

Perspectives in HISTORY

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CONTENTS

Perspectives In History

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ARTICLES

- 1 The Apostolic Mission of William T. Mulloy:
Shepherd of the Diocese of Covington, 1945-1959.....Damian Hils
- 13 The Changing Status of Women in India,
with Recommendations for the Future.....Tripta Desai
- 23 The Black Struggle for Quality Education
in Cincinnati and the Re-emergence of
Black Private Schools, 1829-1986Michael H. Washington and
John P. DeMarcus, Jr.

REVIEWS

- 31 *Abigail Adams: An American Woman*.....Verna Vardiman
- 35 *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*.....John W. Smith

CHAPTER REPORT

- 39 Letter from the President
- 41 The Historian's Report
- 43 Officers
- 45 Members

The Apostolic Mission of William T. Mulloy: Shepherd of the Diocese of Covington 1945-1959

by Damian Hils

If you were to mention the name of Bishop William T. Mulloy to any Catholic in northern Kentucky over the age of forty, he or she will most likely be able to tell you an anecdote about the colorful prelate. Mulloy is remembered today not only because of his accomplishments, but also because of his personality. He was bold, energetic, a tireless worker, and a demanding executive. The many churches, hospitals, and schools built during his episcopate serve as a reminder of what Mulloy did for fourteen years while shepherding Catholics in the eastern half of Kentucky. Perhaps the greatest tribute to him is the relatively large and well educated clergy whom he ordained and who still serve the diocese today. Though it is possible to find fault with some of Mulloy's decisions and with his sometimes irascible temperament, the final conclusion which must be drawn is that spiritually and materially the diocese grew because of his episcopate.

Like all of Covington's bishops, Mulloy came from beyond the reaches of the Covington Diocese.¹ He was born in North Dakota on November 9, 1892. His paternal grandparents had come to the Dakotas from Ontario, Canada in 1880.² In the late nineteenth century, many Canadians *en route* to the open, unsettled farmland of Manitoba found that the easiest way to their destination was by way of the American railway system. Inevitably, some of these pioneers settled in Minnesota and North Dakota seeing little difference between Manitoba and the Dakota Territory except 500 miles of further travel.³ The fertile land along the Red River of the North (which divides Minnesota and the Dakotas) was also an attraction for homesteaders to settle. Patrick Mulloy was one Canadian who decided to establish his home in the United States. It is unclear why he came west or what his original destination was. What is known, however, is that he started farming near the small town of Ardoch.⁴

Patrick and his wife Mary reared nine children, one of whom, William James left the family farm to work in a store in Drayton, a town northeast of Ardoch. While there, he met a young woman named Margaret Ann Doyle, whose parents had also come from Ontario. William and Margaret were married in 1889 in Grafton where some of the bride's relatives lived.⁵ For the next decade, the young couple farmed, first near Ardoch, and then between Saint Thomas and Auburn.⁶ They named their first child William Theodore. He was followed by Rosemary, John, James and Kathleen, the only surviving member of the family. According to her, Mulloy abandoned the idea of farming in 1902 and moved with his family to Grafton.⁷ The children attended local public schools because their parish, Saint John the Evangelist, did not operate one.⁸

By the time he was fourteen, Will, as his family called him, was certain that he had

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a vocation to the priesthood.⁹ To prepare himself for the seminary, he enrolled in Saint Boniface College located outside of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Because a fire in the early part of this century destroyed most of the college's records, it is impossible to determine the courses that Mulloy took, the grades which he received, or the final degree that he earned. Most likely, this college, located in the open territory of Manitoba in 1906, was, at least for boys of Mulloy's age, similar to a college preparatory high school of today.¹⁰

In the Autumn of 1910, when he was eighteen years old, Mulloy entered the seminary. Since his native Diocese of Fargo did not operate one, he went to the seminary in the archepiscopal see of Saint Paul, Minnesota about 250 miles away. Mulloy was usually ranked third or fourth in a class of thirty-eight students and had cumulative averages ranging from ninety to ninety-six percent. One other Fargo seminarian who was a few years ahead of Mulloy and who also did very well at the Saint Paul Seminary was Vincent J. Ryan.¹¹ In the coming years, these two priests crossed paths more than once; eventually, both were elevated to the episcopacy.

By 1916, Mulloy was ready for ordination. Normally ceremonies for this sacrament were held in the cathedral in Fargo, but in Mulloy's case, Bishop James O'Reilly made an exception. The parish leaders of Saint John the Evangelist and the Catholic businessmen in Grafton petitioned the Bishop for a hometown ordination.¹² O'Reilly was coming to Grafton to administer Confirmation, and he granted their request. On June 9, the bishop sang Pontifical Mass and ordained Mulloy a priest of the Diocese of Fargo. Among the clergy present was Vincent J. Ryan who had been appointed secretary to the bishop.¹³

Mulloy began his priestly career as an assistant pastor of Saint Michael's, a large parish in Grand Forks. The people in that city, like many others in the country, faced an epidemic at the close of World War I. He found himself administering the Sacrament of Extreme Unction with uncommon frequency.¹⁴ The assignment at Saint Michael's was the first in a series which would challenge the young priest's stamina and resolve. From 1921 to 1938, Mulloy served three parishes — all facing some sort of financial crisis.

This first of these three was Sacred Heart in Cando. Under the leadership of its former pastor, Matthew M. Corry, the parish erected a new church with a loan of \$10,000. Unfortunately, the farmers whose contributions supported the parish, experienced the first of many crop failures only two years after the debt was incurred. The original loan was renegotiated, and the parish indebtedness increased to \$16,000. Mulloy arrived in the midst of the economic crisis, and his efforts were necessarily concentrated on discharging the parish indebtedness. There was little money available for parish programs or improvements. Financial difficulties continued until the late 1930s when Father Frank Nestor was able to pay off the remainder of the loan.¹⁵

In 1925, Mulloy moved on to his next assignment as pastor of Saint Alphonsus in Langdon where he again succeeded Father Corry. In Langdon, Mulloy faced much the same situation as in Cando. In 1921, the parish had issued \$50,000 in bonds through the Thomas McDonald Company of Chicago to pay for the construction of a new school. Because of poor farming conditions, the parishioners were unable to make the contributions needed to meet interest obligations on the bonds.

When Mulloy arrived the situation was worsening. Crop failures continued to occur throughout the next decade as severe drought turned the Great Plains into a dust bowl. He forestalled insolvency by obtaining a new loan for \$67,000 and was able to keep the school open during the worst years of the Great Depression. He worked energetical-

ly to reduce costs by teaching himself from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. each weekday and by meeting the expenses of the sisters who worked at the school with his own meagre income.¹⁶ The parish was able to keep its buildings, but it was not until the late 1930s when the financial troubles of Saint Alphonsus were completely alleviated, largely through the efforts of Father Christopher Ward who was able to convince creditors to accept fifty cents on the dollar in full payment of amounts owed.¹⁷

By 1933, Bishop O'Reilly had concluded that the situation in Langdon was hopeless. On July 15 he wrote to Mulloy:

After much consideration I think it is better for you to take another mission. There is only a small hope that Langdon can ever be relieved of its heavy burden. I think it would be a pity that you should have to devote your life to a thankless and in my opinion a profitless task.

The only mission I have to offer you just now is Minto. You know the parish as well and better than I do. You must find a home for yourself as best you can.

It is not my intention to leave you permanently at Minto. As soon as the occasion arises I hope to offer you a place more worthy of your zeal and talents...¹⁸

Following a short six weeks in Minto, Mulloy was assigned to his home parish of Saint John the Evangelist where he had been ordained seventeen years earlier.¹⁹ This parish was also in debt, but liabilities totaled only \$3,200. Mulloy asked all wage earners to increase their donations by twenty-five percent and authorized a special collection in order to successfully eliminate the debt.²⁰ By 1938, Mulloy presented to the bishop a detailed financial statement revealing a surplus of over \$1,400.²¹

During the years of the Great Depression, Mulloy showed himself to be a tireless pastor. He was not a miracle worker; Sacred Heart and Saint Alphonsus were both still in debt when he left them. Given the circumstances, however, his efforts were admirable.²²

While serving at Saint John's, Mulloy was appointed Diocesan Director of Rural Life. The position was important because in large parts of the Fargo Diocese, the Catholic population was scattered and priests were scarce. There was definitely a missionary character about the diocese. The appointment led Mulloy to become involved with the National Catholic Rural Life Conference which wanted to reassure the Catholic farmer of the dignity and responsibility associated with his vocation.²³ In 1934, Mulloy addressed the Conference at its national convention in Saint Paul, Minnesota. His speaking skills brought him much recognition.²⁴ With a deep voice and a confident tone, he exuded a certain charisma and in less than two years, was elected chairman of the Conference.

In 1936, the national convention met in Fargo. Mulloy played host to visitors from across the country. The festivities, as always with Mulloy, were done with flourish. For example, he placed trumpeteers outside the cathedral as the procession of visitors entered for the opening mass.²⁵ His efforts did not go unnoticed by Aloisius J. Muench who had been appointed to the See of Fargo in 1935 (see note 22) following the death of Bishop O'Reilly. Muench admired Mulloy's organization of the Conference and recognized his leadership skills. In the years to come, Muench knew he could rely on the outgoing priest for a laugh and a smile when the problems of his diocese weighed against him.²⁶

From this convention came a collaboration on the part of Muench, Mulloy, and Vincent J. Ryan to write a unified statement on Catholic rural life.²⁷ The result of their efforts

was the *Manifesto on Rural Life* which stated the Catholic teachings about land tenancy, credit, education, health care, and other social and economic aspects of rural life. It relied extensively on the encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI, government reports, and numerous secondary sources. Muench was an expert in Catholic social theory and wanted to publish such a *Manifesto* to counteract the socialist theories of communists around the world.²⁸ When it was published in 1939, it received high praise from the *New York Times*²⁹ and from Pope Pius XII.³⁰

One other way Mulloy tried to reach the rural Catholic was through the Confraternity movement. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was an organization of laity and clergy devoted to teaching Catholics more about their faith. Discussion groups of ten or twelve people met weekly in the participant's homes to explore Christian doctrine and its relation to the individual.³¹

To unify the more than 570 discussion groups, Mulloy and Father Victor Long started a paper entitled *Confraternity News*. Less than a year later, Muench asked Mulloy to develop a diocesan newspaper. In December, 1938, Volume 2, Number 2, of *Confraternity News* appeared with the new name, *Catholic Action News*, and the new purpose of informing and unifying all Catholics in the eastern half of North Dakota.

In 1938, Muench invited the Sisters of Service to work in his diocese.³² This religious community was founded in 1922 in Canada by George Thomas Daly, C.Sc.R. They were a new kind of order wearing a practical habit and making their field work their vocation. The sisters went into the vast provinces of Canada in groups of two's or three's to bring religious instruction to people in remote areas. Muench and Mulloy agreed that the sisters' work was ideally suited to some of the distant parts of the Diocese of Fargo. Their arrival in the United States was delayed until 1939 because the American Consul in Winnipeg felt the sisters would become, in his words, "public charges."³³ Finally, on August 20, Mulloy drove the sisters from Winnipeg to their new Community in Fargo,³⁴ and during the next six years, Mulloy remained their spiritual director.

The sisters started a correspondence course, and soon hundreds were participating throughout the diocese. They also drove to various counties in the summer to teach Vacation School, a four hour per day, two week course explaining Catholic doctrine. Other than "Sunday School" this was one of the few formal ways children received religious instruction.³⁵

While serving the diocese in these various capacities, Mulloy was made pastor of Saint Mary's Cathedral in Fargo. With the help of the Legion of Mary and other parish groups, he was able to give food and clothing, as well as spiritual guidance to those in the slums of the city and those who had fallen away from the Church.³⁶ As pastor, Mulloy also supervised the renovation of the Bishop's Cathedral. The sanctuary was enlarged and beautified with a new parquet floor and altar.³⁷ Mulloy also began planning a parish center. He wanted to build meeting and banquet rooms for all ages, a swimming pool and other recreational facilities, and an auditorium.³⁸ The parish, however, never saw the erection of this elaborate complex because its planner was appointed Bishop of Covington by Pius XII in November, 1944.

The elevation, though not expected, was eagerly accepted. It would be fair to say that the Church was central to Mulloy's life. Anything which advanced the cause of Christ through His Church was thoughtfully considered, usually strongly endorsed, and only rarely, regretfully refused. He was able to assume so many responsibilities because he saw them all as part of the mission of the Church. Few things he did, few social functions he attended, and few projects in which he was involved deviated from this vision.

With his short but stocky build, his prominent head, and his deep, strong voice, he

made a commanding presence. As a tremendous speaker, he frequently received a quick assent and seldom a dissent to his request for help in advancing the cause of the Church. Sustaining Mulloy throughout his priestly career was a strong and abiding personal faith.³⁹ This spiritual side of him is rarely mentioned because other aspects of his personality are so dominant. Without fail, he daily spent an hour in front of the Blessed Sacrament and, once he became bishop, punctually said Mass at six o'clock in the morning. He would meet this schedule even after a late arrival back from the reaches of the Covington Diocese in southern and eastern Kentucky.⁴⁰ He was indeed a leader and proved the wisdom of his selection by the service he rendered this diocese in his fourteen years as bishop.

Mulloy arrived at the Union Terminal in Cincinnati, Ohio, on January 23, two days before the installation was to take place. Monsignors Walter A. Freiberg, Pastor of the Cathedral, and Herbert F. Hillenmeyer, Administrator of the Diocese since the death of Bishop Howard, greeted him and the party of guests from Fargo. Newspaper reporters were on hand to provide complete coverage of the event. They described the new bishop as jovial and cooperative with everyone in the welcoming party.⁴¹

On the day of his installation, Mulloy was driven in a large sedan from his hotel in Cincinnati across the Suspension Bridge to Covington. The automobile in which he rode was part of a large parade, consisting of members of civic organizations; city officials; students of Saint Elizabeth School of Nursing, Villa Madonna College, and the high schools, academies, and commercial schools in Kenton, and Campbell Counties; Knights of Saint John; Knights of Columbus; men of the Holy Name Society; boy scouts; and several marching bands. More than 200 city and county officials welcomed the fifty-two year old prelate to his new home. A host of enthusiastic northern Kentuckians greeted the bishop with cheers as his car traveled up Madison Avenue to the Chancery at Twelfth Street.⁴² Thomas P. Fitzpatrick, Mayor of Covington, declared the afternoon of Wednesday, January 25, 1945 a holiday for the community and suggested that merchants along the parade route close their businesses and erect signs of welcome for the bishop.⁴³

Bishop Mulloy could not have arrived in Covington at a better time. His innovative plans for the diocese were facilitated by the post-war building boom, by an enthusiastic and growing Catholic population in northern Kentucky, and by the treasury accumulated by Bishop Howard. He was eager to construct many new Catholic facilities that would equal or rival those found beyond the border of the Commonwealth. His undertakings consistently revealed the pride he took in his adopted home. His success in carrying out his plans is evident in the local Catholic institutions which serve the eastern half of Kentucky today, including schools, hospitals, churches, and nursing homes which were built under his supervision between 1945 and 1959.⁴⁴

The "Building Bishop" was full of energy, an almost nervous energy which was apparent to anyone who worked with him. Even if Mulloy were sitting still, he would twirl his thumbs or fiddle with his pectoral cross. He brought to Covington a style of leadership very different than that of his predecessor, Francis Howard. The latter was quiet and more scholarly than Mulloy. He was careful to examine all aspects of a situation before drawing any conclusions. The differences between the two men were especially evident in their outlooks on education. Howard concerned himself with theories of education from the elementary to the college level. He opposed co-educational colleges and was fond of schools with a classical curriculum. He was more concerned with the training of leaders than with the education of the general population.

Bishop Mulloy's approach, on the other hand, was more practical than theoretical. He departed from Howard's plan to maintain Villa Madonna as a small women's col-

lege with an emphasis on the training of teachers. Mulloy expanded enrollment, opened the college to men, and promised to build new facilities. He realized that as young men returned home from World War II, they would need college education, and that government funds would be available to pay the tuitions of the returning scholars.⁴⁵

Mulloy also recognized the need for improvement at Saint Elizabeth Hospital. Only six months after his installation, he inaugurated a campaign to enlarge the institution to provide treatment for contagious diseases. The plans also called for a new building to house nursing students, and for a psychiatric department to be located where the nurses formerly resided. The campaign to raise funds was launched in the ten counties which were served by the hospital. By 1951, the construction of the nurses' quarters, known as Tarcisia Hall, was finished and the new contagious and psychiatric units were dedicated.⁴⁶

Construction was also going on elsewhere in the diocese. Only blocks away from the hospital, workers began renovating Saint Mary's Cathedral. Mulloy was proud of this gothic masterpiece and its beautiful mosaics, paintings, and stained glass. During the course of his episcopate, it provided an impressive setting for the countless elaborate liturgies so often associated with Mulloy. Bishop Camillus Paul Maes, who shepherded the See of Covington from 1885 to 1915, had decided to build the present cathedral in 1892. The facade of the church resembles the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris while the floor plan of the structure roughly follows the design of the famous Abbey Church of Saint Denis.⁴⁷

Mulloy ensured that the renovations were in harmony with the original gothic style and placed Monsignor Walter A. Freiberg, Pastor of Saint Mary's, in charge of the remodeling effort. Freiberg had played an active role in other diocesan construction projects such as the Covington Latin School and Saint Agnes Church in Park Hills and had experience in working with contractors.⁴⁸

The relationship between the two was occasionally strained largely because the bishop's personality was at times, overbearing. Mulloy's behavior during the renovation of the Cathedral revealed his fear of criticism and his unruly temper. In a letter to Freiberg, he stated:

I do not want my name associated with anything that can be criticized, as you and I both know it will be, by those who are connoisseurs of art and by those who are not connoisseurs of art... I feel that you and I must face the fact that we shall be unscathingly criticized if we do anything that will stand out like a sore thumb. It will be necessary for us to sacrifice our own ideas of expediency and utility to those of the artistic.⁴⁹

Contemporaries of the bishop felt that his fear of criticism was rooted in feelings of inadequacy in matters of art and erudition.⁵⁰

The bishop's fears were unfounded since the completed renovation work was artistically pleasing and consistent with the original architecture. Under the guidance of Edward Schulte, a local architect, the Cathedral retained its original beauty. Walls and columns were refinished, lighting was improved and the sanctuary was enlarged. Choir stalls were placed around the rear of the high altar where there formerly had been an organ. New marble was quarried in Italy under the direction of the Peter Burghard Company of Lexington so that it would match by grain and color the marble already in place. New steps, a communion rail, and a pulpit were added to the altar to give it a more balanced look. In the center of the sanctuary, the bishop added a statue of Our Lady

of the Assumption. It rested on a large and richly carved baldachino which also served as a suitable cover for the Eucharist.⁵¹ By far, the greatest expenditure was for the carved woodwork which graces the altar to this day. Mulloy commissioned Auguste Schmidt, a German artist and refugee, to carve various reliefs and filigree. Schmidt had first worked for Mulloy in 1939 when Bishop Muench renovated the Fargo Cathedral. In Covington, he was responsible for the choir stalls, the pulpit, the baldachino, and the side altars. He also created beautifully detailed woodwork for the chapel in the bishop's mansion.⁵²

Mulloy tried to meet the needs of all of his flock and not just of those in urban centers. The population in the mountainous areas of eastern Kentucky was not as rural as North Dakota; nonetheless, it was as scattered and remote. The bishop wisely sent strong young priests who were filled with a missionary spirit to the area.⁵³

He also established, as early as 1946, Catholic Action Days. In Fargo, these special events had long been used to invigorate the spirit of rural Catholics. The bishop's visit and celebration of pontifical Mass was the centerpiece of a busy day devoted to the faith and support of the area Catholics. Various diocesan offices made presentations to local groups for their edification and education.⁵⁴

Though the rural life movement in Covington was never as strong as it was in Fargo, it provided an innovative way for the diocese to reach out to some of Kentucky's most forgotten citizens. Mulloy established several parishes in the Appalachian mountains. He also initiated Catholic health care in Hazard, Jenkins, Lynch, Martin, and London. Many of these projects were totally new to the people living in the most remote parts of the diocese.⁵⁵

Unfortunately, by 1951, twenty-four of the fifty-seven counties served by the diocese were still without resident priests. Mulloy wanted priests, not only for these counties, but also for teaching duties in the diocesan high schools and college. As early as 1946, he proclaimed March as the month of vocations. Each year he published a magazine entitled *Crossroads*, a vocational periodical for Catholic youth. In 1949, he organized the Bishop's Lay Committee on Vocations to act as an advocate for the religious life.⁵⁶ This group met monthly and maintained continuous contact with young men studying for the priesthood. Mulloy took a paternal interest in the priests whom he ordained and was very close to the seminarians. When he traveled to other cities, he would always visit the seminarians from Covington who were studying there. He also held monthly days of recollection for his "Junior Clergy," his name for the 114 priests whom he ordained.⁵⁷

Definitely, the crowning achievement of Bishop Mulloy's vocational program was the erection of Saint Pius X Seminary. Prior to the planning of this institution, Mulloy had made promises to improve and expand Villa Madonna College. The college was founded in 1921 by the Benedictine Sisters of Covington for the training of women. Seven years later it became a diocesan institution under the direction of the bishop and the superiors of the Order of Saint Benedict, the Sisters of Notre Dame, and the Congregation of Divine Providence. In 1945, Villa Madonna College was made co-educational, opening its doors to soldiers returning from World War II. The faculty was comprised largely of clergy. The college rapidly expanded and in 1948, the Diocese purchased a seventy-five acre estate in Fort Thomas to accomodate this growth. Ground breaking ceremonies were held in 1950 when Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, came to the diocese. At these ceremonies Mulloy announced, to everyone's great surprise, that the college would be called Assumption College and that a new campus would be built. In 1955 architectural plans had been drawn up for the

new facilities. Interestingly, when the plans were presented to the bishop he refused them, saying that the diocese could not afford such a tremendous financial expenditure.⁵⁸

Four years later, the bishop announced plans for the building of Saint Pius X Seminary. The money for this project was to be raised by parish fund drives. Some members of Villa Madonna College were perplexed by the bishop's decision to build a seminary when he had just previously canceled plans for expansion of the college. The bishop's reasons for establishing a minor seminary in the diocese were not clear at the time. Today, it is known that there was some insistence by church hierarchy that American dioceses establish seminaries for training their own priests. Cardinal Pizzardo, head of the Sacred Congregation of Universities and Seminaries in Rome, acted as a leading figure of this movement.⁵⁹ Saint Pius X was just one of the many seminaries founded at this time as part of a national trend in the United States Catholic Church. It is likely that Mulloy felt the diocese lacked the financial resources for both projects. He chose to found the seminary because he wanted to follow the lead of church hierarchy and because he had a deep concern for creating an intelligent and educated clergy.⁶⁰

Bishop Mulloy not only encouraged the seminarians, but also fostered many programs for other young people of the diocese. In 1945, he established a youth program which, by the end of his tenure in 1959, included such activities as scouting, camping, choral groups and Newman Clubs. One of the largest components of the Catholic Youth Program was the Catholic Youth Organization. In the immediate post war years, the CYO was run by Father Harry J. Welp. He later became Diocesan Director for all youth activities and wrote a weekly column for the Diocesan newspaper, the *Messenger*. The organization was established on a parish-by-parish basis and provided a way of reinforcing the faith of young Catholics through social and religious activities. The fervor of the members can be seen in the following letter from Father Welp to the Bishop:

Yesterday I really felt selfish taking the beautiful statue of Our Lady of Fatima from your chapel.

Last night we had the statue for the first time at our CYO dance. At 10:30, when we usually sing a hymn to the Blessed Mother, some 350 boys and girls turned to the Pilgrim Virgin which rested safely above the crowd on a ledge, and sang her hymn like I'd never heard them sing before.

I'm glad I did not suggest this. This is what the youth wanted. When they ask for something like this it means so much more than if I had forced my wishes on them. We are all eternally grateful to you for this Bishop.⁶¹

The CYO flourished during the Mulloy years, and Welp proved to be a wise choice for director.

Other groups within the Catholic Youth Program included the Holy Name Athletic League which sponsored baseball and basketball teams for young men nineteen years and older; the Boy Scouts which were of special interest to the bishop who felt the group built character; and the Catholic Theater Guild whose members gave three performances each year including two operettas and one drama.⁶²

One of Mulloy's most far-sighted ventures was the purchase of Williamsdale, a 300 acre farm in Boone County. The property was first used as a summer camp for diocesan children. "Marydale," as it was called, was open for camping activities from June until August, but the facilities remained open year round for other events such as picnics, dances, and various social functions. It was estimated that 800 girls and 700 boys from

twenty-five parishes in northern Kentucky and seventeen parishes in southern Kentucky attended Marydale every year.⁶³ Young women from Villa Madonna College and later, seminarians served as camp counselors. Ladies from surrounding parishes volunteered to cook meals and help with the housekeeping.⁶⁴ Through their efforts, the costs of the camp were kept low.

In 1956, Mulloy erected a retreat center on the property and placed its care in the hands of Father Thomas F. Middendorf.⁶⁵ All during his life, the bishop believed in the importance of retreats and time of recollection. In Fargo, he directed the Lay Women's Retreat League from 1941 until 1945. After being elevated to the See of Covington, he continued his emphasis on the spiritual renewal process for both the clergy and laity. He wrote retreat booklets and traveled hundreds of miles to direct retreats in other dioceses. These activities, combined with his insistence that the Junior Clergy attend monthly days of recollection, revealed the bishop's spiritual side, a side seen only by a few people.

Throughout this period of the late 1950s, the bishop maintained an itinerary as full as when he assumed office. He directed all of his energy toward the Church and amazed the Junior Clergy with his stamina. By the Spring of 1959, this unlimited devotion to duty began to take its toll; the bishop's health was deteriorating. The once indefatigable leader was becoming weak. While Mulloy was in Lexington delivering a commencement address, results of tests taken by Dr. A. J. Schwertman a few days before revealed a blood clot in the muscle of the bishop's heart. Upon returning to Covington, Mulloy was immediately taken to the hospital.⁶⁶ After one restless week, he died on June 1, 1959. Requiem Mass was offered on Tuesday, June 9 by Archbishop John A. Floresh of Louisville followed by interment at Saint Mary Cemetery in Fort Mitchell.⁶⁷

Stories about Covington's colorful prelate circulate to this day. Many people remember his ermine cape, his fetish for prompt mail delivery, and his ambition to be named Archbishop of Saint Paul. The historian must go beyond the anecdotes, however, in order to establish Mulloy's place in history. As the Bishop of Covington he maintained a full itinerary, often traveling to distant dioceses to address any number of groups such as sodalities, retreat leagues and convert guilds. He also advised or led such groups as the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the United States Liturgical Conference. He did not, however, become a nationally prominent Catholic leader. He remained a Midwestern bishop whose greatest influence stayed within the borders of his own diocese.

The parishes he established, the schools he erected, the hospitals he founded, the seminary he started, and the retreat center he inaugurated all remind both Catholic and non-Catholic alike of the dynamism of this Church leader. They reinforce the idea which undoubtedly most of the laity held, that Mulloy was an achiever, a building bishop wisely leading the diocese. Mulloy, however, was more than just an energetic prelate. His faith propelled all of his activity. He was a shepherd meeting the needs of his flock. He had a genuine pastoral concern for all of those in his diocese and acted with them in mind. It is true that he had a nasty temper and was at times insensitive. The clergy bore the brunt of his outbursts and learned to accept them as part of the bishop's autocratic style of leadership. In the final analysis, Mulloy was no more complex or idiosyncratic than any other human being. Historians must accept him at face value. The institutions which Mulloy started and the clergy whom he ordained have served the diocese for over a quarter of a century and the beneficial effects of his episcopate will continue to be realized for years to come.

Endnotes

¹ The nine bishops of the Diocese of Covington are: George A. Carroll, S.J., Augustus M. Toebbe, Camillus P. Maes, Ferdinand Brossart, Francis W. Howard, William T. Mulloy, Richard H. Ackerman, William A. Hughes, and J. Kendrick Williams.

² Gunder V. Berg, ed., *Walsh Heritage* (Grafton, North Dakota: Walsh County Historical Society, 1976), 263.

³ William C. Sherman, *Prairie Mosaic: An Ethnic Atlas of Rural North Dakota* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1983), 100.

⁴ Deed Books 3, 4, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 22 Walsh County Courthouse Records, Walsh County Courthouse, Grafton, North Dakota.

⁵ Berg, ed., *Walsh Heritage*, 263.

⁶ Interview (number 2) with Mrs. L. D. Sweeney (Kathleen Mulloy), Larimore, North Dakota, August 8, 1984.

⁷ Interview (number 2) with Mrs. L. D. Sweeney.

⁸ Records for the school year 1906-07 show that Mulloy received 86% in English, 80% in Latin, 81% in Elementary Algebra, 72% in Physiology, and 83% in Civics. Julian C. Bjornsen, Superintendent of Grafton Public Schools, Grafton, North Dakota, personal letter, February 21, 1984.

⁹ Interview (number 1, by telephone) with Mrs. L. D. Sweeney, Larimore, North Dakota, March 23, 1984.

¹⁰ Yearbook Records from 1908-09 list Mulloy as a student of Grammar, (p. 50), and from 1909-10 as a student of Humanities, (p. 52). Michelle Alberni, General Office of the College of Saint Boniface, Manitoba, Canada, personal letter, May 2, 1984.

¹¹ Record Examination Book of Philosophy 1910-12, Record Examination Book of Theology 1912-16, Seminary of Saint Paul, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

¹² Interview (number 2) with Mrs. L. D. Sweeney.

¹³ Ordination of Rev. W. T. Mulloy," *Grafton News And Times*, June 9, 1916.

¹⁴ Interview with Reverend George J. Mehok, Wahpeton, North Dakota, August 9, 1984.

¹⁵ Parish Files "Sacred Heart, Cando, North Dakota," Chancery Archives, Diocese of Fargo, North Dakota.

¹⁶ Mulloy to Thomas McDonald and Co., Langdon, May 30, 1932, "Saint Alphonsus, Langdon, North Dakota," Parish Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Fargo, North Dakota.

¹⁷ Parish Files "Saint Alphonsus, Langdon, North Dakota," Chancery Archives, Diocese of Fargo, North Dakota.

¹⁸ O'Reilly to Mulloy, Fargo, July 15, 1933, "Mulloy, Rev. William," Clergy Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Fargo, North Dakota.

¹⁹ Biographical Data Sheet in "Mulloy, Rev. William," Clergy Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Fargo, North Dakota.

²⁰ Grafton, North Dakota, Saint John the Evangelist Parish. Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Trustees, October 4, 21, 1933.

²¹ Parish Files, "Saint John the Evangelist, Grafton, North Dakota (Transfer File) 1924-55," Chancery Archives, Diocese of Fargo, North Dakota. At both Cando and Langdon Mulloy succeeded Corry in parishes which were in debt from building programs organized by Corry. Corry had not mismanaged; there was simply no way to anticipate the hardships of the Great Depression.

²² So too were those of Aloisius J. Muench who had been appointed Bishop of Fargo in August, 1935, eight months after the death of Bishop O'Reilly. The talented new prelate came from Milwaukee where he had been rector of the Saint Francis Seminary. He had received a Master

of Arts degree in Economics from the University of Wisconsin and a doctorate in Social Sciences from the University of Fribourg in Switzerland. He gained national recognition for refuting the money theories of Father Coughlin in early 1935. Following World War II, he was appointed Apostolic Nuncio to the newly established Federal Republic of Germany and eventually became a curial cardinal. Though his influence in the Catholic world went beyond Fargo, he always had a great concern for his flock in North Dakota. Three of his priests, Mulloy, Ryan, and Leo F. Dworschak were elevated to the episcopacy undoubtedly upon his recommendation. Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., *American Nuncio: Cardinal Aloisius Muench* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Saint John's University Press, 1969), 15-19, 25-29.

²³ Leo R. Ward, C.S.C., *Catholic Life, U.S.A.: Contemporary Lay Movements* (Saint Louis: Herder Book Co., 1959) 200-03.

²⁴ Paul E. Ryan, *History of the Diocese of Covington* (Diocese of Covington, 1954), 313-14.

²⁵ Interview with Monsignor Anthony R. Peschel, Wild Rice, North Dakota, August 10, 1984.

²⁶ Interview with Reverend Mehok.

²⁷ National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Minutes of meeting of the Executive Committee, February 16, 1937. (Typewritten) Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

²⁸ Barry, *American Nuncio*, 43.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

³⁰ Ryan, *History of the Diocese*, 315-16.

³¹ *Confraternity News*, January, 1938, 1-3.

³² Bishop Muench to James C. McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, Fargo, January 21, 1938 "Sisters of Service 1938-1946," Religious Orders Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Fargo, North Dakota.

³³ *Ibid.*, Sister Margaret Guest, S.O.S., Sister General, to Mulloy, Toronto, August 10, 1939.

³⁴ "Our First International Venture," *The Field at Home*, September 1939, 4.

³⁵ "Interview with Reverend Mehok.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Frank J. Richard and Joseph M. DiCola, *There Is a Season: The Centennial History of Saint Mary's Parish Fargo, North Dakota 1880-1980*. (Fargo, 1980), 61.

³⁸ "Parish Center: Bishop Mulloy's Last Project in Diocese Assured Completion," *Catholic Action News*, January, 1945, 1.

³⁹ Interview with Sister Dorothy Lorenz, P.B.V.M. and Sister Bertha Hill, P.B.V.M., Fargo, North Dakota, August 12, 1984.

⁴⁰ Interview with Monsignor Grosser.

⁴¹ "Says Mass and Rests at Hotel; Parade of Welcome in Covington Moves as Prelate Goes to Residence," *The Kentucky Post*, January 24, 1945, 1.

⁴² "Parade Line Extends Blocks: Thousands Welcome Bishop to Diocese," *The Kentucky Post*, January 25, 1945, 1.

⁴³ "Mayor Proclaims Holiday," *Messenger*, January 22, 1945, 19.

⁴⁴ Interviews with Monsignors Thomas B. Finn, Fort Mitchell, Kentucky, March 14, 1984; Charles Hoffer, Fort Thomas, Kentucky, April 5, 1984; John Murphy, Fort Wright, Kentucky, April 30, 1984.

⁴⁵ Ryan, *History of the Diocese*, 293-306.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 413-14. Tarcisia Hall was named after Mother Tarcisia Marie, S.P.S.F., who created the School of Nursing in 1929.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 239.

⁴⁸ Interview with Monsignor Grosser.

⁴⁹ Bishop Mulloy to Monsignor Freiberg, Covington, June 16, 1947, "Renovation" Saint Mary's Cathedral Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.

⁵⁰ Interview with Monsignor Murphy; interview with Monsignor Hoffer.

⁵¹ Costs for the renovation as of April 25, 1947 were \$23,035 for marble (Peter Burghard Co.), \$148,989 for woodwork (Irving and Casson Co.), \$5,631 for heating, (T.J. Conner Co.), \$2,150 for structural work on and under the sanctuary floor (E.J. Beiting Co.). "Renovation," Saint Mary's Cathedral Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.

⁵² Interview with Sister Mary Stephen Healy, C.D.P. and Sister Mary David Jordan, C.D.P., Melbourne, Kentucky, April 16, 1984; Interview with Monsignor Finn.

⁵³ Interview with Monsignor Grosser.

⁵⁴ Interview with Reverend Antonio Richard, Minto, North Dakota, August 11, 1984; interview with Monsignor Peschel.

⁵⁵ The parishes or missions established in the mountainous terrain of eastern Kentucky were: Holy Trinity, Harlan, 1948; Saint Therese Mission, Heidelberg, 1948; Saint Francis of Assisi, Pikeville, 1949; Saint Gregory, Barbourville, 1950; Holy Spirit Mission, Hyden, 1952; Saint Ann, Manchester, 1952; Saint Theodore Mission, Prestonburg, 1954.

⁵⁶ Ryan, *History of the Diocese*, 331.

⁵⁷ Interview with Monsignor Finn; interview with Monsignor Grosser; interview with Monsignor Hoffer; interview with Sister Mary Stephen and Sister Mary David.

⁵⁸ Interview with Monsignor Murphy.

⁵⁹ Interview with Monsignor Finn; interview with Monsignor Grosser; interview with Monsignor Murphy.

⁶⁰ Interview with Monsignor Allan F. Nilles, Park River, North Dakota, August 11, 1984; interview with Monsignor Grosser; interview with Monsignor Murphy; interview with Sister Mary Stephen and Sister Mary David.

⁶¹ Welp to Mulloy, Covington, February 6, 1950 "Catholic Youth Organization 1950," Lay Organization Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.

⁶² Father John Modica to Mulloy, Covington, April 10, 1956 "Catholic Youth Organization 1956," Lay Organization Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.

⁶³ Welp, Covington, August 6, 1951 "Catholic Youth Organization 1951," Lay Organization Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.

⁶⁴ Ryan, *History of the Diocese*, 332.

⁶⁵ Humpert to Carl Tillman, July 18, 1956 "Marydale, Marydale Retreat House," Centers, Retreats, Camps Files, Chancery Archives, Diocese of Covington, Kentucky. Reverend Thomas Middendorf became the Director of the Retreat Center upon the untimely death of Tillman. The Diocese borrowed \$225,000 from four Covington banks to pay for the retreat center.

⁶⁶ Interview with Monsignor Grosser; interview with Monsignor Hoffer.

⁶⁷ "Diocese Mourns Bishop; Funeral Rites June 9," *Messenger*, June 7, 1959, 2.



The Changing Status of Women in India, with Recommendations for the Future

by Tripta Desai

Beginning in the nineteenth century, women in India have been liberated from some of the most evil practices of the past, such as the burning of widows. The advances are significant, but society in India is extremely complex and centuries-old traditions die hard. Today, formidable obstacles remain, preventing many women from realizing the self-fulfillment which democracy promises to the individual.

The history of India begins with the River Valley civilization around 3500 B.C. The next important period is the coming of the Aryans into the Indian subcontinent around 2500 B.C. This is called the Vedic Age. Ursula King concluded that in the early River Valley civilizations the cult of mother-goddess prevailed.¹ The cult signified the high status of women as they were the living representation of fertility itself. In addition, in the early societies it was easier for women to hold positions of religious authority because religious practices were less formally organized and religious roles less institutionalized. However, women were not equal.

In the Vedic Age, a religious sacrifice was incomplete unless a wife participated along with her husband. However, as higher religions like Brahmanism, Christianity and Islam developed, religious roles, preaching and learning became male prerogatives. Male monopoly becomes intelligible if one considers the amount of time involved in taking care of the family, bearing and rearing children; thus women had no time left to engage in any other activity. In the course of time, according to Ursula King, asceticism also became highly esteemed and the status of women further deteriorated.

Furthermore, just as the introduction of slavery revolutionized the position of women in Greece, so did the *Sudra* (lowest) caste deprive the Indian women of their economic worth. A.S. Altekar considers 500 A.D. to 1800 A.D. as a period of progressive degeneration in the status of Indian women in society.² They were denied all other sacraments except marriage which became women's sole objective in life. *The Manu Smriti* (a description of the Hindu Code) contains a number of passages on the duties of an ideal woman. She was told to obey and serve her husband and be a good mother to her children. A woman was further instructed that she constantly needed a male protector. Her father protected her until she was married, then her husband assumed control over her. In her old age, sons extended their control and protection to the mother. The woman also came to be denied independent religious salvation; it could come to her only through the medium of her husband. In their extreme vulnerability, females were pressured to marry at an early age. A father wanted to marry off his daughter as soon as possible so that he could find the next male protector for her and be relieved of her responsibility.

Child-marriage denied to women any formal education. She lost the right to recite the *Vedas* or perform any Vedic sacrificial ritual. She became a total attribute of her husband, having no independent existence of her own.³ Fertility came to be valued so highly that a barren woman was considered possessed with Satan. It is true that some scriptures exalted the status of woman, for instance calling her *Shakti* (power) which was the female aspect of divinity. But, in reality, a woman's status was far different.

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One historical phenomenon stretching over centuries greatly damaged the position of women in Indian society. This was the series of Moslem invasions which began in the seventh century A.D., and led finally to the establishment of the Mogul Empire in India in the early sixteenth century. The Moslem invaders molested women, particularly the virgin teenagers. So the Hindu fathers were forced both by social pressures and religious injunctions to marry off their daughters before reaching puberty. Other evil practices such as *sati* (widow-burning) developed as a counter-measure to female debauchery at the hands of foreign invaders. A widow who burnt herself at the deceased husband's pyre was regarded as eligible for heaven. The Hindu priests, who were equally ignorant, sang the glories of such *sati* women who went to heaven, thus escaping the tortuous cycle of birth and re-birth. Furthermore, the Moslem belief in the subordinate status of women taught in Koranic law reinforced and tightened the hold of *sati* and other evil practices on Indian women.

During the period of British rule of India, *sati* and other evil practices were banned. By law, the marriage age was also raised. A public school system was introduced to provide primary education in the villages and western-style universities were established in the cities.

Gradually, but concretely, an Indian elite class emerged by the mid-nineteenth century and assimilated the basic Hindu traditions and the western liberal-democratic culture. The members of this elite class became the champions of social reform in India. They re-examined the ancient scriptures and concluded that in the Vedic Age women had an honorable status which was crushed by priestly distortions and evil machinations.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the rise of the Indian national movement to which belonged men like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. These leaders raised the status of Hinduism and to new heights by referring both to the ancient religion of Hinduism and to the democratic tradition of the West. The Indian women, particularly in the cities, reciprocated by participating in the national agitation; a great many of them even courted imprisonment along with men in defiance of British rule. Thus the twentieth century saw a close intertwining of the two leading causes — national independence and the women's reform movement.

After independence in 1947, since the same national leaders and the same political party (Congress) held power, the cause of women was promoted by legislative action, social pressure and the expansion of education and industry.

India has a remarkable set of social laws to safeguard the rights of women in marriage, education and industrial employment. While one of the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution requires the states to secure equal pay for equal work for men and women, and while the Constitution forbids discrimination on the basis of sex, it nevertheless permits a state to discriminate in favor of women if this is found necessary.

The special marriage act of 1954 provides for a divorce by mutual consent, provided the parties have lived separately for a year and three years have elapsed since the date of marriage. A woman can also seek a divorce under this act if the husband has committed rape or bestiality among other common grounds of divorce. It allows married couples to register their marriage under this act even if they had been married under other forms. Those who marry under this law or whose marriages are registered under it are, in matters of inheritance, governed by the Indian Succession Act. When a man dies leaving a widow and lineal descendants, a widow is entitled to one-third of the property of the deceased and the lineal descendants share the remaining two-thirds of his estate.

The divorce provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 give equality to both sexes

in the matter of initiating divorce proceedings. The law applies to Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs. It provides for regular monthly maintenance in favor of either sex. Furthermore, if the recipient of the alimony is the wife, she is required to remain chaste; if maintenance is granted to the husband, he is enjoined from having sexual relations with any other woman. The wife also has a right to maintenance the whole of her life even if she starts living separately from her husband on specific grounds such as the husband's cruelty, desertion, keeping a concubine or having another wife, his suffering from leprosy, his conversion to another religion or any other cause justifying her living separately.

The Hindu Succession Act of 1955 which applies to Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs, accepts both sexes equally as heir to a deceased person's property on the basis of kinship. It gives a woman full ownership of the property inherited or acquired by her. The widow, the mother and the daughter not only inherit the property but take an equal share.

In 1956 substantial changes were made in the law of adoption applicable to Hindus.⁴ Now a Hindu woman can adopt a child, a right she had not enjoyed before. Previously, only males could adopt, but under the present act a woman is competent to adopt to herself a son or a daughter. A Hindu woman who is not of unsound mind and who is not a minor is competent to adopt, provided that she is a spinster, divorcee or widow or one whose husband has finally renounced the world or has ceased to be Hindu or has judicially been declared to be of unsound mind.

The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971, provides that a pregnancy may be terminated where the length of pregnancy does not exceed twenty weeks, if two medical practitioners are of the opinion that the continuance of pregnancy would involve a risk to the woman's physical or mental health. Termination of pregnancy is also allowed in the case of rape. Abortion is also allowed if pregnancy has occurred as a result of failure of any device used by a married woman or her husband for the purpose of limiting the number of children. A woman can also seek abortion if the continuation of a pregnancy can cause such an anguish to the mother that it becomes a menace to her mental health. In determining whether pregnancy would involve a risk to her mental health, account may be taken of her actual or reasonably foreseeable environment. This provision has been hailed as a great victory for women as it enables them to end unwanted pregnancies.

Besides the foregoing legislative action, women's status in India has also been affected by expansion of education and rapidly increasing industrialization. There is a strong correlation between educational level and the employment rate of women. Earlier, it was feared that prolonged education might diminish an Indian woman's marital prospects as she might pass the decent marriageable age, or going to college and mixing with boys might slander her. Now, there is a new trend in the cities. A highly educated woman has a better chance of a good marriage as she has an earning capability. Formerly a liability, education has become an asset.

Availability of birth-control devices has made it possible for the young educated women to have small families which along with higher education has given a new perspective to marriage. Now it can be a partnership between a man and woman instead of the observance of traditional roles of superiority and subordination by male and female.

In Asian society and Indian society in particular, sex-segregation, conditions of poverty and traditional value-system are widely prevalent. As Hanna Papanck pointed out, in the sex-segregated societies of Asia there is a preoccupation with the sexual and reproductive behavior of females.⁵ Allowing for differences from region to region, from a higher caste to a lower caste, and differences in the level of educational facilities and employ-

ment scope, a woman's worth in India is traditionally related to her fertility performance and the social standing she receives as mother of sons. David G. Mandelbaum similarly remarked that an Indian woman knows of no other role for herself than that of a wife-mother, and the mark of her success is her thriving and successful children.⁶

It is to be further noticed that high fertility rate is less a personal choice of women than an outcome of a combination of socio-economic factors such as poverty, high infant mortality, the requirements of a large family workforce in an agricultural economy and the need for old age security. Mahmood Mamdani finds in her study of a village in India that poorer people tend to have larger families because they find more security in them.⁷ Thus the basic problem is India as in other less developed countries is to break the vicious cycle of poverty and high fertility.

In another study, S. Chandrasekhar established a connection between high infant mortality and high fertility.⁸ It becomes necessary therefore, to reduce infant mortality by better medical care in order to have smaller families. But the problem in India, and in the less developed countries in general, is that in spite of a high rate of industrial and agricultural growth, the increase in population almost neutralizes the economic advancement. Conditions of poverty prevail among lower classes. Rural women and urban women of illiterate groups continue to suffer from the traditional outlook which emphasizes the reproductive role of women. These women are denied education and are subjected to early adolescent marriages. Mortality rate among such women during pregnancy and childbirth is very high.

Let us now turn to job availability for urban and rural women. Once again, in the urban study, we shall have to deal separately with educated urban women who belong to the spectrum of the middle class, and illiterate urban women who constitute a part of the labor force in the factories or work on government projects like road, canal and housing construction. (In India, the British style mixed economy prevails. The public sector which is very extensive in scope, is controlled by the central government). Preference is given to male labor as men are sturdier and more continuous in employment than women who have to quit during childbirth. What about the private sector? The Factory Law of 1952, though designed to help women workers, is a damper to extensive female employment as it requires the industry owners to provide certain child care facilities if the number of female workers exceeds a certain level. Sometimes, the industrial women are hesitant to insist upon their rights, fearing a lay-off. One must also take into account the large number of illiterate urban women who work as domestic servants in the homes of middle-class families. They have a similar fear of lay-off, so they tend to seek economic security in large families.

What about professionalism, among educated urban middle-class women? It is very difficult to generalize about them. Besides education, such factors as the family structure (are the grandparents living with the family?) caste, region, religion, availability of suitable jobs, and whether the family is oriented to arranged marriages or not, have to be considered in deciding if these educated girls will work or not.

Somehow, the centuries old value system which lays down what are the acceptable jobs for females is still taught to women at home and in schools. Thus, when they are out of school, women proceed directly into the few jobs which are the extension of motherhood such as teaching, nursing, and new secretarial jobs created by industrialization and new technology. In Indian homes, girls are taught self-sacrifice which conditions them to accept lower wages than men, and to avoid positions of leadership. Women are mentally conditioned to accept occupations which stress service and cooperation with men, not competition with them.⁹ It is interesting to note that even Mahatma Gandhi,

the moral founder of free India, once expressed the same sentiments. Even though he believed in equality of opportunity for women, when he organized the salt march against the British, he discouraged women from participating because it might be too arduous for them. On that occasion he described women as "the embodiment of sacrifice," and said that equality of the sexes did not mean equality of occupations.

Another factor which greatly restricts the prospect of seeking jobs and full self-growth is the custom of arranged marriages. Margaret Cormack interviewed female college students in cities, and concluded that they enjoyed the freedom of mixing with boys in college but wanted to leave the issue of marriage to their parents to arrange.¹⁰ Thus, these women preferred to avoid the insecurity of having to select their own mates. Arranged marriages are also considered practical as they ensure compatibility of husband and wife within the framework of caste. But there is a very strong negative side to arranged marriages; they tend to relegate women as they reassert the traditional authority of caste norms, and women are obliged to conform to the traditional role of wife and mother and a lower ritual status. Since arranged marriages are still accompanied by demands for huge dowries and, by continuous gifts to the in-laws after marriage on different festive occasions, these wives tend to be submissive in their married homes in order to limit demands for gifts by their in-laws from their parents.

Another important issue related to educated married women in India is: are they free to seek outside jobs? The answer depends upon a number of conditions. Are suitable jobs available? This is a very important consideration in India as a woman must seek a job commensurate with her caste and family status.

The attitude of her parent-in-laws is the next consideration in a married woman's ability to take an outside job. This issue is related to the wide existence of the joint-family system. In some families, traditional hold is so strong that to set apart a nuclear household by a married couple is a social degradation. Sometimes, economic reasons may also play a role in the maintenance of joint families, e.g. the parent-in-laws may own a house and the young couple might find it economically sound to live with them to avoid high rents in the cities. At times, parent-in-laws might be forced to live with the young married couple for their own economic and health reasons.

Some unmarried, educated women are permitted to establish a career. Others are forbidden to work outside the home, because in a society which forbids dating as immoral, their parents fear that free association with male colleagues will greatly damage the woman's prospects for an arranged marriage.

After marriage, some are able to continue their profession; but some have to discontinue. A great deal depends upon whether the husband is willing to share domestic and child-rearing responsibilities. Rama Kapur demonstrated that a majority of married men regard house care and child care as exclusively female responsibilities and below male dignity.¹¹ Thus a careerist, married woman may have to end her professional life.

Let us now turn to the shortcomings of parliamentary legislation. Joseph Minattur points out that the Child Marriage Act which made it an offense for a man to marry a girl under 15, has been ineffective as the law nevertheless accepts the validity of such a marriage.¹² Similarly, even though dowry is prohibited by law, wedding gifts are allowed, and this undercuts the law. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 granted women an equal right to institute divorce proceedings, but discrimination continues. Under the Indian Divorce Act, a woman can divorce her husband for mental and physical brutality, but a husband can divorce his wife on more broad grounds, including adultery.

The great impediment to progressive social legislation is the prevailing cultural climate which clings on rigidly to past ideas. This is why an Indian Hindu woman is hesitant

to divorce, as remarriage of a widow has been traditionally an anathema. Thus, we see a great divergence between the legal rights given to women and the factual framework. What contributes to the grimness of the situation is that women in rural areas are not even aware of the existence of such laws to protect them. Therefore, what is needed is a vast national effort which would not merely educate the Indian women about their current rights, but also educate both male and female about the real objectives behind the social laws. Only then, will women enjoy full equality with men as promised in the preamble to the Indian Constitution.

Next to the Hindu women, Moslem women are the next largest female group in India. Let us briefly study their traditional status and present condition. According to the Koranic Law, a Moslem man can take as many as four wives. He can also divorce his wife at will without assigning any reason and simply by saying "I divorce you" three times. He is not required to pay any maintenance to a wife thus divorced, though he is obligated to pay *mehr*, an amount fixed at the time of marriage. But a wife does not get *mehr* if she initiates the divorce.¹³ On the other hand, it is very difficult for a woman to obtain a divorce. She has to go to court, and the conditions under which she can apply for a divorce are very stringent. If she gets a divorce, she forfeits *mehr*. Polygamy by a man is no ground for a divorce by the woman. Thus the absence of any safeguards for woman authorized the inequality of the sexes in Moslem society. The parliamentary legislation described earlier only applies to Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh women. The Indian government is hesitant to do anything about the Moslem women because of political considerations as the personal laws of Moslems are a part of the Koran. Thus the Moslem population itself will have to make an effort to revamp religion to modern conditions. So far no such successful effort has been made as demonstrated by a backlash in Iran under Khomeini, and in Pakistan under military rule.

As a matter of fact, all the ancient religions have to be revised and readjusted to meet the challenge of the modern woman whose self-image has been drastically changed as a result of growing education, increased employment, and the availability of birth control measures which release women for self-growth. So far, none of the major religions seem to have undertaken this task seriously. Time is running out, if substantial changes are not accomplished in the near future, women who, so far, have been the steadfast devotees and preservers of religious traditions, may abandon religion as being an instrument of their subjection.

India is a nation of great diversity. Rural India is so different from urban India, it is as if two separate societies exist upon the same subcontinent. Even within urban India, the educated middle class and the illiterate working class live in different worlds. In the educated middle class, a large spectrum of different ideas and attitudes is to be found depending upon such interrelated factors as caste, region, religion, availability of education and jobs, and the family structure.

Among the rural women, even though they form a small fraction of the agricultural work force, changing conditions in agriculture would require them to learn new skills. That would mandate that basic education be made widely available to them. The central government has set up primary and secondary schools in villages, but very few girls beyond a certain age are able to attend. What is needed is a drastic change in the traditional roles of sexes within the family and in the wider society. Birth control measures have to be widely accepted by rural women. Even though government centres are there to distribute all kinds of contraceptives, rural women have not taken advantage of them. How can the women in villages accept small families? Traditional thinking has to change and economic security must be provided by increased productivity through larger land

holdings and mechanization of agriculture, rather than from having large families. Women must be productive so that the demand for dowries will cease. Education has to be continuous and comprehensive to teach the rural population that funeral rites need not be the monopoly of sons. Such drastic revision of religious belief seems preferable to completely abandoning religion.

Are these goals too utopian to be realized? Only the future can answer this question. We can make a few observations and recommendations and hope for the best. The government has established a number of centres for various social tasks. Private organizations have similar social goals. The two will further have to join hands and coordinate their efforts to bring about the best results in a short time. Media can play a large role in the dissemination of new ideas and new programs. In rural India, radios are common. Television has become very popular since the 1970s, at least in the cities. In rural India, the government can install television sets at a number of centers to distribute new plans and schemes. In India, television is a national monopoly. The government should increase the number of social programs.

Tradition is that the Councils of Elders (Panchayat), like in ancient societies, are very much respected and obeyed in villages. The government has undertaken a number of social programs through these councils in the past; the councils can be further geared to augment their social responsibility toward women. Movies are very popular in India; it is reported that next to Hollywood, India is the second largest producer of public movies. There have been movies with social themes. At the urging of the government commercials are inserted to extoll families with less children. In India, movies are released only after clearing the board of official censors. Here is a strong weapon in the hands of the government which can be used more extensively in favor of women.

Among other recommendations, many additional jobs can be made available to women. The Indian government is in a position to act, as it controls a major segment of the economy called the Public Sector. The important point is that women should be given more and more jobs without waiting first for the male work force to be employed. Only then, women can realize some aspects of their vision of equality.

In addition, rural men must be educated to give equal control over family earnings to their womenfolk. Economic control can lead to a new assertiveness and self-confidence among the rural female. This is not an easy mission to accomplish, as for centuries men have enjoyed full control over their wives' earning. Ester Boserup pointed out that in developing countries change is slow because either people refuse to do more than customary work or they refuse to do the work which has traditionally been done by the opposite sex.¹⁴ Massive effort is needed on a national scale to change such time honored myths.

Indian women have been fortunate in one essential respect. They did not have to struggle for rights to vote, education and work, which were granted to them by the Indian Constitution. And Indian women have been lucky in that, so far, there has not been any significant backlash of "male chauvinism" like in the West. Indian men have accepted the entry of women in the national job market, either because competition from women is not significant, or because the Indian male has been long conditioned to accept females as partners, at least in some jobs, because of support given to the women's cause by men like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru over years.

Complaint is often heard from males that women have everything in their favor: social legislation, job training centers, availability of family planning and free public education. If females have failed to take full advantage of them, they are to be blamed for being too tradition-bound. However, women's traditionalism is not the sole hindrance

to women's progress; other factors have to bear equal share of responsibility. For example, the rapid rise in population still restricts the availability of jobs to women. It is like a vicious cycle. Her economic dependence forces her to yield to all kinds of social pressures like arranged marriages, dowry-system and the ban on mixing with the opposite sex. The ban restrains her from taking up outside jobs as her marriage prospects and those of her sisters can be ruined forever by slanderous gossip. The other institution which hinders women's advance is the continuation of the joint-family system. Parent-in-laws have to live with the married son and daughter-in-law because of lack of a social security system like in the United States and also because of traditional compulsion. The presence of orthodox elders can greatly dampen and destroy the vitality and ambitions of a daughter-in-law. In other words, a very drastic redefinition of sex-roles has to take place.

The case of the Indian women is very different from that of the women in the West.¹⁵ In India, the issue of women's self-discovery and self-development is not an isolated matter. It forms a part of a much larger issue — the liberation of the individual. In India, an individual has been so much suppressed and subjected to the authority of age, kinship, caste and custom, that he has not been assertive. Thus, the movement for the emancipation of women in India has to be viewed as part of a wider process of liberation of the individual.

However, there is one similarity between the American women's movement and the emancipation of women in India. Male chauvinists fear that reshuffling of traditional roles will harm the family institution in the long run as women will pay less attention to the family, being basically pre-occupied with the outside job. Feminists reply that a re-distribution of family responsibilities would establish new family relationships which would create a better companionship within the family. Whether in India or the West, everyone benefits when individual dignity is respected and when each individual has an equal opportunity to share the blessings of liberty.

Endnotes

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The Black Struggle for Quality Education in Cincinnati and the Re-emergence of Black Private Schools, 1829-1986

by Michael H. Washington and John P. DeMarcus, Jr.

The movement by black Cincinnatians to secure quality education for their youth has a long, complex history. While the majority of black Americans were denied education (along with most other rights of citizenship) particularly prior to the Civil War, Cincinnati blacks understood the value of education for improving themselves and their social situation. Initially, the struggle for black education began in the late 1820s. During the early phase of the struggle, blacks were hampered greatly by the existence of strong racial animosities expressed in the behavior and attitude of the area's majority population. The hostility toward blacks increased and several riots took place.

Although the blacks of this period were indeed faced with an extremely difficult task, they did not give up; rather, they actively struggled against the policies established by the school board.¹ During this period, the struggle for quality education focused primarily on separate black public education; however, there was a movement on the part of many blacks to establish private schools. This aim of the struggle created a cycle which began when blacks were legally deprived of public education and resurfaced as a result of the establishment of defacto segregation during the post-*Brown v. Board of Education* era. The tendency to organize and establish private educational facilities for black children occurred largely in reaction to dissatisfaction and frustration with the public system which deprived and discriminated against blacks in a racist fashion. The attempt to gain quality education can be seen as quite complex with the majority of blacks struggling for quality public education while others attempted the establishment of black private schools. They have, however, always held the same goal — the achievement of quality education for the black child. It is the intent of this paper to trace the struggle of Cincinnati blacks for quality education from 1829 to the early 1980s. What will be demonstrated is the failure of the Cincinnati School Board to commit itself to quality education for blacks — at first by legal means and later by the establishment of defacto segregation. This caused black private schools to resurface as a viable means of blacks to provide quality education for their youth.

During the first period of black's struggle from 1829 to 1840 Cincinnati may be characterized as extreme in its racist ideology and policies. In the view of prominent historian Carter Woodson, Cincinnati's economy was strongly linked with the slave states. As a result, the businessmen of the area, while not unanimously in favor of slavery, did not want to give the appearance to the South of sympathizing with the blacks. Furthermore, many residents held that blacks in Cincinnati were out of place and should not be allowed contact with whites or "white institutions" such as churches and schools.²

Cincinnati's industry depended heavily on skilled or semi-skilled laborers. These groups, which initially formed trade unions, have historically been very racist and discriminatory in their views and practices. Many skilled blacks were alienated from

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work because the skilled whites maintained it was a disgrace to work with blacks. Blacks came to Cincinnati for many reasons, but on a large scale they were fleeing the persecution of the South and looking for new opportunity; they came to the wrong place in the case of Cincinnati. They were alienated in the work place and segregated in the social world.

In Cincinnati racial prejudice came to a crest over enforcement of the Ohio Black Laws enacted by the state legislature in 1807. These "Black Codes" were a powerful mirror of the dominant racist public opinion in the North at the time. The legislation stated that no black would be allowed to settle in the state of Ohio unless he could establish a \$500 bond to provide for his good behavior and support. The law increased the fine against anyone harboring a fugitive slave from \$50 to \$100; and the informant in such situation was to receive half of the fine.

The Supreme Court upheld the law but Cincinnati officials were slow in enforcing it. Many blacks were not able to gain the \$500 bond and, therefore, should have been forced to leave the state. Because of the city official's hesitance to enforce the law, the Riot of 1829 took place. A mob of proslavery men formed in the city determined to run the blacks out. These men held power in the city for three days, attacking and killing blacks on the streets. As a result, many blacks fled Cincinnati for the northern or western wilderness areas hoping to finally escape the racist persecution. Others migrated to more isolated rural areas of Ohio.

While these violent developments were certainly frightening for many members of the black community, they were not successful in defeating the black struggle for quality education. Rather, in many ways these actions actually strengthened their efforts for full citizenship. The rise of abolitionist movements was largely a result of the public's firsthand exposure to this extreme racial injustice. The formation of private black schools and black churches was facilitated. However, some bold white educators were willing to provide blacks with some instruction when they were not able to receive it through their own separate system.³ By 1834, a large portion of Cincinnati's black population was receiving some form of education.⁴

The focus of the black struggle at the time centered around gaining access to public education. However, because of the rejection they received, blacks were forced to strive for the establishment and maintenance of private black schools through which a black child could be taught to think and do things for himself rather than be passively kept in a position of servitude or inferiority.

The situation for blacks in Cincinnati grew steadily worse due largely to the rapidly increasing influx of blacks fleeing from the South. The influx increased the percentage of blacks in the population and strengthened anti-black sentiments. Largely as a result of increased tensions, the Riot of 1836 took place. The riot was largely an attempt to undermine efforts of the anti-slavery publication, *The Philanthropist*. The mob which formed to destroy this publication broke into the office, destroyed everything they could find and smashed the presses. Following their "work" here, they "visited" the houses of *The Philanthropist*'s supporters, shouting threats and generally disturbing the inhabitants. Later, when rioters were about to attack the home of a black who was an associate of James G. Birney, owner of *The Philanthropist*, they were greeted with gun shots from the front window; then they decided to withdraw without attacking the house.⁵

Provoked by these renewed hostilities, blacks and their allies made significant progress during this period. Blacks, with the aid of progressive whites, succeeded in acquiring adequate funding and property to establish schools in which to educate their children. Due to the tireless efforts of Cincinnati's black movement during this period, the first public school was opened in 1841.⁶ The school was constructed with funds derived from property taxes collected from blacks.

Salmon P. Chase, a prominent abolitionist and successful lawyer and politician, worked for the black cause. Due to his efforts and others, the Black Laws were repealed or modified to give blacks legal standing in court and allowances for educational tax funds. However, the repealing of laws did not change the prejudicial attitudes of many white Cincinnatians. The school board refused to turn over the educational funds to the black educators. The black community then filed suit against the school board and the courts required the school board to comply with state law and transfer the appropriate funds to the black educational system.⁷

Black educators continued to have problems dealing with the prejudice of the white school board who refused to allocate funds to the black system. Despite this, blacks had by 1849 gained control of their separate school system. The separate black public schools during these years achieved a high degree of quality according to those who had visited and evaluated them.⁸ However, the victory, which had required the efforts of so many blacks and whites, was short-lived. In 1854 the state legislature enacted a revision of the law which shifted control of the black separate schools back to the common white school board. A justification for such a shift seems to be non-existent.

One can only make an educated guess as to the motives of the school board and the legislature in this matter. Was it that the white school board, as a result of their racial prejudices, were unable to tolerate the concept of blacks educating themselves and their children as they felt necessary? Certainly, there is no evidence that blacks were not receiving a quality education equal to that found in the white schools. Also, in this society the black children being instructed in the black separate schools were receiving the least amount of discrimination possible.

Ironically, however, the state law still required that the power should lie in the hands of those officials elected in the black school district. The white board was to be granted only the authority to oversee the separate system. However, in their method of "overseeing" the school the school board simply selected persons whom they knew would be cooperative and appointed them to these supposedly elected positions. Also, the white school board appointed two conservative whites to fill the controlling positions of superintendent and principal of the black system. The opposition to these measures was strong in the black community. Initially, due to the strong disapproval of the black movement, the takeover was postponed but was then finally implemented.

Black educational leaders who had fought so hard to gain control in the first place were not prepared without a struggle to turn over the quality system they had built. Black leaders refused to cooperate with the white board's efforts to gain finances from the black community. Also, there was a strong movement on the part of progressive persons in the state capitol to return control to the blacks. As a result the struggle again ended with another seeming victory; control was in 1856, again returned to the black separate school board.

After blacks regained control the focus of the struggle changed. Now the system was emphasizing growth and expansion. Several new school houses were built despite the clause which forbade the building of structures with educational funds. The system circumvented this clause by the aid, once again, of wealthy, progressive whites of Cincinnati such as Nicholas Longworth.⁹ During this period of expansion, Cincinnati blacks were once again recognized for the quality of instruction which their separate institutions were providing.

After ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment granting suffrage to black males in 1870 the black educational leaders realized the value of the black vote for acquiring greater financial support from the white board as well as the state government. The leaders of

the black educational movement were able to convince black voters to support candidates whom they felt would better serve the needs of the black schools. When white board members and elected officials comprehended the power of this political development they began to strive for an integrated school system, that is, a system under the control of one board. Therefore it appears that this move was in reality not a move toward greater equality but rather, it was a move implemented to facilitate the manipulation of the black vote.

The black community was split on the subject of integration. Some felt that integration would truly benefit their children by placing them within a system which would operate fairly toward them due to the new voting power. Most, however, were like Peter Clark, who believed that school board integration would not at all serve the interests of the black seeking a quality education. Also, he felt that such a move toward integration would lead to total white control and the loss of black instructor's positions.¹⁰ However, to the dismay of Cincinnati's black educators, the Legislative Act of 1873 was passed. This act, known as the Uniform School Law, placed complete control of both school systems under one white controlling board.

There are many things which seem to be responsible for the passage of this law. The panic and depression of 1873 and Cincinnati's falling behind in the rise of heavy industry have been suggested as possible economic causes.

It is maintained that since the school system was brought under control of one board, spending could be controlled in order to fund some things which the board saw as priorities and neglect others which they felt unimportant, i.e. the separate black schools. While this theory may very well be quite valid, it seems that it must have been more complex than this. Probably the primary factor which again caused the seizure of control of the separate system was the gaining of the right to vote. While initially the blacks' right to vote was powerful and again later would be significant in the fight for quality, separately controlled educational institutions, the existence of the right to vote for blacks caused experienced white politicians to see the benefit of control of the entire system as a crucial tool in the subsequent manipulation of the black voting tendencies. In this plan white controllers could manipulate the vote by giving small seeming victories to the black educational movement while always keeping blacks in a segregated position.

As a result of the control of the schools falling into the hands of the white board, conditions in the black schools continued to deteriorate. Among the worst problems for the black schools were overcrowding of the classroom and the fact that the schools were located in areas not at all convenient for the black population. In response to these problems the black struggle focused upon attaining intergration and desegregation of the students, rather than integration of the school board's control.

Utilizing the power of the black vote, the black community succeeded in the passage of the Arnett Law in the Ohio Legislature in 1887. It made dual school systems illegal.¹¹ Once more the passage of a seemingly progressive desegregation law was seen in the black community as a great victory. Black leaders felt that finally they were truly victorious in the long struggle for equality. Many blacks felt that the passage of this law was the first step in a social revolution for blacks in which they would, at last, be able to gain equal status as citizens. Unfortunately, however, the law did not bring about any great changes. The school board maintained segregation in education in Cincinnati through new measures. No longer was segregation a strict mandate of state law; rather, due to the passage of the Arnett Law, the rise of "Defacto Segregation" took place.¹² In this system blacks were discouraged from attending the white schools by the severe pressure which was placed upon those who attempted entry into the white establishments. Also,

a method used by the school board to keep blacks "in their place" was the lowering of the status for black teachers. Many were fired by the board; the rest were strongly intimidated by the board's statement that their contracts could not be renewed under the new law. While the establishment of the Arnett Law, which made segregation illegal in education, was an important step in the black struggle it could not change the attitudes of Cincinnati's prejudiced white population. The system of "Defacto Segregation" has continued to operate in Cincinnati to the present day.

The system of Defacto Segregation has constantly been an obstacle to true equality in education ever since the passage of the Arnett Law. In the few schools that had become somewhat mixed racially in spite of Defacto Segregation, black pupils were treated poorly, usually received less attention and instruction and were generally ostracized from the school community as a whole.

The black community's reaction to the continuation of segregation in education in the face of the Arnett Law was to continue the struggle through petitions and demonstrations to force the white school board to comply with the law. Many black separate schools were maintained under the new law because they were termed "voluntary schools" by the board. In other words, if blacks did not want to be harassed, alienated, and discriminated against in the white, mixed system, they had to attend such "voluntary" schools. One such separate volunteer school was the Douglas School. Here blacks could receive quality training but they had to remain separate. Also, the fact that this was the only place to receive an education essentially free of any in-class discrimination forced blacks to have to travel from all areas of the city to the school. This hardship was something which blacks of this period had to endure if they wished to gain a decent education. As a result of the alienation of the black educational movement from the white system, the Douglas School was transformed into the center of the black community. Blacks felt a great deal of pride toward their school though they were forced to remain segregated.

The struggle for integration continued from 1887 to 1910. However, pride in the quality of the separate black schools in some ways led to accommodation on the part of some black leaders. This development created a division within the black movement between those who saw an end to segregation as the primary goal and those who believed that acquiring an education whether segregated or not should be the prime concern.

Jennie Porter, the woman appointed to run the Stowe School, was one of the blacks who felt that more could be accomplished educating black youth in a segregated school than in fighting the system. Porter, while working for what she saw as the best interests of the black community, was condemned by many voices in the black movement. Chiefly, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People repeatedly condemned her practices of accommodation, maintaining that she was doing more harm than good. Also, NAACP leaders stated that whites would welcome the segregation and that the only reason Porter was maintaining these schools was for money.

The stance of the NAACP changed, however, in 1931 with the election of Theodore Berry as President. Berry understood and could see the value of Jennie Porter's Stowe School. The new stance of the NAACP bridged the gap between the opposing sides of the black movement. Armed with the reunification of the black community, Porter and Berry, along with other black educational leaders, redirected the aim of the struggle toward integration of teachers and faculty. It was reasoned by black leaders that if they could achieve the integration of teachers they would eliminate the strongest obstacle to the desegregation of the schools. Initially, this aim of the struggle manifested itself in the placement of black teachers in the predominantly black schools of the West End.

In the fall of 1943 the black struggle achieved success when several black teachers

were assigned to the Twelfth District School. With the integration of teachers at Twelfth District, the few white pupils at the school were transferred in the belief that integration of the faculty was a solution to the problem. In the process, another 100 percent black student body was created. Moreover, the members of the all white faculty at Twelfth District were first opposed, but by 1944 the seven black and thirteen white teachers were working together harmoniously. In the fall of the 1948-49 school year, the Twelfth District Plan was implemented in Dyer School where approximately 92 percent of the pupils were black. By the 1950-51 school year Washburn School had an integrated faculty. In 1953, Sands, Hays, and Jackson Elementaries as well as Bloom and Porter Junior High Schools, experienced faculty integration. The demand for teacher integration remained a major focus with the NAACP throughout the 1950s and by 1959 well over twenty schools had integrated faculties.¹³

The leaders of the black movement who advocated integration welcomed the landmark Supreme Court decision *Oliver Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* which declared segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. They attempted to force the Cincinnati School Board to comply. This struggle was implemented through petitions, lawsuits, boycotts, marches and mass protests. The strategies employed by blacks to defeat the neighborhood school policy proved, in the long run, to be quite effective. The strategy was basically a two-fold one involving protesting the segregative policies of the school board while simultaneously seeking leadership positions in organizations and institutions so as to impact on the decision making process which affected black education.

In 1963, Calvin Conliffe became the first black to be elected to the School Board. In addition, by the late 1960s, the Citizens School Committee (the organization responsible for nominating School Board candidates since 1913) found such members in its ranks as Marjorie Parham, Eugene Fields, William West and Dr. Holloway "Chuck" Sells. Calvin Conliffe's influence on the board, combined with the nomination of liberal candidates, resulted in a liberal majority dominating on the board from January, 1972 to December 31, 1973. On December 10, 1973 the liberals adopted a resolution which completely desegregated the schools such that the boundaries would be completely abolished and restructured so that every school in the district would be 49% black and 51% white when the schools would open the following September.¹⁴ Their victory though, was a short lived one because the four conservatives who won the election in November, 1973 rescinded the desegregation resolution in January, 1974 and implemented in its place the magnet or alternative school plan. The conservatives were able to escape accusations of racism by selecting Robert Braddock, a black man, to run on their slate to "rubber stamp" their conservative policies. Hence, on January 14, 1974 the conservatives replaced the desegregation resolution with one that was intended to prevent desegregation from occurring and on May 29, 1974 the NAACP filed the Mona Bronson law suit in order to compel the conservative school board to desegregate the schools.

Throughout the 1970s the conservative school board attempted to implement its policy of creating alternative schools by closing black schools and displacing black students. In addition, because the alternative schools attracted the best black students, a "legacy of non-achievers" was left in the predominantly black neighborhood schools.¹⁵ For most black youths the quality of education declined.

Because of these conditions, blacks continued the struggle for a desegregated quality education in the public schools. Others, however, came to the recognition that in order to insure that black youths would receive a quality education, black private schools must be created and supported by Cincinnati's black community. Hence, in 1980 the Martin

Luther King Jr. Academy was opened in the West End on Bank Street. Based on the philosophy that quality education in the early years are crucial for future success, the Academy offers instruction from preschool to the eighth grade. Similarly, the Cincinnati Community Academy, which opened its doors in 1981 in Madisonville, focused on building self esteem while providing quality education in the kindergarten through tenth grade. Unfortunately, because of financial difficulties the Cincinnati Community Academy was forced to close its doors in the Spring of 1985, but the idea of sending their children to black private schools seems to be gaining in popularity among black families in Cincinnati.¹⁶ This is quite evident by the increased enrollment in the Martin Luther King Jr. Academy.

Hence, the movement for black private schools which began in the 1830s because of the state law which made it illegal to educate black youths in the public schools, has once again become a viable alternative for black youths because of the failure of the Cincinnati Public Schools to comply with the spirit of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Endnotes

¹ Gregory Corr and Samuel Matthews, "Blacks and Public Education, 1828-1887," *Racism and the Denial of Human Rights: Beyond Ethnicity* (MEP Publishers, Minneapolis, 1984), 100-103.

² Carter Woodson, "The Negroes of Cincinnati: Prior to the Civil War," *Free Blacks in America, 1800-1860* (Bracey, Meier, Rudwick, Wadsworth Publishing, Belmont, California, 1971), 72.

³ Ibid., 73-74.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 78.

⁶ Corr and Matthews, "Blacks and Public Education," 103.

⁷ Woodson, "Negroes of Cincinnati," 79.

⁸ Corr and Matthews, "Blacks and Public Education," 103-104.

⁹ Ibid., 103.

¹⁰ Ibid., 107.

¹¹ Michael Washington, "Black Struggle for Quality Desegregated Education in Cincinnati," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1984, 40.

¹² Ibid., 49-51.

¹³ Ibid., 99-102.

¹⁴ Ibid., 281.

¹⁵ Ibid., 320-328.

¹⁶ Interview with Richard Lewis, Cincinnati, October 31, 1986.



Akers, Charles W. *Abigail Adams: An American Woman* (Boston, 1980).

The American woman has made significant progress in her social standing during the life of the American Republic. This progress has been spasmodic and hard-won, with most advancement in women's legal, social and political rights occurring in the twentieth century. However, the inferior position of American women in society was recognized and deplored by more liberal and enlightened individuals for many years before progress developed. One of these insightful individuals was Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, second President of the United States. In *Abigail Adams: An American Woman* Charles W. Akers traces Abigail's awareness of her female restrictions in the male-dominated colonial society. He develops the theme to show how she overcame these limitations and achieved the confidence and intellectual admiration of the leading political figures in the new nation.

Formal education was denied most females in colonial New England as marriage and motherhood were deemed a woman's primary function. Abigail was an exceptional young woman for her day in that she developed language skills and cultivated her intellect. Thus, she enjoyed the wide selection of literature in her clergyman-father's library. Being an impressionable young girl, Abigail was profoundly influenced by the contemporary essays of Joseph Addison from which she formulated strong views of rational religion and morality. She was deeply affected by the novels of Samuel Richardson which dealt with contemporary issues concerning personal identity and the social role of women of the eighteenth-century. Richardson advanced the notion that an intelligent woman should have the freedom of choosing an intellectually compatible husband who would respect her accomplishments. This was a drastic deviation from society when a woman was economically dependent on marriage and subservient to her husband. Like most young women of her day, Abigail was greatly concerned about her possibilities of marriage which would determine her future.

Abigail always considered herself fortunate to have found both love and the virtuous qualities she admired in her chosen husband, John Adams. John was an unusual male for his day in that he loved Abigail deeply but also highly admired her intellectual accomplishments. He was a challenging individual, involved in the American Revolution, the early attempts of self-rule by the colonies, and a leader in the new American government as it conducted the war and negotiated the peace with Great Britain. John frequently sought Abigail's astute observations and incisive opinions on personalities and political matters as his career developed from lawyer to the highest political office of president of the new republic. Thus, Abigail had an unusual freedom as a woman to express her political views and assert herself within the confines of her marriage.

John's and Abigail's marriage matured into a partnership of equals, each operating to their full potential within their properly perceived spheres. Although Abigail never pressed for full equality between the sexes, she had a keen desire for women's rights. Akers includes correspondence between Abigail and John at the time the new constitutional was being drafted. She pleaded that John "remember the Ladies" and asked him to endorse a legal system in which rights of women would be protected. Abigail

read the outspoken ideas of Mary Wollstonecraft who wrote of the debasement of females and urged John to appreciate the virtues of the female character. Abigail also became an avid reader of James Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women* which urged women to achieve their fullest potential and stressed the importance of intellectual accomplishments.

In marriage Abigail fulfilled the traditional role of womanhood by bearing a total of six children. John's career in public service required long absences and Abigail was forced to assume primary responsibility for maintaining home and family. She became acutely aware of the poignant problem of her generation, whereby society placed the heavy burden of early childhood training on mothers who had received little or no education. Abigail became an acute business manager of the family farm and assets, which was an unusual independence allowed a woman. She developed self-esteem and confidence during John's long absences. She took pride in her sacrifice which allowed her husband to perform a heroic task for the new republic.

Abigail spent four years abroad during John's appointment as commissioner of the new government. She observed the European social and political customs and admired the educated females who could command the respect of intelligent and distinguished men. The European experience bolstered her self-confidence as she conducted herself intelligently and competently in the social circles of Europe. Abigail returned from this trip with renewed enthusiasm and high ideals for the new republic.

Abigail became convinced that the hope of preserving the nation lay in the education of both men and women. She thought that women should maintain the home which would develop men to be republican leaders, as evidenced by the qualities she instilled in her son, John Quincy Adams, destined to become the sixth President of the United States. She thought that their wives were to be patriotic supporters of the country and educators of the young.

Abigail recognized the injustices to women in American society. She chose to exert her influence for change through her husband, without embarrassing him or hindering his political career. Abigail would gradually enlarge her political influence through her extensive correspondence and personal friendships with leading political figures. In time, Abigail Adams became the nation's best informed woman on public affairs and was regarded with esteem.

Akers' biography has evoked mixed reactions from Ralph Ketcham of Syracuse University. Ketcham credits Akers with writing an accurate and judicious account of Abigail's life, incorporating materials and insights from many sources. In Ketcham's opinion, however, Akers offers little new information on Abigail. Ketcham acknowledges that it would be difficult for any author to produce new material on this personality who has been the subject of extensive writing since the increased interest in women's studies. He recognized that it is difficult for authors to match the brilliance of Abigail's personal words and style in her numerous letters which are available to readers. Ketcham concedes that Akers has made some fresh evaluations, particularly concerning Abigail's feminism within her "proper sphere." He views Akers' suggestion of a psychological theory for Abigail's disdain for John Hancock unnecessary since Abigail set forth sound reasons for her opinions. Ketcham compliments Akers' lean style of writing and deems his book a contribution to the Library of American Biography series.¹

Ralph A. Brown's review of this biography in *The New England Quarterly* highly endorses Akers' book. Brown acknowledges other previous excellent biographies on Abigail Adams but thinks Professor Akers has benefited greatly as the first biographer to have access to the Adams Papers as a primary source. Brown thinks Akers has thoroughly researched his subject and has developed a good awareness of the times in which the

Adamses lived. Brown compliments Akers' treatment of Abigail's and John's personal relationship and changing perceptiveness.²

I found this biography to be an enlightening account of the Adamses' private and political lives. Like reviewer Brown, the book made me very aware of the harsh living conditions of colonial times. I was especially moved by the lack of medical knowledge which made childbirth so hazardous and allowed epidemics to run rampant throughout society. It also made me better aware of the injustices to women under the customs and laws which the colonists brought with them as part of their European heritage.

Many readers may criticize Abigail for not being more aggressive in pursuing women's rights. However, her preference to work through the influence of her husband must be evaluated within the context of her time. Even though Abigail did not insist on full equality between the sexes, her admirable ideals of education, patriotism and morality for all citizens remain valid in today's society. Abigail was not representative of the average woman in colonial America as her education and intelligence far surpassed the norm. However, she set an example that showed women could improve their social position through proper education. Abigail Adams carved her personal niche in American history. Her life stands as a beacon of concern and awareness in a dark world of female limitations.

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Endnotes

¹ See review in *The Journal of American History* (1981) 67, 662-663 (by Ralph Ketcham).

² See review in *The New England Quarterly* (1980) 53, 397-398 (by Ralph A. Brown).



**Morris, Edmund. *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*
(New York, 1979).**

Theodore Roosevelt: the name alone conjures images of greatness and energy rarely matched by the multitude of prominent figures in United States history. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. experienced adventures that many men could not have endured in five lifetimes. The nation's twenty-sixth president prevailed over set-backs and tragedies that would have crippled the spirit of any but the most extraordinary of souls. Through intrepid will and superior intelligence, Roosevelt absorbed the blows and expediently utilized all the advantages that life had to offer and became one of the most predominant and influential characters of this century. A passage from his favorite poem, Longfellow's "The Saga of King Olaf," reflects the indomitable character of Roosevelt which catapulted him to glory:

Thus came Olaf to his own,
When upon the night-wind blown
Passed that cry along the shore;
And he answered, while the rifted
Streamers o'er him shook and shifted,
"I accept thy challenge, Thor!" (p. 247).

In summary of Morris' work, it would be most tedious and of no consequent value to recount the extensive biography in its entirety. More important to the story of Theodore Roosevelt than any other aspect of his life were his childhood and adolescence. It was in these stages that Theodore developed the vitality, fortitude, and sheer bullishness which was to characterize his astonishing rise to historical prominence. It was Theodore's incessant bout with asthma and subsequent intensive physical training that impacted his life most dramatically. In a solemn talk with his revered father, he received the inspiration to begin his all-consuming attack upon the illness which rendered his body so weak. Theodore Senior told his son in no uncertain terms that he must "make his body" in order that he could make the most of his mind. And "make his body" he did. In the process of ridding himself of illness and restoring his body, Theodore developed the thrill of adventure that was to propell him to exchange vicious blows in the boxing ring, to attack the summit of the Matterhorn, to outgun outlaws, to confront grizzly bears, and to charge head-long into impending death at San Juan Hill. The iron will and ability to withstand heart-shaking tragedy which developed in this time was paramount to his accepting his father's death at such a young age and to surviving the loss of mother and wife on St. Valentine's Day, 1884 without loss of sanity.

In September, 1901 Roosevelt ascended to the Presidency of the United States after the assassination of William McKinley, thus ending *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. The cursory glance at this ascension reveals an early career in zoology, entrance into politics at the age of 23 and his election to the New York State Assembly, a financial failure in ranching, a stint as Civil Service Commissioner in Washington, another as New York Police Commissioner, a term as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the command of the Rough Riders and military glory at San Juan Hill, the Governorship of New York, and the Vice-Presidency — and all before the age of forty-two. Quite extraordinary!

For a more proper review of Morris' work, I enlisted the aid of Gerald W. McFarland of the *American Historical Review*, and Ari Hoogenboom of the *Political Science Quarterly*. In his review, McFarland opines that Morris' writing was commendable and research

was complete, presenting the years preceding his presidency in extensive detail. McFarland compares Morris' biography to those done by Carleton Putnam and Henry F. Pringle, saying that his is similar to Putnam's and unlike Pringle's, where Morris' mature and responsible Theodore is portrayed as a "self-seeking perpetual adolescent." McFarland finds that Morris leans toward Roosevelt in many of his judgements. Morris falls short of a flagrant bias in that he points out repeatedly some of Roosevelt's more unsavory characteristics. However, in McFarland's view, these representations are far outnumbered by the idealistic and glowing interpretations in the majority of his writing. As a result of this one-sidedness, McFarland continues, the reader does not get a true picture of Roosevelt's opposition. Roosevelt's contradictory nature was also inadequately explicated, according to McFarland, who notes Roosevelt's love of nature and lust for killing game, his bold altercations in public life and repression of conflicts in private life, and his affection for mankind and hunger for war. In concluding, McFarland states that despite the value of works such as Morris' biography, it remains to the future to produce an account of the life of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. that captures the entire person and examines the conflicts within this interesting personality.

In his review Ari Hoogenboom concurs with McFarland in that Morris has made the best of his research and has written an excellent biography which superbly summarizes Roosevelt's political career. The two reviewers also agree that while Morris is critical of Roosevelt at points, far too often he paints a somewhat distorted picture in Roosevelt's favor. In this area Hoogenboom points out Morris' glossing over of Roosevelt's anti-semitic and racial tendencies. In regard to Morris' performance in dealing with Roosevelt's contradictory personality, Hoogenboom views Morris differently than McFarland. According to Hoogenboom, Morris was at his best when framing Roosevelt's powerful personality and in bringing out those traits which opposed each other. Hoogenboom finds fault, however, with Morris' understanding of the era. He states that Morris erred when he referred to Samuel Jones of Toledo as a governor and exaggerated when he claimed that Presidents Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, and Harrison relied so heavily on Thomas Platt's decisions. Hoogenboom goes further by saying that Morris was confused in his interpretation of the party lines regarding the tariff in late 1887 and that Morris' study of the election of 1884 was hindered by his neglect of Lee Benson's writings. In this final analysis, however, Hoogenboom rules that Morris has written a superb and balanced biography of Theodore Roosevelt.²

To conclude, I must state that I was enthralled with Morris' work. Despite the expansiveness of this biography, I found the reading to be enjoyable and fast-paced. Because of the voluminous nature of the book, however, I must honestly confess that a second reading in the future would be beneficial. In regard to the reviews by McFarland and Hoogenboom, I must concur with both reviewers' views on Morris' style and research. I could suggest no method for improvement in this area. I also perceived Morris to be a bit "pro-Roosevelt" and would have gained much from a more complete portrayal of those who opposed Roosevelt. Here I will concur with Hoogenboom and dissent from the opinion of McFarland by stating that I found Morris' analysis of Roosevelt to be quite satisfactory in the area of personality conflicts. The interest in nature Theodore possessed, I feel, was almost entirely scientific and thus there is no great mystery to his passion for the hunt. In my view, Theodore saw the animals he studied as specimens and had no consuming affection for them in the least. With regard to McFarland's view that Roosevelt's public and private lives and his attitudes toward war were also examples of this internal conflict, I must disagree. In the first area, I see Roosevelt's competitive spirit and thirst for confrontation with his enemies as the impetus for his all-out assaults in

the public sector. His private life involved no competition, however, and thus he lacked the motivation and drive to wrestle by the horns with such problems. McFarland is stretching his analogy too far in the second instance by stating that Roosevelt's love for mankind and fascination with war against Spain and Cuba was another of these conflicts. This point is moot, I feel, because Roosevelt had an intense dislike for the Spaniards and this alone would explain his desire for war. An important consideration in this matter too, is the power that glory holds in some men's hearts. I have a firm conviction that no man was ever so under the spell of glory than was Theodore Roosevelt. No "love of mankind," especially when "mankind" is the Spaniards, can compete with this desire for glory.

Finally, I feel that Morris has produced an exceptional biography. Flawed, yes, as Ari Hoogenboom adequately points out, but magnificent none-the-less. Morris' writing style alone is the ingredient to success. No other writer has moved me as much as Edmund Morris. One of the more invoking passages was his description of the tragic death of Theodore's mother and first wife and Theodore's subsequent diary entries. On the tragic day, Roosevelt entered a large cross in his diary and wrote, "The light has gone out of my life" (p. 241). Two days after the funeral he wrote a memorial to Alice, ending with, "For joy or sorrow, my life has now been lived out" (p. 244). The pain in these passages is so vivid that the reader cannot help but feel for the suffering Theodore. He was rarely ever to mention Alice again; it is as though the part of his soul that was shared with Alice died that St. Valentine's Day. This is the type of emotion and feeling that Morris was able to bring to life, this is the thing of brilliance which brings success to Morris' writing.

John W. Smith

John W. Smith is a senior history major at Northern Kentucky University.

Endnotes

- ¹. See review in *American Historical Review* (1979) 84, 1492 (by Gerald W. McFarland).
- ² See review in *Political Science Quarterly* (1979-1980) 44, 718-719 (by Ari Hoogenboom).



Letter From The President

I was very astonished yet honored to be asked to serve as President of Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta approximately one year ago. I was concerned, however, that I would have some difficulty living up to the chapter's high standards.

The dedication and assistance of our Phi Alpha Theta members made my year quite manageable. Our scholarly journal is a prime example of this dedication. Much planning, work and thought went into this issue, and I would like to congratulate Editor Christopher P. Burns, Assistant Editor Elaine M. Richardson and Faculty Advisor Dr. James Ramage on their continued success.

Hopefully, every year our young chapter will continue to grow and improve as it has in 1986-1987. Along with continuing our efforts with the journal and annual book sale, we experimented in some new areas. The chapter members took a trip in October to Perryville, Kentucky for a Civil War battle re-enactment and the outing was a huge success. Phi Alpha Theta also has sponsored several speakers and guest lecturers including our own Dr. Michael Adams. Our chapter has even volunteered to collaborate with Lambda Sigma Chapter at Thomas More College in hosting the Regional Meeting to be held in April, and an article by Damian Hils, a member of Lambda Sigma Chapter appears in this issue.

It was a good year for Phi Alpha Theta, and I wish even better success for the incoming officers and members who will be installed April 14, 1987.

*Respectively yours,
Linda M. Ruh
President
Alpha Beta Phi Chapter*

The Historian's Report

The highlight of the 1985-86 academic year was the Alpha Beta Phi Chapter receiving honorable mention for best chapter. This was accomplished for the chapter in its first year on campus. The award is the achievement of the members and the university.

Another contribution last year was the second issue of the chapter's journal. The university referred to the journal as a first class collection of oral material. Seven faculty and former faculty members, and two students participated in the interviews. Their enthusiasm and their involvement were an important part of the project's success. Another contributor was Joseph T. Shields who assisted with the editing.

On October 5, 1986 several chapter members attended a Civil War demonstration at Perryville, Kentucky. The demonstration included an encampment and a skirmish between the two sides. In December the Chapter co-sponsored a visit by Professor George A. Shepperson, W.E.B. Dubois research professor, Harvard University. Dr. Shepperson's visit included a speech on the African Diaspora. His visit was an honor for the chapter. A special thanks goes to Dr. Frank Steely who was instrumental in bringing Shepperson to the university.

The chapter's second book sale was scheduled for February 11 and 12, 1987. Several unusual old books were to be highlighted in the sale.

On April 14, 1987 Alpha Beta Phi will hold its third initiation and banquet in the university center. Dr. Thomas L. Owen from the University of Louisville will speak on "Mysterious Abraham: A fresh glimpse of Lincoln revealed by his speeches and writing."

Also in April, for the first time the chapter will co-host preliminary events for the Phi Alpha Theta Regional meeting to be held on April 24-25 at Thomas More College. NKU graduate and Phi Alpha Theta member Andrew O. Lutes will present a paper entitled "The sinking of the ARA *General Belgrano*: A description of the events and an evaluation of the controversy." Chapter Advisor Dr. James Ramage will speak on "John Hunt Morgan: Folk Hero of the Confederacy."

Christopher P. Burns



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of
Alpha Beta Phi
Chapter
1986-1987***

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Vice-PresidentRichard T. Dedman
Secretary-TreasurerElaine M. Richardson
Historian and EditorChristopher P. Burns
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April 15, 1986

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Betty R. Letscher
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