladies and gentlemen, I give you . . . Author.
Director. Intellectual. Bibliophile. Activist. Actress . . .
I give you . . .

MISS JULIA MARLOWE.



JULIA MARLOWE.
Stockbridge and Co. Lithography.
Cincinnati. 1899.
Courtesy Library of Congress.

Books from the Gilcrease Library and Archive.

She would be immortalized in phonograph recordings, in bronze, on canvases and cabinet cards, and in memory, although the image for many obscured the deeper story. Who was she? A complex and driven woman who relentlessly pursued improvement, both for herself and others, offering her talent to causes that touched her. This and more.

BY KIMBERLY ROBLIN

ACT ONE
SARAH

TO understand Julia, you must first know Sarah and Fanny. Like many who strive upward, Sarah Frances Frost came from humble beginnings that also revolved around intrigue and drama, fitting for a future actress. She was born in Caldbeck, a village in the beautiful Lake District of northern England. Though she gave August 17, 1865 as her birthdate, parish records suggest it was likely 1866. Her father John was a clogger, or shoemaker, and prone to flight, fancy, and drink. Sarah's mother, also called Sarah, was his pragmatic and strong counterpart and tended the house, her husband, and four small children.

Although erratic, John's behavior was more aggravating than alarming until 1871 when an outburst turned criminal. The nature and severity of the disagreement are uncertain—from a lost wager and lost eye, to a squabble over shoe business and knocking a man unconscious. No matter the specifics, the result was the same. John Frost had crossed a line and knew it. Fearing arrest and possible imprisonment, he fled the authorities and did not stop until he had crossed the Atlantic and reached Kansas Territory. After settling into his new country and his alias identity as John Brough, he wrote his wife and divulged his whereabouts.



Sarah Sr. could have stayed in quiet Caldbeck, but whether out of fear, desire for adventure, or even love, she and the four children boarded the S.S. *Java* and arrived at New York City on April 4, 1872. The passenger list documented them for the last time as Frosts. From that day forward, they too were Broughs. Young Sarah's first acting role had begun.



JULIA MARLOWE. Strobridge & Co. Lithographs, ca. 1899. Theatrical Poster Collection. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Facing: JULIA MARLOWE TABER. B. J. Falk, New York. Ca. 1896. Courtesy Library of Congress.

The family reunited near Kansas City, but John's habits were harder to change than his name, and the pattern of instability re-emerged. The Broughs, erstwhile Frosts, moved east to Portsmouth, Ohio, before landing more permanently in Cincinnati—the largest city in the state and eighth largest in the country at the time. They took up residence downtown, near the river. City directories reveal subsequent moves and a deteriorating marriage, listing separate addresses and occupations that foreshadowed a later divorce.

John had not been reliably present in his family's life, but his actions affected them greatly. Although Julia never discussed her childhood in detail, having an absent and undependable father and an independent and capable mother, one who ran her own restaurant and saloon, must have left a lasting imprint on her.

While not always easy, her formative years taught Julia the lessons of self-reliance, hard work, and perseverance. To measure forward progress, you must have a starting point, and this was hers. She set her mind early to securing an education, a career, and independence—to dictate her own life and not be subject to the whims or actions of any other man or woman.

From her early youth, she also knew precisely how to achieve these ends: The stage would be her home—even if she had not yet arrived there.



Advertisement for a Juvenile Production of H.M.S. Pinafore. Metropolitan Lithography Studio, New York, 1879. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Facing: William Shakespeare. Graves, Henry & Co., print. GM1576.142.

ACT TWO
FANNY

She answered the calling around 1878 and auditioned for a traveling children's production of *HMS Pinafore*. The role she landed was minor, but its effect on her career was profound. For the next few years she toured the Midwest and eastern United States, billed as Fanny Brough, earning $7 a week plus room and board. The experience was of far greater value. She absorbed everything, gauged performances against audience reactions, learned timing, and committed every line and character to memory. If luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity, she wanted a life of luck.

Her diligence eventually secured larger roles and the attention of senior performer Ada Dow, who recognized the teenager's potential and work ethic. She agreed to tutor Fanny and the two women left their troupe for New York City to begin Fanny's formal education.

Fanny's goal was reaching the professional stage and performing the works of great playwrights—one in particular, the one who in her words "exacted [the most] from his players." Natural ability alone would not propel her, she knew, so she placed her faith in the transformative power of practice, preparation, and William Shakespeare. She pursued Shakespeare with an unbroken focus, sacrificing recreation for near isolation and devoting hours each day to her studies in French, Latin, elocution, movement, and fencing.

For three years she lived and breathed the stage, until in 1887 she and Ada felt she was ready. Unlike most actresses, Fanny was unwilling to waste precious time on smaller roles and lesser playwrights. She wanted a lead, but finding an agent who shared her confidence proved challenging. No actress debuted in a major role. There was protocol, procedure.



With characteristic grit, she persevered until she found sponsorship, and on the afternoon of October 20, 1887, Julia Marlowe debuted as Parthenia in *Ingomar* at the Bijou Opera House. If she was nervous, it did not show. This was the moment she had worked towards for years, the launch of her life as a stage actress. By the time the curtain fell she had personified her guiding principle: that art could and should elevate, as it had elevated her from blue-collar to the Bijou, from Sarah to Fanny to Julia.

> Miss Julia Marlowe, who appeared for the first time yesterday in "Ingomar" at a matinée at the Bijou Opera House, scored an undoubted success. In fact, so charming was the personality of this young girl, and so naïvely pretty was her interpretation of Parthenia's role that the audience remained seated until the end . . . She is a dainty, little woman with large, lustrous eyes and a bright, intelligent, though not strictly pretty face. It seemed impossible to imagine she was a novice.
>
> —1887, *New York Evening World*

The incarnation was complete.



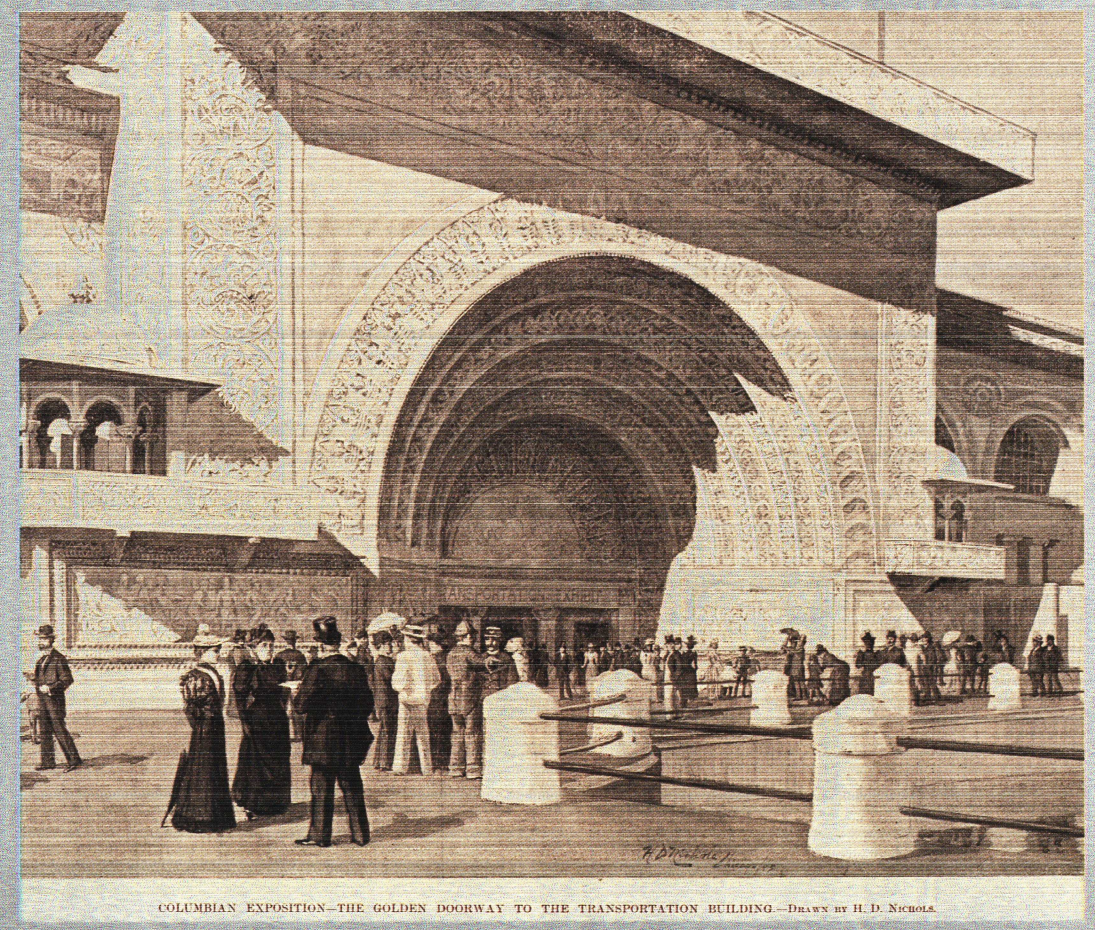
JULIA MARLOWE,
As Mary Tudor, in When Knighthood was in Flower.

ACT THREE
JULIA

ALTHOUGH the career she had pursued began to take shape, Julia did not grow complacent. She poured everything into her interpretations as she toured the country, adding new roles to her resumé—Juliet from *Romeo and Juliet*, Viola from *Twelfth Night*, Rosalind from *As You Like It*, Beatrice from *Much Ado About Nothing*, and Imogen from *Cymbeline*.

As her repertoire grew, so too did her fame, and by 1889 her photograph was a bestseller, audiences filled theaters to see her, and her celebrity soared. It was during this time that she formally accepted another part—that of role model and activist—when the World's Congress of Representative Women invited her to join them at the Chicago World's Fair.

It was a natural fit for her. The arts had long been a frontline for promoting women's rights. Painters, authors, and actresses had enjoyed opportunities their sisters did not. For decades, however, the stage had been barren of women. In England, stage acting by females was even prohibited by law. Young men and boys with sparse beards and high-pitched voices portrayed Juliet, Ophelia, and other iconic female characters. Ironically, this occurred under the reign of one of history's most powerful and influential women: Queen Elizabeth I, who presided over a world where marriage, motherhood, and



COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION—THE GOLDEN DOORWAY TO THE TRANSPORTATION BUILDING.—Drawn by H. D. Nichols.

"Columbian Exposition, Golden Doorway to the Transportation Building" from *Harper's Weekly*, May 13, 1893. GM3426.8532.

Facing:
Julia Marlowe. GM3426.3611.



the sisterhood were a woman's only options. Education for them was nearly non-existent and independence even rarer.

This began to change, however, when King Charles II assumed the throne and lifted the ban on actresses. The results were dramatic. Predominantly male audiences swelled in attendance as the allure and appeal of women crystallized. Actresses became celebrities and sat for interviews and portraits, earning income and independence in the process. Like Julia, most came from humble if not abject beginnings; the stage was one of the first professions to offer them an opportunity for social mobility. Because of this, Julia and her sister actresses were uniquely suited to speak on feminine rights.

And so it was that Julia Marlowe addressed the crowd that spring night in 1893, delivering an address called "Woman's Work Upon the Stage"—*work* being the key and carefully chosen word. If a woman wanted a career, she must be willing to work and sacrifice for it, but the rewards equaled the efforts. When one woman followed her passion and achieved success, she helped not only herself but all women. This was in perfect keeping with Julia's belief in equality and the power of collective human experience. Although a newspaper described her comments as *extempore*, that seems unlikely given her zeal for preparation and practice. More likely her stage gifts allowed a naturalness that seemed passionately impromptu.

Julia continued to promote her message after the closing of the Exposition. She made it a point during interviews to remain positive, but also realistic. She did not want readers to think her success a product of fate or blind luck or that it was attained by anything other than work. She spoke candidly of what she sacrificed for the sake and success of her career, detailing her three years of intense study and devotion. One area she did not often address was her personal life, including her brief marriage to fellow actor Robert Taber. It was rumored that he would not or could not accept his wife's greater popularity and the divorce ended as quietly as the union had begun.

ACT FOUR
SOTHERN

FOR A time art imitated life and Julia's professional life began to ebb. Not from lack of effort, but from an audience that was increasingly embracing modern plays and new forms of entertainment. Julia stood between two worlds, but this was a familiar position for her, and although she was committed to Shakespeare and drama, she was no martyr. She preferred the role of paid realist over starving idealist and took lesser parts to maintain employment, squeezing experience from each opportunity.

In 1904, however, Shakespeare once again rewarded her faith and delivered her when she united with fellow Shakespearean actor Edward H. Sothern.

As individuals Julia and Edward each had seen decreased attendance, but their partnership generated new interest among their audiences, and together they became something novel—a Shakespeare power couple.

Facing: Miss Julia Marlowe, 1901.
Irving Miles (American, 1861–1948).
Oil on canvas. Framed: 204.5 x 156.8 x 8.9 cm (80½ x 61¾ x 3½ in.)
Gift of Julia Marlowe Sothern, 1951.6.1.
National Gallery of Art



EDWARD H. SOTHERN,
As Francois Villon, in If I Were King.

Edward H. Sothern as Francois Villon in "If I Were King." GM3426.3834.

Facing: Julia Marlowe as Viola. B. J. Falk, New York. Ca. 1888. Courtesy Library of Congress.

For Sothern and Marlowe, Marlowe and Sothern, came success after success. Ticket sales soared. They traveled the country performing *Hamlet, The Merchant of Venice, The Taming of the Shrew, Macbeth,* and *Antony and Cleopatra.* It was the highwater mark of both their careers; their fame and status surged and their influence ranged from pop culture to philanthropy. Newspapers advertised the "Julia Marlowe" shoe style while the couple helped raise funds in the aftermath of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

Though both in their primes, they understood that time was working against them and that they would one day leave the stage. Time stops for no one. Despite the inevitable, Julia remained devoted to her craft and the Bard. In a 1909 interview she opened her home and gave a rare and intimate glimpse into her life and process; it was an episode of *Inside the Actors' Studio* without television or James Lipton. She had played thirty-four roles by that point and prepared each more meticulously and with greater thoroughness than anyone is likely to do again. She crafted dioramas of the stage and sets to better understand places and movements. She wrote notes for her character and for every other in the cast to gain better insight into the one she played. She wore armor around the house until her movements became natural. She read lines into phonographs to hear what worked and what needed improvement. She considered costumes and sets, not from her preference, but that of her characters—what would Juliet, not Julia, wear? Every time she stepped on stage she knew precisely what she was going to do and say, and precisely how she was going to do and say it—because she had prepared herself in every conceivable way. This made her unafraid to fail; failure might still happen, but not from lack of effort, and for Julia that was the greater sin by far. Apart from a lackluster European tour and a short-lived attempt at theater ownership, her career had been unmarred.



In 1911, she marked a personal success when she and Edward H. Sothern married quietly after years of partnership on the stage. Built on respect and common passions and purpose, the union endured until his death.

ACT FIVE
OVER THERE

THE marriage of Julia and Edward was based on their shared belief in the power of art to elevate and encourage, and this became particularly relevant when World War I erupted in 1914.

As the war escalated, Julia helped draw attention to the sufferings of the French through print and film. By 1918 she and Sothern regularly attended rallies and fundraisers throughout the Northeast. Their greatest contribution, however, came once again from their performances. Sothern was appointed to a team sent to Europe by the YMCA to assess morale and to develop a program to entertain the troops. It resulted in the Over There Theater League, which recruited volunteers from across the arts: actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, comedians, and magicians. Over a period of roughly eighteen months, the League sent 454 performers to Europe, among them Edward Sothern and Julia Marlowe.

Upon their return they toured again, but both sensed retirement approaching. They recorded *Romeo and Juliet* and *Merchant of Venice* onto RCA albums sold at $1.25 each, a first for a nonmusical. They received honorary doctorates from George Washington University. But no two better understood the arc of a story, and they recognized the signs of an impending finale. Announcements for their performances now ran next to *Anderson's Frivolities of 1920* and other such shows.

The world was war weary and wanted amusement, and Sothern and Marlowe could do nothing to stop that. What they could do, and what they continued to do, was to use their art for the betterment of others. Shortly before their retirement they played a number of engagements in Washington, D.C., but segregation prohibited African Americans from attending any of the performances. Characteristically, Sothern and Marlowe decided to speak and perform at Howard University and Dunbar High School, to African American student bodies. The message was clear: Art is for everyone, and if you cannot come to us, we will come to you.

CURTAINS

For Julia, art was an equalizer and an elevator. It was also a calling. She had something to share and she dedicated her life to sharing it. After losing Edward in 1933 and suffering a stroke, she kept quietly to herself, undoubtedly still reading and learning.

When Julia left the stage of life for good in 1950, the world had much changed. Women could vote. Man could fly. Two world wars had been fought. Moving pictures had become the film industry. But her example was as relevant as ever. She had been a woman who knew exactly the life she wanted and worked tirelessly to achieve it. Unapologetic and uncompromising, she shared both her talents and her beliefs. It was a life well-lived and well-played.

> Julia Marlowe—remember her name for you will hear of her again . . . she is going to be a great dramatic success. —*Telegram Herald* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, February 26, 1888.)

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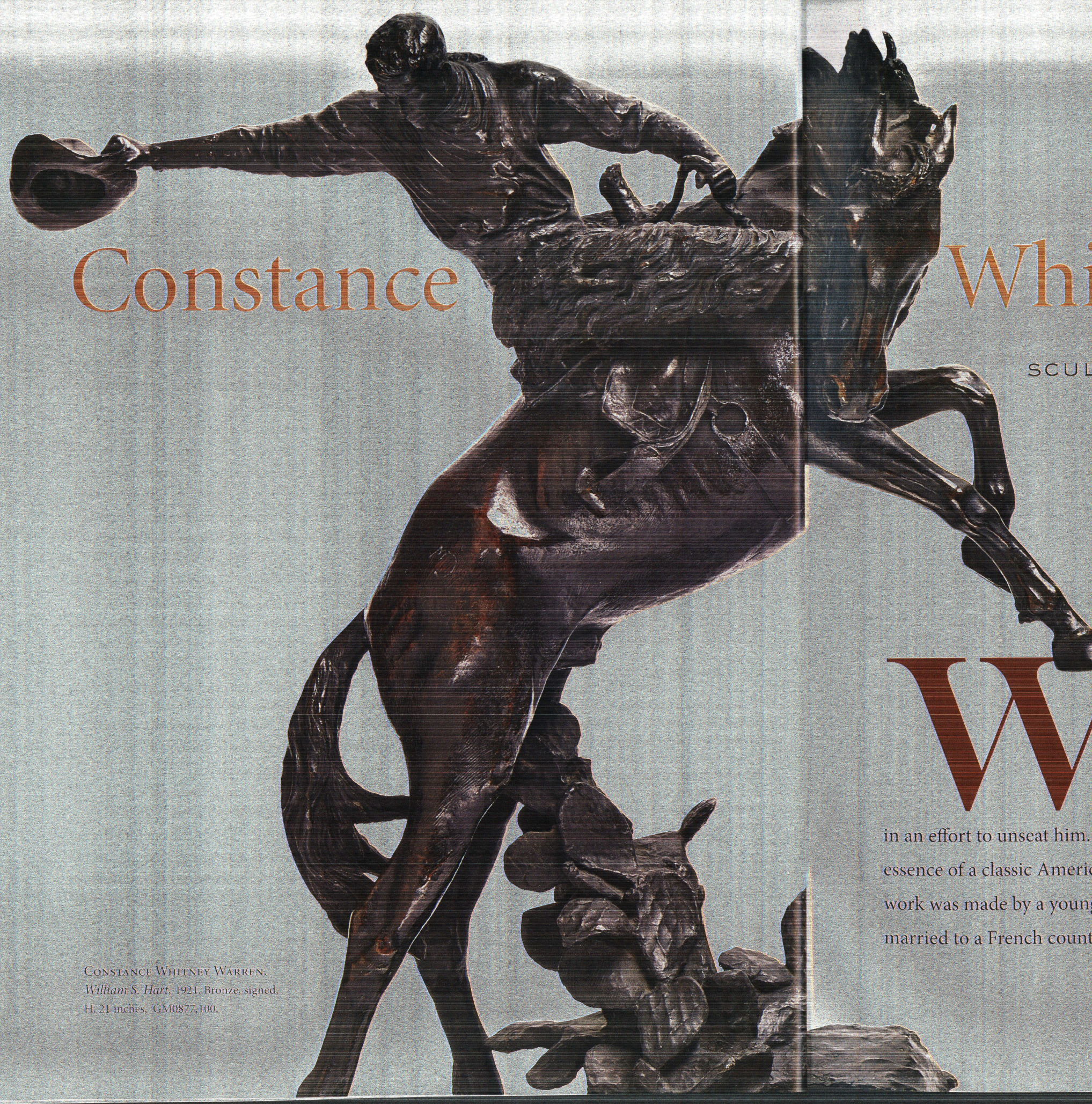
Miss Julia Marlowe.
H.L. Kirkpatrick, engraving. GM1526.937.

KIMBERLY ROBLIN is Curator of Photographic and Archival Collections at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum.

BY SCOTT A. SULLIVAN

Constance Whitney Warren

SCULPTOR IN A MAN'S WORLD



CONSTANCE WHITNEY WARREN. *William S. Hart*, 1921. Bronze, signed. H. 21 inches. GM0877.100.

William S. Hart, Gilcrease Museum's small bronze of 1921, depicts a wooly-chapped cowboy in a wide-brimmed hat atop a bucking horse. His leg shoots from the stirrup as he twists in the saddle, the animal pawing the air in an effort to unseat him. The entire composition dramatically captures the manly essence of a classic American Wild West moment. Who would imagine that this work was made by a young woman from a wealthy New York City family who was married to a French count and working in Paris?

In a career lasting just eleven years before she was confined to a facility for the mentally ill, Constance Whitney Warren achieved critical success in Paris and the United States. Then she was largely forgotten until a posthumous exhibition arranged by her brother at New York's Ferargil Gallery in 1953 spurred acquisition of her works across the country and assured her reputation.

Constance Warren's brave life is an important reminder of the emergence of women in the traditionally male-dominated field of monumental public sculpture—and elsewhere—in the early 20th century.

Constance Whitney Warren was born in New York City in 1888. Her grandfather, George Henry Warren, was a wealthy real estate developer and a founder of the Metropolitan Opera. Constance's father, George Henry Warren II, worked on the New York Stock Exchange and served as a director of the United New Jersey Railroad and Canal Company and the Metropolitan Trust Company. The Warrens lived at 924 Fifth Avenue, near 75th Street, and summered at Seafield, the family estate in Newport, Rhode Island.[1] Constance Warren came from money and her life was one of privilege.

In her youth Warren was an avid sportswoman who excelled in swimming and equestrian sports. She started drawing when young, but no early teacher is known. Some watercolors and cartoons survive from her teenage years. In 1912, Warren married Guy de Lasteyrie, a French count and direct descendant of General Lafayette (Marquis de LaFayette).[2] After their wedding, the couple made an extended trip through the western states that included camping, hunting, and photography.[3] This experience was likely an important influence on Warren's later bronze interpretations of cowboys and horses.

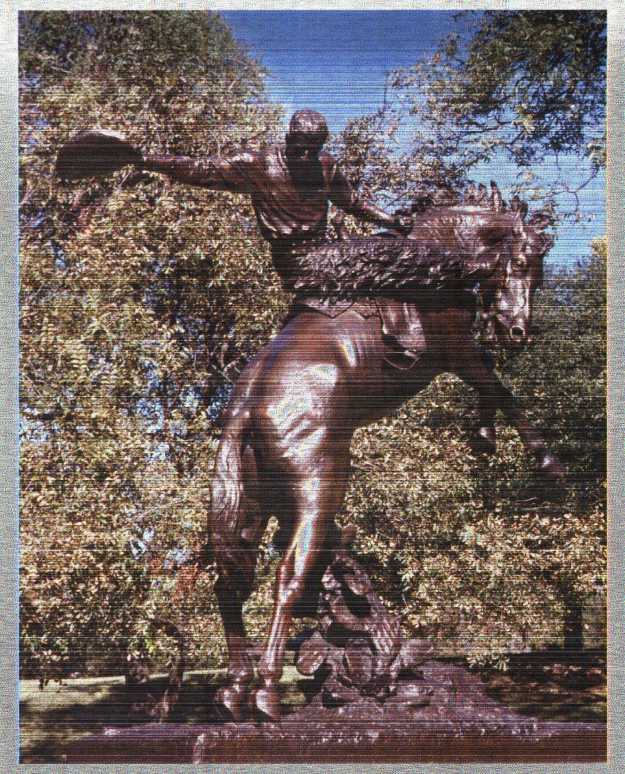


Constance on horseback, *Constance Whitney Warren, 1888-1948*, Memorial Exhibition, February 2-15, 1953, Ferargil Galleries, New York, 1953, frontispiece photograph.

By 1913 the Count and Countess de Lasteyrie had settled in the family home outside Paris, the Chateau de la Grange, in Seine-et-Marne.[1] The following year, Warren reportedly assisted in the war effort by acting as a driver for English officers in the campaigns around Paris. After the war she studied sculpture, primarily in bronze, and exhibited in the Paris Salons throughout the 1920s. She is recorded as a pupil of French sculptor Pierre Louis Peyranne (1883–1952), who specialized in portrait busts and decorative figures in a popular art movement known as Les Orientalistes, from the eastern themes and motifs they employed.[2]

To judge from Salon records, Warren had much early success. Her life-size bronze work entitled *The Cowboy (Texas Cowboy)*, shown upper right, won honorable mention in the Salon of 1923 and reportedly caused a sensation in Paris. It was given by Warren to the State of Texas in 1924 and installed at the state capitol, where it stands today.[3] A second life-size statue of a cowboy on a bucking bronco (bottom right) was presented to the State of Oklahoma in 1928; it now flanks the entrance to the state's capitol. Numerous other bronzes by Warren of horses, dogs, and equestrian figures, most smaller in size, date from the 1920s. Her most frequent subject by far was the traditionally clad cowboy on a bucking horse. Despite the fact that the artist's name continued to be found in the records of Paris Salons into the 1930s, no specific works by her are listed, and no known works are dated after 1928.

Warren and the count had divorced in 1922. Her nephew, David Warren, stated that family accounts of the divorce held it was granted on grounds of lesbianism. She probably returned to the United States in 1928. Two years later she was institutionalized at Craig House in Beacon, New York. Craig House was a discreet asylum for the wealthy and famous (Zelda Fitzgerald, Truman Capote, and Jackie Gleason were among its patients). Family documents hold that Warren was a "voluntary patient" suffering from paranoia. She died of a heart attack in Beacon on October 11, 1948.[4] Warren's artistic career ended with her commitment to Craig House. No other information about her years there has been found. Craig House closed in 2000 and its records were destroyed.





Constance Whitney Warren, *Texas Cowboy*, 1921, bronze, signed, slightly smaller than life-size, State Capitol, Austin, Texas.

Constance Whitney Warren, *Tribute to Range Riders*, 1926, bronze, 110 x 87 x 37 inches, State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Image courtesy of the Oklahoma Arts Council.



Constance Whitney Warren. *Hackney No. 1,* 1920. Bronze and marble, signed, H. 11⅞ inches. Gift of George H. Warren, 53.175, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. Photography by Erik Gould.

We can see the artist's early mastery of bronze sculpture in the small horses she executed between 1917 and 1922. *Hackney No. 1,* 1920, is known in two casts, the one shown here from the Rhode Island School of Design, and another in a Warren family collection. It was included in a 1953 retrospective exhibition in New York at the Ferargil Galleries organized by Warren's brother George H. Warren III.[9] He and gallery director Frederic Price subsequently worked to place Warren's works in museums and public collections throughout the country. In the Rhode Island work, the horse is large in proportion, yet naturally modeled and poised in a graceful trot. It is a pose seen in equestrian statues of the nobility and military leaders beginning in the Renaissance. Here a trimmed mane and bobbed tail also suggest equestrian sports in which Warren participated. Her horses of these years gradually show a greater naturalness of movement and more effectively handled physiognomy.



Constance Whitney Warren. *Standing Horse, No.1,* 1922. Bronze, signed, H. 13.5 inches. Scott A. Sullivan, Fort Worth, Texas. Photo by R. Lane.

Her last small bronze horse, from 1922, above, was formerly in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (deaccessioned, June 9, 2014) and is now in the author's collection. This animal's weight is distributed evenly on all four legs. The head is nicely balanced by the arc of the tail. The highly polished bronze figure conveys a majestic strength that must have appealed to a devoted horsewoman like Warren.

A work located not far from Gilcrease Museum is *Steeplechase* of 1921 in the Philbrook Museum of Art (pages 24–25). This date, like those on all Warren's bronzes, is taken from the inscription on the base and may be assumed to be the date of the original plaster or clay work. The actual casting may have occurred later. In *Steeplechase* four horses and their riders are shown jumping over a low vine-covered stone fence with water on the far side. This water jump was common in steeplechase then and now. In Warren's bronze the equestrian event appears in a stroboscopic view with the horse and rider shown in four successive phases and the last horse and rider falling. The sense it conveys of a slow-motion moving picture prompts the question of whether Warren used a camera to capture the image as preparation for her work. Might she have known photographs of animal locomotion by Eadweard Muybridge that date to the 1870s, or those made by Jules Marey in France a decade later? Although that is likely to remain unanswered, we do know the artist was an avid equestrian sportswoman, and that steeplechase was popular in Newport society.



Constance Whitney Warren, *Steeplechase*, 1921. Bronze, signed, H. 14½ inches. Gift of George H. Warren III, 1953.11. © 2015 Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Facing: Constance Whitney Warren, *Venture*, 1928. Bronze, W. 36 inches. Lisl Warren Carr (great niece of the artist).

From the late 1870s steeplechase races were held in Newport, climaxing annually with the famed Newport Handicap Steeplechase.[10] Doubtlessly Warren's personal observations aided her creation of *Steeplechase*, a unique work conveying the excitement of the sport.

A similarly personal connection is found in *Venture*, an ambitious piece from the artist's later years depicting multiple figures and horses. Dated 1928, it measures thirty-six inches in length and includes in its title the phrase, *"driven by the late Alfred G. Vanderbilt,"* someone whom Warren knew well. Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt was born in 1877 and died in 1915. The son of Cornelius Vanderbilt II and great grandson of the dynasty's founder, Alfred became head of the House of Vanderbilt in 1899.[11] The family's New York home was at Fifth Avenue and 57th Street; its summer residence, in Newport, was the famous estate called The Breakers. The Vanderbilt and Warren families moved in the same social circles and were connected in many ways. Both lived on Fifth Avenue and summered in Newport. Alfred Vanderbilt's father and uncles built the Metropolitan Opera House in 1880. Constance Whitney Warren's grandfather was one of the opera's founders and its first vice president. Mrs. Vanderbilt attended Constance's wedding. Constance was





William Hahn. *Pony Path in Central Park,* 1878. Oil on canvas. GM0126.2299.

eleven years Alfred's junior; both were avid lovers of horses and equestrian sports. One of Alfred's favorite sports was to race horse-drawn coaches, which in the early years of the century were called drags (hence the name "drag races"). Alfred had two drags called Viking and Venture; Venture was the name of the coach in Warren's work. Alfred often raced drags in England, where the sport was popular. He was en route to England in the late spring of 1915 for a meeting of the Board of Directors of the International Horse Show Association. Unfortunately, he never arrived. He was aboard the *Lusitania,* the luxury liner that was struck by German U-boat torpedoes in the Irish Sea on May 7, 1915, and was one of 1,198 who perished.[12] No doubt Warren's bronze of 1928 was a remembrance of her friend. She chose to depict him the way she best knew him, as a sportsman and horseman.

Among Warren's other animal works are two depicting her dog: *Josephine No. 1* from 1922 is just five inches long; *Josephine No. 2,* from a year later, is an inch longer and in a different reclining pose. Documents from Constance's life in Paris refer to a police dog as her companion and so the dog is probably a German shepherd.[13] The pieces are not highly detailed and serve to convey a general interpretation of her pet with a feeling for the animal's character in the handling of the head and eyes. Warren's horses and dogs doubtlessly reflect her life interests, yet they are also within the tradition of French and American sculptors who specialized in animals.

The French *animaliers* arose in the mid-19th century under the influence of Antoine-Louis Barye (1796–1875). Later, a group of American artists, following the earlier work of the French, popularized animal sculpture in this country from the late 19th century into the early decades of the 20th.[14] Barye's bronze animals are well known. He was active from the 1820s until his death in 1875, during which time he had a host of pupils and followers. The numerous influential Americans enamored with his work included Joshua Taylor Johnson, the first president of the Metropolitan Museum.[15] The Metropolitan acquired its first Barye bronze in 1885 and augmented its collection regularly with others in the early years of the 20th century. By the time Warren left New York in 1912, the Met had a total of twenty works by Barye, a strong indication of his popularity.[16] Indeed, Barye's popularity resulted in an increase in the number of American artists who specialized in animals and whose works could be found in New York in the first decade of the century. These include Eli Harvey (animal sculptures for the New York City Zoo), Edward Clark Potter (lions in front of the Pierpont Morgan Library





Alexander Proctor. *Buffalo.* Bronze. GM0826.84.

Constance Whitney Warren. *Josephine No. 1,* 1922. Bronze. W. 5 inches. Collection of George H. Warren IV.

and the New York Public Library), Alexander Phimister Proctor (*Buffalo*, previous page), and Anna Hyatt Huntington. Animal sculptures were highly popular in America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and nowhere could more of them be found than in New York. It was in this milieu that we find the young Constance Whitney Warren.

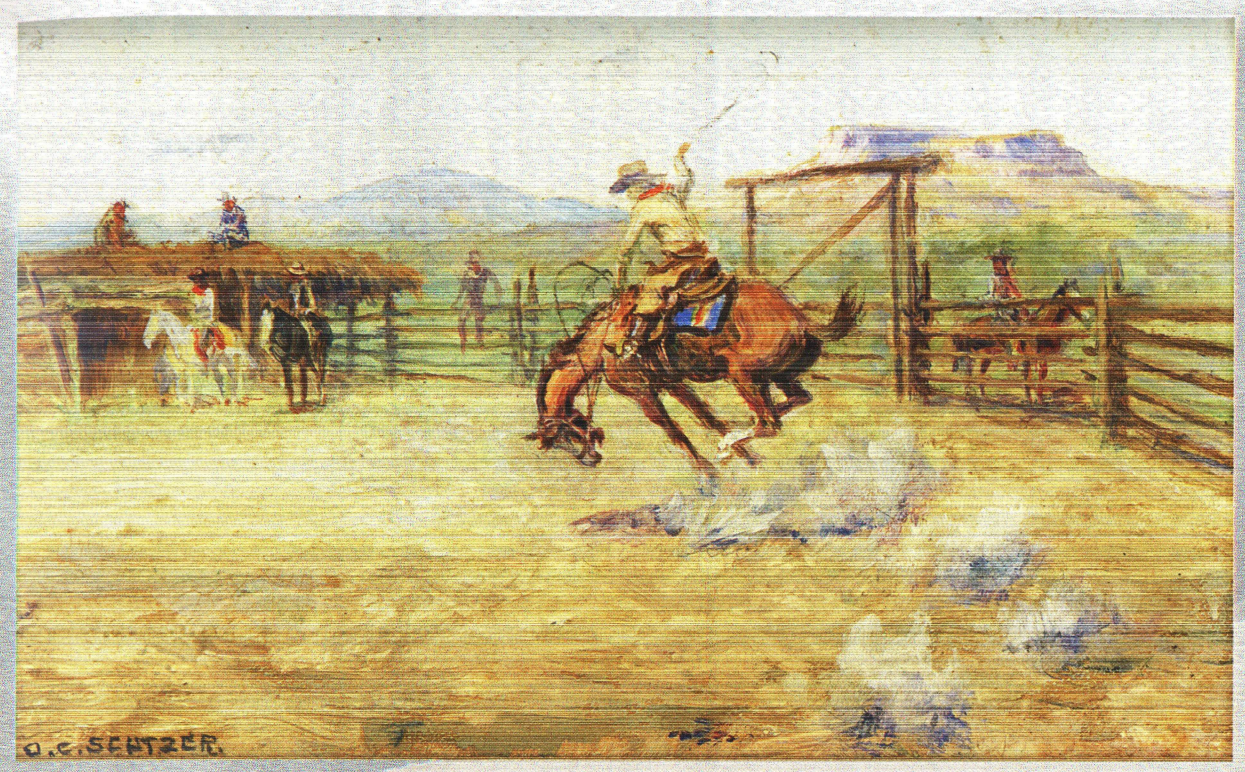
The artist who generated the most excitement in his depictions of horses was Frederic Remington, best known for his images of the American West. Born in 1861 in Canton, New York, Remington traveled to the West in the 1880s and worked as an illustrator for *Harper's Weekly*. In 1891 he established a studio in New Rochelle, just north of New York City,[18] where he executed his first sculpture, the famous *The Bronco Buster*, in 1895 (page 31). This was followed by fifteen other bronze depictions of cowboys, American Indians, and horses that excited the imaginations of New Yorkers and art collectors throughout the country. Four of the artist's sculptures, including *The Bronco Buster*, were purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in 1907.[19] By the time Remington died in 1909, his twenty-two bronze works had been reproduced in numerous authorized casts that spread his fame across the United States and Europe. Remington was also well known in France, first for his illustrations and then for his sculptures. In fact, the cowboy image and its artistic interpretations were extremely popular in London, Paris, and other Western European cities beginning with the Wild West Shows of Buffalo Bill Cody seen regularly from the mid-1880s.[19]

Indeed, the bronco buster was a very popular subject in the first decades of the 20th century, and Warren could have been inspired by any number of American artists active just before or during the formative years of her career. In addition to Remington, artists working in this genre included Solon Borglum, Alexander Phimister Proctor, and Charles Russell.[20]

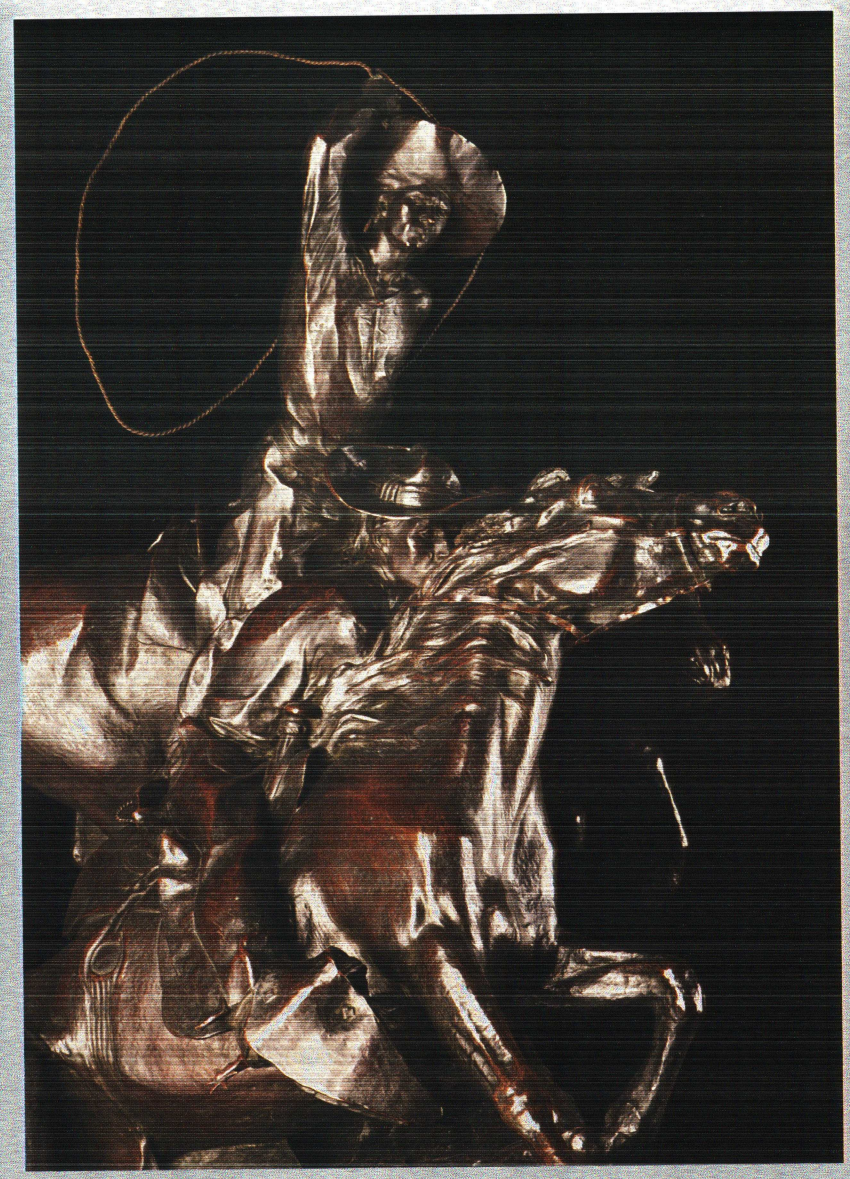
Warren's response to the popularity of the genre is seen in *Cowboy No. 3* of 1922 (page 32). There seems little doubt that she knew Remington's *The Bronco Buster* of 1895. The general arrangement of the compositions compare, particularly the rearing horse with flaring tail and the cowboy with wooly chaps whose hat brim has blown up from the action of the bucking horse. Overall, however, Warren's work is less precise in the details of its modeling, especially in the figure. Her interests lie with the horse and its energetic pose. She has depicted a lean and attenuated animal, balanced precariously on an outcropping of cactus and rock. The reins on the right side are missing (broken off), which gives the pose of the cowboy's right hand an odd look.

Facing: Olaf Seltzer. *The Bronco Buster*. Oil on board. GM0137.808.

Facing: Charles M. Russell and Will Hart, Gilcrease Museum Archives. Helen E. and Homer E. Britzman Collection, The University of Tulsa, TU 2009.39.275. 15a-b.











Clockwise from top left:

Solon Borglum, *Bronco Buster (detail).* Bronze. GM0876.124.

Frederick Remington. *The Bronco Buster.* Bonze. GM0827.34.

Alexander Proctor. *Prowling Panther (detail).* Bronze. GM0876.80.



Constance Whitney Warren. *Cowboy No. 3*, 1922. Bronze, H. 24 inches, Ferargil exhibition catalogue (1954), plate 14.

Warren did a number of variations on this theme in the early 1920s. The earliest is *Cowboy* of 1920 (location unknown). Seven others followed a year later. *William S. Hart* (pages 18–19) is one of the finest. Purchased by Thomas Gilcrease in 1944 from the New York dealer James Graham and Son, it is dated 1921 and signed on the base "C. W. Warren." Following the signature and again on the horse's flank is the artist's monogram, CWW, intertwined and fashioned as a brand. The first W is suggested by the C combining with the last or more legible W. This monogram-brand is common on Warren's bronzes. Often, as in the Gilcrease work, it is accentuated by two short lines of varying length.

William S. Hart is known today in the three casts: one in Gilcrease Museum, another at Princeton University, and a third formerly in the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, Massachusetts, deaccessioned and sold at Sotheby's Parke Bernet in 1977. Subsequently it appeared in other auctions, but its location is unknown today. The Gilcrease bronze acquired the title *William S. Hart* (a famous actor in western films of the first quarter of the 20th century) sometime after its creation and before the 1944 acquisition by Mr. Gilcrease. Another cast of the work was presented simply as *Cowboy No. 2* in the 1954 retrospective of Warren's work in New York City.

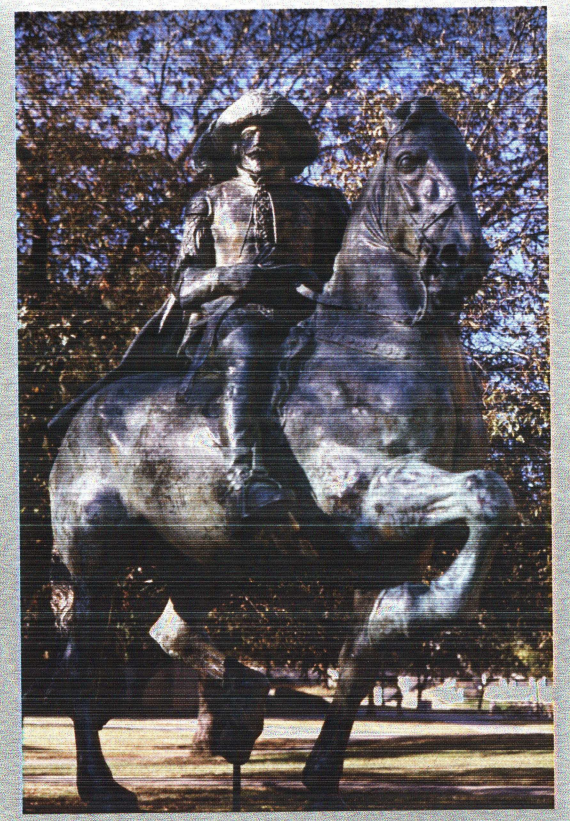
Cowboy No. 2, or *William S. Hart*, was also cast in a nearly life-sized version we see today as *Texas Cowboy* in front of the Texas State Capitol in Austin (page 21). According to articles in the *Austin American-Statesman* in 1924, the statue was given to the state through the auspices of Charles Cason, vice president of Chemical National Bank of New York and a former resident of Houston. Cason, a friend of the Warren family, told Texas governor Pat Neff about the bronze and how it had been exhibited in the Paris Salon, missing a bronze medal by just two votes and taking honorable mention. This was prestigious recognition for an American woman artist. *The Cowboy* was praised in the French press and highly popular in Paris. Cason told Governor Neff that the artist wished to donate the bronze to a western state. The governor agreed to accept it on behalf of Texas. The work was shipped to Austin in fall 1924 and dedicated on January 19, 1925.[21] In Salon records of the 1920s, Warren's only honorable mention occurred in 1923.[22] Yet *Texas Cowboy* carries a date of 1921 on its bronze base. This may be explained by the practice of recording on the bronze the year of its original creation in plaster or clay rather than the date of its casting.[23] Indeed, 1921 Salon records list a *Cowboy* by Warren done in plaster. The fame of *Texas Cowboy* lives on today, and, with its 1994 cleaning and new patina, it is Warren's most renowned work.

There exists a strong rivalry between Texas and its neighbor to the north, Oklahoma. Acquisition of the Texas work by Warren may have spurred Oklahoma to follow suit by acquiring a life-sized bronze by Constance in 1928 (page 21). Charles Cason of New York was again the intermediary who arranged through Oklahoma Supreme Court Justice Alfred C. Hunt the gift of *Tribute to Range Riders*.

Like *Texas Cowboy*, it was placed at the state's capitol building. An inscription on the base declares it a "bronze tribute to those romantic riders of the range … unveiled under the direction of Governor W. J. Holloway and Oklahoma's own Will Rogers . . . . on May 30th, 1930." Despite the inscription, the 1930 unveiling never happened because of Rogers's inability to attend; the statue had to wait until 1957 for its formal dedication.[24] *Tribute to Range Riders* is signed and dated 1926 on its base. It is identical to a smaller undated bronze entitled *Mounted Cowboy*, now in the Georgia Museum of Art in Athens. The Oklahoma bronze, like all of Warren's works, was not a commission. The considerable resources of her family doubtlessly made these castings possible. Warren's third life-size equestrian bronze, *Cowboy Lariat* (below), is seen today in front of the Calvin C. Goode Municipal Building in Phoenix, Arizona. The work is signed and dated 1926. It was acquired by the City of Phoenix as a gift from the artist's brother George through the Ferargil Gallery



Constance Whitney Warren. *Cowboy Lariat*, 1926. Bronze, signed, life-size. Calvin C. Goode Municipal Building, Phoenix, Arizona.





in 1954.[25] Again Warren's brand-monogram of an entwined CWW appears on the work's base and the horse's flank. The horse's pose is identical to one employed by Warren in an earlier small bronze cowboy in 1922.[26] The Phoenix cowboy is missing most of his lariat, not surprisingly given the fragility of this detail. Like most of Warren's bronzes, it was cast by the H. Rouard Foundry in Paris and bears that foundry's name on its base. Certainly this striking work, with its dramatic rearing horse with twisting head and flying hooves capped by a lariat-swinging cowboy, is one of the high points in Warren's oeuvre.

Warren's fourth monumental bronze, and for her, a rare European subject, is the *Equestrian Portrait of Velázquez* at the University of North Texas in Denton, signed and dated 1924. It was installed in 1995 as a gift from the Harlan Crow family of Dallas. A plaster statue of Velázquez on horseback exhibited by Warren in the Paris Salon in 1924 was likely the model for this cast.[27]

A life-size bronze of the 17th-century Spanish painter Diego Velázquez is a surprising subject for Warren given that her other heroic equestrian works feature cowboys. The reason for this choice of subject likely stems from the artist's years in Paris. August Barye's successor in Paris, and an artist who had a great influence on American sculptors in that city, was Emmanuel Frémiet (1824–1910). I believe Frémiet's life-sized bronze of the same subject had a direct influence on Warren. Frémiet was the teacher of numerous American artists in Paris; his reputation continued for several years after his death in 1910. His equestrian Velázquez was executed in 1890 and installed three years later in the Garden of the Colonnade at the Louvre. It remained there until 1933, when it was given to the Casa Velázquez in Madrid.[28] Frémiet's work would have been readily accessible to Warren and is generally comparable in size and in the pose of the horse. Warren's figure of Velázquez is turned slightly to the right in the saddle and the costume differs from Frémiet's. Nevertheless, given Frémiet's reputation, the accessibility of his statue, and the unusual subject common to both works, it seems likely that Constance knew the work by the older French artist and was inspired by it.

Constance Whitney Warren. *Equestrian Portrait of Velázquez*, 1924. Bronze, signed, H. 127 inches, University of North Texas, Denton.

Emmanuel Frémiet. *Velázquez*, 1890. Bronze, H. 136 inches. Jacques de Biez, E. Frémiet, Paris, 1910, plate 86.

Warren's four monumental equestrian bronze works executed between 1921 and 1926 place her within a very elite circle of American women sculptors who were creating heroic equestrian monuments in the 1920s. The earliest life-sized equestrian work by an American woman was Anna Hyatt Huntington's *Joan of Arc*. Huntington was born in 1876 in Boston and moved to New York in 1902. She went to Paris in 1907 and three years later she entered a plaster model of *Joan of Arc* in the Salon and won honorable mention.[29] She returned to New York to learn that a Joan of Arc Committee headed by Tiffany's President J. Sanford Saltus was organizing a competition for the creation of a statue to celebrate the saint's 500th anniversary. Huntington won the competition, defeating male sculptors from several nations. Five years later in 1915 her *Joan of Arc* was unveiled at Riverside Drive and 93rd Street in New York, where it still stands. Huntington received widespread acclaim for the work. Her heroic depiction of the saint was especially timely as World War I, then raging in Europe, brought a great deal of American sympathy for the French people. The French ambassador attended the unveiling and decorated the artist with the Purple Rosette of his government. The statue was popular in France as well, so much so that a replica was erected in 1922 in the Garden of the Bishops at Blois. At this time Huntington was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. The fame of this statue crafted by an American woman and the event at Blois probably did not go unnoticed by Warren, who was then living in Paris. One year later she executed her first life-sized bronze of an American hero, *Texas Cowboy*.



Anna Hyatt Huntington. *Joan of Arc*, commissioned 1914, (original plaster 1910). Bronze H. 132 inches. Riverside Drive and 93rd Street, New York City Parks.

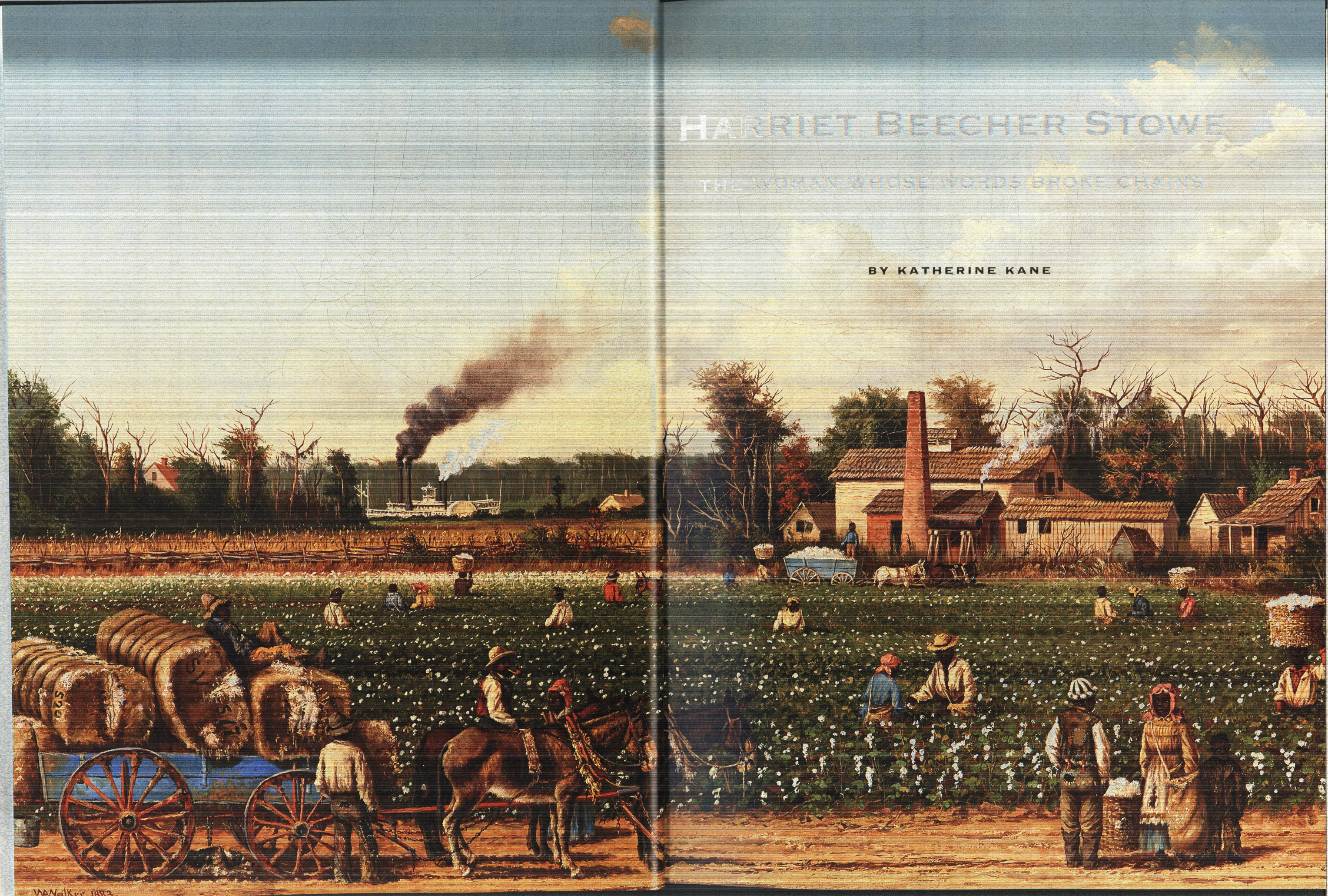
Two other American women pioneers of sculptural monuments were working at the same time. In 1921 Sally James Farnham (1876–1943) created an equestrian statue of the Venezuelan patriot Simón Bolivar, which was erected in New York near Central Park. Farnham was a family friend of Frederic Remington and was influenced by him throughout her career.[30] Her oeuvre consists of portraits and western-themed images of cowboys and horses. These were especially popular in New York during the years 1915 to 1921. Like Warren, Farnham was born to a wealthy family that made travel to Europe as well as the American and Canadian West important in her artistic education.

The fourth of these important women sculptors was Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875–1942), the sister of Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt, whose family ties with the Warrens have been mentioned. Lloyd Warren, Constance's uncle, was, in fact, a suitor of Gertrude's in 1894, and they remained lifelong friends.[31] Whitney was a wealthy woman who supported many of America's most important early 20th-century artists and in 1930 founded the Whitney Museum of American Art. As an artist, she received commissions for public monuments in this country and abroad. Her *Buffalo Bill* (following page) was made in 1923 for the Buffalo

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

THE WOMAN WHOSE WORDS BROKE CHAINS

BY KATHERINE KANE



Uncle Tom's Cabin fired revolutionary thinking around the world, changing public attitudes and affecting politics everywhere it was read. A huge success in the United States, Britain, Europe, and Asia, it exists in more than seventy languages. In the United States, 10,000 sold in the book's first week and 300,000 in its first year; in Great Britain, 1.5 million copies were bought and read in a single year.



In 2007 the USPS Distinguished Americans stamp series honored Stowe as author of one of the most influential novels in American history. Mark Summers of Waterdown, Canada, based his portrait on a ca.-1855 stipple engraving by English engraver Francis Holl (1815–1884), which in turn was based on an earlier portrait of Stowe by English painter George Richmond (1809–1896).

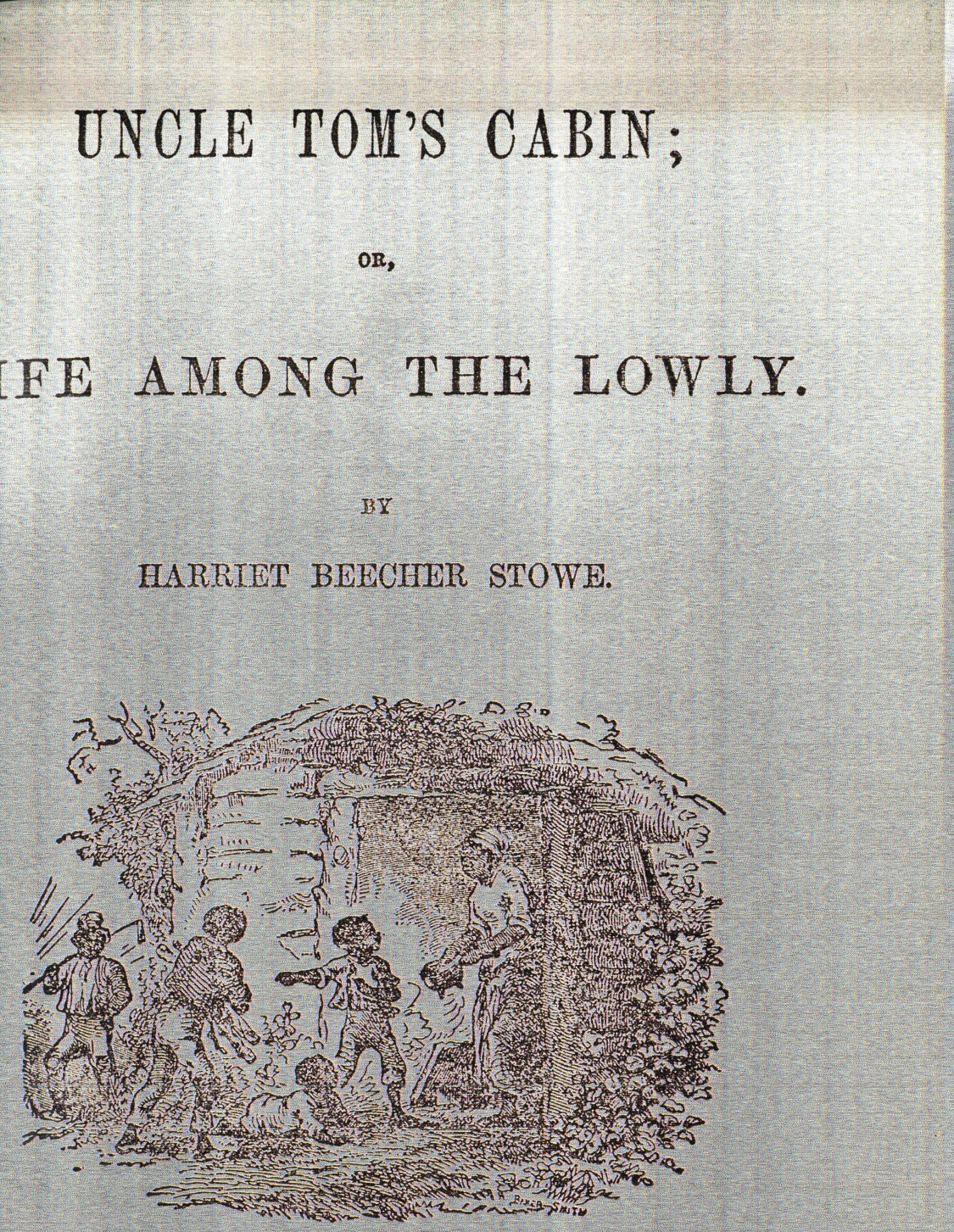
Previous: A Cotton Plantation on the Mississippi, 1883. William Aiken Walker. Oil on canvas. GM0126.1206. This post-Emancipation image by a southern genre painter embodies stereotypes still ingrained decades after the Civil War, and slavery, had ended.

Harriet Elisabeth Beecher was born June 14, 1811, in Litchfield, Connecticut, to Reverend Lyman Beecher (1775–1863) and Roxanna Foote Beecher (1775–1816), the sixth of eleven children. Roxanna Beecher died when Harriet was five and Lyman quickly remarried. Harriet Porter Beecher (1800–1835) was somewhat overwhelmed by the eight boisterous children she inherited. Her own children, Isabella, Thomas, and James, added to the noisy household.

The Beechers expected their children to shape their world, and their children did not disappoint them. Few families have had such an impact on their era. All seven sons became ministers; oldest daughter Catharine pioneered education for girls; and youngest daughter Isabella was a founder of the National Women's Suffrage Association. Like all Lyman Beecher's children, Harriet Beecher believed her actions could make a difference.

Harriet began her education at Sarah Pierce's Academy in Litchfield, one of the earliest schools teaching girls academic subjects. In 1824, she became a student and then a teacher at Hartford Female Seminary, founded by her sister Catharine. Harriet wrote from an early age. Her publishing career began before her marriage and continued with history and geography, an antislavery tract, and numerous articles, essays, and short stories throughout her life.

In 1832, twenty-one-year-old Harriet moved with her father and siblings to Cincinnati, Ohio, where her father had become president of Lane Theological Seminary. There she met and married Calvin Stowe, a theology professor she described in an 1852 letter to Eliza Lee Cabot Follen as "rich in Greek & Hebrew, Latin & Arabic, & alas! rich in nothing else . . ." She soon learned that her writing



UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;

OR,

LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:
JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY.
CLEVELAND, OHIO:
JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON.
1852.

Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet Beecher Stowe. First edition, frontispiece. Volume I of the two-volume set. John P. Jewett & Co., Boston, 1852. GM3426.377.



Carte-de-visite photograph of Harriet Beecher Stowe, c. 1862. Harriet Beecher Stowe Center.

could help subsidize Calvin's small salary. She wrote Follen that "with the first money that I earned in this way, I bought a feather bed! . . . After this, I thought I had discovered the philosopher's stone . . . And so I became an authoress."

Six of the seven children born to the Stowes arrived during the Cincinnati years. Then, in summer 1849, Stowe's eighteen-month-old son, Samuel Charles Stowe, died of cholera. Stowe wrote to Follen, "It was at his dying bed, and his grave that I learnt what a poor slave mother may feel when her child is torn away from her . . . . There were circumstances about his death of such peculiar bitterness, of what might seem almost cruel suffering, that I felt I could never be consoled for it . . . I have often felt that much that is in that book had its root in the awful scenes and bitter sorrow of that summer."

The federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 required every American to help catch escaped slaves. Those who aided fugitives or refused to assist slavecatchers could be fined up to $1,000 and jailed for six months. Harriet believed the law was requiring her complicity in an unjust and immoral system. She wrote her sister Catharine in September 1850, "Your last letter was a real good one, it did my heart good to find somebody in as indignant a state as I am about this miserable wicked fugitive slave business—why I have felt almost choked sometimes with pent up wrath that does no good."

Stowe wrote newspaper opinion pieces, discussed the issue with friends, and disobeyed the law by hiding and assisting fugitives. Her sister-in-law, Isabella Porter Beecher, encouraged her as Catharine did, saying to her, "if I could use a pen as you can, Hatty, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is." In 1850 Calvin joined the faculty of Bowdoin College and the family moved to Maine. In the Maine village of Brunswick on a wintry Sunday morning in 1851, thirty-nine-year-old wife and mother Harriet Beecher Stowe had a disturbing vision as she sat in church. She saw an enslaved man being beaten by his owner. Stowe went home, and in a burst she transcribed the scene she had seen. Then she gathered her family together to hear the story. This was the start of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

As the writing progressed, Stowe wrote Gamaliel Bailey, publisher of the antislavery weekly *The National Era*, that she was writing a "series of sketches which give the lights and shadows of the 'patriarchal institution,' written either from observation, incidents which have occurred in the sphere of my personal knowledge, or in the knowledge of my friends. I shall show the [best] of the thing, and something faintly approaching the worst . . . I feel now that the time is come when even a woman or a child who can speak a word for freedom and humanity is bound to speak . . . I hope every woman who can write will not be silent."

She thought her story would be three to four weekly pieces. The first installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared June 5, 1851; installments ran until April 1, 1852. Stowe wrote forty-one installments over forty-four weeks. She had never before written a long book and she had to work hard to meet weekly deadlines, a challenge given her family obligations. Of her six children, her twins were fourteen and her youngest only an infant. Stowe wrote where she found a quiet corner, the kitchen, her children's schoolroom, a rented room in a neighbor's home, or her husband's office at Bowdoin College. Her sisters came to help. Catharine Beecher taught the children, and Isabella Beecher Hooker brought her own brood and managed the household.

As she wrote, Stowe enlisted friends and family to send her information, scoured freedom narratives and antislavery newspapers for firsthand accounts, and used her own observations and experiences.

The economic system that depended on using people as property was widely

The federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 required every American to help catch escaped slaves. Those who aided runaways or refused to assist slavecatchers could be fined up to $1,000 and jailed for six months. Harriet believed the law was requiring her complicity in an unjust and immoral system.

dispersed in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Stowe's aunt married a West Indian planter and returned to Connecticut disturbed and shocked by the effects of the plantation system. Her father had preached in favor of colonization, supporting the creation of Liberia on the west coast of Africa as a settling point for free Americans of African descent.

As a young wife and mother in Cincinnati, across the Ohio River from Kentucky, a slave state, Stowe had heard former and fugitive enslaved peoples' stories firsthand. She had witnessed slavery while visiting Kentucky. She reported a dozen families of liberated slaves settled nearby. When she learned that her servant was actually a runaway in danger of being returned to slavery, Stowe's husband Calvin and her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, helped the woman escape to Canada and legal freedom.

Stowe wrote to her friend Eliza Follen, "My cook . . . Eliza Buck['s] . . . last master was the father of all her children. On this point she always maintained a delicacy and reserve, which, though it is not at all uncommon among slave women, always appeared to me remarkable—She always called him her husband, and spoke of him with the same apparent feeling with which any woman regards her husband, and it was not till after she had lived with me some years, that I discovered accidently, the real nature of the connexion. I shall never forget how sorry I felt for her, nor my feelings at her humble apology—'You know, Mrs. Stowe, slave women can't help themselves.'"

With *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Stowe dramatized slavery's effect on families, helping readers to empathize with enslaved characters. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* made the exploitive and moral practices of slavery clear. Within the limits of Victorian propriety, it exposed the sexual exploitation of enslaved women and children. By telling stories of enslaved African Americans, Stowe illustrated the human impact of bondage on enslaved and enslaver. Poet Langston Hughes called the result a "moral battle cry for freedom."

USING EVERYTHING SHE HAD HEARD AND SEEN, STOWE ILLUSTRATED SLAVERY'S EFFECT ON FAMILIES, HELPING READERS TO EMPATHIZE WITH ENSLAVED CHARACTERS.

The book has two plot lines: one involving Tom, and the other the young family of George and Eliza Harris. It begins as Tom, a strong, religious man who lives with his wife and children on a Kentucky plantation, and four-year-old Harry Harris are sold to pay the plantation family's debts. Harry's mother, Eliza, carries Harry away and, followed by pursuers, makes a dramatic escape over the frozen Ohio River with the boy in her arms. Eliza is ultimately reunited with her husband George and they journey north to freedom.

Tom decides not to flee in order to save others on the plantation from the risk of sale. Sold south, he meets Eva, an angelic young white girl whose death moved Victorians to tears; Eva's father, charming, elegant, and passive St. Clare; Topsy, an enslaved girl; cruel, violent Simon Legree; and Cassy, Legree's enslaved concubine.

Facing and overleaf:
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM *UNCLE TOM'S CABIN* BY HAMMATT BILLINGS, 1852.
Harriet Beecher Stowe Center.



CASSY MINISTERING TO UNCLE TOM AFTER HIS WHIPPING. Page 138.



Eliza comes to tell Uncle Tom that he is sold and that she is running away to save her child. Page 62.



LITTLE EVA READING THE BIBLE TO UNCLE TOM IN THE ARBOR. Page 63.



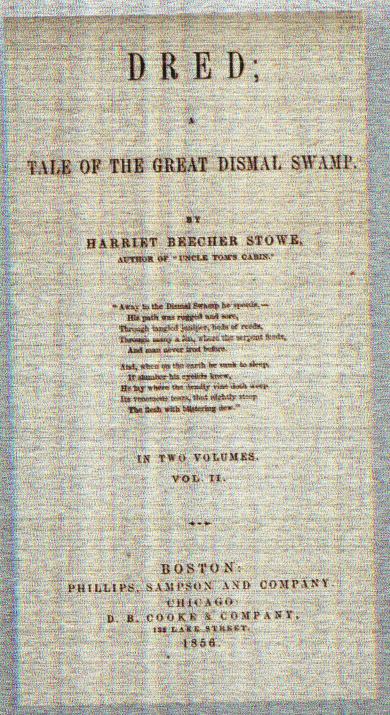
THE FREEMAN'S DEFENCE. Page 284.



THE AUCTION SALE. Page 174.



THE FUGITIVES ARE SAFE IN A FREE LAND. Page 288.



DRED;

A

TALE OF THE GREAT DISMAL SWAMP.

BY

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE,

AUTHOR OF "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."

"Away to the Dismal Swamp he speeds,—
His path was rugged and sore,
Through tangled juniper, beds of reeds,
Through many a fen, where the serpent feeds,
And man never trod before.

And, when on the earth he sunk to sleep,
If slumber his eyelids knew,
He lay where the deadly vine doth weep
Its venomous tears, that nightly steep
The flesh with blistering dew."

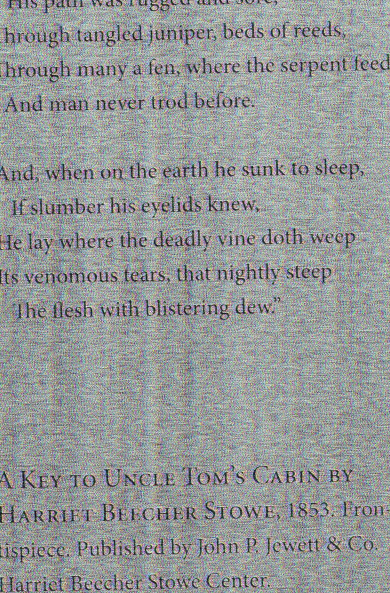
IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

BOSTON:
PHILLIPS, SAMPSON AND COMPANY.
CHICAGO:
D. B. COOKE & COMPANY,
122 LAKE STREET.
1856.

Dred, A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. Chicago; 1856. Frontispiece to Volume I. GM3226.93. Facing: Chapter One, page one, of volume II. GM3226.92. Stowe's epigraph is an 1840s poem by Thomas Moore:

"Away to the Dismal Swamp he speeds,
His path was rugged and sore,
Through tangled juniper, beds of reeds,
Through many a fen, where the serpent feeds,
And man never trod before.

And, when on the earth he sunk to sleep,
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A KEY

TO

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN;

PRESENTING THE ORIGINAL

FACTS AND DOCUMENTS

UPON WHICH THE STORY IS FOUNDED.

TOGETHER WITH

Corroborative Statements

VERIFYING

THE TRUTH OF THE WORK.

BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE,
AUTHOR OF "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.
CLEVELAND, OHIO:
JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON.
LONDON: LOW AND COMPANY.
1853.

A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet Beecher Stowe, 1853. Frontispiece. Published by John P. Jewett & Co. Harriet Beecher Stowe Center.

For Eliza and her family, freedom comes when they reach Canada. For Tom, it only comes with death. Simon Legree, Tom's final master, has Tom whipped to death for refusing to deny his faith and betray the hiding place of two fugitives. Tom says to Legree, "I'll give ye all the work of my hands, all my time, all my strength; but my soul I won't give up to mortal man."

Interest in the story grew over the weeks, and the Stowes arranged with Boston publisher John P. Jewett to release *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a book. It came out March 20, 1852, almost two weeks before the final segment was published in *The National Era*. The book resonated with international audiences as both a protest novel and a literary work. According to Adena Springarn's National Era blog (Wordpress, 2012) the 300,000 copies it sold the first year in the United States alone becomes even more impressive when one considers that each copy is estimated to have had eight to ten readers.

The book was both lauded and attacked. Slavery supporters accused Stowe of fabricating one-sided images of southern slavery. Abolitionists said it did not call strongly enough for immediate emancipation and disliked Stowe's support of colonization. Moderate antislavery advocates praised it for putting a human face on bondage and emphasizing slavery's impact on families. Stowe responded to her critics by writing *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, an annotated bibliography of sources. Researching and writing *The Key* strengthened Stowe's sentiments, making her a committed abolitionist. Her second antislavery novel, *Dred, A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856), forcefully argued for immediately ending slavery.

Uncle Tom's Cabin made it more difficult for white Americans to ignore slavery, polarizing opinion in the decade before the Civil War. Stowe's informal, conversational style inspired people in a way that speeches, tracts, and newspaper accounts had not. It inspired many 19th-century Americans to think hard about what kind of country they wanted. Publisher John Jewett's marketing genius was also part of the book's success. Jewett initially brought out 5,000 copies in three bindings—paper, cloth and gilt—with prices from $1 to $2, then

CHAPTER I.

LIFE IN THE SWAMPS.

Our readers will perhaps feel an interest to turn back with us, and follow the singular wanderings of the mysterious personage, whose wild denunciations had so disturbed the minds of the worshippers at the camp-meeting.

There is a twilight-ground between the boundaries of the sane and insane, which the old Greeks and Romans regarded with a peculiar veneration. They held a person whose faculties were thus darkened as walking under the awful shadow of a supernatural presence; and, as the mysterious secrets of the stars only become visible in the night, so in these eclipses of the more material faculties they held there was often an awakening of supernatural perceptions.

The hot and positive light of our modern materialism, which exhales from the growth of our existence every dew-drop, which searches out and dries every rivulet of romance, which sends an unsparing beam into every cool grotto of poetic possibility, withering the moss, and turning the dropping cave to a dusty den — this spirit, so remorseless, allows us no such indefinite land. There are but two words in the whole department of modern anthropology — the sane and the insane; the latter dismissed from human reckoning almost with contempt. We should find it difficult to give a suitable name to the strange and abnormal condition in which this singular being, of whom we are speaking, passed the most of his time.

It was a state of exaltation and trance, which yet appeared not at all to impede the exercise of his outward and

almost immediately another 5,000. These varied formats targeted different audience segments. Jewett also advertised widely, promoting the volume of sales to build interest. He asked John Greenleaf Whittier, an advisor to *The National Era* and a revered abolitionist poet, to write a poem in honor of the book. He took advantage of 1850s publishing technology, which used graphic representations of photographs turned by artists into etchings. For the first edition, Jewett asked artist Hammatt Billings—who had illustrated the masthead of William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*—to provide illustrations. Billings created a frontispiece and three text illustrations for each of the two volumes that illuminate the book's characters and themes, extending written content, yet leaving room for the reader's visual imagination.

With the luck of timing, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* hit a technological sweet spot in transportation and communications. Public interest put it onto the stage, where for over a century it made theatrical history. Today, bestsellers are turned into movies; in the 19th century, popular books became plays, and in its long life on stage, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became the theater's most performed play. But dramatizing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* meant shortening and simplifying the complicated story and removing abolitionist and feminist content. Stowe's Congregational upbringing taught her that the theater was immoral, so she declined participating on an adaptation. Copyright laws did not protect works of fiction from being adapted by others. Characters became caricatures and the story was fused onto blackface minstrel traditions. Known as "Tom Shows," produced in theaters and traveling shows across the country, with extravagant special effects, white actors in blackface, and simplified plots, racial stereotypes were highlighted and strong, young Tom aged to a submissive, shuffling old man. Discussions of racism, slavery's impact on families, and reparations vanished, and after the Civil War, so did references to slavery itself. Professional "Tom Shows" toured for 100 years, and versions were filmed for movies and cartoons. These performances frame modern understanding of the novel.

"Tom Shows" were only one way others profited from Stowe's ideas. Wallpaper, silverware, prints, dolls, board games, song sheets, clothing, and ceramics featured characters or scenes from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Soon there were children's versions and condensations. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was not the first book to inspire such marketing, but the number of readers and playgoers created a large and enduring demand. Stowe neither endorsed nor profited from the plays or memorabilia.

Still, the book's power transcended commercialism, gender, and politics. In the words of Adena Springarn, "Uncle Tom, in his colossal popularity, launched the first major national conversation about the humanity of African-Americans."

Uncle Tom's Cabin made Stowe an international celebrity. When British antislavery groups invited her to visit England in 1853 (the first of three European trips), she was overwhelmed by crowds. Public events featuring her brought out thousands, even though as a respectable woman she could not speak from the stage; so her husband or brother read her words—or spoke their own. She was hosted

Uncle Tom's Cabin made Stowe an international celebrity. When British antislavery groups invited her to visit England in 1853 (the first of three European trips), she was overwhelmed by crowds.

Facing: Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. Leopold Grozelier. 1883. lithograph. GM1526.148.

Uncle Tom's Cabin's impact on American culture and life was enormous. As a bestseller it was only exceeded by the Bible.

by aristocrats, and presented with a twenty-six-volume petition signed by 563,000 British women—from duchesses to bakers' wives—begging their American sisters to abolish slavery.

Everyone wanted to know what Harriet Beecher Stowe looked like. "I am a little bit of a woman—somewhat more than 40—about as thin and dry as a pinch of snuff—never very much to look at in my best days—and looking like a used up article now." [Follen letter] This unflattering description was reinforced by widely distributed images displayed in shop windows and printed in newspapers. They used similar identifying elements: hair in ringlets; a high-necked garment with a lace collar, deep-set eyes and strong cheekbones, a substantial nose and ample lips. She usually wears a cameo at her throat that bears an image of her father. Stowe would recall in *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* that "We drove all over Edinburgh . . . amid shouts, and smiles, and greetings. Some boys amused me very much by their pertinacious attempts to keep up with the carriage. 'Heck,' says one of them, 'that's her; see the courls.'"

Stowe wrote to Calvin in 1853, "The general topic of remark on meeting me seems to be, that I am not so bad-looking as they were afraid I was; and I do assure you that when I have seen the things that are put up in the shop windows here with my name under them, I have been in wondering admiration at the boundless loving-kindness of my English and Scottish friends in keeping up such a warm heart for such a Gorgon."

The financial security that came with the success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* enabled Stowe to write full time and publish multiple works per year. In 1853 the family relocated to Andover, Massachusetts, where they would live for a decade. After Calvin Stowe's retirement they moved to Hartford and began wintering in northern Florida, where Stowe's brother Charles Beecher had opened a school for emancipated people. Stowe was a founder of *The Atlantic* magazine. Her broad interests resulted in children's textbooks, advice books on homemaking and childrearing, biographies, and religious studies. Her informal, conversational style reached audiences that more scholarly or argumentative works could not, encouraging people to address the controversial topics of slavery, religious reform, and gender roles. Notable works include *The Minister's Wooing*, a novel, and *American Woman's Home*, a homemaking guide, with Catharine Beecher.

In a letter to Thomas Denman on January 20, 1853, Stowe explained that she wrote the book "because as a woman, as a mother, I was oppressed and broken-hearted with the sorrows and injustice I saw, because as a Christian I felt the dishonor to Christianity, because as a lover of my county, I trembled at the coming day of wrath."

Uncle Tom's Cabin's impact on American culture and life was enormous. As a bestseller it was only exceeded by the Bible. It was the first major American novel with a black central character—a hero—and its illustrations proliferated images of African Americans in the public eye. In a time when women were not allowed a political forum, Stowe used the printed page to acquire one.

Facing: Emancipation Proclamation, 1864. Leland-Boker edition. Signed by President Lincoln as a fund raiser for Union veterans. GM5326.801.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans,) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

[L. S.]

By the President: Abraham Lincoln

William H. Seward *Secretary of State.*

A true copy, with the autograph signatures of the President and the Secretary of State.

Priv. Sec. to the President.



Solomon Nor. Thesp

IN HIS PLANTATION SUIT

EIGHTH THOUSAND.

TWELVE YEARS A SLAVE.

NARRATIVE

OF

SOLOMON NORTHUP,

A CITIZEN OF NEW-YORK,

KIDNAPPED IN WASHINGTON CITY IN 1841,

AND

RESCUED IN 1853,

FROM A COTTON PLANTATION NEAR THE RED RIVER, IN LOUISIANA.

AUBURN:
DERBY AND MILLER.
BUFFALO:
DERBY, ORTON AND MULLIGAN.
LONDON:
SAMPSON LOW, SON & COMPANY, 47 LUDGATE HILL.
1853.

Twelve Years a Slave by Solomon Northrup. Derby Miller, Buffalo, 1853. GM2326.1720.

This first-person account from 1853 about a free northerner illegally trafficked into slavery was dedicated by its author to Harriet Beecher Stowe. In 2013 the book became the basis for a film by the same name directed by Steve McQueen and starring Chiwetel Ejiofor as Solomon Northrup.

As literature, the book had an important role in developing adventure narratives worldwide. It has been translated into seventy languages, influencing revolutionaries and revolutions in Russia, Brazil, Cuba, and the Philippines. It gave rise to an entire body of proslavery literature known as "anti-Toms," with at least twenty-nine books such as *Aunt Phyllis's Cabin* and *The Planter's Northern Bride* published before Civil War.

As a product, it hit a cusp of technology that helped manufacture and distribute it with steam printing presses, distribution networks using steamships and railroads, and faster communication by telegraph.

As a play, it made theatrical history, becoming the most watched play written by an American, beginning with competing versions in New York City, where, according to Reynolds, it converted young toughs knows as the Bowry Boys to antislavery, and attracted racially diverse audiences. It made theatergoing more respectable since families and women wanted to see it. Matinee performances were invented so they could attend in daytime.

As a cultural force, it intensified and spread subversive cultural forces and changed public attitudes. It won over the indifferent. Said David S. Reynolds in *Mightier Than the Sword*, "It molded public opinion—with vigor unmatched by any other American novel." In the North it opened the way for widespread acceptance of antislavery arguments. Claire Parfait, in *Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, reports that it was widely circulated even in the South, often underground, though in some cases ownership was criminalized. Free black Methodist minister Samuel Green was jailed in Maryland for possession of the book. Reynolds notes its impact on the rise of the antislavery Republican Party and ultimately on Lincoln's election as president and the split of the union. Abraham Lincoln is said to have greeted Stowe by saying "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war." Apocryphal or not, that was the sentiment of the day. And this book, the name of whose title character became a racial slur, still calls on readers to confront the legacy of race relations.

KATHERINE KANE is Executive Director of the Harriet Beecher Stowe Center.



Salt print photograph of H. B. Stowe, c. 1852–1853. Harriet Beecher Stowe Center, HBS 1852-53 #4.



Narcissa Chisholm Owen. Photograph. GM4327.6249.

Narcissa Chisholm Owen

Painter, Memoirist, and Grand Dame of the Cherokees

BY BETTY BOOTH DONOHUE

~~~~~~~~~~ Reading *The Memoirs of Narcissa Owen, 1831–1907* has likely solved the mystery of my family's cream pie recipe once and for all. Great Aunt Jewel maintained for years that the directions for making her delectable cream pastry had come to her via Thomas Jefferson's daughter, and those directions "had been in the family for many years." Of course few relatives ever took the statement seriously, and even fewer cared about the origin of the pie at all. Most were satisfied simply to have a slice of it every holiday, while the more skeptical relations were persuaded that there could be no connection between a Cherokee woman living in 20th-century Oklahoma and an 18th-century president of the United States. Narcissa Owen, however, kindly disabused us of any skepticism. The recipe did come from Jefferson's daughter, and Mrs. Owen tells us how that gift was handed to us.

A member of a respected and well-known Cherokee family, Narcissa Owen was born in Indian Territory before Removal. She was an educated and well-to-do mixed-blood who was born in the early 19th century and lived into the 20th. She excites our interest today because she was a writer and artist who lived in an age when publishing and painting were not usually associated with females, and especially not with Native females, and she elicits our admiration because she unfailingly contributed to the betterment of society in spite of adversity and personal loss. ~~~~~~~~~~
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Socially prominent regardless of vacillating financial conditions throughout her life, Owen moved with ease through all echelons of society. During her early days in Indian Territory she was something of a frontier woman who had face-to-face confrontations with criminals ranging from smokehouse thieves to sexual predators. Later her wifely duties in Virginia included ministering to slaves and indigent whites while alternately mingling with members of Congress in Washington, D. C. During the course of her life, Owen belonged to organizations as diverse as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. With the Temperance Union she actively campaigned for women's suffrage. During her residence on the Caney River near Bartlesville, Owen joined the Presbyterian Mite Society in Caney, Kansas, and became a member of the Tuesday Club of Bartlesville. Always in motion, Narcissa Owen socialized and worked for charity with equal zeal. Able to handle a blacksmith's hammer as dextrously as an embroidery needle, she was a study in contrasts.

Living at a temporal crossroads in Cherokee history, Narcissa Owen was associated with such Cherokee notables as Jesse Bushyhead, John Foreman, Charles Rogers, Charlotte Mayes, and William Penn Adair. Very distantly, she was connected by marriage to European Americans like George Washington and Sam Houston. Numbering among her personal acquaintances were luminaries who included the Reverend Cephas Washburn, director of Dwight Mission; Alice Robertson, first congresswoman from Oklahoma; and Nelson Miles, the general who subdued the Nations of the Great Plains. All these well-known figures are discussed in her memoirs. Owen's historical positioning meant that she was present for the Five Tribes' Removal, the "Confederate War," and Oklahoma statehood. Her place in history also gave her access to personal stories handed down by word of mouth from relatives and servants who had firsthand knowledge of earlier occurrences.

Narcissa Clark Chisholm Owen was born at Webber's Falls, Indian Territory, to Thomas and Malinda Wharton Chisholm. Her Cherokee credentials are impeccable. On her father's side she was directly descended from Oconostota, the nephew of Caulunna, known as the Raven, and through her mother's line she could trace her



Dwight Mission Just After the Civil War.
Vinson Lackey, oil on canvas. GM0127.1355.

ancestry to Moytoy of Telico. After the death of Owen's father in 1834 at Beattie's Prairie and her mother's remarriage in 1836, she and her siblings were sent to Dwight Mission. Finishing there, Narcissa took up residence with a sister and completed a college education in Indiana and Arkansas. While teaching music in Tennessee, she met the upwardly mobile and well-connected Robert Owen and married him in 1853. The couple eventually moved to Owen's home in Lynchburg, Virginia, where they lived until Robert's death in 1873.

Left destitute, Narcissa boarded with friends and resumed teaching music in order to provide for her sons' higher education. After her sons graduated from universities, Owen, still in reduced circumstances, returned to Indian Territory to teach at the Cherokee Female Seminary. After a four-year stretch there, she took up residence with both children for alternating periods of time. Her eldest, William, was in the army, and Owen lived with him during his tour at Fort Spokane. She stayed with her younger son Robert for longer periods during his careers as an Indian agent in Muskogee, a lobbyist in Washington, D.C., and finally a United States senator from Oklahoma. At the time of her death, Owen lived alone at her home near Bartlesville.

Intelligent, articulate, and multi-talented, Narcissa Owen was highly skilled in several art forms. Trained in music, she enjoyed playing piano and guitar and admitted to loving to dance. A longtime member of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Lynchburg, she sang in the church choir. Her sewing skills extended both to creating delicate silk tapestries and to tailoring uniforms for Confederate soldiers.

In addition to being a musician and gifted needlewoman, Narcissa painted in watercolor and oil. She began with landscapes in 1885 while living with her son at Ft. Spokane, where, as she wrote, "[t]he wild scenery . . . brought a compelling desire to have a memory of it . . . and I began to make pencil sketches of the palisades and mesas on the Spokane and Columbia rivers" (126). She eventually moved to portraiture and produced a good many portraits of well-known persons and friends. Her likenesses of Jefferson and various members of his family were exhibited at the Louisiana Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, where they won Owen a medal. Rebecca McNair Swain and John Swain, two Cherokee acquaintances, sat for her; their portraits are in the Gilcrease Museum collection. Her painting of Sequoyah hangs in the Oklahoma Judicial Center in Oklahoma City. Charles Bird King's *Sequoyah*, destroyed in a fire at the Smithsonian in 1865, was her inspiration for the Sequoyah oil. Even though Owen may be best known for her paintings, it is her memoirs, published in 1907, that arouse interest among scholars of 19th century women's literature and Native studies. For this article I am using *A Cherokee Woman's America: Memoirs of Narcissa Owen, 1831–1907*, Karen Kilcup's scholarly edition of the Owen document.





Outacite, King of the Cherokees. Etching. GM1576.572.

Sam Houston. After Mathew Brady. GM1526.82.

All quotations herein are derived from this volume.

Owen's memoirs include information on Cherokee history and culture; the genealogy of Owen's family and friends; recollections of her own heroic deeds; landscape observations; and accounts of major events that occurred during her life. The work is factual and not much given to sentimentality or intimate disclosure. We are told that upon the death of her husband she is left burdened with debt, but she offers no explanation for the penury and does not castigate her husband for withholding financial information from her or for investing unwisely. She admits to being overcome by "nervous prostration" after his passing, but beyond that writes only that to support herself and educate her sons she moved in with friends and taught music from a room in their house.

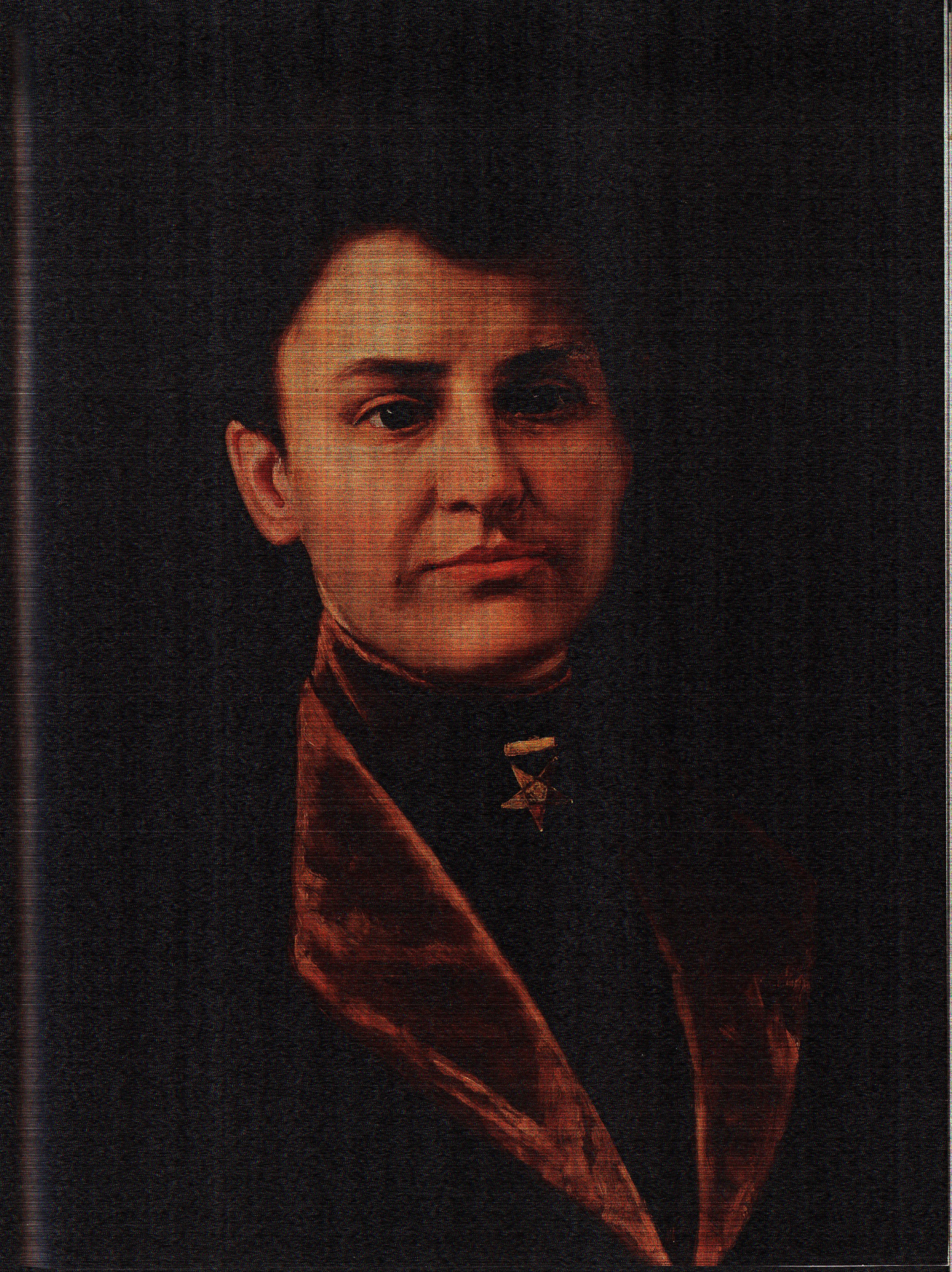


As a Cherokee female, Narcissa Owen had survived troubling events and was quite aware of the contemptible treatment Natives often received from both the government and the public at large. Because she was cosmopolitan and well-read, she was fully conscious of the stereotypical depictions of American Indians in the press and on the lecture circuits. For instance, she was appalled by the popular press's depiction of American Natives as savages. In 1730 her kinsmen Raven, Oconostota, and Ootacite, accompanied by her grandfather John Beamor, went to England as emissaries to George II, and the landmark visit was recorded in both English and American newspapers. Referring to *Century Magazine*'s subsequent commemoration of the event and its representation of her Cherokee ancestor Oconostota in "savage dress," she lamented the "usual absurd" tendency of such portrayals. She much preferred the magazine's representation of Oconostota's brother Ootacite, who was shown dressed in English style with a "coat of arms on his breast" (53).

Even though these representations had been made at the time of the Cherokees' visit to England and were meant to convey an aura of exoticism and Native singularity in order to incite public interest in the colonies, Owen saw the danger in them. She had seen firsthand the consequences that "savage" or "native" depictions had given rise to in years past. Such representations had often opened the door for depredations against American Indians by world powers such as England, France, and the United States, and such distortions had been used to mask less than honorable actions. It was quite clear that if American Indians could be shown to be ignorant savages incapable of cultivating land or living in a "civilized" manner, taking away their land and destroying their cultures were justifiable actions. Furthermore, through her association with General Miles at Fort Spokane, Owen had watched western Natives militarily subdued and their food supplies destroyed. She knew the pain and loss that would follow because in her girlhood she had heard reports of the Cherokees in near ruin with their towns "laid in ashes and their fields wasted; their best warriors killed; [and] their women and children sickened and starved in the mountains" (71). In Owen's mind it was time to forget the American Indian savage and embrace the sentient Native human.

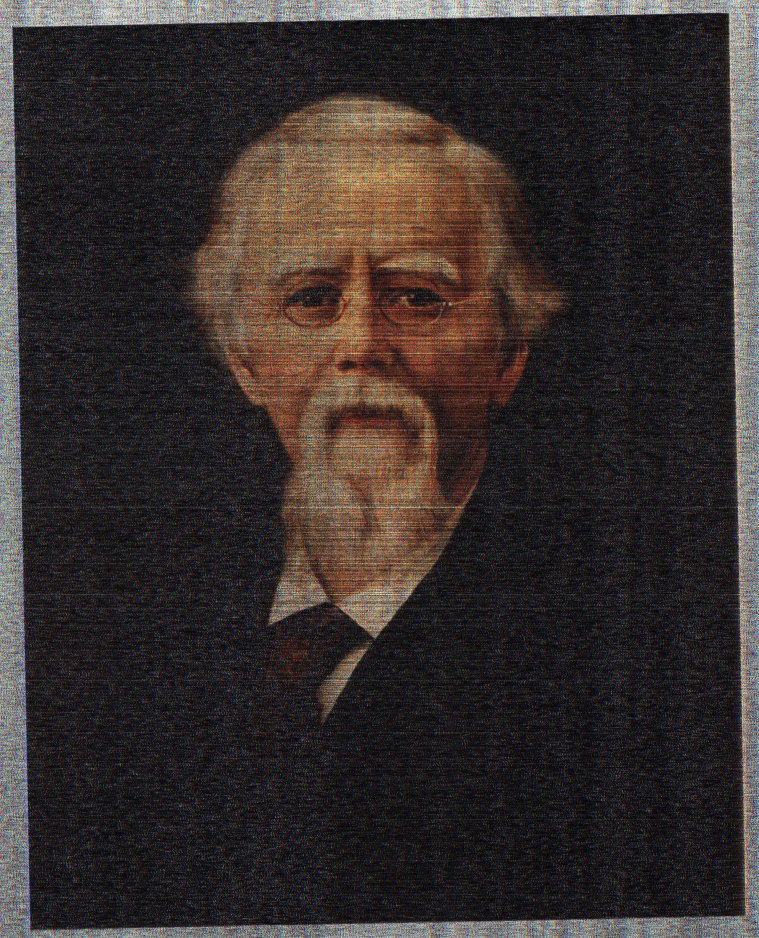
Robert L. Owen. Photograph. GM4326.6245-Verso, May 22, 88 Robert L. Owen, with kind regards to Mr. and Mrs. Swain.

Facing: Rebecca McNair Swain. Narcissa Chisholm Owen, oil on canvas. GM0126.1462.





JOHN SWAIN. Narcissa Chisholm Owen, oil on canvas. GM0127.1946.



WILLIAM WILSON. Narcissa Chisholm Owen, oil on canvas. GM0126.1463.

Narcissa Owen deeply felt the importance of setting the Native record straight. She could not help all Natives, but she was in a position to defend Cherokee culture. She accomplished that by living a constructive life and by using her art to reflect her heritage in the best possible light. Because there were few reliable histories of Cherokee people available for public consumption during her lifetime, Owen felt it was imperative to record and preserve Cherokee history. Largely for these reasons she published her memoirs.

When Owen began writing her remembrances in 1891, she was sixty years old and living with her son Robert in Washington, D.C., where he was practicing law and lobbying. In order to "prove" or verify her tales deriving from the oral tradition and family lore, Owen researched Native history at the Library of Congress and the D.C. Carnegie Library. This study provided a certain amount of fact confirmation and it revealed additional information she was at liberty to add to her own stock of knowledge.

For readers expecting an orderly and chronological flow of events, Narcissa's memoirs will elicit some confusion because there is no obvious order to her relation of material in terms of space and time. We find, instead, bits of unrelated but fascinating information that holds fast our attention as we toggle between lore and history; heroic deeds and mundane politics; famous people and humble servants. In keeping with her purpose of vindicating American Indians, Owen begins her memoirs not with mention of herself or her family, but by narrating a history of the Cherokees.

Owen commences the Cherokee portion of her memoirs by recalling some "old Cherokee legends and beliefs" (48). She lists seven clans, some now unknown, and relates how the tribe was founded. From tribal origins, she moves to enumerating early Cherokee laws and customs. Granted, her review is sketchy and open to question, but it serves to bring her narrative from the mythic past to historical time. The two things her opening passages accomplish is to establish the fact that Natives, and specifically Cherokees, were the original inhabitants of the United States and that they had produced a civilization with laws and sacred customs before contact with non-Natives.

Readers enmeshed in Owen's recollections will encounter a range of 19th-century Native Americana. She provides Cherokee medicinal cures, such as one for snake bite; she reprints a Thanksgiving proclamation by Chief Bushyhead made in 1886; and she speculates on the connections between the Powhatans and the Cherokees. The memoirs contain several Cherokee legends, an explanation for the origin of the Navajos, and a recital of pivotal events in the life of Cauluinna's eldest son Kalanah, who was ambushed by Shawnees. It seems that Kalanah, her kinsman, was eventually sold to a Frenchman who kept the Cherokee in captivity until he was able to escape. Her Cherokee history portion concludes with documentation of the Old Settlers' migration to Indian Territory, followed by a discussion of the larger migration known as the "trail where they cried." This section is punctuated by a note that Hildebrand's detachment stopped on her mother's homestead near Beattie's Prairie and there many Cherokees died. Owen writes that "between fifty and a hundred of them [were] buried in my father's graveyard at Chisholm's Spring, a mile west of Maysville, Arkansas" (75). Owen's father had died of typhoid in 1834, four years before the enforced Removal; hence the reference to her father's graveyard.

Once Owen completes the major portion of her history of the Cherokees, she expands upon the genealogical portion of her text and relates a rather incredible tale concerning a peace medal given to her father by Thomas Jefferson. Owen's family had been Old Settlers, meaning that they had chosen to leave the South and move to Indian Territory before the forced Removal. Her father, Thomas Chisholm, a close relation of Jesse Chisholm of Chisholm Trail fame, had been given a peace medal in 1808 by Thomas Jefferson for being a "'hereditary' war chief of the Cherokees" (83). That problematic recognition, coupled with possible financial incentives, could well have prompted Chisholm to cooperate with the federal officials urging Cherokee relocation. Chisholm, living near Huntsville, Alabama, was principal chief of the Western Cherokees in Alabama, and he retained that position until his death in 1834 while living with that band in Indian Territory.

The Jefferson medal, together with its adumbrations, seems to represent a generational connection that began first with the president and Owen's father and extended to her with the medal she won for the Jefferson portraits. The Jefferson connection was reinforced when she was introduced to the president's offspring who were living in Oklahoma near Vinita. These descendants, including three generations of Jeffersons, were "friends of [hers], and two of [Jefferson's] grandchildren were born in [her] home" located near Bartlesville, a homestead she had named Monticello (81).

As for the first medal, it seems that upon her father's death, her brother, Albert Finney Chisholm, inherited the keepsake, but when Albert died in 1862 at Fort Gibson, the medal was stolen. The thief soldered a brass ring on it and let the medal dangle from his belt.

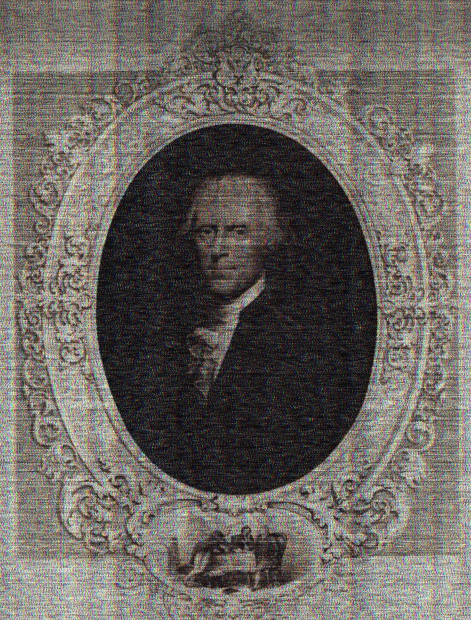
> Nothing more was heard of it by the family until I saw the article in the Evening Star . . . and recognized the description as being that of the medal of my father, and immediately opened a correspondence with the writer, (Mr. E. Fancher of Snyder, Oklahoma.) He had been out in the Wichita Mountains prospecting, when his dog chased a rabbit into a small hole in the mountain side, which proved to be the mouth of a cavern. . . . When Mr. Fancher entered the cavern . . . he found the bones

> of a man, with an old flint-lock gun lying near him, three or four bars of lead, with a melting ladle for the manufacture of bullets, a frying pan, an old stone . . . Indian pipe, and the rust-eaten remains of . . . an iron or steel buckle. . . . When the pieces of the buckle had been removed, underneath them . . . was found [her] father's Jefferson medal. (84)

The medal was duly returned to the family and was given to Narcissa, where it served to remind her of "the days of [her] childhood and [taught her] to love and honor [her father's] memory as an hereditary ruler of his people and a noble father" (85).

The Jefferson-Owen connection beginning with the presidential medal given to Thomas Chisholin was not confined to people, but extends to recipes as well. As it turns out, my Aunt Jewel's relatives, the Cheeks and the Merrells, also lived at the same time and in the same general area that Narcissa did, and since all three families were Old Settlers it is entirely likely that they knew each other, and, as we know, people exchange recipes. Keeping this line of descent in mind, the next time I make cream pie, I will remember the women who left something of themselves to me. There was the incomparable Jewel Jackson and the extraordinarily gifted Narcissa Owen who promoted Cherokee causes, befriended and sheltered the descendants of America's third president, and left both visual and written records of Oklahoma's turbulent history and fascinating people. Pies aside, when others read Owen's memoirs they will likely appreciate the contributions one Cherokee woman made to American art, history, and *belle lettres*.

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JEWEL CHEEK JACKSON'S CREAM PIE

This recipe comes from the daughter of Thomas Jefferson and has been handed down in my family for several generations.

1 unbaked pie crust (nine inches in diameter)
1 cup sugar
1 pint cream or 1 cup whipping cream plus 1 cup half-and-half
4 eggs, separated
nutmeg

Preheat an oven to 450°. Stir sugar, cream, and beaten egg yolks together in a bowl. In a separate bowl, beat egg whites to fairly stiff peaks and fold them into the cream-egg yolk mixture. Pour into an unbaked pie shell. Sprinkle heavily with nutmeg. Put the pie into the preheated oven and then immediately lower the heat to 300°. This is like a custard pie and is done when a knife inserted into it comes out clean.

PS: The original recipe does not call for vanilla, but I add two teaspoons (or more). I also use a mixture of half-and-half and whipping cream. It's hard to find real cream. The top of the pie should be dark brown with nutmeg. Bake it for about an hour. Start checking it after 45 minutes by inserting a thin-bladed knife into the middle of the pie. When the blade comes out clean—nothing sticking to it—the pie is done. You might have to make the pie once or twice to get the hang of it. Pies are tricky and this recipe is, like all old recipes, a little vague, but essentially it's one of the easiest pies you'll ever make.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Bouch, engraving. GM1526.954.

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