Arts & Congress

The “Sculptress Phenomenon,” Statuary Hall, and Elisabet Ney

With the Right to Vote Goes the Right to Representation: The Portrait Monument to Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony

Shakespeare, Congress, and the Folger Library
From the Editor’s Desk

After more than two years on hiatus, we are delighted to bring you a new issue of The Capitol Dome. Volume 59 takes a look at the intersection of Congress and the arts through three distinct lenses.

In the first article, 2019 Capitol Fellow Jacquelyn Delin McDonald, Ph.D., explores the pioneering artistic achievements of sculptor Elizabet Ney, whose statues of Sam Houston and Steven F. Austin have represented the state of Texas in the National Statuary Hall Collection since 1905. An important figure in the “sculptress phenomenon,” Ney’s story as an immigrant and glass-ceiling-breaker remains as relevant and inspirational today as it has for generations.

In the second article, historian Sandra Weber recounts the dedicated effort it took to place the Portrait Monument to the women’s suffrage movement in the United States Capitol. Between aesthetic critiques, general misogyny, and infighting among its advocates, the sculpture took an arduous journey from a block of raw Carrera marble to a permanent tribute in The Capitol Rotunda.

In the third article, attorney Michael W. Evans draws upon his decades of experience as a U.S. Senate staffer to examine the lessons we all can learn about politics – and democracy – from a closer reading of Shakespeare. Evans also answers the question: Why is the world’s largest collection of Shakespeareana located just off the Capitol Campus?

This issue also includes a loving tribute to the late 31st clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives Donnald Anderson, written by Jerry Papazian, President of the U.S. Capitol Page Alumni Association, and Jan Schoonmaker, a trustee of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society and long-time House staffer.

Finally, with more than two years to cover, Society news will necessarily include brief treatments of the great work this organization has done and continues to do. To learn more about our past, present, and future programs, please be sure to visit our newly updated website: CapitolHistory.org. Thanks for your ongoing interest and support!

My Very Best,

Samuel Holliday, Editor
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A photograph taken at the unveiling of the Portrait Monument to Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the Capitol Rotunda on February 15, 1921, the 101st anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony. Image courtesy of the Architect of the Capitol.
On July 31, 2022, we marked the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United States Capitol Historical Society. The last few years presented significant challenges for the Society, as they have been for so many others, but I am proud to share that by adapting and persevering through the hardships, we now enter our 61st year of operations with a brighter outlook and stronger resolve.

Certain dates become touchstones – seared into the collective memory of those who lived through these events and were forever changed. The COVID-19 pandemic shut down Washington, DC, as anyone had known it on March 13, 2020. While the Society drew upon emergency relief programs, the impact of that stimulus was short-lived. In the wake of a 40% reduction in revenue, the Society downsized and re-organized that summer to ensure the survival of the organization. For 58 years, the Society conducted all its public history programming in person; the closure of the Capitol and the immediate need for social distancing meant that to continue preserving and sharing Capitol History, we had to develop virtual programming. The Society developed a robust program of virtual lunchtime lectures presented through zoom. These webinars enabled us to not only invite distinguished scholars from around the nation – and around the world – to share their knowledge, but also to reach a much larger audience than we ever could have accommodated in the VFW Building’s Ketchum Hall (which has a fire marshal capacity of 60 people).

For more than 15 years, the We the People Constitution Tour program served as the crown jewel of the Society’s civics education work. These tours picked up over 20,000 middle school students from DC Public Schools and brought them to sites of Constitutional importance throughout the city, teaching them that this government belongs as much to them as any other citizen. When the pandemic eliminated physical access to these historic sites, the Society organized its civics education consortium to develop an open access digital resource hub. Today, the We the People Hub brings virtual tours, lesson plans, curricula, and digital resources to teachers and classrooms nationwide. We even created a special program using theater to teach about the Constitution.

Perhaps more than any other moment, January 6, 2021, stands as a critical juncture in the history of the United States Capitol. Society staff, who were working from home that day, shared in the feeling of evisceration as we watched the Temple of Democracy overrun by forces seeking to prevent the peaceful transfer of power. With great resolve, the Society launched a January 6 Oral History Project so that the stories of the Capitol Police, building and institutional staff, congressional staff, and their family members who lived through that horrible day could be preserved for history’s sake.

Our organization — just as our nation — has been tested by the trials of recent years, but thanks to the steadfast dedication of our members, supporters, staff and board, we emerged ready to meet the challenges of the next years and decades to come. We look forward to your joining us as we continue to “foster and increase an informed patriotism.”

Jane L. Campbell, President/CEO
Despite her impressive oeuvre, the German-American sculptor Elisabet Ney (1833-1907) is not a well-known figure on either side of the Atlantic. Her prominence in the medium of sculpture is indicated by the various famous men who sat for her in Europe including King Ludwig II of Bavaria, Italian freedom fighter Giuseppe Garibaldi, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, and King Georg V of Hanover. Avoiding the war in Europe, Ney and her family emigrated to the United States in late 1870; she and her family ended up settling in the fertile belt of Texas by 1872. It would not be until the 1890s that her sculpture career resumed in the Southwestern state, when she began work on her statues of Sam Houston (1793-1863) and Stephen F. Austin (1793-1836) for the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Today, these marble works grace both the Texas State Capitol and the U.S. Capitol as part of the Statuary Hall collection. What is especially interesting about Ney is that she remains the only female sculptor to produce two images for a single state in the Statuary Hall Collection. This fact about the lesser-known female artist brings to the fore many questions about the history of the state-funded collection, and more holistically the history of the male-dominated medium of sculpture. Consequently, the notion of the “Sculptress Phenomenon” refers to the rise of women sculptors during the nineteenth century and their ability to match the artistic prowess of male sculptors. By examining the commissions for Statuary Hall earned by early women sculptors, primarily those by Elisabet Ney, the problems and issues underlying the “Sculptress Phenomenon” can better come to light.
Statuary Hall

Declared by the Neoclassical style of its exterior, The United States Capitol subsists as a symbol of democracy. The building has been in use by Congress since 1800 throughout its various phases of construction and rebuilding.¹ By 1855, the size of the House of Representatives had grown significantly, requiring a new, larger chamber to conduct business. As a result, the original Chamber for the House of Representatives remained unused, until in 1864 the House proposed to make the Old House Hall a place for states:

...to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services such as each State may deem to be worthy of this national commemoration; ...²

The National Statuary Hall collection, comprised of state-funded statues, accounts for a significant portion of the U.S. Capitol’s artistic holdings, which also includes pieces from the Senate and House Collections, as well as artworks commissioned by or donated to Congress. After the Revised Statute of 1864, sculptures only slowly staggered in, as states would need to find funding and local support for these works to outfit the new Statuary Hall. At first, inductions to the American “Hall of Fame” included revolutionary heroes and founding fathers such as Nathanael Greene by Henry Kirke Brown (Rhode Island, 1870) and Roger Sherman by Chauncey Ives (Connecticut, 1872).

Along with a well-executed bronze or marble sculpture, states were also required to present a case for their selection to the House for approval. In early 1905, Texas finally had two marble statues to submit for approval. Representative John Stephens of Texas addressed the House stating “…the people of Texas…have approved the wisdom of its legislation in selecting Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston as the proper persons to represent her in the American Valhalla known as ‘Statuary Hall.’” Likewise, Representative Samuel Cooper of Texas supported the state’s selection of the pair, declaring “Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston! The founder and the preserver! Fellow-citizens admit these statues to their rightful place in this Hall of Fame.” Within the same address, Representative Cooper likens Austin and Houston as the George Washington and Thomas Jefferson of Texas. On 25 February 1905, the statues of the Texas legends were both accepted into Statuary Hall by the House, “without objection” and with “unanimous consent.”³ Amusingly, the sculptor of theses statues, the German-American Elisabet Ney, was not mentioned by a single lawmaker in the proceedings, despite her role in the sculpting these heroic “wild men.”
would not be until February 1905 that a sculpture of a woman would be added to the collection, the Statue of Frances E. Willard by Helen Farnsworth Mears. Luckily, other sculptural works have been donated or purchased for the U.S. Capitol collection to better represent women as important historical figures, as well as to provide opportunities for female sculptors to showcase their work. Two works come to mind, including the Statue of Abraham Lincoln sculpted by Vinnie Ream (1847-1914) in 1871 and Adelaide Johnson’s (1859-1955) Portrait Monument of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony accepted by Congress on behalf of the National Women’s Party in 1921.

Comprised of mostly Neoclassical artworks, Statuary Hall contains sculptures that produce life-like, yet idealized portrayals of their subjects. These monumental works allow each state to promote their part in the gestalt nationalism of the United States. Arguably, due to the representative nature of the collection, viewers are first provoked by the illusionistic renderings of the person depicted. With further reflection on the context of each figural work, other intended meanings emerge. Much information is layered beyond the portrayal of the sitter— that is the subject, or the what. This brings up another interesting aspect of the collection, one that is not as overt— the question of who sculpted these illustrious persons of American history? Were they mostly men as well? Yes, as out of the seventy-one sculptors who have contributed to Statuary Hall only fifteen have been women.

Prior to World War I, twenty-one male sculptors had contributed to the state-funded Statuary Hall collection, producing in total thirty-six out of the forty-three works of the growing collection, whereas only six female sculptors had executed the remaining seven. Proportionately speaking, most of the sculptures in the collection were

Millions of visitors flock to the U.S. Capitol each year to visit the nexus of the U.S. Legislative Branch. To this day, the Capitol remains a significant landmark, where the 535 voting Members of Congress continue meeting to discuss and decide democratic policy in their respective chambers. During tours of the Capitol, visitors can revel in the contributions of marble and bronze figures within that serve to represent the unique merits of each state. Yet, in touring the collection, specifically Statuary Hall, visitors encounter many of the nation’s greatest men, but few of its great women. Of the 99 works in Statuary Hall collection today, only eleven represent women.
carved by men, and in the early years of the collection men were more likely to receive multiple commissions to create works for Statuary Hall. Yet, one might ask, as Alessandra Comini did within her eponymous 1987 article, “Who Ever Heard of a Women Sculptor?” Indeed, during this period in history, women’s agency was far from equal to that of men. The emergence, fascination with, and surprising success of several women sculptors during the long-nineteenth century function as an exception to the gender norms of their time. Prior to the enfranchisement of women, a “Sculptress Phenomenon” led to the interest, promotion, and livelihood of many female sculptors in the United States and Europe. However, a closer look at the historical evidence indicates that these extraordinary, sought-after female professionals did not emerge without difficulties.

“The Greatest of ‘Wild Men’”

Before Elisabet Ney’s departure to America, she stated, “After having so many great men of the civilized world sit for me, I would like to model the greatest of wild men as well.” With her sculptures of Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin, Ney seemingly achieved this goal. To do so, she first designed and executed her statues of the two men, receiving no payment for over ten years prior to their installation in Washington, DC. She agreed to make the works pro bono for the sake of her fellow Texans, in order to decorate the Texas Building at the Chicago World’s Fair of 1893 (also called the World’s Columbian Exposition). Her hope was that these statues would one day be carved in marble to adorn the Texas Capitol Build-
ing. It is unlikely that the state of Texas would have been able to commission a set of marble statues of the “Founder” and “Preserver” of Texas for Statuary Hall until much later if it had not been for their loyal German-American resident as well as the lobbying of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT). Chartered in 1895, one of the purposes of the lineal organization, is “to perpetuate the memory and spirit of our ancestors.” As early as 1897, the women’s group expressed interest in seeing Ney’s works cut in marble, not only for their installment in the Texas Capitol, but also for the United States Capitol to be admitted to Statuary Hall. After extensive lobbying by the women’s group, the Texas legislature awarded the commission of both statues to Ney for the Texas State Capitol in August 1901 for the sum of $8,000. Shortly after, Ney was also awarded the commission for the Statue of Sam Houston for Statuary Hall in November 1901 by the Texas Legislature. However, the DRT independently raised funds to support the commission of Ney’s Statue of Stephen F. Austin for Statuary Hall. This was later officially rendered by a contract dating to August 1902.

Ney immediately enlisted the help of Berlin sculptor, Franz Lange, to aide her in executing the commission for the Texas Capitol in September 1901. Lange sent the life-size plaster puncturing models to Italy to be cut in Serravezza marble. The artist traveled to Italy in September 1902 to supervise their completion. These works were installed along with their matching Texas red granite pedestals, and unveiled in a ceremony with 8,000 persons in attendance on January 19th, 1903. These marble works are prominently placed in the main entrance of the Texas State Capitol Building to this day and are guarded by matching metal gates. Situated as a pair, the imposing six-foot, two-inch stature of the Sam Houston dwarfs the comparatively petite frame of Stephen F. Austin, who stood tall at five-foot, seven-inches. Ney’s choice to render Austin smaller than Houston was questioned by critics. Ney replied to such complaints, “God creates people, I only copy his designs.” Other than the size of her works, many were shocked to see the Texas men dressed as frontiersmen, rather than as civilized statesmen. Ney’s choice of clothing alludes to their decisive roles in pioneer Texas. The duo of buckskin “wild men” remain, and flank the opening for the large rotunda that houses the impressive dome of the Texas Capitol.

Ney would travel to Italy in January 1904 to supervise the second marble commission for Statuary Hall, cut again in her preferred Serravezza marble. They were shipped from Genoa on Princess Irene to arrive in New York by April 1904, from there the crates were carried by train to DC to arrive in May. Ney traveled to Washington, DC, in April 1904 to meet with the Architect of the Capitol, Elliott Woods, in order to prepare for their arrival. However, once installed, Woods became concerned with their size, and his unease extended to both works. While Ney’s aesthetic involves precisely replicating the scale of each figure, the other works in the collection are enormous by comparison. For instance, while Houston’s and Austin’s heights measure about 81 inches, and 74 inches respectively, including the marble bases, the Statue of Jonathan Trombull and the Statue of Roger Sherman both measure-in at about 95 inches, again taking into account the marble bases. After Woods’ correspondence with the artist, the issue was rectified in 1907, and the Capitol purchased an additional base of grey granite for $70 each for an extra boost. It seems then, in this singular case, that not everything is bigger in Texas.

With each of these works, Ney presents us with men in their prime and during the dawn of the Texas Revolution. Seen amongst the other marble and bronze works in Statuary Hall, they
stand out due to their disparate representation. For her studies, Ney conducted research and gathered accounts and personal items to best represent the two deceased men. She also collected photographs and drawings to capture their likeness, as well as their stature. With the Statue of Sam Houston, we see a younger version of “Old Sam Jacinto,” the figure is dressed in the distinctive garb of his Cherokee days with a long buckskin tunic and trousers. The fringing of the tunic collar as well as on the outside of his loose-fitting pants evoke the texture of the clothing. However, one can still see in Houston’s naturalistic contrapposto stance the underlying anatomy. His shoulder is draped with a serape or Indian textile that he was known to wear, and around his waist he carries the Sword of San Jacinto. Close study reveals that the large saber sword is topped with a delicately modeled lion’s head. He is presented as if he is about to address the viewer with his right hand slightly cupped and resting on his broad chest, perhaps an ode to his abilities as an orator. His facial features are captured admirably by the artist and emulate an early photograph of the general and later statesmen.
For the Statue of Stephen F. Austin, the artist’s background work was much more difficult, as Austin had lived a shorter life, and only painted portraits existed. However, with the help of his nephew’s visual descriptions, Ney conceived of the pose of the Texas frontiersman to suggest a surveying of the unscathed land before him. Like the preconceptions waved over the face of Michelangelo’s David, he looks ahead toward his future endeavors. He is dressed in frontiersman’s practical attire with leather tunic and pants, as well as a cotton long-sleeved shirt beneath. Austin is holding a partially unrolled map of Texas (then Coahuila y Tejas), and a Kentucky long-rifle rests on his left shoulder. The curly-haired settler seems to be setting foot on Texas land for the first time with the position of his left leg. His powder horn and a vestment hang from stump situated behind the figure. Details like the light incising on the map, and the mechanisms of the rifle reveal that the artist was interested in the skillful execution of the props as much as the likeness of the sitter. With both sculptures, the artist also pays great attention to the detailing of the hands to insert studies of anatomy to the otherwise drapery-dense works. Each of their faces bear expressions that encourage viewers to fathom the thoughts of the men before the cusp of the Texas revolution. While Ney’s statues differ in their size, and in the sitters’ dress amongst the other works in Statuary Hall, they do not differ in their consistently skilled execution.
For centuries, the medium of sculpture was argued to be better suited to men due to the manual labor required; chiseling, hammering, and carving were considered masculine tasks unable to be performed by the slighter female frame. However, by the nineteenth century most sculptors relied heavily on workmen to do the stone-carving while the master artist fashioned the clay models. This is in part due to the stratification of artistic skill from the genius of fine arts to the craft laborer, a division created in part by art academies. This was the case throughout Europe and for American sculptors working with marble, many of whom settled in Italy to study and work. For instance, the esteemed American sculptor Hiram Powers (1805-1873) worked in Florence for the majority of his career. Of course, learning to cut works into marble was part of most advanced sculpture curricula, as was casting plaster or metal copies. In fact, many women often did their own carving or casting to save money.

Despite the adverse situation for women, Elisabet Ney pursued an education at an established art academy that legitimized her efforts and declared her artistic ability to be adroit. By attending an academy for sculpture, Ney could become an intellectual rather than a mere stonecutter. She could operate outside of the gender norms of her sex, and consequently she was allowed more license and agency to work as an artist.

As with most academic institutions, access to education in the fine arts was almost always limited to males. Elisabet Ney was the first female sculptor student admitted to the Munich Academy of Fine Arts. And while Ney was not the first female student to attend the Berlin School of Sculpture, her admission to the program required greater effort than male applicants. Even though Ney brought examples of her work as well as a letter of recommendation from Munich, she was still required by the Senate of the Akademie der Künste in Berlin to complete a statuette under supervision to prove her abilities. Women could attend, but it was a difficult journey to be accepted, and once admitted they were ostracized throughout their schooling. For instance, while Ney attended the Munich School of Fine Arts, she would likely have been escorted to and from her courses by a professor, to protect her reputation and ensure her safety.

The hardships that women artists faced connects to Linda Nochlin’s provocative essay from 1971, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” In this essay, Nochlin explains the circumstances that prevented females from succeeding in the arts, and thus from achieving the status of “great.” She concludes that access to education and social standing remain the primary reasons for the lack of female representation in the history of art. A key example of how women were restricted in their training is that women were not allowed to take part in the figure drawing from nude models for the sake of decency. This prevented female students from mastering the anatomy of the human figure; a foundational skill needed for artists of all mediums. It is not likely that Ney received the same instruction as her male colleagues, especially for nude studies. However, despite the challenges, her artworks demonstrate that she did manage to gain an understanding of the human form, likely relying on castings and sculptures of the nude.

The ‘Sculptress’ Phenomenon

In addition to limits on their artistic training, the social connections required to succeed in the art world, as well as the high expense of sculpture, meant that the “second sex” was less likely to suc-
ceed in the profession in the nineteenth century. For these reasons, among others, the success of a female sculptor like Ney is noteworthy, as she would have had to elbow her way into an elite social circle to gain clientele and commissions while fighting the prejudices of a predominately male profession. Women were generally less welcomed into the academic art world to begin with, less likely to fraternize with men of high society for the sake of their reputation, and less likely to be in control of any personal income or property to invest in their career. However, as Ney proves, it was not impossible. Arguably, the novelty of a female sculptor—especially one with artistic talent equal to that of her male colleagues—was fascinating to the public as it challenged established gender tropes.

Interestingly, Elisabet Ney was not the only one to navigate the unique opportunities made available to women by becoming a sculptor. During the nineteenth century, I argue there was a ‘Sculptress Phenomenon,’ an outpour of trained female sculptors that worked to challenge traditional gender norms as never before. In her text, A Sisterhood of Sculptors, American Sculptors in Nineteenth-Century Rome, Melissa Dabakis discusses the formation of the “White Marmorean Flock,” an unofficial community of American women who lived in Rome to train and work in various workshops, oftentimes establishing their own studios. These women “flocked” to Rome given the availability of marble, as well as the unique opportunity to receive training from John Gibson (1790-1866), and Hiram Powers. Also while in Rome, most established sculptors employed Italian stoneworkers to make copies of their designs for profit. The group’s name was coined by writer Henry James, inspired by Nathaniel Hawthorne’s use of ‘marmorean’ in his novel The Marble Faun. Unfortunately, the oxymoronic term invites a tinge of lewdness and collectivizes the identities and efforts of each of the women working in Rome. Members included Anne Whitney (1821-1915), Vinnie Ream (Hoxey) (1847-1914), and Sarah Fisher Ames (1817-1901), who also have works in the U.S. Capitol Collection. These women were also supported by other New Women or proto-feminists of the time living in Rome.

There is no evidence directly linking Ney to any of these American women, in Rome or elsewhere in Italy. However, she surely must have known of them, as many also participated in the World’s Fair of 1893, and several had works in the U.S. Capitol before the turn of the twentieth century. Other American women sculptors who participated in the World’s Columbian Exposition include Helen Farnsworth Mears (1872-1916), Blanche Nevin (1841-1925), and Nellie Walker (1874-1973). Ney’s career in particular succeeded in part because of the measures Ney took to distinctly brand herself in addition to her art. During the first part of her sculpture career, Ney marketed herself as a student of Christian Daniel Rauch, thus gaining entrance into European courts and intellectual circles. As an older woman in Texas, she garnered the support of various women groups to achieve success in the nascent Austin art scene. She catered her self-promotion to the differing art worlds she contributed to, and surely had the talent to back it up. As an individual, she cultivated public interest by her unconventional social position, and ensured the salability of her work by her approach of capturing her sitters’ likenesses in a realistic, yet Neoclassical manner. Because she presented herself as an independent figure, without associations to other women, Ney was exceptional even among the New Women, and for the most part, this worked to her advantage.

Initially, most of most women sculptors of Ney’s time relied on men to foster their precocious talent. Thereafter, these “sculptresses” worked
to heighten their curious social position, as artists who performed labor for the sake of instilling more beauty into the world. “Sculptresses,” as they were often called, were a novelty, exemplified by conflicting notions of gender and genius, which irrefutably collided. Their studios were frequented by American tourists, as people were in awe at the sight of women capable of such artistic feats. Some of these women were successful upon their return to the United States, gaining commissions for works in the Northeast. Elisabet Ney was also often visited in her studio as a spectacle for her time, in both Berlin and Austin, Texas. It seems then, that these sculptors all utilized a unique window of opportunity, which finally opened up for women to master the craft. Similarly, the sculptors Adèle d’Affry, also known as “Marcello,” (1836-1879) and Camille Claudel (1864-1943) participated in this new opportunity of education in sculpture for women. All, whether they chose to be or not, were objectified because of their female bodies. Some downplayed their sexuality, like Anne Whitney and Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908), who strove to remove any connotations of femininity and therefore perceived weaknesses from their visual appearance. Some, like Vinnie Ream, employed their charm and feminine beauty to market themselves and earn commissions. Sarah Fischer Ames somehow remained faithful to her gender role as a domestic and feminine mother. Ney utilized her charming personality and curiosity for knowledge to market herself, and she also set herself apart with her trademark short hair of reddish curls and later with her bizarre wardrobe. How exactly Elisabet Ney compares in her outward appearance to other women sculptors is difficult to pinpoint.

The “Sculptress Phenomenon” of the nineteenth century released women sculptors from the culturally engrained expectations of their gender, allowing them to be objects of public curiosity, free to perform and parade, as long as their abilities measured up to their male competitors. But all female sculptors, despite the public’s fascination with their unusual position in Western Society at the time, had to constantly prove their abilities, even producing unpaid commissions at a greater rate than their male colleagues. In other words, although they undoubtedly faced greater adversity they persevered for the sake of their art. Not all women sculptors were financially successful and some suffered disappointments because of the limitations imposed on their gender. To what degree the singular figure of Elisabet Ney fits into this phenomenon is most intriguing and it discloses the hidden truth of the conditions for women, particularly women sculptors during the long-nineteenth century. If a woman could achieve the loftiness of “genius,” she was exonerated from the expectations of her gender, at least somewhat.

Works by other American “sculptresses” in Statuary Hall at the turn of the Nineteenth Century

By the time Elisabet Ney’s contributions to Statuary Hall were unveiled, thirty-five works had already been inducted into the collection. Two of these works were completed by other women sculptors, Anne Whitney of the “White Marmorean Flock” and Blanche Nevin, who prominently showed her work Maul Muller in the Women’s Building Rotunda at the Chicago World’s Fair.

Added in 1876, Anne Whitney’s Statue of Samuel Adams was one of the first pieces inducted into the collection, and it established the larger-than-life, monumental size that most of the portrait statues still incorporate today. The Statue of Samuel Adams provides the privileged with a view of one of Massachusetts’s finest, a Founding Father of the United States of America. He is depicted in the clothing of the late eighteenth century with an authoritative stance enhanced by his crossed arms, down-turned mouth, and impressive size. In contrast to Ney’s works, Whitney’s portrayal is more idealized and aligning with the Neoclassical style that primarily functions to establish prominence for the sitter. Whitney’s attention to the various textures of the seventeenth century garb as well as the underlying human form is not unlike Ney’s except for the civilized costume and stark pose of Adams. Also, like most sculptors who contributed to the collection, Whitney enlarged her subject to heighten the monumentality of her work, which measures about 91 inches tall.

In 1889, Pennsylvania submitted two sculptures to Statuary Hall including Blanche Nevin’s Statue of John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg. This revolutionary figure was first a minister, then a commander of the Continental Army, and later a public servant who held various governmental offices. With this work, Nevin presents the German-American subject’s role as that of a patriot. His exaggerated contrapposto-like posture is commanding, and his left foot almost steps off of the base of the work. From the side, this effect is even more striking as the subject’s stance is broad and contradicts the otherwise strong verticality of the piece. General Muhlenberg is shown in uniform; various textures are rendered, like his lace collar, and epaulettes. Additionally, Nevin includes the general’s ministerial tunic draped over his right shoulder to provide further bulk to the sculpture, as well as to express Muhlenberg’s allegiance to the cause of the revolution. In his left hand, he clenches a sword that alludes further to his role in the army. While the hands of Muhlenberg are rendered naturalistically, his face is smoothed and almost passive in expression. His features summon a younger vision of the historical figure, yet are non-distinguishable in appearance. This was likely due to the fact that a photograph of the sitter was added in 1876.
not available, or this could be a choice of the artist to adhere to the lofty ideals of Neoclassicism. Interestingly, Nevin’s work is not as large as Whitney’s and measures about 79 inches tall with the base. General Muhlenberg, like General Houston, was described as tall in contemporary accounts.38

Each of the sculptures by Ney, Whitney, and Nevin work to present their subject matter in a compelling way that solidifies each man’s contributions to his state, and therefore to the nation. In comparison to Ney’s, the other two works differ in their levels of naturalism, their dress, and their body language. Overall, Ney’s attention to the facial features of Houston and Austin provide more life-like renderings. While each sculptor gives great care to the details of their sitter’s garments and hands, the face of Muhlenberg is quite idealized in representation. Whitney’s sculpture of Samuel Adams is more realistic in its depiction of the aging facial features, but the rigid posture allows for a jarring, commanding figure. Likewise, the stance of Muhlenberg is quite hyperbolic, perhaps to intensify the juxtaposition of the theologian and soldier. As discussed in regard to Whitney’s Statue of Samuel Adams, Whitney’s work also differs in its monumental size. Ney’s Houston and Nevin’s Muhlenburg are not noticeably smaller in comparison to the collection due to the towering heights of their subjects. Each of these four sculptures were inducted early in the establishment of Statuary Hall at the United States Capitol, and work to depict historical men as heroes of liberty, justice, and democracy and overall adhere to the predominate Neoclassical style. Yet, few visitors to the Capitol know about these women artists and their roles in making these statues a part of our nation’s history, rather the visitors focus on the men portrayed.

Conclusion

Today, more than 100 years after the 19th Amendment was ratified granting women the right to vote, women make up just a handful of the “illustrious persons” commemorated in the Statuary Hall collection. The number of women sculptors involved in the creation of the works of Statuary Hall is similarly disproportionate. Since its establishment, primarily male sculptors have been commissioned by states to produce works. Further, numerous times, male sculptors were selected to contribute multiple works for Statuary Hall. In total, thirteen states commissioned the same male artist to produce their “illustrious” for Statuary Hall. As mentioned previously, Elisabet Ney remains the only female sculptor granted this honor, though notably Vinnie Ream also produced two works for the collection (one for Iowa and one for Illinois). Additionally, six male sculptors have contributed three works, and two have contributed four works: Bryant Baker (1881-1970) and Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886). Most striking is the fact that Charles H. Niehaus (1855-1935) has produced eight sculptures for Statuary Hall, and of those, five remain in the collection. To this day only fifteen women have ever sculpted a work for Statuary Hall. These facts make it all the more important to appreciate the work of Ney and other female sculptors who contributed to Statuary Hall.

As discussed, there are a manifold of reasons for these discrepancies. The lack of representation of women and women sculptors in the Capitol is, simply put, because women lacked agency during the nineteenth century. Broadly speaking, established gender roles and the hegemonic domestic duties of women in American society for the greater part of its history has hindered women’s public and professional efforts. Women did have the same access to schooling, they were subjected to a mainly private life. Brazen women who desired a professional career, particularly “sculptresses,” prove a rarity due to the false assumption that the medium of sculpture is masculine task. Even though these women sculptors sought training, they often received an altered curriculum and were not provided with many of the same opportunities as their male colleagues. Moreover, this lack of representation is not unique to Statuary Hall; it remains a huge oversight in the history of art. Other nations founded similar projects to instill nationalism and foster pride of their “greats.” The Panthéon created in 1791 in France and the Walhalla created by King Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1834 also share this lack of representation for the female gender.

Fortunately, recent changes to the statutes governing Statuary Hall provide the opportunity to address these oversights. In 2000, a revision to the original 1864 statute was made allowing for states to request replacement of a statue in Statuary Hall upon approval by the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress. This law provides the perfect opportunity for increased representation of women in the collection, and hopefully will encourage the involvement of women sculptors for the commissions as well. Since 2003, eleven states have taken this opportunity to replace their state’s statues to include four U.S. Presidents of the twentieth century as well as Thomas Edison, Norman Borlaug, Barry Goldwater, Helen Keller, Chief Standing Bear, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, and Amelia Earhart. Furthermore, there continue to be new projects on the horizon to include and involve not only more women, but also more people of color into the “American Hall of Fame.” Thus, the ever-changing nature of Statuary Hall will harbor possibilities for the collection to better adhere to the current public, and will keep visitors coming. There is hope as well for visitors to expand their
understanding of the representative sculptures of heroes and heroines depicted through the means of the medium itself, and to ask more questions as to who and how the sculpture came to be a part of the prestigious collection. By asking more, cultural underpinnings can be divested and understood more holistically to better consider the history of the United States and of American sculptors. Furthermore, the importance and the rarity of the women deemed illustrious in the now fluid collection, as well as the extraordinary women who participated in the creating the bronze and marble works will be deemed even more remarkable.

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Notes


4 Over the history of the collection, 111 works have been inducted; still only 11 women are represented, 100 men, 11 women.

5 This considers all works ever inducted into Statuary Hall - whether they are currently still in the collection or were replaced since 2003. (This list includes: Joy Buba, Nilda Comas, Marisol Escobar, Deborah Copenhagen Fellows, Yolande Jacobson, Helen Farnsworth Mears, Terry Mimnaugh, Haig Patigan, Blanche Nevin, Elisabet Ney, Evelyn Raymond, Vinnie Ream, Suzanne Silvercruys, Nellie Walker, and Anne Whitney. One married couple, Belle Kinney Scholz and Leopold F. Scholz, also contributed works, but this information proves a “gray-area,” and is not considered in my totals.)


7 In Art History, the long-nineteenth century refers to the period of 1789-1914.

8 „Verhältnissen lebte, in München eine elegante Villa besaß, in Amerika, wo sie verschollen, äußerte einmal Fräulein Ney: „Nachdem mir so viele große Männer der zivilisirten Welt gesessen, möchte ich auch den größten Wilden modelliren.” “Zeitungsartikel mit handschriftlicher Notiz, July 1886.” Preußischer Kul-
turbesitz, “Darmstadt Collection,” 2 o 1864: Ney, Elisabeth, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany. This translated quote has been propagated as a famous saying of the artist in Texas.


10 Gammel’s Laws of Texas 1897-1902, Regular Session of the Twenty-seventh Legislature, January 8 to April 9, 1901, Miscellaneous Appropriations, 248; Emily Fourmy Cutrer. The Art of the Woman (University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 188.

11 Gammel’s Laws of Texas 1897-1902, Second Called Session, Twenty-seventh Legislature 1901, Miscellaneous Appropriations, 44; “Contract between Elisabet Ney and the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, 1 August 1902,” “Elisabet Ney Collection,” box 3, fol. 7, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas. (HRC).

12 Saskia Johann, Elisabet Ney, Leben, Werk und Wirken (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2014), 460

13 Johann, 460.

14 Ibid., 116.

15 “Austin was about five feet seven or eight inches in height, or spare form sineway [sic], graceful & easy carriage, he was a graceful dancer, of attractive manners.” “Guy M. Bryan to Miss Elizabeth Ney, 24 September 1892, Quintana Brazoria County, Texas,” “Elisabet Ney Collection,” box 1, fol. 5, HRC. Bryan is the nephew of Stephen F. Austin.


18 See fn. 15.


22 Simon de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, Trans. by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier from 1949 original, (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), 723. Of course, autonomous women are still at a disadvantage, as “Renouncing her femininity means renouncing part of her humanity.”

23 While the Royal Academy of London did have two women painters as founding members, most fine art academies did not admit their first female students in painting or sculpture until long after their founding. For instance, the École des Beaux-Arts did not begin admitting women until 1897.


25 Ibid., 39


27 “Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an König Ludwig I., 22 July 1854,” “Nachlass König Ludwig I.,” Inv. No. 89/6/2, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Germany. While in Munich, Ney contacted King Ludwig I in order to gain access to the Bavarian sculpture collection, the Glyptothek. And also in that same letter, Ney requested to receive an audience with Prussian König Friedrich Wilhlem IV in order to access the Prussian collection of sculpture at the Altes Museum. It is uncertain if Ney was able to receive a direct audience with König Friedrich Wilhelm IV as a result of this letter. But, she did later work on a restoration project at the Altes Museum.


29 I realize that many of these women did not prefer to feminine form of sculptor, however, it brings attention to the
fact that they were a marvel - separated and objectified due to their gender. It is also worth noting that Elisabet Ney did not mind the term, as in German the noun is gendered: die Bildhauerin.

30 Dabakis, Sisterhood of Sculptors, 86-89.


32 Ibid., 2. Others in the 'group' included: Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908), Edmonia Lewis (1844/6-1907), Emma Stebbins (1815-1882), Margaret Foley (1820-1877), Louisa Lander (1826-1923).

33 Nochlin, 11.

34 Dabakis, 86-89. Many of these women would establish studios in Rome, including Anne Whitney, Edmonia Lewis, Harriet Hosmer, and Margaret Foley.


39 Public Law, Sec. 311 or House Bill 5657 https://www.congress.gov/bill/106th-congress/house-bill/5657

40 Dwight D. Eisenhower (Kansas, 2003), Helen Keller (Alabama, 2009), Ronald W. Reagan (California, 2009), Gerald R. Ford (Michigan, 2011), Norman Borlaug (Iowa, 2014), Barry Goldwater (Arizona, 2015), Thomas Edison (Ohio, 2016), Chief Standing Bear (Nebraska, 2019), Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune (Florida, 2022), Amelia Earhart (Kansas, 2022), and Harry S. Truman (Missouri, 2022).
With the Right to Vote Goes the Right to Representation:

In the spring of 1920, the long struggle for woman’s suffrage approached its highpoint. Congress had passed the Nineteenth Amendment in July 1919 and just a few more states needed to ratify the amendment to make it effective. As suffragists anticipated the victory, they declared, “With the right to vote goes the right to representation in the Hall of Fame [Statuary Hall].”

Almost a hundred men had been immortalized in bronze or marble in the Statuary Hall Collection in the United States Capitol while a statue of only one woman, Frances E. Willard, stood in the Hall. “We are going to demand recognition for our honored dead,” said the suffragists. They wanted a statue “in honor of women who served women.”

While women were realizing the importance of creating women’s monuments, men had realized the value of monuments to men a long time earlier. Parks and boulevards were filled with “rows of hideous statues of men-men-men -- each one uglier than the other,” said sculptress and suffragist, Janet Scudder (1869-1940). These men were standing, sitting, and riding horseback --- “every one of them pompously convinced that he is decorating the landscape.”

When asked to sculpt a statue of a man, Scudder said, “I won’t do...
it! I won’t add to this obsession of male egotism.”

Sculptress Adelaide Johnson (1859-1955) also believed women needed a testament to women’s achievements, not only as a tribute but as inspiration and education for those serving the woman’s cause. Johnson devoted her career to preserving, in marble, the portraits of the pioneers of the woman’s movement. In 1886, suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony sat for Johnson as she created a clay model of Anthony’s portrait. After several failed efforts, Johnson eventually created a pleasing portrait bust and Anthony was thrilled to have a sculpture made by a woman. Then, Anthony requested Johnson to make a portrait of Elizabeth Cady Stanton so the friends could stand together, as they had worked hand-in-hand in the woman’s movement for decades. When the two portrait busts were complete, Anthony asked if a bust of Lucretia Mott (the Mother of Equal Rights) could be made even though Mott had passed in 1880. Working from photographs, Johnson created a clay model, and then travelled to Italy in 1892 to execute the three busts in white marble.

When the marble likenesses of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott were exhibited at the 1893 World’s Fair, they received rave reviews. Johnson superbly captured their personalities and incorporated their historic accomplishments in the woman’s rights and anti-slavery movements. Mott was instrumental in creating the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Association in 1833 and organizing the Seneca Falls Woman’s Rights Convention with Stanton in 1848. A few years later, Anthony joined them, and in 1866, they formed the American Equal Rights Association to campaign for universal suffrage. After black men were enfranchised but women were not, the trio founded the National Woman’s Suffrage Association.

Because of her reverence for them, Johnson insisted the portrait busts be placed in Statuary Hall as had always been intended. Acceptance seemed improbable so no one pushed for placement, and soon Anthony decided that she did not want her portrait in the Capitol in “the atmosphere of tobacco, spittoons, and the class of men who roam around there.” She wanted the portrait busts in the new, mammoth Library of Congress which had been built with the taxes “wrung from the hard earnings of the women of this nation as well as from those of the men.”

The general feeling was that the appropriateness of the three busts would never be questioned in the Library. And some, including Anthony, considered that for them to be in the Congressional Library was just as great an honor as for them to be at the Capitol. The fear was that in the Capitol, the women’s portraits would be scrutinized by congressmen and turned into political targets.

However, Johnson refused to allow the busts to be placed in the Library. Despite the rift it caused with Anthony and the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), John-

son persisted in trying to exhibit the busts in the Capitol as it would signal a more formal national recognition. Failing to achieve her goal, Johnson concluded that men simply did not want statues of suffrage leaders in the Capitol. “Those men just don’t want any women—marble or real—up there ‘puttering around.’”

Even after women won the right to vote, NAWSA leader Carrie Chapman Catt had no interest in the busts or a celebration. NAWSA was disbanding and many of its members were joining the newly-formed League of Women Voters. However, the smaller, more radical association of suffragists, the National Woman’s Party (NWP), planned to celebrate the passage of suffrage and was interested in placing the portrait busts in the U.S. Capitol. Johnson had been waiting almost 30 years to see the task completed, and if anyone could get the busts into the Capitol, she believed it would be Alice Paul and the NWP. In the suffrage campaign, they had demonstrated strategic brilliance in their use of public space, publicity, and political pressure.

Though Adelaide Johnson was thrilled at the opportunity to place the busts of Anthony, Stanton, and Mott in the Capitol, she suddenly decided she did not want to exhibit the old 1892 busts. She wanted to go to Italy and make a new set, and make a large pedestal to display all three busts. This was the culmination of her life-long dream and she was determined to exhibit her best work. The NWP approved the commission and in May of 1920, Johnson set off for Carrara, Italy — the marble capital of the world. However, while in Rome, she changed her mind again. She decided to merge the busts and pedestal into a single sculpture that would be truly worthy of national recognition. She planned to sculpt a “magnificent monument of the three wonderful heads of our pioneers... emerging from a solid block of pure marble as they arose and emerged from the mighty accumulation of the pressures of the past upon women.”

The original plan was to hold a suffrage celebration and unveil the sculpture in October of 1920, but it was delayed until February 15, 1921, the hundred-and-one-year anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony. The tragedy of Anthony’s life-long struggle for a victory she did not live to see added a deeper dignity and grandeur to the celebration. Another dramatic feature was the setting; the suffragists planned to hold the event in the Rotunda of the Capitol. Since Statuary Hall was reserved for gifts from individual states, and was over-crowded, Johnson wanted to place the...
monument in the Rotunda. While it would be more difficult to get permission, the room was more prestigious and occupied only by statues of Washington, Lincoln, and a few other great men.

When February 15 arrived, the Portrait Monument stood in the Rotunda and more than 1,000 women and men gathered for the celebration. On behalf of Congress, Speaker of the House Frederick H. Gillett welcomed the monument into the building, “with pride and pleasure.” He considered it a “fitting representation of the woman’s cause,” deserving of a “permanent place” in the United States Capitol. This enthusiastic welcome was quite surprising since only a week earlier, the Portrait Monument had been called “bad art” and its acceptance had been hotly contested.7

The Joint Committee on the Library (of Congress) held responsibility for accepting works of art for the Capitol on behalf of Congress. When Alice Paul of the NWP first contacted the committee about placing a sculpture, the chairman said it was not feasible to convene the committee as Congress was not in session. Meanwhile, he instructed Elliott Woods, Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, to receive the artwork into the Rotunda until formal and appropriate action could be taken. Alice Paul interpreted this as a guarantee of acceptance and told Johnson to address the statue to the United States Capitol, c/o Mr. Elliott Woods. The news thrilled Johnson but she could not help but wonder “if all is certain.”

Of course, nothing was certain. In her next letter, Paul explained that the final and permanent placement of the statue could not occur until the committee actually saw the finished work. However, she believed there would be no difficulty in placing the statue wherever they desired — provided the sculpture was “suitable in

Figure 5. Speakers at unveiling ceremony of Portrait Monument, February 15, 1921. From left: Speaker of the House Frederick H Gillett; suffragist and social worker Jane Addams, co-founder of Chicago’s Hull House and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); and poet and suffragist Sara Bard Field, who presented the statue on behalf of women of the country. Library of Congress.
No one seemed to actually understand what Johnson had created in her Carrara studio. Many were still anticipating “statues” or “marble heads,” not a large all-in-one monument weighing more than seven tons. These expectations set the stage for disappointment. When the sculpture arrived, its size and weight and uncommon design caused difficulties. The doors of the Capitol remained closed and the monument sat outside under the steps.

Figure 6. Workers unloading crated monument from horse-drawn cart at United States Capitol. Sculptor Adelaide Johnson, at right. February 1921. Library of Congress.
Day by day it seemed less likely the monument would be allowed into the Capitol. Some congressmen said the block of marble was heavy, massive and “unwieldy.” Others called it “bizarre” or “three ladies in a bathtub.” Senator James Wadsworth said it was “utterly unacceptable.” He would have preferred something “of proper proportions and acceptable design,” perhaps a more diminutive and conventional piece like a “handsome bas-relief.”

Adelaide Johnson could have given them something easier to accept, “like the Three Graces with arms twined around each other.” But if she brought a stereotypical or mediocre sculpture instead of “something of distinction,” it would attract no comment, it would provoke no questions in a thousand years. Johnson concluded, “The work will stand.”

Figure 7. Adelaide Johnson, on left, shaking hands with Dora Lewis, as suffragists admire the partially-uncrated monument outside the Capitol. February 1921. Library of Congress.

Women continued to lobby to get the monument into the building, but it seemed hopeless. Those asked to evaluate its artistic merit had condemned the monument before they even saw it and then further condemned it because it was unconventional in composition and concept. Then suddenly, on February 10, just five days before the suffrage celebration, the acceptance committee agreed to place the monument in the Rotunda for the event. An anti-suffrage paper described the sudden turnabout as the “sheepish surrender [of congressmen] to a handful of militant Amazons.” Another account suggested the acceptance was because many prominent women had contributed to the statue fund to aid in placing the monument in the Capitol. The list included several congressmen’s wives and the wife of President-Elect Warren Harding, Florence Mabel Harding.

Adelaide Johnson claimed that NAWSA leader Carrie Chapman Catt had something to do with the acceptance decision. Catt never liked the portraits and wanted nothing to do with them, but she did not want the NWP having the honor of placing them in the Capitol. However, Catt had alienated many anti-suffrage congressmen during the suffrage battle. According to Johnson, when the antis learned that Catt opposed the monument, they were determined to work against her and accept the sculpture.

The committee gave no official explanation for their sudden acceptance of the monument but in addition to other factors, the leaders of the NWP made some secret concessions. Because of the great weight of the monument on the Rotunda floor, it was agreed to place the sculpture in the room only for the ceremony — with supports under it to distribute its weight. The monument would then be removed to another location until its permanent location was decided. The NWP reasoned that they could campaign for their preferred location later; the immediate concern was having the monument in the Rotunda for the grand celebration of the suffrage victory.
Nearly every prominent woman’s organization in the country participated in the February 15 celebration, except the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Carrie Chapman Catt released a press statement to make sure their absence was noticed. She said that NAWSA’s participation in the ceremony would have indicated their approval of the picketing and other militant tactics of the National Woman’s Party. Catt also stated that Lucy Stone, leader of the American Woman Suffrage Association, should have been included in the monument rather than Lucretia Mott.

Despite the views of Catt and NAWSA, the honor of placing the monument in the Capitol belonged solely to the NWP. Even congressmen who had earlier made long-winded speeches against the NWP women were now saying, “You’ve got to hand it to them, they won.” They were “the undisputed heads of suffrage representation in that great ceremony.” For Adelaide Johnson, the ceremony was the culmination of a long and difficult journey, ending with a torturous wait on the doorstep of the Capitol. Yet, regardless of the obstacles and opposition, it was a “supreme day” for she had placed in the Capitol “the first monument of women to womankind done by a woman presented by women.”
The NWP felt a great satisfaction in having established the Portrait Monument as a physical signpost of women’s progress. Alice Paul said: “There can be no better symbol of the new status of women than placing these great women in the nation’s Capitol, side by side with the men we honor there.” However, the marble women stood by the men for only one day before they were sent downstairs. Following the ceremony, Adelaide Johnson and other women watched in disgust as the monument was moved back outside to the bottom of the Capitol steps and then into the Crypt.

Despite the assertion by some that the great struggle for woman’s rights was “settled forever,” women and men did not become equal partners, prejudice did not cease, and clouds of controversy did not evaporate from Capitol Hill. The placing of a monument of women in the Capitol had not magically ended the struggle for women’s equality in political, social, or legal arenas. However, even Speaker of the House, Frederick H. Gillett, recognized that the placement of the monument was “symbolic of a change of tremendous significance.” He understood there was a correlation between monuments and political power. Marble and bronze depictions of real women in the Capitol signified the power necessary to get more women representatives elected to Congress.
Elizabeth Cady Stanton could not vote in 1866, but she declared herself to be eligible for public office. She ran as an independent candidate for Representative of the Eighth Congressional District of New York. “My creed is free speech, free press, free men, and free trade---the cardinal points of democracy,” said Stanton. “I would gladly have a voice and vote in the Fortieth Congress to demand universal suffrage.”

She did not win a voice in Congress, as she received only eight votes. Fifty years passed before the first woman was elected to Congress, Jeannette Rankin of Montana. In the 1920 election, Alice Mary Robertson of Oklahoma became the second woman elected to a seat in the House of Representatives. Women had entered the doors of the Capitol, but Robertson found she could not get a women’s cloakroom. It was joked that the situation could be corrected by turning the Capitol Dome into “a beauty parlor” and moving the barber shops to the basement, “in place of that statue of three women caught in a snow-drift.” Supposedly, the women stood in the snow, winter and summer, “as if to indicate that it is a cold day when women get into the Capitol.”

Although some politicians did not want women in Congress or Statuary Hall, both political parties scrambled to win the favor of the newly-enfranchised women in the 1920 presidential election. “All along I have wished for the completion of ratification, and have said so,” exclaimed the Republican nominee, then-Senator Warren Harding. Speaking for the Democrats, Governor James M. Cox said: “The civilization of the world is saved. The mothers of America will stay the hand of war and repudiate those who trifle with a great principle.” The women’s vote would decide what power they would have in the nation’s affairs. However, women did not vote in great masses nor did they vote as a bloc any more than men voted as a bloc. Nor were all women allowed to vote; many black women, particularly in the South, were prevented from voting. The 1920 election did not result in “an era of petticoat political power.”

In 1921, the National Woman’s Party undertook a new agenda – equal rights – and drafted the Equal Rights Amendment in 1923. They soon came to realize the significance of the Portrait Monument with regards to the fuller history of the woman’s movement. Though NWP women had often referred to the sculpture as the Woman Suffrage Statue or A Memorial to Suffrage Pioneers, they began to call it Statue of the Equal Rights Pioneers.
Adelaide Johnson liked the new name; she never wanted the meaning of the monument limited to suffrage. Suffrage was only one right. The mightier idea of the woman’s movement, from the early years of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, had been the establishment of equal rights for all. According to Johnson, the woman’s rights platform was, in spirit, a human rights platform. Thus, she molded this message into the Portrait Monument.

Although the original purpose of the monument was simply to exhibit the portrait busts of the Great Three, Johnson created a historical record of the woman’s movement. Thus, the busts became “living forms,” interrelating with the block, held down by old dogma yet emerging as stately figures. The women face forward as they are looking ahead, “facing and addressing a new concept of human freedom with every line indicating onwardness.”

The three finely-detailed portraits form a triangle on the pedestal---Lucretia Mott occupying an apex with Stanton and Anthony side-by-side behind her. Mott is in an advanced position because her initiative in the movement came first. Since Stanton worked with Mott to hold the Woman’s Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, she comes next. Anthony, coming last, is placed in the back but very near Stanton, indicating their half-century of friendship and work together for woman’s emancipation. This arrangement not only delineates a historical timeline, its triangular shape signifies the special trinity formed by the three women. While there were many great contemporaries, Johnson believed these three formed an essential historic unit in that no one of them, without the others, could have done her work in launching the mighty movement. The all-in-one arrangement made it impossible for anyone to separate Stanton or Mott from Anthony, as had been suggested by some critics.

It has often been proposed that the monument is not complete, that a fourth portrait will be sculpted onto the rough-hewn section of marble rising behind the three women. Johnson never envisioned a fourth woman; she left the rough projection or “background” as an indication of future women who would take up the work of the woman’s movement. The background is a continuation of the pedestal, which also has an unfinished appearance. The coarse and jagged markings represent the unfinished aspect of the work of women. Although women had the vote, other rights were yet to be achieved.
Like Adelaide Johnson, suffragist Sara Bard Field comprehended the fuller concept of the woman’s movement as being international in scope and encompassing a “vast army of women, known and unknown, who have fought for political justice.” Though the likenesses of three prominent women appear in the sculpture, nevertheless “in its deepest significance, it is a monument to women past, present and to come.”

To further explain the meaning within the monument, Johnson wrote an inscription, which was stenciled on the back side. The politicians did not know what to do with her radical words so they covered the inscription during the 1921 unveiling ceremony and then faced it to the wall in the Crypt. A few months later, the inscription was removed from the monument.

“PRINCIPLE NOT POLICY; JUSTICE, NOT FAVOR; MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE; WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS, WAS THE CLARION CALL TO THE MOST ASTOUNDING UPHEAVAL OF ALL TIME. A CALL WHICH WAKED THE WORLD, SIGNALED AND INAUGURATED A REVOLUTION WITHOUT TRADITION OR PRECEDENT, AND PROCLAIMED THE FIRST INCONTROVERTIBLE CONCEPT OF HUMAN FREEDOM—THAT OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY—PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY, INCLUDING WOMEN. WOMAN, FIRST DENIED A SOUL, THEN CALLED MINDLESS, NOW ARISEN DECLARED HERSELF AN ENTITY TO BE RECKONED. SPIRITUALLY THE WOMAN MOVEMENT IS THE ALL-ENFOLDING ONE. IT REPRESENTS THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMANHOOD. THE RELEASE OF THE FEMININE PRINCIPLE IN HUMANITY. THE MORAL INTEGRATION OF HUMAN EVOLUTION COME TO RESCUE TORN AND STRUGGLING HUMANITY FROM ITS SAVAGE SELF.”
Although the monument resided downstairs in the Crypt with its inscription gone, it continued to serve as a vital focal point for women’s groups, such as the National Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs, National Association of Colored Women, National Association of Women Lawyers, American Association of Women Ministers, Polish Women’s Alliance of America, and other organizations. Women also came from Japan, Sweden, Pakistan, England, Australia, and around the world to celebrate and pay homage at the Portrait Monument to Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

Art was “the one and only universal language,” said Adelaide Johnson, because it spoke to the soul. “A great picture or mighty statue...makes its direct appeal regardless of race, nation, creed, or color.”

The sculpture was not simply marble images stuck upon a pedestal “but living forms rising from the rockbed of all times,” said Johnson. She created the monument to present in beautiful marble “the living spirit of these women so lifelike and so full of the soul of womankind that it would go down through the ages telling the story of the struggle these women endured.” These women opened the path to freedom and equal rights for all women; they saw that the liberation of women would make possible the evolution of humanity.

With the right to vote came the right to representation, and the Portrait Monument has stood in the United States Capitol for 100 years, representing the progress and the unfinished work. The monument remains the sole sculpture representing women’s history in the Rotunda. And, while the number of women elected to Congress has reached an historic level, women are not yet equal partners in the government’s house. Yet, progress towards equitable and inclusive representation – marble and real – is being made in Statuary Hall, the Rotunda, and throughout the United States Capitol.
Women Seek to Immortalize Suffrage Pioneers By Placing Marble Busts in Hall of Fame,” Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner, June 1, 1920.


Alice Paul to Adelaide Johnson, October 10, 1920, AJ Papers.

Senator James W. Wadsworth Jr. to Senator Frank Brandegee, February 8, 1921, AOC Papers.


Diary, Adelaide Johnson, May 16, 1921, AJ Papers.


“A Woman Announces Herself a Candidate for Congress,” Newberry (South Carolina) Herald, 7 November 1866, 1.
Shakespeare, Congress, and the Folger Library

Michael W. Evans

Shakespeare can teach us much about politics, and his lessons can be particularly relevant to those of us who work in and around Congress. I came to this conclusion late, after almost two decades as a Senate staffer. In high school and college I read some of the plays, but I never really got it. The language was hard to understand. And I couldn’t tell my King Richards from my King Henrys, so the plots were hard to follow. Almost twenty years ago, I decided to give Shakespeare another try. People I respected kept talking about how much they enjoyed Shakespeare. Maybe I was missing something. So, I decided to give it some serious study.

I quickly became entranced. I was struck by how profound, yet thoroughly enjoyable, the plays were. As someone who has spent his career working in and around Congress, I was particularly struck by how much Shakespeare focuses on political leadership. Granted, it is not his only, or even his most prominent, theme. But nevertheless, it is there. Many of the plays are about how a leader achieves, maintains, or loses power. There are the English histories, such as Julius Caesar, which tells how Caesar loses power and how Brutus and Mark Antony contend for it. There are the great tragedies, which tell the stories of Hamlet, Macbeth, and Lear, each a king or prince who falls from power.

Taking this all in, I wondered whether Shakespeare can teach something to those of us who work in and around Congress. After all, Shakespeare was one of our greatest thinkers. When he talks about politics, we may want to pay close attention.

I submit that there is indeed much that Shakespeare can teach us. But first I want to whet your appetite with a mystery. Why is the greatest Shakespeare Library in the world, the Folger, located not in London, or in Stratford-on-Avon, but in Washington, DC? And it is not amid the great museums and cultural institutions on the National Mall; nor near the British Embassy on Massachusetts Avenue. It is at 201 East Capitol Street, Southeast—directly adjacent to the Library of Congress, a block from the Supreme Court, and in the shadow of the U.S. Capitol. The library seems, geographically and architecturally, to be part of the U.S. Capitol campus.
This raises two questions. First, again, why is the Folger Shakespeare Library here, on Capitol Hill? Second, does it matter? Is it important that the world’s greatest Shakespeare library is in Washington, DC? And, I should note, we also have the wonderful Shakespeare Theatre downtown. Does it matter that Shakespeare is in the midst of our capital?

Before arriving to these questions, let me give you some background, about Shakespeare and American politics. America’s European founders came from Shakespeare’s world. When the English settlement of America began in Jamestown in 1607, Shakespeare was at the height of his London career: within the previous three years, his theater company had premiered Othello, Measure for Measure, Macbeth, and Antony and Cleopatra. Indeed, the early colonists’ experience influenced Shakespeare’s work, with the shipwreck of the Virginia-bound Sea Venture serving as an important source for The Tempest. After Shakespeare’s death, as his works became increasingly popular in England, his popularity carried over to colonial America. The first American performance of a Shakespeare play was in 1750, and there were many more soon after that, in New York, Philadelphia, and Williamsburg.¹

As the American nation developed, Shakespeare’s influence grew. Shakespeare’s plays not only were performed often and read widely, but also had enormous influence on American writers. America’s greatest 19th Century author, Mark Twain, was an avid reader of Shakespeare. In Huckleberry Finn, the barnstorming rascals and showmen, the Duke and the King perform a slapstick of mangled passages from Richard III, Macbeth, and Hamlet, including—

To be, or not to be; that is the bare bodkin
That makes calamity of so long life
For who would fardels bear, till Birnam
Wood do come to Dunsinane?
But that the fear of something after death
Murders the innocent sleep,
Great nature’s second course,
And makes us rather sling the arrows of outrageous fortune
Than fly to others that we know not of.

It’s nonsense, and, as cultural historian Lawrence Levine noted, “Twain’s humor relies on his audience’s familiarity with [Shakespeare] and its ability to recognize the duke’s improbable coupling of lines from a variety of Shakespeare’s plays.”²

The first American edition of Shakespeare’s works was published in 1795, and, thereafter, a flood of Shakespeare poured forth from American printing presses, with 150 new or reprinted American editions of Shakespeare’s works issued by 1865. Shakespeare’s plays dominated the American theater--in New York City, you could attend
any one of three different productions of Macbeth on a single evening in 1849. Likewise, Shakespeare dominated the theaters that seemed to sprout up in every new town, with, for example, more than 300 performances of Shakespeare’s plays occurring between 1831 and 1840 in the cities of Cincinnati, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri; Detroit, Michigan; Louisville, Kentucky; and Lexington, Kentucky. Shakespeare probably was more popular, during the 19th Century, in the United States than in Great Britain, with Shakespeare’s plays accounting for almost one quarter of all the plays performed in the U.S.³

It wasn’t just the urban elites. As settlement moved west, Shakespeare went along. De Tocqueville wrote, “There is hardly a pioneer’s hut that does not contain a few odd volumes of Shakespeare.” The great mountain man Jim Bridger traded a yoke of oxen for a book of Shakespeare, which he hired a young man to read aloud; before too long, Professor Jennifer Carrell wrote, “Bridger came to know Shakespeare’s cadences of speech so well that his own speech could slide through the poet’s rhythms, especially the insults.” A Shakespeare scholar wrote, “The frontier would not leave him to Europe and the East; no other writer was so quickly assimilated in the wilderness. Reverence for him became the symbol, the mark of culture, which united the frontiersmen with Emerson and Lowell.”⁴

Shakespeare’s influence extended to American politics. The leaders of the American Revolution, including John Adams, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson, were steeped in Shakespeare’s work, which they relied on to inform their political vision and sharpen their rhetoric. Of Adams it was written, “This young, eighteenth-century Harvard man knew his Shakespeare,” and, as he entered politics, Adams frequently turned to Shakespeare, such as when, in one of his earliest political writings, opposing the Stamp Act of 1765, he relied on a quotation from Macbeth. George Washington also absorbed Shakespeare, frequently attending the plays that were fixtures of upper-class social life in Williamsburg and elsewhere, and it has been said that “Shakespeare on the stage... was Washington’s delight.” In his letters, he quoted Shakespeare often. Jefferson’s reading of Shakespeare began with an edition of the plays in his father’s library, and it continued with various editions that he bought throughout his life. He also read serious Shakespeare criticism, such as Elizabeth Montagu’s Essays on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare. When serving as a diplomat in Europe, Jefferson expanded his Shakespeare library with the latest editions, and he also took the opportunity to see Shakespeare performed on the London stage, including a performance of Macbeth starring the great British actress Mary Siddon. After Jefferson retired to Monticello, he would read Shakespeare aloud to his grandchildren, and they in turn apparently worked up a comic version of King Lear to perform for him. A year before his death, Jefferson advised a friend that Shakespeare should be among the essential books owned by a person on a limited budget.⁵

A particularly arresting image from the early days of the American Republic is that of a 1786 visit by Thomas Jefferson and John Adams—soon to become political rivals but then friends and diplomatic colleagues stationed in Europe—to Shakespeare’s birthplace and gravesite in Stratford. The visit seemed to have been a letdown for both men, with Adams writing of his disappointment that “there is nothing preserved of this great genius... which might inform us what education, what company, what accident turned his mind to letters and drama,” and with Jefferson sourly complaining that he had to pay to tour the house and grave site. But Abigail Adams later claimed that her husband told her that, upon
arriving in Stratford, he had kissed the ground.\textsuperscript{6}

Members of Congress frequently turned to Shakespeare’s plays to express themselves during debate. In 1837, the Senate was considering whether to expunge its resolution censuring President Andrew Jackson. Senator Henry Clay acknowledged that those who wished to expunge the resolution appeared to have the votes. Thus, he said, “The deed is to be done—that foul deed which, like the blood staining the hands of the guilty Macbeth, all ocean’s waters will never wash out.”\textsuperscript{7}

Another example occurred in 1856. Rival factions were seeking control of the new Kansas government under the terms of the recently enacted Kansas-Nebraska Act. A pro-slavery politician had purportedly been elected as the Kansas territory’s first congressional delegate, but opponents argued that his election was based on fraud. They called for a special committee to investigate. As the debate unfolded, a Congressman from Ohio, Samuel Galloway, spiced up his argument with a quotation from Macbeth. Referring to the date of the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he said, “Let that pernicious hour stand ... accursed in the calendar!” Later that day, Congressman John Millson of Virginia took the floor. Millson also knew his Shakespeare. He responded. “The gentleman from Ohio favored us with a quotation from Macbeth, and I will give him an answering quotation from Hamlet.” He then referenced the scene in which Ophelia’s brother expresses his exaggerated grief at her death by leaping into Ophelia’s grave. Quoting from Hamlet’s reaction, Millson said, “Dost thou come here to whine, to outrace me with leaping in her grave? ... I’ll rant as well as thou.”\textsuperscript{8}

The most notable example of the use of Shakespeare in Congress occurred in 1830, during the famous debate between Senators Robert Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Although ostensibly about public lands policy, it was a major debate about the relationship between the northern and southern states. After Webster gave a speech about public lands policy, Hayne argued that Webster’s stated subject was a smokescreen. Webster’s real problem, Hayne argued, was the disintegration of a coalition that Webster hoped to establish between the North and West against the South. Evoking a scene from Macbeth, in which the ghost of murdered Banquo appears to Macbeth and Lady Macbeth but is invisible to the others who are sitting with them at a banquet table, Senator Hayne asked, Has the gentleman’s distempered fancy been disturbed by gloomy forebodings of ‘new alliances’ at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered coalition come back, like the ghost of Banquo, to ‘sear the eye-balls’ of the gentleman, and will it not ‘down at his bidding?’ Are dark visions of broken hopes, and honors lost forever, still floating before his heated imagination?”

The Capitol Dome
The next day, Webster responded. After making some introductory remarks, he said that “[T]he honorable member was not ... entirely happy in his allusion to the story of Banquo’s murder and Banquo’s ghost.” Turning the tables on Hayne, Webster explained that Banquo’s ghost “was an honest ghost. It disturbed no innocent man,” but appeared only to Banquo’s assassins, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. By identifying with those who saw the ghost, Webster argued, Hayne had slipped up. He had unintentionally revealed his own sinister motives. After reciting several lines from the play, Webster asked: “Those who murdered Banquo, what did they win by it? Substantial good? Permanent power? Or disappointment, rather, and sore mortification; dust and ashes, the common fate of vaulting ambition overleaping itself?” Then he said, derisively, “I need pursue the allusion no further.”

There are many other examples. Congressman William Jennings Bryan began a speech by directing the House Clerk to read a passage from Merchant of Venice. A manager of President Andrew Johnson’s Senate impeachment trial compared Johnson’s cabinet members to Polonius in Hamlet. References to Shakespeare were part of the ebb and flow of Congressional debate. By my count, between 1833 and 1873 there were 159 references, during Congressional debate, to Shakespeare himself or to the plays Macbeth, King Lear, Othello, and Hamlet.

An interesting further example of the influence of Shakespeare on Congress in the 19th Century is that one of the most prominent early American editors of Shakespeare, Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, had previously served not only as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Webster replying to Hayne in Boston’s Faneuil Hall. Painted in 1830 by George P.A. Healy.
but as Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means during a critical time in the nation’s early history—the consideration and reaction to the 1828 “Tariff of Abominations.” After retiring from Congress, Verplanck published the highly regarded Shakespeare’s Plays, with his Life, Illustrated.  

Shakespeare continues to be invoked in Congress. Indeed, during the time I’ve worked in the Senate, there was one person who might give Ways and Means Chairman Verplanck a run for his money. Senator Robert Byrd (WV) read Shakespeare’s plays throughout his adult life, and he frequently used Shakespeare to reinforce an argument during Senate floor debate. At one point or another during Senate floor debate in 1994, Senator Byrd quoted from each of Shakespeare’s 36 plays (even the bad ones).  

That said, there is a significant difference between the use of Shakespeare’s work in Congressional discourse during Webster’s and Lincoln’s time and its use in Congressional discourse today. When Senator Webster took to the floor of the Senate to deliver his reply to Senator Hayne, he knew that his audience—other Senators on the Senate floor, the crowd in the packed gallery, the tens of thousands who would read newspaper accounts or the published text—would be able to appreciate the light that Macbeth cast on current events. The culture has changed. Today, Shakespeare is considered part of elite culture rather than a shared public culture, and, when contemporary politicians invoke Shakespeare (with the exception of Senator Byrd), they are likely to do so superficially—grabbing a Shakespeare line from Bartlett’s Quotations or the Internet in order to add a sheen of sophistication to their argument. Shakespeare is no longer part of our shared public culture, and references to his work are therefore less illuminating when used in current political debates.

I suggest that, if we lose Shakespeare, we lose something important to our political life. The Folger Shakespeare Library is here to remind us of this. And that brings me back to our mystery. Why is the Folger Shakespeare Library located on the campus of the U.S. Capitol?

In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, Henry Clay Folger, a skilled and trusted corporate lieutenant to oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller, accumulated large holdings in Standard Oil of New Jersey and its spin-offs, some of which he managed; his holdings elevated him to the status of a mid-level millionaire. It was a time when many newly-minted American millionaires used their fortunes to plunder the cultural treasures of Europe, resulting, one writer said, in a “tide [that] swept across the sea paintings, furniture, tapestries, sculptures, arms and armor, jewelry, silver,
religious art, and rare books and autographs.” In the case of Henry Folger and his wife Emily, both of whom had become avid readers of Shakespeare while in college, the focus was on what came to be called “Shakespeariana”—early copies of the plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, art and artifacts from Shakespeare’s London, and Shakespeare scholarship. The Folgers were not only collectors; they were serious students of Shakespeare, and they became experts in the arcane world of rare books, coming to know all of the serious rare booksellers of the U.S. and Europe. Working quietly and assiduously over many years, the Folgers eventually amassed a vast and extraordinary private collection, including more than one-quarter of the approximately 250 extant copies of the First Folio—more than remained in all of Great Britain. The Folgers had created the finest collection of Shakespeare’s works, related artifacts, and Shakespeare scholarship, in the world. All of this piled up in the Folger’s Brooklyn townhouse and several storage facilities.

The Folgers were not hoarding all of this for their own egos. Their intention was to create a collection that would facilitate scholarship and promote the continuing appreciation of Shakespeare’s work. Accordingly, as Henry wound down his time at Standard Oil, the Folgers turned their attention to establishing an appropriate institution and structure to make their collection available to the public. They decided to establish a Shakespeare library, and they considered several locations, including New York, London, Stratford-on-Avon, Amherst, Massachusetts (where Henry had attended college), and even Nantucket (the Folger ancestral home). “I finally concluded I would give it to Washington,” Folger said, “for I am an American.” Further, after a visit to Washington, the Folgers decided to locate their library in the very center of American politics and government, in the midst of the U.S. Capitol complex. Over eight years, Henry Folger quietly purchased a block of 12 townhouses on “Grants Row,” a block from the Capitol building, adjacent to the Library of Congress, and across the street from the property on which the Supreme Court building soon would be constructed.

But there was a problem. It turned out that the federal government was about to acquire the same property, by eminent domain, to expand the Library of Congress. So Folger sprang to work. He persuaded Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam that locating a great Shakespeare library on this site would benefit both the Library of Congress and the nation. Folger believed, Putnam told a Congressional Committee, that “Washington was the ideal place for such a collection and its service, and that this site ... was the ideal site.” Putnam threw his support behind Folger, and he asked the Chairman of House Committee
on the Library to support the location of Folger’s library on the Grant’s Row site and limit the Library of Congress’s expansion to an adjacent site.  

In 1928, Congress modified a bill acquiring property for the Library of Congress in order to allow Folger to retain the Grant’s Row properties for the construction of a Shakespeare library. This, the Senate Committee on the Library reported, “will not merely not interfere with the utilization of the [parcel] for library uses, but be fully consistent with it, and indeed prove cooperative with the larger purposes of the [Library of Congress] as an institution.” Specifically, the Committee continued, the parcel would be used “for the erection … of a building architecturally appropriate to the vicinity, which is to house one of the finest, if not the finest, collection of Shakespeariana in existence, with an ample endowment for its maintenance and further development.” Senator Simeon Fess, the Chairman of the Senate Library Committee, said the planned Shakespeare library, “as seen from Capitol Square … will prove a fitting vista through the gap formed by the Library of Congress on the south side of East Capitol Street and the proposed Supreme Court building on the north.” It was, to use current terminology, special interest legislation, although of a very positive kind. That is why the Folger Library is on Capitol Hill.

Does it matter? Is it important, particularly to those of us who work in and around Congress, that Shakespeare is in our midst? I suggest that it is, for two reasons, one practical, one perhaps deeper.

First, the practical. Politics mattered to Shakespeare, who was closely involved with the English Court at a time of high politics, as factions contended for power during the final days of Queen Elizabeth and the early days of King James. Shakespeare provides many practical lessons about political leadership. The sidebar lists some of these practical lessons that Shakespeare teaches about political leadership. Some stress the importance of good strategic think-
ing and good management skills: decisiveness, pragmatism, listening carefully to advisors, and the deft use of subordinates. Another stresses the importance of empathizing with the common person, like Prince Hal and unlike Coriolanus. Another lesson stresses that, as with Prince Hal’s transformation into King Henry V, a leader must forego personal indulgence. Through it all runs the constant theme of balance: a leader should be decisive, like Henry V, but not reckless, like Hotspur; pragmatic, again like Henry V, but not cynical, like Richard III; above the crowd but empathetic, a lesson Coriolanus never learned.

Let’s dig into two of these lessons. One is that a leader must listen carefully, including to advice he or she would rather not hear. A good example is Henry Bolingbroke, who initiates the events that unfold throughout the English history plays. Bolingbroke is, in many respects, a capable leader, and he’s been wronged by Richard II, who unlawfully confiscated Bolingbroke’s land. Further, Richard himself is a terrible king, timid, self-centered, and displaying consistently bad judgment. However, for all his faults, Richard is the legitimate king under the English laws of succession. Deposing him would undermine those laws and perhaps the very legitimacy of the monarchy.

At the beginning of Act IV of Richard II, Bolingbroke is meeting with his advisors, trying to decide how to deal with King Richard, who has been defeated but retains the throne. Bolingbroke exclaims “In God’s name I’ll ascend the regal throne.”

The Bishop of Carlisle objects, saying,

If you crown him [Bolingbroke], let me prophesy—
The blood of English shall manure the ground,
And future ages groan for this foul act.
Peace shall go to sleep with Turks and infidels,
And in this seat of peace, tumultuous wars
Shall kin with kin, and kind with kind, confound.
Disorder, horror, fear, and mutiny
Shall here inherit, and this land be call’d
The field of Golgotha and dead men’s skulls—
O, if you raise this house against this house,
It will the woefullest division prove
That ever fell upon this cursed earth.
Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so.
Lest child, child’s children, cry against you woe.

Bolingbroke and the others ignore the warning. Bolingbroke’s ally, Northumberland, responds to the Bishop: “Well have you argued, sir, and for your pains, of capital treason we arrest you here.” With that, the Bishop is arrested, and Bolingbroke instructs his aides to “Fetch hither Richard, that in common view he may surrender.” Bolingbroke ignores the Bishop’s warning (and has the Bishop executed). Richard is deposed, and Bolingbroke becomes King Henry IV. However, for all his skill, Bolingbroke eventually fails. Although he will remain king until his death and will pass the crown down to his son and grandson, their reigns eventually will devolve into brutal civil war. This happens for reasons that were brought to Bolingbroke’s attention, by the Bishop of Carlisle, but Bolingbroke would not listen.¹⁸

There are other examples. King Lear divides his land according to how profusely his daughters
flatter him, and, when the honest Cordelia refuses to flatter, Lear erupts in anger, denies Cordelia any inheritance, and banishes her, an impetuous act he will come to profoundly regret. Julius Caesar is warned, by the soothsayer and others, of the impending assassination attempt, but he ignores the warnings. The witches tell Macbeth everything, including about his downfall, but he only hears what he wants to hear, discounting Birnham Wood ever coming to Dunsinane. Shakespeare’s lesson is clear. When they achieved power, these leaders stopped listening carefully.

Another lesson, which surprised me, is that a leader must set personal loyalty aside in favor of pragmatism. The best example is Henry V. He has many good leadership qualities. But he is no saint. He is utterly pragmatic, even ruthless. The most vivid example is the repudiation of Falstaff, one of Shakespeare’s greatest creations. He is a wit and philosopher; also a drunkard, glutton, lecher, braggart, coward, and petty thief. He is, in all, a wonderfully rich character, and he has some of Shakespeare’s best lines as he accompanies young Prince Hal through Hal’s wayward youth. Harold Bloom considers Falstaff to possess “genius, more of Shakespeare’s own genius than any other character save Hamlet,” and to be, in his wit, insight, and zest for living life fully, “the true and perfect image of life itself.”

This makes Falstaff’s fate especially heart-breaking. When Falstaff learns that King Henry IV has died, making Prince Hal the new king, Falstaff thinks his ship has come in. He waits outside the palace, expecting that, when the new king passes by and sees Falstaff in the crowd, the king will welcome him with open arms and grant him his due. But the new king, seeing Falstaff, does not embrace him. Instead, he delivers a speech that is shocking in its ruthlessness. It begins “I know thee not, old man,” and it continues—

Fall to thy prayers.
How ill white hairs becomes a fool and jester.
I have long dreamt of such a kind of man,
So surfeit-swelled, so old, and so profane,
But being awaked I do despise my dream.
Make less thy body hence, and more thy grace;
Leave gormandizing; know the grave doth gape
For thee thrice wider than for other men.
Reply not to me with a fool-born jest.
Presume not that I am the thing I was,
For God doth know, so shall the world perceive,
That I have turned away my former self;
So will I those that kept me company.

The young king orders Falstaff banned. Before long, heartbroken, Falstaff dies. Why did Shakespeare subject one of literature’s greatest characters to such a sorrowful end? To my mind, Shakespeare is underlining this point: as king, Henry will forego the wayward companions of his youth and adopt the sober demeanor or appropriate to leadership. To Shakespeare, leadership overcomes friendship, even friendship with a character as endearing as Falstaff.

Thus, Shakespeare teaches many practical lessons about political leadership. Turning from the practical, there is another, and probably more important, reason for us to study Shakespeare’s treatment of politics. In a recent book, The Les-
sons of Tragedy, authors Hal Brands and Charles Edel look at the ancient Greeks. Each spring, the citizens of Athens gathered for a celebration lasting several days. One of the central events was the public performance of one of the great Greek tragedies, such as Oedipus Rex, Antigone, or The Persians. These plays are brutal, heartbreaking, and unrelenting. Why make them the center of a celebration by the world’s first democracy?

Brands and Edel argue that these performances were critical to the success of ancient Greek civilization—

For the Greeks, theatrical and other dramatic representations of tragedy were public education. Tragedies were meant to serve as both a warning and a call to action. They were intended to chasten and horrify the citizenry and, in doing so, to inspire them. Athens was capable of ascending to great heights ...but only if the public understood the depths to which it might sink absent great effort, cohesion, and courage.\(^{21}\)

Shakespeare’s plays perform the same function. Shakespeare gives us many leaders who struggle to attain power, only to realize that their power is empty or even destructive. Generally speaking, there are no successful political leaders in Shakespeare, only different types of failures. It’s almost as if Shakespeare is performing the role of the Roman slave who follows behind a general riding in a victory procession through Rome, whispering into the general’s ear, “all glory is fleeting.”

Shakespeare is whispering to us. There is Richard II, bleakly and poetically realizing that his power is gone. There is the evil but irresistible Richard III, railing against the fates at the battle of Bosworth. And there is again Bolingbroke/Henry IV, the great usurper. As the civil war grinds on, King Henry IV, now old and tired, longs for repose, declaring, “Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.” In Shakespeare, political power comes with great cost.

Shakespeare’s most specific essay on the cost of political power is Macbeth. As a historical matter, Macbeth was a Scottish warrior who, having been cut out of the line of succession, responded by murdering King Duncan and successfully asserting his own kingship, until he is defeated and killed by Duncan’s descendants. Shakespeare transforms this material into a dark exploration of the dan-
ger that comes from the unbridled lust for power.

Shakespeare’s attitude towards Macbeth is different than his attitude towards other unscrupulous monarchs, most notably Richard III. Where we observe Richard, we identify with Macbeth. Shakespeare pulls us in, until we share Macbeth’s horror at what he has done and what he has become. Also, unlike Richard III, Macbeth suffers from pangs of conscience. He also suffers from mounting nihilism, leading to the great soliloquy about life being all “sound and fury, signifying nothing.” Still, Macbeth is impelled on. As he says, “Blood will have blood.” At base, Macbeth is undone by his own ambition.

In American politics, the consideration of Macbeth takes us to our greatest president, Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was a deep student of Shakespeare. As a boy, he recited many of the great speeches. As a young lawyer, he travelled with a copy of Shakespeare in his saddlebags. When he became president, Lincoln’s study of Shakespeare intensified. Lincoln’s White House aide, John Hay, said that Lincoln would read aloud from Shakespeare “for hours with a single secretary for [an] audience.” An artist who spent time in the White House painting Lincoln’s portrait, Francis Carpenter, remembered a time when, during a posing session, he and Lincoln were discussing Shakespeare’s Richard III, and Lincoln broke into an expert rendition of Richard’s opening soliloquy. And President Lincoln was frequently in the audience at Shakespearian productions in Washington, including those starring Edwin Booth, the brother of Lincoln’s eventual assassin.22

The most poignant display of Lincoln’s affection for Shakespeare occurred five days before his death. Lincoln visited Richmond, which had just fallen to Union troops. He was greeted joyfully by soldiers and former slaves, and he briefly sat behind the desk from which Jefferson Davis had led the confederacy. Then he returned to a Union riverboat to steam back north. Along the way, he pulled out a well-thumbed volume of Shakespeare and read aloud, for more than an hour, from Macbeth, which was Lincoln’s favorite play.23

This may seem a strange place to turn during a terrible war. The dark MacBeth hardly provides solace, at least in a conventional way. But perhaps Macbeth fit particularly well, because Lincoln understood that, as the English poet Phillip Sidney wrote in Shakespeare’s time, tragedy shows “upon how weak foundations gilded roofs are builded.” Abraham Lincoln had a deep appreciation of tragedy.24
We can hear it the Second Inaugural Address. Consider the setting. Six months earlier, the situation had been bleak, with the Union armies stalled in front of Richmond and Atlanta after suffering the worst carnage of the war, and with former General George McClellan, the Democratic candidate for president, expected to win the election, which probably would result in a settlement to the war that would leave slavery intact. Since then, things had improved dramatically. Sherman had captured Atlanta in September and then marched on to Charleston. Other Union armies also had broken through. Lincoln had been reelected by a fairly wide margin. Now, General Grant’s Union army was massed just outside of Richmond, which General Robert E. Lee’s Confederate army was about to abandon. The Confederacy was collapsing and victory was near.

But as Lincoln took to the podium on the East Front of the Capitol for his inauguration, he looked nothing like a conquering hero. Time and the pressures of office had taken their toll. He had, one observer said, “a look of one on whom sorrow and care have done their worst.” Lincoln began his short address by acknowledging the formalities and saying, about the military situation, that it now was “reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all.” Then he briefly and eloquently described the development of the conflict. He explained that slavery “constituted a peculiar and powerful interest,” and that “this interest, somehow, is the cause of the war.” He explained that “both parties deprecated war,” but that both had made fateful decisions to either initiate or accept it, “And the war came.” Lincoln then cut right to the tragic heart of the Civil War. He said:

Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-men’s two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, “the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether.”

As Civil War historian and Lincoln biographer Don Fehrenbacher wrote, “here was a cruel doctrine, offered to explain a cruel war.” Lincoln uses it, though, as a springboard to his famous and merciful peroration, beginning “With malice toward none, with charity to all,” in which he calls the nation to finish the work, bind the nation’s wounds, and care “for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan,” and to seek “a justice and lasting peace among nations.”

By standards of conventional political rhetoric, the speech is extraordinary. On the threshold of a great victory, there is no triumphalism, not even a modest note of congratulation. Instead, there is complexity, irony, and hard consequence. Surely, Lincoln was drawing on his long and close study of Shakespeare—on the stories of the Wars of the Roses, which had begun with a grab for power, by Henry Bolingbroke, which, however seemingly justified, set England on the course for a civil war that would last for generations, fulfilling the Bishop of Carlisle’s prophesy, to Bolingbroke, that if you “raise this house against this house ... the blood of English shall manure the ground”; on Hamlet’s
King Claudius, who had seized power and then discovered that he was cursed and could not pray; on Macbeth, whose ambition had impelled him on to his own destruction; on Lear, who found wisdom and mercy only after he had lost all power. We hear, in the Second Inaugural, echoes of them all.

This, I suggest, is the second lesson, in addition to the practical lessons, we should take from Shakespeare: an appreciation of tragedy. Like the Athenians, we should remind ourselves that our blessings are not guaranteed. As Americans, we may be tempted to think that fate is on our side; that our constitutional checks and balances will counteract any serious threats to our system of government; that it can’t happen here.

But tragedy teaches otherwise. Liberal democracy is not guaranteed. It is fragile. Without constant attention, including from those of us privileged to work in and around Congress, we can lose everything. That is why it is important that Shakespeare is in our midst; why we should read, or, even better, watch, King Lear, Richard II, or Macbeth.

All this brings me, in conclusion, back to the Folger Shakespeare Library. In the Library’s West Garden is a statue of Puck, the mischievous spirit from A Midsummer Night’s Dream. He is facing the Capitol. At the base of the statute is a quote from the play, “Oh, what fools these mortals be!”

To my mind, it’s a reminder, by way of Shakespeare, that our status as a stable democracy is precarious and requires humility. We are in the capital of a great nation. But, even so, we are always just a few steps away from a tragic mistake. That makes the work of those in the nation’s capital, as Members of Congress, staffers, members of the Executive branch, agency, members of the press, experts in think tanks, and lobbyists, all the more important; likewise, and perhaps even more so, the thoughtful attention of all Americans, as informed citizens.

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Notes


7 13 Debates in Congress 439 (Jan. 16, 1837).

8 Congressional Globe, March 19, 1856, pp. 211 (Galloway), 675 (Millson).


10 Congressional Record Appendix, p. 285 (February 14, 1895) (Bryan). I found the 159 references by a text search of the Congressional Record, excluding inapt references (such as to “a hamlet,” or to a living person whose last name was Shakespeare).


13 See generally Andrea Mays, The Millionaire and the Bard (New York, 2015); Stephen H. Grant, Collecting Shakespeare (Baltimore, 2014).

14 Stephen H. Grant, Collecting Shakespeare (Baltimore, 2014), p. 139 (“for I am an American”).


17 Although this article discusses Shakespeare’s views about political leadership, it does not extensively discuss Shakespeare’s political ideology. That is a much-debated topic. Shakespeare, writing at a time of censorship, when the expression of the wrong opinions could literally cost one’s head, Shakespeare generally kept his political views to himself, making those views, like much in Shakespeare, endlessly debatable, with Shakespeare being invoked in favor of political programs ranging from bedrock conservatism to communism, and with Shakespeare scholar Jack Lynch recently wring, “everyone wants to believe that the Bard is on their side.” (Jack Lynch, Becoming Shakespeare (New York, 2007), p. 170. That said, my (somewhat reluctant) conclusion is that the best description of Shakespeare’s political ideology is that of a classical conservative, along the lines of Edmund Burke. Examples are the scenes of mob rule in Julius Caesar and Henry VI, Part 2; the royal gardener’s praise of maintaining “law and form and due proportion” in Richard II (3.4); Ulysses’ speech in Troilus and Cressida, explaining that “when degree is shaked, / Which is the ladder to all high designs, / Then enterprise is sick” (1.3); the tax scene in Henry VIII, in which Shakespeare seems to endorse a medieval version of supply-side economics, agreeing with Queen Katherine’s concern that, if taxes are too high, “the back is sacrifice to th’ load,” with the result that, as Norfolk said, “the clothiers . . . put off
the spinsters, carders, fullers, [and] weavers” (1.2); and the scene in Coriolanus in which a senator uses a metaphor about the human body to argue that the hierarchical political and economic system, which seems on its face to benefit only the upper class, benefits common citizens as well (1.1). There also are times when Shakespeare seems to take a position more consistent with what we would today consider economic liberalism, most notably the scene on the heath in King Lear, in which Lear, having been abandoned by his faithless daughters and cast out into a storm, declares that as a king you must “Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel / That thou mayst shake the superflux to them, / And show the heavens more just” (3.4).

18 Richard II, 4.1.113, 136-49, 4.1.150-55.


20 King Henry IV, Part II, 5.51-62.


23 Robert Bray, Reading with Lincoln (Carbondale, Illinois, 2010), pp. 211-19 (generally), 213 (Booth).

24 Quoted in J.A. Symonds, Sir Phillip Sydney (London, 1902), p. 161


In Remembrance of Donnald K. Anderson  

The U.S. House of Representatives, and the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, lost one of its own with the passing of the Honorable Donnald K. Anderson in August 2020. Donnald Anderson was a true man of the House of Representatives. After serving as a House page appointed by Rep. John E. Moss of California, he worked as an elevator operator, and, in 1966, with the assistance of Rep. Hale Boggs of Louisiana, secured an appointment by Speaker John W. McCormack of Massachusetts to be an assistant manager in the House Democratic Cloakroom. In 1972, Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma appointed Anderson the Majority Floor Manager, where he earned the trust and respect of the Members over the years.

Anderson dreamed of becoming the Clerk of the House of Representatives. In 1960, after a brief conversation with Clerk of the House Ralph R. Roberts, while making a delivery to his office, Anderson decided that “being Clerk of the House has to be the best job in the world, and my fantasy as a 17-year-old high school senior was to be the Clerk of the House—little knowing that 27 years later, I actually would become the Clerk of the House.”

On January 6, 1987, Anderson realized his lifelong dream, when he was sworn in as the Clerk of the House for the 100th Congress, a position he held for eight years, until retiring in 1995. In all his positions, Anderson served with integrity and dedication, taking immense pride in placing the duties of his office before partisanship or political ideology, which became a cornerstone of his tenure as Clerk. As Anderson noted, he was committed to “ensuring that my office was absolutely nonpartisan, that we treated all Members with the same courtesy, the same expediency, the same confidentiality, so that Members of the Minority ... could unburden themselves with me, even though I was a Democrat, knowing that I would never break their confidence.”

As Clerk, he was instrumental in the formation of the House Office of Employee Assistance and the Office of Fair Employment Practices. He also generously shared his deep knowledge of the legislative process and House protocol with new Members during “freshman orientation.” One of Clerk Anderson’s most lasting effects on the House was his commitment to modernization. By harnessing new technologies, Anderson helped the House set the foundation for doing business in the information age and in a world increasingly reliant on technological innovation.
Typical of Anderson’s attention to detail and love of the institution of the House of Representatives, one of his early projects was to have the silver inkstand that sits on the House Rostrum repaired and refurbished. The inkstand has been used in the House since 1819 and is the oldest existing object still used in the Chamber. Before each session, the inkstand is placed on the Rostrum before the Speaker’s chair. As part of the renovation process, Donn donated his personal collection of silver dimes to be melted down to be made into screws to repair the inkstand. Just as the Mace is the symbol of the House, the inkstand is a symbol of the Speaker. It also reminds us that Donn is part of each session of the “People’s Chamber.”

House colleague and longtime friend Bill Pitts remembered his institutional collaboration with Anderson, as recounted in Donn’s own words from his oral history:

“Something else that Billy and I did, but we had to do it with real stealth, was put in a provision requiring the publication of the modern precedents of the House. Mr. [Lewis] Deschler, the longtime Parliamentarian, had never published the current precedents from Cannon’s Precedents forward. Cannon, I think, was published in the 1920s or early ’30s, but none of the House precedents were available after that since Mr. Deschler did not want them out there in the public domain. He had the only complete set, which was in his personal office where Members, if they had the nerve, could come and read them under his gaze. And, of course, he would then be aware of what precedents they were consulting. It probably would have cost us our jobs if we had been found out, but I think we got the late Bill Steiger of Wisconsin to add an amendment requiring the—actually mandating—the Parliamentarian to publish the modern precedents of the House. Of course, Mr. Deschler was fit to be tied. And it was overwhelmingly supported by the House because the Members were under the same affliction of being handicapped by not having the modern precedents of the House readily available to them, which, of course, were the bulk of those that were most salient to the current practice of the House. But, nonetheless, the Parliamentarian didn’t rush to publish them. When the Deschler’s Precedents eventually appeared, unsurprisingly it was a posthumous edition.”

In 1979, Anderson made the decision of faith to become a Roman Catholic. He asked his close friend, Rep. Lindy Boggs of Louisiana to be his godmother at his christening at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. (Mrs. Boggs, who had been elected to the House in 1973 after her husband’s untimely loss in an airplane crash, later served as President Bill Clinton’s Ambassador to the Holy See). A friend of Donn’s who was staff for Mrs. Boggs wryly asked her how long it would take her to make a christening gown large enough for Donn to wear at his baptism. The House was scheduled to hold a rare Friday session on the appointed day for Donn’s baptism at the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, but Speaker Tip O’Neill upon learning of the conflict cancelled the session and went out to the Shrine to participate in the christening. In 1991, Anderson was invested by Pope John Paul II in the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, a Papal order of knighthood under the protection of the Holy See.

Donn remained close with the Boggs/Roberts family over the years. Cokie Roberts shared the story at a Page Homecoming in 2016 of how she and her husband Steven Roberts’ son Lee had met his future wife Elizabeth McDonald while serving as a summer House Page in 1985; Donn later allowed Lee and Elizabeth access to the inside top of the Capitol Dome, where Lee proposed.

Anderson split his time between Capitol
Hill and Sacramento, CA, where his next-door neighbors Brenda and Chris Kirian shared that “he was intelligent, kind, generous, and loyal. He had a thirst for knowledge and loved to share the stories of his days in Washington and his travels around the world. He was proud, but humble. He demanded respect but treated everyone with respect. He made an impression on everyone he met, from world leaders to clerks at the grocery store, to strangers passing by his front porch. He made an impact in so many lives.”

Anderson was buried during a private ceremony in Sacramento on Aug. 13, 2020. Through the leadership of former House Pages Doug Geiss and John Crabtree-Ireland, the U.S. Capitol Page Alumni Association presented 1,000 red and yellow roses in a special hand-made arrangement for the ceremony at the cemetery.

As his long-time friend and former House colleague Virginia Fletcher said, “Donn’s great humanity, his appreciation for history and love for Congress as a lasting institution stands as an enduring example for all those who will follow in his footsteps to serve the Congress and the American people.”

Jerry Papazian, a 1971 House Page, currently serves as president of the U.S. Capitol Page Alumni Association.

Jan Schoonmaker is a Trustee of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society; he retired from Van Scoyoc Associates in 2015 and previously served as a senior staffer to the late Rep. Lindy Boggs (D-LA).
In Grateful Remembrance

Former U.S. Representative and 2nd President of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society Clarence “Bud” Brown, Jr., passed away on January 26, 2022, at the age of 94. Following his time in Congress, Mr. Brown served as the 5th U.S. Deputy Secretary of Commerce and later as acting Secretary of the U.S. Department of Commerce. After retiring from public employment, he was elected to serve as President of USCHS from 1992 to 1999. His vision was instrumental in helping the Society reach new audiences, share Congressional history in modern and compelling ways, and diversify the its funding base. In so doing, Mr. Brown spent a decade leading our organization to long-term success and well-being.

Former Senate Majority Leader and 1996 USCHS Freedom Award recipient Robert J. Dole passed away on December 5, 2021, at the age of 98. Mr. Dole received two Purple Hearts and a Bronze Star medal for his service and sacrifice in World War II. After his bid for the Presidency in 1996, Mr. Dole remained active in civic life, making frequent visits to greet Honor Flights of fellow veterans visiting the WWII Memorial and leading an international anti-hunger program. He received a Congressional Gold Medal in 2018 and a Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1997. Mr. Dole Laid in State in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda on December 9, 2021.

Norman Y. Mineta, who was held in an internment camp during WWII and went on to become one of the highest-profile Asian American political leaders in American history, passed away on May 3, 2022, at the age of 90. A recipient of the USCHS Freedom Award in 2013, Mr. Mineta served as the Mayor of San Jose, CA, as a U.S. Representative for 20 years, as Secretary of Commerce during the Clinton Administration, and as Secretary of Transportation during the George W. Bush Administration. Mr. Mineta received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2006 and the San Jose International Airport was named in his honor.

One of the best-loved American historians, David McCullough, passed on August 7, 2022, at 89 years old. The 2016 USCHS Freedom Award Recipient was best known for his two Pulitzer Prize-winning biographies of Harry Truman and John Adams. In his remarks upon receiving the Society’s Freedom Award, Mr. McCullough observed that “the gleaming [Capitol] dome remains the focal point of our capital city and though there have been modifications and additions to the building in the years since, it remains essentially as it was then, a symbol of freedom, the structure bespeaking more than any other our history, our American journey, evoking and encouraging powerfully pride in our system and, yes, patriotism.”
USCHS Hosts Virtual “100 Years of Women Voting” Symposium in Fall 2020

USCHS thanks the presenters, viewers, and event partners who made its 2020 Annual Symposium a success! 100 Years of Women Voting was co-sponsored by the Kluge Center at the Library of Congress and made possible by the Women’s Suffrage Centennial Commission. The virtual symposium series featured distinguished speakers and experts exploring the impact of women in American government and public life.

Professor Christina Wolbrecht, a distinguished political scientist at the University of Notre Dame, opened the symposium as the keynote speaker. Additional programs included panels on “Race and Gender in Politics: The Last 100 Years”, “Diverse Voices from the Suffrage Movement”, “Women in Leadership”, and “Gender and Political Participation.” Panelists included current and former Members and Officers of Congress, Library of Congress experts, and other university professors. Dr. Martha Jones, a distinguished historian and attorney at Johns Hopkins University, concluded the symposium as the closing keynote speaker.

USCHS Hosts Virtual 2020 National Heritage Lecture

The National Heritage Lecture was established in 1991 by the United States Capitol Historical Society, the White House Historical Association, and the Supreme Court Historical Society to enhance the knowledge and appreciation of the American system of government and the principles upon which it was founded. Hosted in turn by each of the three historical societies, the annual National Heritage Lecture explores one of the three branches of government and the momentous events and personalities associated with its history.

The U.S. Capitol Historical Society hosted the 2020 National Heritage Lecture, which examined the cooperation between the Eisenhower Administration and Congress to address the unique economic and defense concerns of a large nation of varied terrain—and create the deeply American concept of the open road in the process. The virtual event served as the official kickoff to “IKE Week,” in which the Eisenhower Memorial Commission dedicated the one of the newest monuments in Washington, DC. The program included greetings from several Members of Congress and remarks from former Transportation Secretary Ray LaHood, former FAA Administrator Michael Huerta, and transportation scholar Jeff Davis.
USCHS Presents 2020 Freedom Award to Dr. Carla Hayden, 14th Librarian of Congress

On December 9, 2020, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society presented its 2020 Freedom Award to Dr. Carla Hayden, the 14th and current Librarian of Congress. USCHS President/CEO Jane Campbell hosted the virtual awards ceremony, which began with the singing of the National Anthem by Morgan State University Choir Member Darrin Scott. Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi thanked Dr. Hayden for all her work at the Library of Congress and throughout her career.

Noted philanthropist David M. Rubenstein gave remarks about how he believed Dr. Hayden would go down as “one of the greatest Librarians of Congress we have ever had.” Mr. Rubenstein has a special relationship with Dr. Hayden, sharing that he learned how to read at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, which is where Dr. Hayden served as CEO for twenty-three years. He introduced a video montage of other Members of Congress and professional colleagues who also wanted to congratulate Dr. Hayden on her work. Senator Roy Blunt of Missouri, a member of the USCHS Congressional Advisory Group, also spoke about his positive relationship with Dr. Hayden dating back to her confirmation hearings in February 2016.

After Senator Blunt’s remarks, Dr. Hayden moderated a panel featuring Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Jon Meacham and Yale University historian Dr. Joanne Freeman, in which the trio discussed the importance of an open and ambitious national library. USCHS Chairman Don Carlson announced the presentation of the award to Dr. Hayden while her mother, Mrs. Colleen Hayden, handed the physical award to her in-person. Dr. Hayden ended the ceremony with a speech thanking USCHS and dedicating the award to the entire staff at the Library of Congress.

USCHS Hosts “Toward a More Perfect Union” Webinar Series

Between November 2020 and May 2021, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society conducted a virtual biweekly speaker series entitled “Toward a More Perfect Union,” which examined the nation’s journey toward defining (and redefining) the idea of a “more perfect union.”

Centered on the ongoing struggle for equality and justice in the United States, “Toward a More Perfect Union” engaged writers, historians, and practitioners in discussions of a variety of recurring questions in American civic life. Over the course of the series, USCHS considered the social and legislative context of the evolution of voting rights, issues of representation, access to education, economic empowerment, and more.

The series examined the role of Congress in

USCHS Launches January 6 Oral History Project

The events at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021, were among the most significant—and tragic—in American history. To ensure that their stories are never lost to time, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society began, and continues to conduct, an oral history project to preserve these memories, and their lessons, for future generations of American citizens, scholars, and patriots.

The Society continues to meet with advisory and stakeholder groups to determine how best we can help the nation heal and address the underlying issues that created the environment for this tragedy. USCHS also strongly believes that without an exhaustive study of January 6, the United States will be unable to take the steps necessary to prevent such an attack from happening again. Unfortunately, today’s polarized political climate has made examining that fateful day nearly impossible. That is why a coalition of good governance groups asked the U.S. Capitol Historical Society if it would conduct a large-scale oral history project to ensure that the facts of January 6 are not lost to history. The Society agreed with a firm resolution, believing that this project’s objectives align with the mission of the organization and the best interests of the country we love.

We watched with horror as our precious Capitol was attacked on January 6, 2021. Unfortunately, deep partisan divides cloud how the story of that day is being told. We are providing an archive to collect people’s stories of that day while memories are still fresh and invite everyone who lived through it to share their personal experience. The U.S. Capitol Historical Society is not part of any investigative committee. We are a nonpartisan organization funded through private donations. We simply want to preserve these oral and written personal statements, photos, and videos for future generations of American citizens, scholars, and patriots. More information about the January 6 Oral History Project can be found at https://January6History.org/.
USCHS and Partners Launch We the People Hub

Since 2005, the We the People Constitution Tour program has engaged more than 20,000 DC Public Middle School students with an exploration of how the U.S. Constitution is alive and accessible in their city. When the pandemic prevented in-person field trips, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society led the We the People Consortium in developing an online tool to deliver a curated collection of civic education resources that will continue to be updated and expanded for years to come.

Formally launched in the summer of 2021, the We the People Hub supports both live and asynchronous learning, offers classroom activities, assignments, and materials for individual study and enrichment, and introduces primary source analysis resources. Additionally, there is an educator forum for teachers to share their experiences and provide suggestions for the best learning experience for others. The Hub is open-access, and can be found at https://www.oercommons.org/hubs/wethepeople.

USCHS Hosts Virtual 2021 Symposium on The Gilded Age

From October 12 through November 9, 2021, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society proudly presented its annual symposium as a series of webinars focused on The Gilded Age. From the rise of titans of industry like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, to the impact of mass industrialization on the American workforce and economic inequality, programs explored how Congress reacted to this tumultuous era – and how we can still learn important lessons of the age.

The symposium opened with a two-part panel on the “Political Developments of the Gilded Age,” followed by the “Economic Changes of the Gilded Age,” the “Disparate Economic Impact of the Gilded Age,” and closed with a panel on “American Arts and Culture in the Gilded Age.” Speakers in these panels included professors from prominent universities across the United States, Canada, and Japan.
USCHS Presents 2021 Freedom Award to Congressional Electoral College Tellers

The U.S. Capitol Historical Society presented the 2021 Freedom Award to Senator Roy Blunt, Senator Amy Klobuchar, and Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren for their service as Congressional Election Tellers, who continued the work of democracy even in the face of an attack on the Capitol.

On January 6, 2021, Members of Congress gathered for a joint session in the House of Representatives Chamber at 1:00 p.m. ET to count the votes of the Electoral College. Shortly thereafter, rioters began clashing with Capitol Police outside of the U.S. Capitol and subsequently breached the building. By 4:00 p.m. ET, Congressional leaders were evacuated from the U.S. Capitol Building. But four hours later, through the courage and will of the Electoral College Tellers—the 2021 Freedom Award recipients—Congress reconvened to resume its important and necessary work. By 3:40 a.m. ET on January 7, 2021, the Tellers finally opened, presented, and recorded every state’s votes, certifying the 2020 Presidential election, and ensuring the legal transfer of power for the 45th time in United States history.

USCHS Hosts Hybrid Program on “Rebuilding the Legacy of Ulysses S. Grant”

2022 marked the 200th anniversary of the birth of Ulysses S. Grant, the 18th President of the United States and commanding general of the U.S. Army during the Civil War. 2022 also marked 100th anniversary of the dedication of the Ulysses S. Grant Memorial, located along the U.S. Capitol reflecting pool. A hybrid event (both in-person and live-streamed) hosted by Senator Roy Blunt of Missouri and the U.S. Capitol Historical Society celebrated Grant’s contributions that saved the Republic and discussed modern historians’ reexamination of the man once held in equal esteem with George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

The Ulysses S. Grant Bicentennial Commemoration program featured three speakers including Senator Blunt, the Honorable Brett Blanton, 12th Architect of the U.S. Capitol, and Dr. Ronald C. White, Jr. New York Times bestselling author of American Ulysses: A Life of Ulysses S. Grant. Photo (c) Bruce Guthrie
USCHS Hosts Hybrid Lincoln Memorial Centennial Symposium

2022 marked the 100th anniversary of the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial. To honor this momentous occasion, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society hosted a hybrid event to explore the legacy of, arguably, our nation’s greatest president and the striking edifice erected in his memory.

On May 24, a panel of experts discussed the surprisingly hostile Congressional debate over the construction of the Lincoln Memorial. They answered questions such as: Why was America’s most visited monument almost never built? Why did the Speaker of the House once proclaim, “So long as I live, I’ll never let a memorial to Abraham Lincoln be erected in that God d— swamp”? How did Lincoln’s son work to preserve his father’s memory? How has politics shaped our remembrance of Lincoln, the Civil War, and their lessons to us today? And what role did Congress serve in transforming the Memorial, and National Mall, into hallowed American ground?

USCHS Hosts Symposium on Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune

On July 13, 2022, the U.S. Congress accepted and dedicated Florida’s new statue of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune as part of the National Statuary Hall Collection in the U.S. Capitol Building. With the statue’s placement, Dr. Bethune became the first African American and the tenth woman to be so honored.

As part of the day’s commemorations, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society and its partners – Bethune-Cookman University, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library, and the National Council of Negro Women – held a scholarly symposium exploring the life and legacy of Dr. Bethune, an educator, activist, and stateswoman whose story matters as much today as ever before.

Speakers included Congressman James Clyburn, Majority Whip of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congresswoman Kathy Castor, Dr. Johnetta Cole and Dr. Thelma T. Daley of the National Council of Negro Women, Dr. Allida Black and Nancy Roosevelt Ireland of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library, Bethune scholar Dr. Camesha Whittaker, and Dr. Lawrence Drake and Judge Belvin Perry of Bethune-Cookman University. USCHS presented this program in collaboration with the Office of Congresswoman Kathy Castor and thanks to the generous support of Wells Fargo.
USCHS Hosts Webinar Series on Constitutional Amendments

The Constitutional Amendments Series, launched by the Society in April 2022, follows up on the successful “Toward a More Perfect Union” webinar series by examining each amendment to the Constitution over a yearlong period. Recent and planned entries include:

- Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Dr. Jack Rakove on the origins of the Constitution and the importance of its amendable nature

- National bestselling author Steven Waldman on the First Amendment and Freedom of Religion

- Constitutional scholar and former USCHS Trustee Linda Monk on the First Amendment’s Freedoms of Speech, Assembly, and Petition

- Co-Directors of the Duke University Center for Firearms Law, Professors Joseph Blocher and Darrell A.H. Miller on common misconceptions about the 2nd Amendment, including what it forbids, what it permits, how it functions as law, and how it distorts the gun debate and America’s constitutional culture

- Dean of the University of California-Berkeley School of Law Erwin Chemerinsky on the history and societal impact of the 4th and 5th Amendments

- Sterling Professor of Law and Political Science at Yale University Akhil Reed Amar on the 6th, 7th, and 8th Amendments that guarantee our right to a speedy trial, a jury of our peers, and if convicted, protection from cruel and unusual punishment

- Director of the Constitutional Law Center at Stanford Law School Michael W. McConnell on the 9th, 10th, and 11th Amendments, which remain at the heart of the United States’ enduring debate over state vs. federal sovereignty

- Yale University historian – and popular history podcast host – Joanne B. Freeman on the history and necessity of the 12th Amendment, which provides for the separate election of the Vice President of the United States.
The U.S. Capitol Historical Society is tremendously grateful to the support of the following organizations and individuals:

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Leaving a Legacy

By including USCHS in your bequests, you can instill and foster informed citizenship for generations to come. If you are considering a bequest to USCHS, here is some suggested wording for your attorney:

After fulfilling all other specific provisions, I give, devise, bequeath _____% of the remainder [or $_____] to the United States Capitol Historical Society, a District of Columbia charitable corporation [Tax ID #52-0796820] currently having offices at 200 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002. For more information please contact Cherise Clark, Director of Development, at 202-543-8919 ext. 23.

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“We The People” Box

Architectural and patriotic relief designs adorn this beautiful antiqued ivory resin box that can be used for a multitude of purposes. The “We the People” box is made using historic Capitol Marble, which is ground into fine powder and mixed into the resin used to create this beautiful desk accessory. Dimensions: 3 1/2” x 3 1/2” x 2”

$36.95  
Item Number: 002656

Artisan Mugs

Check out our new custom-made, hand-glazed artisan ceramic mugs featuring the U.S. Capitol Dome. The artisan mugs are available in blue and red finishes and are great for hot or cold beverages.

$36.95  
Item Numbers: 004031 (Red)  
004032 (Blue)

U.S. Capitol Snow Globe

A traditional favorite is back! The 2022 Limited Edition Snow Globe, which features the U.S. Capitol Building and Capitol Hill, plays America the Beautiful when wound. Share this timeless gift for any occasion!

$50.00  
Item Number: 003158
Creating Capitol Hill

Creating Capitol Hill: Place, Proprietors, and People recounts the fascinating, and at times convoluted, history of the creation of a neighborhood and world-class capital city. In four essays the story is revealed and unraveled, making it a must-have coffee table book!

$29.95
Item Number: 003030

Marble & Wood Capitol Paperweight

This elegant addition to the Society’s collection of unique gifts features a replica of the East Front of the U.S. Capitol. The piece is crafted using historic Capitol Marble resin and is set in beautiful cherry wood, making it a great gift for anyone!

$45.00
Item Number: 003066

Marble Dome Paperweight

Centered on a circular wooden base, this replica of the U.S. Capitol Dome is made from the reclaimed marble of the Capitol’s East Front steps, which were originally installed between 1863 and 1865. The marble is ground to a fine powder and mixed with a resin for molding this handsome office accessory. Like all marble products sold by USCHS, this paperweight includes provenance information. The Marble Dome Paperweight is proudly made in America.

$48.00
Item Number: 002769
Dome Cookie Jar

This lovely ceramic cookie jar is crafted from the historic marble removed from the East Front steps during renovations in the 1990s. The marble is ground into a fine dust and added to the ceramic mold to create this beautifully accurate reproduction of the Capitol Dome. The cookie jar is sold in a gift box (cookies not included). Dimensions: 10” tall with a 7.5” x 7.5” base

$65.00

Item Number: 002981

Lincoln Memorial Centennial Ornament

This commemorative keepsake celebrates the 100th Anniversary of the Lincoln Memorial. The ornament is beautifully handcrafted in the United States from solid brass with a 24kt gold finish and digitally printed image in vibrant colors. The piece is packaged in an elegant retail window box.

$36.95

Item Number: 003183
Sandstone Paperweight with Base

Carved out of history from sandstone which graced the East Front of the Capitol before renovations in the late 1950s, this historic desk accessory sits on a handcrafted walnut base. The 13 oz. paperweight is sold boxed with a medallion and letter of authenticity.

$52.00

Item Number: 000119

Marble Dome Bookends

These handsome bookends which replicate the U.S. Capitol Dome are crafted from the historic marble removed from the East Front steps during renovations in the 1990s. The marble is ground into a fine powder and mixed with resin for molding to achieve the finely detailed appearance of this classic desk or shelf accessory. Like all marble products sold by USCHS, this paperweight includes provenance information.

$84.00

Item Number: 001903
U.S. Capitol Historical Society Launches New Website: CapitolHistory.org

Website Now Easier to Navigate & Learn From!

For months, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society listened carefully to your feedback as we built a website that is now more modern and user-friendly, and better features our work to promote the history of Congress and that of our great nation!

We encourage you to visit our new website, CapitolHistory.org, which includes:

- Upcoming events on our Homepage and in our “Engage” section
- A full catalogue of our previous years’ Lectures and Webinars
- An updated page for you to book U.S. Capitol Tours now that the Capitol is open again
- Our daily “On This Day in History” social media posts located on our Homepage
- Our new Education Videos section for teachers, parents, and students
- And of course, a way for you to Become a Member of the Society if you appreciate our work and the importance of our mission

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