

## Chapter One – The Formative Years: Minnesota (1869-1896)

Jennie Amelia Vennerström was born on August 31, 1869 in a dugout shelter near the hamlet of Albert Lea, Minnesota. The child's mother, Gunhild Marie Tangen, had recently followed her immigrant sisters from Norway with the expectation of sending home ready earnings. Jennie's father, John Louis Vennerström, was the first of his family to escape the rural poverty of Sweden for the golden promises of America.<sup>1</sup> He was a talented carpenter, who built sailboats and houses, and an artisan-craftsman renowned for his carved furnishings. The very Battle Lake schoolhouse where his bashful daughter had her first formal education was of his construction.<sup>2</sup> What he was not, however, was a constant husband. John Louis habitually found employers and their commissions annoying and all too frequently left home on the pretext of work elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> He charmed relatives, friends and even strangers to finance his travels and schemes for quick profit. His wife and infant daughter were often left to fend for themselves in bitter poverty. Meals consisted of tubers scavenged from the countryside; rickets were endemic among adolescents. Where winters can reach 20 degrees below zero, life was on the edge. Jennie observed that:<sup>4</sup>

. . . . my chief recollection of those early years is that of being excruciatingly cold, all the time; with chilblained hands and feet. . . . my hands were ruined, from the beauty standpoint, probably before I was ten years old. . . . No garments could keep out that wind.

Indians, especially the Chippewa, raided the Scandinavian settlements, making survival nearly impossible. The Vennerströms' tiny earthen abode was fronted by a single wooden wall with a door and small window. The latter provided the only natural light to the dank interior. John Louis once promised to buy land and build a proper house, but then refused to fell trees and declared that lumber was "too expensive."<sup>5</sup> Inside the family quarters the "lighting system at first consisted of hollowed out turnips filled with melted fat in which floated twisted wicks and pieces of red flannel."<sup>6</sup> Generous neighbors, who "fostered understanding . . . and, of course, made secrets nil," helped as needed, but "when the grocery [store] was fifty miles away, it was amazing how long a pound of sugar lasted . . . it was brought down chiefly for funerals, of which there were many."<sup>7</sup> In an area with no trained doctors treatable diseases left the mortality rate staggeringly high.

Fortunately, Jennie's infancy prevented her from witnessing one of the family's great tragedies. In the fall of 1871 her mother died after an especially difficult unattended childbirth. Her new sister, Julia Marie, affectionately called "Miria," survived despite the inexplicable absence of her father. Jennie commented on the matter when she met her maternal grandfather for the first time: "he had no knowledge of the crushing hardships that had grown too overwhelming for my mother and which had sent her to an untimely grave."<sup>8</sup> The little that she learned of her mother amounted to perfunctory fragments from well-meaning relatives who recalled her "generous heart, compassion for all of God's creatures and abiding faith in the teachings of the church." The paternal grandmother cared for the two children until John Louis married Christine Larson in 1873.<sup>9</sup> By all accounts Jennie's stepmother was kind, but a disciplinarian. Tragically, she died in May of 1879 from a combination of malnutrition and sepsis after the still-birth of her second son in the same dugout shelter. Jennie lamented that the:<sup>10</sup>

. . . . lack of nutritious food would be the cause. The long, weary months of dire want seemed like a nightmare. To visualize and to describe the same would be a punishment to the writer, an unforgivable sadness thrust upon the reader. There are many moments that should remain forever buried.

What both wives gave to John Louis was unquestioning obedience. With her father's ever increasing absences Amelia – as Jennie was often called by her relatives – and her sister were passed among the extended family in the close-knit community, but their stays tended to be longest on uncle Andrew's farm, just outside Battle Lake.<sup>11</sup> Jennie recalled: "By the time I was twenty years old I had lived in twenty-four places."<sup>12</sup> Despite her peripatetic existence she developed a deep affection for her many relations. As a contributing member of their households she learned to harvest grain, tend vegetable gardens, feed livestock, cook, clean house and especially to sew, a task in later years that she both loved and dreaded.

Surprisingly, throughout her life, Jennie held her father in the highest esteem and cherished the time they shared. Once, in response to attacks by both Indians and locusts, John Louis moved the family two hundred miles south of Battle Lake to seek his fortune in the towns of Anoka and Spence Brook. He soon fell into such penury that the children ate only bran mush, berries and potatoes in "good months" and bitter acorns in lean times. Jennie witnessed her father's slow mental breakdown and fits of violence with a strange mixture of terror and sympathy. She saw his proud spirit broken by the callous indifference and overt hostility of the non-Scandinavian residents. Humbled, he was forced to return the following year. According to the U.S. Census of 1880, the widower John Louis resided with his two daughters in the town of Everts near Battle Lake and listed his occupation as "farmer."<sup>13</sup> Two years later, when Jennie was thirteen and living with aunt Mary, her father visited on the Fourth of July. He brought the "wildest of stallions," which gave his unprepared daughter the wildest of rides, and presented her with an exotic black turban and her first made-to-order dress. "I felt very much grown up," Jennie remembered that night:<sup>14</sup>

. . . my nerves were in shreds and patches. I said all the prayers I knew and comfort came with sound sleep. My father was off again to parts unknown! There were weeks of complete blankness after this.

She admired his evident skills as a craftsman and took special pleasure in his maverick status in the community. He steadfastly refused to attend the local Lutheran church, but chose to espouse publicly the radical doctrines of Robert Ingersoll.<sup>15</sup> John Louis and his youngest sister, who was named Amelia and hence Jennie's namesake,<sup>16</sup> became proto-Bohemians, "the sophisticated citizens of the world, dropped down, as it were, into this deeply religious peasant community where the possibility of the world's coming to an end was ever present."<sup>17</sup> Their free spirits and creativity made them the "artistic misfits," but they had a profound influence on Jennie. Aunt Amelia became an educator, interior decorator, and fashion designer. One day without comment John Louis followed the train tracks out of town and was never heard from again. The town's many gossips speculated that he had traveled to the West or was murdered under mysterious circumstances. The latter scenario, according to the righteous, was the inevitable punishment for all apostates.

Jennie did not merely survive into adulthood, she became a shining optimist due to her unflinching sense of self worth. As she admits, her "strongest impressions" of childhood were produced not by people and events, but by Minnesota's Watershed, that gently rolling table-land of agriculture, "the numerous sparkling lakes, the green and tawny hills, the brilliant skies with fleecy clouds . . . these became our companions as we rested in the tall green grass."<sup>18</sup> She made manifest this love of nature in her early art and declared her intention to be a "great artist."<sup>19</sup>

Wishing when I was five to create, but having no money, I used what was near at hand – laundry blueing; sticks and rags for brushes. The result was yards of marines dotted with islands. In my early years, still eager to be doing things, I copied birds and

butterflies with water colors. At sixteen and eighteen, I must still be making things; I bought oils and experimented on wood.

Her talents were rewarded when she walked away with a grammar school scholarship prize for her series of creative maps depicting Otter Tail County.<sup>20</sup>

Although precocious throughout her youth, Jennie never became the paternal iconoclast, but rather found a degree of solace in a hybrid “faith” which was not completely within the community’s church. As a child she chafed under the strict Lutheran dogmas that were imported with the Scandinavian immigrants and ultimately formed a very tight adhesive around the community. Through mandatory attendance this church catechized scriptural teachings as well as the virtues of hard work and honesty, but according to Jennie it “lacked vision and imagination; reason and wisdom were something wanting.”<sup>21</sup> Even though she believed that *their* religion was as hard and joyless as *their* labor, she maintained a steadfast faith that the God of the Old and New Testaments created this infinitely beautiful world with a divine plan and that man’s responsibility was to cherish His creations. The Lutheran church grudgingly received her admiration for the devotion and reverence it inspired. In her 1942 autobiography she claims to have maintained a decided aloofness from established religion and its doctrines, but at the age of nineteen she pursued her undergraduate degree at an institution that inculcated the most conservative Protestant teachings. Jennie also had an unwavering loyalty to what she called “this great nation” and was determined to see its vast reaches and make a significant contribution to its people. Jennie inherently knew that those achievements would have to be commensurate with her efforts: *quod severis mettes* (“what you sow you reap”). Her community’s most cherished ideal, the stable nuclear family of a devoted hard-working father and a nourishing mother, would ultimately evade her. All of the happily married women she knew as a child worked only at home, gave an almost biblical loyalty to their husbands and aspired to nothing more than the respect of their families and neighbors. Jennie’s professional aspirations precluded this path.

Beyond her immediate community she found inspiration at school. Her first teacher, Bessie Walker, had such a profound impact on the child’s life that she was given her own chapter in Jennie’s autobiography.<sup>22</sup> As a “real Yankee” in speech, attire and demeanor, Miss Walker became the object of the most detailed emulation. Her hallmarks included an impeccably starched collar, erect but graceful posture, tightly braided shiny black hair, intense brown eyes and a broad forgiving smile. She cultivated the “gentle pleasures,” which her students entirely lacked, as well as an understanding of dignity and beauty. She was the first to organize local “sewing bees” to make clothes for disadvantaged children, one of whom was Jennie. Miss Walker showered the children with small treasured presents, items that their families could never afford and would consider needless luxuries. During periods when her father moved the family for available work, Jennie was compelled to walk several miles to attend her class.<sup>23</sup> Due to the death of her stepmother and her father’s insolvency Jennie was forced at age eleven to leave the Battle Lake area and live with relatives in Vining, a small village without a school. Although she had no formal education for the next six years, she was able on summer weekends to walk to Battle Lake where she studied piano with friends.<sup>24</sup> During this period she constantly sketched the world around her and read the “classics” voraciously from the home libraries of neighbors. Once her chores were completed she scurried into a corner of the barn or to some small clearing in a cluster of trees where, in a dust-filled shaft of light, she followed the travails of Odysseus, Cyrano de Bergerac,

Don Quixote and Doctor Faustus. At the age of seventeen she returned to school for six months and to everyone's amazement passed the examination for a teaching credential at the elementary level. In April of 1888 Miss Vennerström became a teacher at School District 177 in the town of Everts. She realized that her credential would never entitle her to more than the privilege of teaching children in the most impoverished pockets of rural Minnesota. Soon she transferred to Inman as a poorly paid part-time instructor to be nearer her sister.<sup>25</sup> The Battle Lake newspaper chronicled her circumstances on April 9, 1891 with the following story on its front page:<sup>26</sup>

Miss Jennie Vennerström . . . arrived here . . . and has taken charge of her old school in [the] town of Inman. She was offered an increase of \$15 per month on her present salary to take another school in this county, but refused. Having agreed with the Inman board to teach their school, she felt like keeping her promise. Such faithfulness as that is highly commendable, and the school board down at Inman should meet the young lady half way by raising her salary a few dollars and show that they fully appreciate her.

Apparently, she was later given a small increase in salary.

Jennie wanted more and Hamline University in St. Paul provided the solution. Founded as a Methodist institution in 1854 it offered a liberal arts degree in a protective, conservative and very religious setting; it had a solid reputation as a coeducational teacher's college. In order to insure "their high moral excellence" all 135 students were "required to attend chapel exercises daily and preaching every Sabbath." Through daily Bible study, according to the University Catalogue:<sup>27</sup>

a revival spirit is constantly present, growth in Christian life and work is successfully cultivated, and the young people are prepared for the wider field in church work that lies before them. The experience of the University shows that intellectual and religious culture ought not to be separated, but that both reach their highest development together.

While these official pronouncements are innocuous enough, the picture rendered of the average collegiate in *The Oracle*, the student newspaper, almost leads one to conclude that every denizen was an evangelical Pollyanna. The typical student editorial reads:<sup>28</sup>

If you are not a Christian you ought to be, and you will never fully realize what manhood means till you become one. . . . Let the students assist the faculty in every way possible. . . . Since the highest degree of mental culture is found only in a healthy body, the habit of studying late at night must be unwise and impolitic.

The prize-winning student essays, which the faculty recommended for publication in *The Oracle*, show a sinister racism and bigotry that Jennie refused to accept and even openly defied. Two of the more egregious examples are:<sup>29</sup>

The Negro presents distinctive physical qualities which show mental inferiority, while the Caucasian . . . represents capability of perfection in mental development; he is humane, civilized, and progressive . . . the Negro race has not . . . been able to make one solitary step from their savage state.

The Italian race is composed almost entirely of Roman Catholics. . . . here all studies tending to develop the intellect and broaden the ideas are prohibited . . . their wealthy men have no higher ambition than to become idlers. . . . No wonder the Italians are a race of paupers and beggars.

Miss Vennerström carefully chose her acquaintances at Hamline University.

Despite the quality of the student body, she could aspire to higher goals. However, two impediments required removal. The first was financial. Neither Jennie nor her relatives possessed even a portion of the nearly two hundred dollars in annual expenses.<sup>30</sup> As the academic year was divided into three ten-week terms from mid-September to late May, every other year Jennie took

the required courses for the third term in the fall and winter. This enabled her to teach in the school district during the spring and tutor in the summer to pay her fees.<sup>31</sup> While male students were permitted to select their own residences off campus, “young women,” who did not live with their parents in St. Paul, were required to reside on campus in the Ladies’ Hall and dine there.<sup>32</sup> Jennie avoided this expense by living in the nearby home of Mrs. Jennie Everts Bibbins, her maternal aunt who had once resided in Battle Lake and loaned books to the ambitious child. At the Bibbins’ home Jennie Vennerström cooked and cleaned to pay for her room and board.<sup>33</sup> She undoubtedly bypassed the requirement for living with her immediate family by claiming that she was an orphan and that the aunt was her closest relative and legal guardian. This arrangement with the Bibbins was an important factor in Jennie’s decision to attend Hamline.

Equally daunting was the second impediment, the issue of her academic qualifications. Despite her position as an educator, she never completed the equivalent of high school and consequently lacked a number of standard courses that were required for admission to the University. Hamline did have a three-year “Latin Scientific Preparatory Program” to “cultivate” students for regular University admission.<sup>34</sup> Jennie by-passed her first year by examination and completed her two remaining preparatory years between September of 1888 and March of 1890. She received the quintessential 19<sup>th</sup>-century curriculum: algebra, geometry, physics, physiology, French, Latin prose composition with textual readings, and weekly rhetorical exercises with declamations. She paid the additional \$1.00 fee per term for what became her first professional instruction in drawing and oil painting under Barton Stow Hays.<sup>35</sup> Hays, an outspoken Abolitionist in Ohio during the 1850s, became an influential muralist and portrait painter who counted William Merritt Chase among his pupils. After he moved to Minneapolis in 1882 he specialized in still lifes.

In September of 1891 Jennie formally entered her freshman year at Hamline in the “Latin Scientific Course.” In addition to continuing her work in classical languages, mathematics and rhetoric, she was required to take a broad curriculum that included German, chemistry, logic, practical biology, zoology, astronomy, and three courses in law: constitutional, international, and American common. For “recreation” there was musical instruction, singing, a gymnasium with a branch of the Y.W.C.A., four literary societies - two for gentlemen and two for ladies - and the local Oratorical Society. For those so inclined a Prohibition Club was open to membership from both sexes.<sup>36</sup> There was also instruction in elocution “to enable a student to correctly interpret and truthfully present the best things in literature . . . strong points are rapidly developed, mannerisms promptly corrected.”<sup>37</sup> Jennie thrived in this atmosphere, but her “doubling of courses” every other year imposed severe hardships and occasionally took a toll on her health.<sup>38</sup> One term, when Jennie passed examinations in sixteen subjects, she was summoned to the office of the University President, Dr. George Bridgman, to confirm the veracity of this achievement.<sup>39</sup> In a state of fear and near exhaustion she was only able to whisper short answers to his questions. Bridgman quickly sensed the discomfort, excused her and remarked behind her back: “That is the second Scandinavian girl that has done this.” In March of 1894 she was one of seven chosen from the junior class to deliver essays before the entire student body in the University Chapel.<sup>40</sup> The faculty was so impressed with the text of her study on “Raphael’s Madonna” that it was reprinted in its entirety on the first four pages of *The Oracle*.<sup>41</sup> This unprecedented compliment made a pleasant change from the normal student drivel and it displayed her remarkable aptitude for art historical analysis. After an effusive introduction to praise this *very* Catholic and *very* Italian artist Jennie

compared his most famous works with a critical eye, always careful to distinguish examples that were entirely by his own hand. The iconography, facial features, attire, and palette were assessed to draw some basic conclusions about the development of Raphael's style. These deductive skills would prove of immense value in ripening her own talents as an artist and professional critic.

To a certain extent Hamline in the mid 1890s had the air of a finishing school where fine manners were cultivated.<sup>42</sup> Its ladies were encouraged under supervised conditions to fraternize with the gentlemen on campus. Jennie, like other female students, was required to act as hostess and speaker at class parties.<sup>43</sup> The intent was to find a suitable romantic attachment for the purpose of marriage.<sup>44</sup> In 1895 Jennie became vice president of the Tennis Club and in that year's *Liner*, the Hamline University yearbook, the illustration directly above her name shows a tennis court with mixed couples.<sup>45</sup> On one side of the net are depicted a smartly dressed man and woman who hold hands and a daringly close gaze, while on the other side another couple smooches behind a raised tennis racket. There is absolutely no evidence that Jennie, who became one of the campus prudes, had any romantic attachments while at Hamline. Quite the contrary, her outside interests, aside from continuing with art instruction, were primarily literary. In the spring term of 1895 she was elected vice president of the all-female chapter of the Browning Society, which was ostensibly founded to admire the poetry of Robert and Elizabeth Browning, but in practice it cast a wide cultural net. For one of the Society's programs of "Public Entertainment" in the Hamline Chapel Jennie gave a "book criticism of Marcella."<sup>46</sup> In this Protestant version of Periclean Athens Jennie not only accepted the highest standards of moral rectitude, she sought to enforce them. Near the end of her senior year she was appointed to the position of "Preceptress," the equivalent to a dean of women who guided the morals of undergraduates.<sup>47</sup> In this capacity Jennie submitted to the campus paper a short but revealing editorial which she entitled "Critical Remarks by ye Preceptresse."<sup>48</sup> Herein she responded to two members of her Browning Society who were about to publish short essays in *The Oracle* that exhorted women to adopt male attitudes to achieve success; they also had the effrontery to endorse Darwin's theory of evolution. With all the fire and brimstone of a fundamentalist minister Jennie hurled her invectives:<sup>49</sup>

I am prone to inquire what authors you have been consulting, with what friends you have been conversing, that you bring before us theories born before their time, theories that are at best irrational. You not only advocate them as disciples advocate the thoughts of their teachers, but even presume to frame them into orations which are fit to be the vehicles of men's thoughts only. Young women, I can only say be more conservative; think how in assuming the manners and customs of men you mar that highest of womanly virtues, modesty.

A worse notion still which I noticed is this evolving or evolution theory. . . . I wonder if you young people have given this one serious thought. A man sprung from a monkey! . . . It bewilders and frightens me to think of the theory, to say nothing about experiencing the reality. Truly we need to be more conservative . . . surely you did not consult the scriptures when you decided to become advocates of this bit of wisdom. . . . I trust that never again in our literary society will it become necessary for me to allude to these theories.

Jennie was an obvious favorite with the faculty at Hamline and received upon graduation with her Ph.B. (Bachelor of Philosophy) the prestigious post of Assistant Principal of the Monticello School District. Her official photograph at this time reveals a young woman without affectation and possessed of the determination to choose her own life (Plate 28a).<sup>50</sup> She served as teacher and administrator for the School District from the late summer of 1895 thru the spring of 1896.

## Endnotes – Chapter One

- <sup>1</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, p.10; U.S. Census of 1880 [ED 162, Sheet 16]. Jennie's father was mistakenly listed as Norwegian in her entry for the U.S. Census of 1920 [ED 192, Sheet 7].
- <sup>2</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, pp.4, 41f, 50, 61, 73.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.52, 73.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.4, 61f.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.73.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.11.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.31, 61f.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.76.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.31-33.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.29, 33.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.73-77; U.S. Census of 1880 [ED 162, Sheet 16]. At this time Jennie's father gave his age as thirty-four.
- <sup>14</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, pp.69f.
- <sup>15</sup> Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-1899) was a brilliant orator and agnostic. He was a staunch opponent of religious conservatism and a tireless advocate for the rights of women and African Americans; see Orvin Larson, *American Infidel: Robert G. Ingersoll*, New York, 1962.
- <sup>16</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, pp.67-69.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.27f, 59.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.87, 100.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.23-28.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.41-47.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.74f.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p.83; *FFJ*, March 30, 1976, p.7.
- <sup>25</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, p.86. Inman is approximately twenty-four miles from Battle Lake.
- <sup>26</sup> *BLR*, April 9, 1891, p.1.
- <sup>27</sup> *Hamline University Catalogue, 1894-95*, p.42; *ORC*: June 20, 1895, p.11; October 1888, p.10.
- <sup>28</sup> *ORC*: October 1888, pp.2, 9; January 1889, p.2.
- <sup>29</sup> *ORC*: January 1889, pp.4f; June 1892, pp.87f.
- <sup>30</sup> According to the *Hamline University Catalogue, 1894-95*, (pp.40-42), the preparatory students paid \$186.00 annually, while the four-year college students paid \$192.00 per annum.
- <sup>31</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, p. 84-86; *FFJ*, March 30, 1976, p.7.
- <sup>32</sup> *Hamline University Catalogue, 1894-95*, p.40.
- <sup>33</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, p.83-85. Jennie's 1933 letter to her cousin, which is presently in the Joan Tweit collection, provides some details of this arrangement. Mrs. Bibbins, whom Jennie affectionately called "my dearest aunt," showed her how "beautiful home life was when a married couple truly loved one another."
- <sup>34</sup> *Hamline University Catalogue, 1888-89*, pp.22-25.
- <sup>35</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, p.100; *ORC*, November 1890, p.12. None of the student transcripts survive from the period when Jennie was at Hamline University. We know the required subjects from the University catalogues as well as the optional courses (e.g. art) and their instructors. For information on the life of Barton Stow Hays see Falk, p.1505. In 1891 the art instructor at Hamline was Julius G. Segall, who was also known for his poetry (Falk, p.2966).
- <sup>36</sup> *ORC*, February 25, 1894, p.12.
- <sup>37</sup> *Hamline University Catalogue, 1894-95*, p.39.
- <sup>38</sup> On one occasion Jennie was officially placed on the "sick list:" *ORC*, December 20, 1893, p.10.
- <sup>39</sup> Cannon, *Drama*, p.86.
- <sup>40</sup> *ORC*, March 20, 1894, p.12.
- <sup>41</sup> *ORC*, May 20, 1895, pp.1-4.
- <sup>42</sup> *ORC*, November 30, 1893, pp.1f.
- <sup>43</sup> *ORC*, February 25, 1894, p.14.
- <sup>44</sup> *ORC*, June 15, 1893, pp.27-29. The frequent marriages between students were given prominent publicity (e.g., *ORC*, October 1888, p.10).
- <sup>45</sup> *The Liner*, p.107. *The Liner* of 1895 was published by the junior class and printed locally by Pioneer Press.
- <sup>46</sup> *ORC*, January, 20, 1895, p.6; *The Liner*, 1895, p.81.
- <sup>47</sup> An editorial cartoon in *The Oracle* (November 20, 1894, p.18) indicates that there was a competitive application for this position which was normally appointed for a period of one to several years. According to Hamline's Archivist, Candy L. Hart, the exact tenure of Jennie's appointment is uncertain. She is not listed as a "Preceptress" in any of the catalogues, but may have briefly served in that capacity as "Acting Preceptress." There is also the possibility that the title was an honorific, bestowed on a worthy pupil near the end of the senior year.
- <sup>48</sup> *ORC*, June 20, 1895, p.10.
- <sup>49</sup> *ORC*, June 20, 1895, pp.4-7.
- <sup>50</sup> *ORC*, June 20, 1895, p.12.