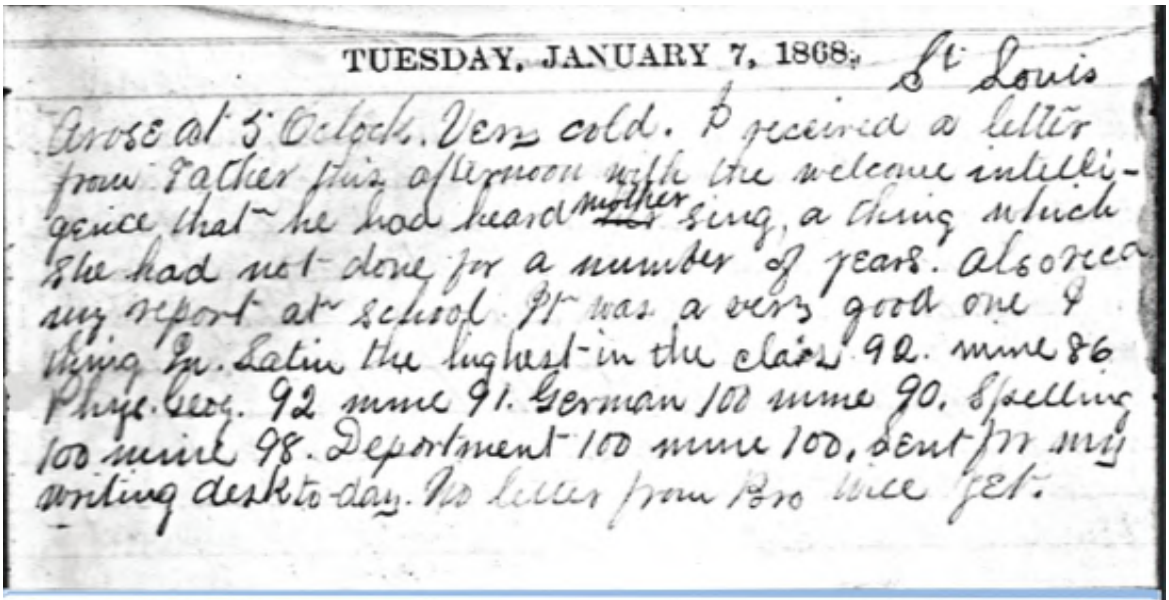
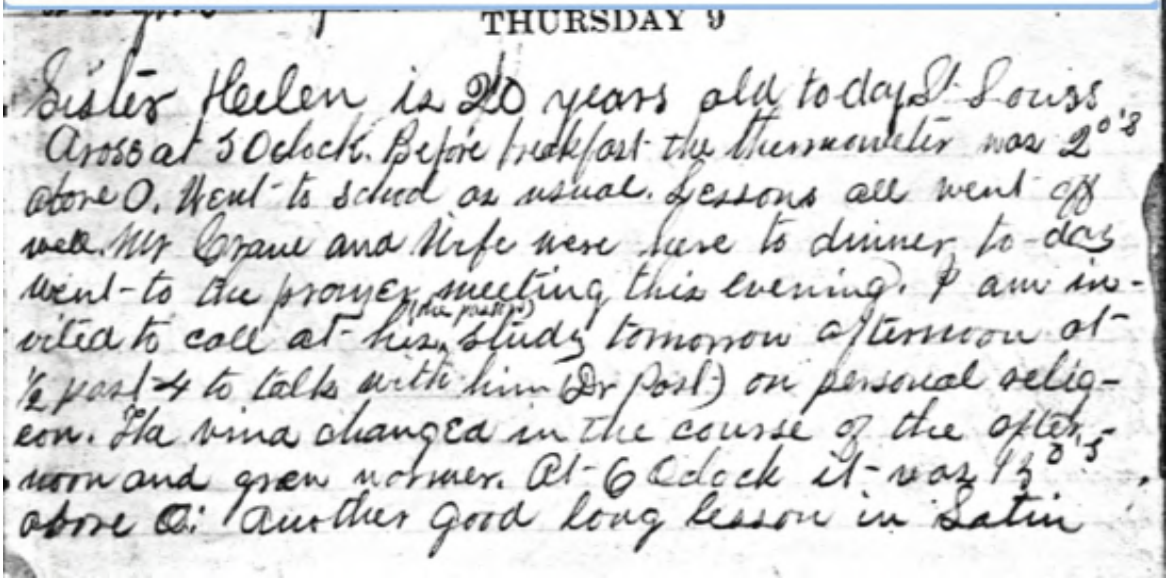


TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1868. St Louis

Arose at 5 Oclock. Very cold. Received a letter from Father this afternoon with the welcome intelligence that he had heard mother sing, a thing which she had not done for a number of years. Also received my report at school. It was a very good one I think. In Latin the highest in the class 92. mine 86. Phys. Geog. 92 mine 91. German 100 mine 90. Spelling 100 mine 98. Department 100 mine 100. Sent for my writing desk to-day. No letter from Bro Wm yet.

Reading Great-grandfather's 1868 Diary for His Story

Charlie Dickinson



THURSDAY 9

Sister Helen is 20 years old to day St Louis

Arose at 5 Oclock. Before breakfast the thermometer was 2° above 0. Went to school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Mr Crane and wife were here to dinner to-day. Went to the prayer meeting this evening. I am invited to call at his study (the pastor's) tomorrow afternoon at ½ past 4 to talk with him (Dr Post) on personal religion. The wind changed in the course of the afternoon and grew warmer. At 6 Oclock it was 13° above 0. Another good long lesson in Latin

READING GREAT-GRANDFATHER'S 1868 DIARY FOR HIS STORY

by

Charlie Dickinson

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Charles Edward's St. Louis neighborhood
circa 1868.

INTRODUCTION

A history of events 150 years ago might, or might not, engage readers. For despite a historian's best efforts to bring the past alive, it's not hard to find distance from what's written. Readers might wonder where the historian's reputation stands in the field of inquiry. They might quibble about the writing: its appeal or shortcomings. And they might decide a history of the Choctaw Nation fighting for the Confederate cause in the Civil War didn't account for that much on the national stage, and their time might be better spent reading other histories.

Although I am not a historian, I've had the opportunity to look at events from 150 years ago through a special telescope. Some years ago, a diary written by my great-grandfather Charles Edward was handed down to me. A book of daily entries, it starts January 1, 1868. The diarist is seventeen and lives in St. Louis, Missouri, where he attends a preparatory school for young men, the Academy at Washington University in St. Louis. Being away from his hometown of Dubuque, Iowa, he stays with his Uncle William and Aunt Evelina Dickinson. He walks thirteen blocks to school, or about one mile each way.

I would read the daily entries with the spur of interdependence: If Charles Edward hadn't lived, I wouldn't exist. But the general reader doesn't have that descendant connection, so I knew my eventual task was to tell a coming-of-age story, if sketchy, comprising daily grains of thought. If with a close reading of the text and supporting research, I could summon an understanding of my great-grandfather's seventeenth year and where he'd go, then I might have something more than "family tree" highlights, something of one durable life in the American story.

When I picked up this slim book of neatly pencilled entries and began reading, I was struck by the discipline and regularity of Charles Edward's life. He always rose mornings between five and six. He took pride in assiduously minding his priorities: chores for Uncle and Aunt, school and study, church meetings, and socializing with other people. More than seventy persons are mentioned in the diary. In brief, the reader senses this is an outgoing young man living an exemplary life with strong bourgeois values. We gather he is well on his way to more education and a career as a professional, much like his older brother William Pliny, a dentist practicing in Joliet, Illinois.

But things go differently, go badly for Charles Edward. He leaves St. Louis in the summer of 1868 with a personal dream waylaid and knowing a death in the family, foreshadowed in the diary, has happened. Rather abruptly, he quits the diary after five months of entries, in May 1868.

It would be easy in a timeless world to sit down with Charles Edward and ask him a few important questions. But mortality had its say, and we're left with no more than his words on the pages that follow. He probably did not expect his diary to be read so far into the future. Diary words are usually not intended for others to read. And I think this diary is no exception. There is little self-serving to impress others. Instead, what I think the diary entries represent is an accounting to his better self.

As a young man coming of age, Charles Edward prides himself on discipline and good habits. He forgoes taking a streetcar and walks fifty blocks because he is practicing "economy," as if he's acting on one of Benjamin Franklin's self-improvement maxims. And because this must be an accounting to himself, I think we read the words for the appealing honesty.

Before getting to the diary entries, I'd like to mention I don't want to burden the reader with Dickinson genealogy. Moreover, any Dickinsonia I might elaborate would have an intrinsic bias. For if I say I am a direct descendant of Nathaniel Dickinson (1601-1670), an English Puritan who reached

British America in 1636, who co-founded Hadley, Massachusetts, and whose descendants include a literary luminary, Emily Dickinson, I am casting a patriarchal narrative about my connection to this diary of Charles Edward.

I think it equally defensible to counter, on my mother's side, I am a direct descendant of Martin Casillas (1556-1618), a Spanish architect who was commissioned to design the Cathedral of Guadalajara and who was in the New World before Nathaniel.

So I am not suggesting patriarchal lineage matters more than matriarchal lineage. Naming conventions make patriarchy easier to follow across time. With that in mind, my discussion of Dickinson genealogy is mostly to explain some persons mentioned in the diary. Some were interesting to follow up with historical documents. As one example, Charles Edward mentions twice his uncle and aunt's daughter, Lily. She is a six-year-old in 1868, and Lily (Evelina) would go onto to graduate from Smith College with a degree in Classical Studies. Later, in her early thirties, Evelina Dickinson would be a Latin instructor and graduate student at Stanford University in Palo Alto when it first opened its doors in 1891.

The presentation of Charles Edward's diary begins with Chapter 1, which is a transcription of his pencilled entries for January 1 through January 15, 1868. Next, in Chapter 2, I summarize, including themes shown by the entries, background information for context, and discussion of some of the more puzzling entries. Presentation of the balance of the diary through May follows this format. The final Chapters 22-23 survey the balance of Charles Edward's life once he left St. Louis for Dubuque. As a help in reading diary entries, I've included a Cast of Characters in the Appendix. Names mentioned more than once are listed in descending order of mentions. A few details for each suggest the relationship and possible influence on Charles Edward while he wrote the diary.

The St. Louis of 1868, where Charles Edward lives, is busy and thriving as the fourth-largest city in the Union. Amid the disciplined, bourgeois, church-going life of the diarist, memories of the most divisive social upheaval in American history—the Civil War or the War of the Southern Rebellion—linger on a few diary pages. Memories that surely set the stage for Charles Edward noting on May 16, 1868, President Andrew Johnson has avoided removal from office.

Automobiles are unknown in 1868. Charles Edward walks everywhere, and he has a keen sense of weather and its effects, whether ice in the Mississippi River, or violent windstorms unroofing buildings.

When the diary opens on January 1, 1868, Charles Edward is winding up a two-week vacation from school that began December 23, 1867, and which ends Monday, January 6, 1868.

CHAPTER 1

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1868 St. Louis

I arose at 6:10. After breakfast received a call from Jos. Lathrop and went walking till dinner. After dinner went out with the children (Lily D. and Charlie Hand). Went down to the river and saw a large lot of ice floating down. Snowed last eve and turned cold to-day. The sun came out about 10 o. and it was very pleasant at noon. The moon shone very bright this evening. Aunt E. received her share of callers. I went down to Lewis & Groshon's and got me a hat-box for a hat that I bought a week ago. I have not been the recipient of either a christmas or New years present with the exception of 2.00 from Father.

THURSDAY 2

St. Louis

Arose at 6 Oclock. I did not have anything in particular to do so went walking. The weather was very pleasant all day. In the evening I went out to Mr. Crane's for his wife to attend a lecture by J. B. Gough [Goff]. It was a good on[e] on the subject of "Curiosity." Diversiv[f]ied by witty sayings. He lectures tonight on Habit. I drew up a plan for a writing desk. Have not received a letter from Bro. Wm. for a week or more. Mr. Goff said that if your back itched it was a sign that butter would be cheap. If a young lady put a piece of bride cake under her pillow she would dream of a man coming.

FRIDAY 3

St. Louis

I arose at 1/2 past 5. Weather very pleasant all day. Did not do anything of consequence to-day. Auntie rec'd a letter from Father to-day with $8.00 enclosed for me. Took a good walk. Received quite a lot of presents from Lily & Charlie of nuts and other little things. The bridge at this point is progressing finely. Wrote a letter to Willie Plumbe of Dubuque Iowa. I went into a carpenter shop and inquired how much it would cost to make my writing desk (12 In. High.8.deep & 12 front) and he said somewhere in the neighborhood of eight (8) dollars.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 5 o'clock. This is the last day of our vacation. I took a walk this morning with the children. I went down to Mr. Crane's for a ham and to the corner of Commercial and chesnut streets for one half 1/2 dozen quails. Bought me an umbrella for $3.00. Then wrote a letter to G. B. Coe my room-mate at Grinnell. The weather has been very pleasant all day. Sun out. Went to the merchantile Library room to have a book renewed for Uncle Wm. Read in a pamphlet that although 60 persons die in one and every minute 70 children are brought to life being an increase than decrease in the world.

SUNDAY 5

St. Louis

Arose at 6 O'clock. Dr. Post gave a discource on the text. It is now high time to awake out our sleep. After dinner went with Jos. Lathrop & Fred Wislizenus for a walk visited the cathedral on 3rd and walnut. This evening heard a lecture by Rev.—Burlingham on the principles to be adopted by young men for 1868. It was a well-delivered one and he put forth total abstinence strongly. The weather

pleasant. Larra Crane said that I might send home for my writing desk and have it sent in his name he being a messenger.

MONDAY 6

St. Louis

Arose at 5 O'clock. Had a very warm pleasant rain before breakfast but towards nine (9) it turned cold. School commenced to-day after a vacation of two (2) weeks. My lessons all went well. I did not receive my usual monday letter from Father nor one (1) from Bro. Wm. Business not very lively. Brought little Charlie Hand into my room and put him in my bed but he made such an outlandish noise that I had to take him back. Larra Crane again told me that I might send for my writing desk in his name.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 5 Oclock. Very cold. I received a letter from Father this afternoon with the welcome intelligence that he had heard her mother sing, a thing which she had not done for a number of years. Also rec'd my report at school. It was a very good one I thing [sic]. In Latin the highest in the class 92. Mine 86. Phys. Geog. 92 mine 91. German 100 mine 90. Spelling 100 mine 98. Deportment 100 mine 100. Sent for my writing desk to-day. No letter from Bro. Wm. yet.

WEDNESDAY 8

St. Louis

Arose at 5 Oclock. It has been a very cold day. Went to school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Went to prayer meeting this evening. Mr. Stone said to-day that my last monthly report was satasfactory. We will not get any more this term as there is only two (2) more weeks in the regular session. I went around to the carpenter-shop on St. Charles St. for a basket of shavings. Mailed a letter to Father & one to Will Plumbe. Mr. Jackson gave us 18 lines in Latin which is a good long lesson.

THURSDAY 9

Sister Helen is 20 years old to-day. St. Louis

Arose at 5 Oclock. Before breakfast the thermometer was 2 [degrees] above 0. Went to school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Mr. Crane and Wife were here to dinner to-day. Went to the prayer meeting this evening. I am invited to call at his (Dr. Post) study tomorrow afternoon at 1/2 past 4 to talk with him (Dr. Post) on personal religion. The wind changed in the course of the afternoon and grew warmer. At 6 Oclock it was 13 o's above 0. Another good long lesson in Latin.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Went to school as usual. Lesson all perfect. Our class (2nd Academic) and the commercial had a Spelling match in which ours came out a-head 18 words. This afternoon I went up to Dr. Post's study to converse on personal religion. He advised me to make public confession of christ at the young peoples prayermeeting on monday and join the church next communion. I also got a tick of shucks at the corner of 10th & Washington Av. Weather pretty cold to-day. This morning standing 2 o above 0.

SATURDAY 11

St. Louis

Arose at 6 Oclock. Did not do anything of importance this A.M. This afternoon I went out to Mr. Crane's with a letter for Mrs. Hand. I also tried to skate but did not succeed very well. Invited to dinner and had a good one too. Stay'd till pretty near 7 Oclock and had a very pleasant time. Came home and went to prayer meeting it being the last one of the week of prayer. Weather pretty cold all day.

SUNDAY 12

St. Louis

Arose at 20 minutes past 6. Did not go to S.S. as usual. I heard a very good discourse both morning and evening by Dr. Post. Weather pretty cold but nothing compared to Iowa. No snow. Dr. Post's sermon in the evening was on the prodigal son. Text: "and when he came to himself." It was the best I ever heard on that subject. Did not go walking to-day as it was to[o] cold.

MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 15 min. past 5. I went to school as usual. Lessons as they are somehow on Monday not quite a good as other days. When I got home I went after a basket of shavings bought a bottle blacking for Uncle William. I went into the kitchen to fill the water barrel but found that Annie being anxious to do a favor for me had filled it. Studies as usual till 9 Oclock then retired. I am taking German lessons of Hannah & Annie and they say that I pronounce very plain so I will learn very soon. Snowed this evening. Cold.

TUESDAY 14

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual I asked Mr. Jackson (my latin teacher) to-day what he thought about my dropping latin taking up some other lang study next term. He said he would not like it at all. he would not care about losing me. Lessons all went off well. Received a letter from Home & one from Bro. Wm. He has dissolved partnership with Dr. Allen and gone in with another one whom he likes very much. pretty cold. At home (D.) 6 below 0. Shovelled snow.

WEDNESDAY 15

St. Louis

Arose at 3/4 past 4. Kept my fire all night for the first time. Attended school as usual. Lessons went off very well. Received a letter from Sister Helen & one from H. D. Crawford. Weather pleasant to-day but a little sloppy. Answered 4 letters. I did not go to prayer meeting this evening as we have a hard lesson and I have not studied it yet.

CHAPTER 2

You have to read but a few of Charles Edward's diary entries for the first half of January to form some quick impressions. First, he is a fellow inclined to note anything with a number attached: the time he arises each morning, the pocket money received from his father in eagerly awaited letters, when he answers those letters, or the dimensions for a writing table he might have built.

Second, an even stronger impression is that Charles Edward has a fairly comfortable life—at least as young men's lives go in 1868. He attends the Academy, a preparatory school at Washington University in St. Louis, while boarding with his uncle and aunt. Many other young men, age seventeen, in that era would be stuck living on a farm with its unceasing chores and manual labor. Charles Edward, in contrast, enjoys plenty of free time. For example, the first entry on January 1 mentions after breakfast his friend Joseph Lathrop came by the house. The two went out walking until dinner (the midday meal, or lunch). No doubt they walked for hours, and the sun finally came out, as the diarist duly notes, at ten in the morning. They might have spent the hours talking over how their lives were going, current events, or sights they saw.

Even though Charles Edward has been attending the Academy since September 1867, St. Louis still offers much to explore and observe on walks like these. Thus, it is telling on the title page of the diary, he writes in large capital letters, CHARLES E. DICKINSON DUBUQUE IOWA as if to assert he is of another place—his Iowa hometown. Not surprisingly, each page of his diary is headed "St. Louis," as if his stay is not permanent. He will eventually go home. This habit of specifying where he is living is a convention he drops in mid-February, when he might have wished to be elsewhere.

That Charles Edward has comfortable lodgings while in preparatory school owes much to his uncle's professional success and social standing in St. Louis. William Dickinson, M.D., well-educated with degrees from Dartmouth and Harvard Medical School (8,11, 41), had impressive experience. After medical school, he travelled to Europe and studied ophthalmology in Berlin (61). He set up an oculist practice in St. Louis, to which he returned after serving as Brigade Surgeon in the Civil War. (His treatment of a gunshot head wound followed by encephalitis is discussed in the encyclopedic *The Medical & Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Volume 1*, prepared under the direction of the U.S. Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes.) His practice at 620 Locust Street (what is now part of the tourism sector of downtown St. Louis and about one-half mile from the Mississippi River) was advertised as his office and residence, a combined use mentioned in the diary. William Dickinson was a pioneer in ophthalmology. Notably, he was among the first practitioners to restore sight with cataract surgery.

As we read the diary entries for the first weeks of January, it is evident they were written after the evening meal, after Charles Edward finished his studies, and before he retired for sleep. Each day's entry has a sequential accounting, written in one go. I emphasize the word *accounting*. Charles Edward doesn't waste words exploring any personal misgivings or internal conflicts. Rather it is the time he got up, what the weather was like, how school went, whom he saw, and so on.

An exception to such methodical accounting for each day is illustrated by the entry for Thursday the 9th. He notes his sister Helen, presumably back in Dubuque, is "20 years old to-day." This is an example of Charles Edward writing down in advance birthday reminders for those in the family. He probably made these before that first entry for January 1. To wit, after five months he stopped the daily entries; and birthday reminders for others in his family, June through December, remained—including his own on August 16. Sadly, and respecting mortality, he also noted "would have

been ... years old" for his deceased siblings, who not uncommonly died in childhood.

Why Charles Edward came to attend a preparatory school in St. Louis is a question with the complication of an intriguing entry on January 4th. He relates, "wrote a letter to G.B. Coe my room-mate at Grinnell." That's evidence (with later mentions of Grinnell) that in the 1866/1867 school year —and possibly earlier—he attended a preparatory school similar to the Academy at Grinnell College in Iowa, but over 130 miles from his hometown, Dubuque.

Did his father, George Lyman Dickinson, a hotel owner in Dubuque believe private schooling for Charles Edward would best prepare him for college and professional studies? Did George Lyman believe his son would follow in the footsteps of his successful older brother William Pliny, who had joined a dental practice in Joliet, Illinois? I think the answers are yes.

But why leave Grinnell for St. Louis and stay with Uncle William and Aunt Evelina? After 150 years, we have little direct evidence to answer the question. We must start with Charles Edward's pencilled entries over the course of five months in 1868. Some patient historical probing here and there will turn up what existed in St. Louis and elsewhere in that distant year. Then we might reasonably suppose why Grinnell was left for the Academy at Washington University in St. Louis.

§

Before tackling the difficult question of what brought Charles Edward to St. Louis, we'll first note in these diary entries the evidence of how people interacted and stayed in touch 150 years ago. In the January 1st entry, Charles Edward says he "received a call from Joseph Lathrop," his friend. Joseph Lathrop is also seventeen, and should not be confused with his uncle back in Dubuque, Joseph Lathrop Dickinson. To our modern eye, this entry might suggest suggest a phone call, but, no, telephones in the home were at least fifty years away. Thus, people often "dropped in" to see if you were available.

People would make appointments for meeting, but typically they were arranged in advance and face-to-face. For example, when Charles Edward goes to the church prayer meeting on the evening of Thursday, January 9, he, with characteristic formality, writes he was "invited to call at his (Dr. Post) study tomorrow afternoon at 1/2 past 4."

Besides face-to-face conversation, the other common way to stay in touch was correspondence. These days, people seldom bother with written letters, preferring phone, text, email, and the like. But in 1868, if one had the education to write, then keeping up on correspondence was the surest way to "be in touch" with those distant one could not personally visit. On January 6, Charles Edward notes he didn't receive his usual Monday letter from his father. He also mentions he hasn't received a letter from his older brother William Pliny and adds on the following day, a Tuesday, "No letter from Bro. Wm. yet."

His expectations for correspondence were deserving of his personal output: In the first fifteen days of January, he sends out nine letters.

When he does get a letter from his father on the 7th, he notes the "welcome intelligence" that his father "heard ['her' is crossed out] Mother sing, a thing she has not done for a number of years." Without context, this entry is cryptic. "Welcome intelligence" for Charles Edward might suggest his mother was suffering some chronic malady and her spirits picked up, evidenced by her singing. Her condition might have been improving.

To understand Charles Edward's daily personal interactions, it's helpful to list those immediately around him. We know he's staying in the house of his uncle and aunt (William Dickinson, M.D. and Evelina Crane Dickinson). Only one of the couple's three children survives, Lily (though an Evelina like her mother too), and she is six. A young Charlie Hand is mentioned as often at the Dickinsons and in the company of Lily. He is two years old.

Young Charlie Hand brings up the Crane household. Charlie and his parents—Nathan and Almira—are from Georgia and visiting the Cranes for several weeks. Mr. Crane, often mentioned in the diary, is brother to Aunt Evelina and Almira Hand. Mr. Crane is a St. Louis produce and provisions merchant (Francis W. Crane & Co.) (23) to whom Charles Edward is sent to buy hams and such. Francis and Sarah Ann Staples Crane have one grown son, Larra Crane, who now lives just outside St. Louis, and he's named after his grandfather, who was an alderman and councilman in Boston.

Thus, for a few early weeks of 1868, three children of the Boston politician Larra Crane (1784-1858): Francis W., Evelina, and Almira were simultaneously in St. Louis. As noted in the diary, the visit of the Hands ended on February 20 when they left for home in Dahlonega, Georgia.

Although the Dickinson residence is also the address for Uncle William's office (which Charles Edward confirms in the diary), the office probably had a separate entrance, for no mention is made of patients coming and going from the office.

Also in the household, and common in those days, was hired help. Charles Edward refers to "Hannah (our hired girl)," and also mentions Lizzy and Annie. The latter two are probably German immigrants, for they compliment Charles Edward on his German. His entry for January 13 notes, "They say I pronounce very plain so I will learn very soon."

Besides his father and Uncle William, the other chief figure from the diary entries is the reverend of his church, Dr. Truman Marcellus Post. It's hard to overestimate the importance of religion in Charles Edward's life. When Puritan Nathaniel Dickinson came to the Colonies in 1636, religion was an essential, at least outwardly, for how Charles Edward's ancestors conducted themselves. Religion gave their lives context. The stipulation was that it was always Protestant. The Puritans became Congregationalists—as was Dr. Post's church—and possibly Presbyterian

The religious legacy of Charles Edward was strengthened by his grandfather, Reverend Pliny Dickinson, a Congregationalist minister in Walpole, New Hampshire, whose mentor was Reverend Joseph Lathrop of Springfield, Massachusetts, and for whom he named one of his sons. Moreover, Charles Edward's father, George Lyman, ran Dickinson's Temperance Hotel in Dubuque (34) from 1849 to 1859. In the mid-1800s, conspicuously proclaiming the evils of alcohol resonated with the religious tenor of the times.

Truman Marcellus Post, D.D., was a formidable religious leader in St. Louis. Historically, he is identified with the anti-slavery stance he eloquently espoused as a Christian. He grew up in Vermont and went to Middlebury College. He first made his way west in stages: to Illinois, then Missouri. He taught history at Illinois College, a position he'd continue at Washington University in St. Louis (43).

The January 10th entry summarizes meeting with Dr. Post. The Reverend recommends Charles Edward publicly affirm his faith in Christ and become a confirmed member of the church. Dr. Post "advised me to make a public confession of christ" at the young peoples prayer meeting on Monday, January 13, and join the church next communion, January 19.

But Charles Edward procrastinates. He notes on January 24, two weeks later, he had a conversation with Uncle William on the subject of religion and "obtained some good advice." I'm sure Charles Edward took his uncle's words sincerely and any hesitation about becoming a church member had more to do with his age—seventeen. He might have had an incomplete understanding of what was required of a church member.

Three weeks later, though, Charles Edward joins the church and so does his friend Henry Ely Mack. Possibly the obligations of being a Christian started to make sense. And probably peer validation of doing so with a friend helped.

§

But this is getting ahead in the diary. Returning to the first half of January, the reader is struck by Charles Edward's keen awareness of weather. Unlike modern times, he couldn't shield himself in a car once he left the house. He didn't ride a horse, and tended to avoid streetcars because as he'd later note (January 18), he wanted to save the ten cents in streetcar fare—he was practicing "economy." Charles Edward walked everywhere.

Observing weather directly, his clothes got wet if he was caught in a downpour. He saw how weather affected Mississippi River traffic. Winters, the river filled with dangerous blocks of ice. Many commercial ships tied up for the season.

Repeatedly, Charles Edward will give specific temperature readings. On the 9th, he writes the temperature was "13 *o*'s above 0." But the "pretty cold" weather he notes on the 10th of "3 *o* above 0" was "nothing compared to Iowa." On the 14th, he notes the temperature in Dubuque, "at home (D) was 6 below 0." (Presumably he read a newspaper report for Dubuque weather the day before.)

Always, weather was what Charles Edward faced when he left the house to attend school; to walk, by himself or with friends; or to run errands. His errands for Uncle and Aunt were, no doubt, part of the "work" for room and board. Among such errands in the first half of January were the following:

On the 4th, he went to Mr. Crane's store for a ham, a walk of eleven blocks, and then to another store for a half dozen quail. Later that day, he went to the Mercantile Library, a private subscription library, which was a mere block from home, at the corner of Locust Street and 5th, to renew a book for Uncle William.

On the 8th, he went to a carpenter's shop for a basket of shavings, an essential for starting wood fires at home.

On the 10th, he went out to get a "tick of shucks." This is what people had on their beds before mattresses. Briefly, beds in the 1800s were usually a wood frame with a web of ropes stretched between the rails. On these ropes was laid a canvas bag (the "tick") filled with husks shucked from ears of corn (the "shucks"). The stuffed bag cushioned lying on the ropes. Corn shucks were cheap and an available stuffing at the time. A more desirable stuffing was used for the feather bed—feathers or goose down—that made a top insulating bed covering. We don't know who got the new tick of shucks, but it was someone in the Dickinson household.

On the 11th, he took a letter to "Mr. Crane's" for Mrs. Hand, meaning he took the letter to Mr. Crane's store nearby, where the latter worked and not to his home. Mr. Crane lived on Dayton and Glasgow, some thirty-two blocks distant, or about two miles away. The letter's origin is unknown, but this errands supports the idea Mrs. Hand, Aunt Evelina's sister Almira, and her husband Nathan were staying at the Cranes.

On the 13th, Charles Edward returned to the carpenter for more fire-starter shavings. He also picked up "bottle blacking" for Uncle William, doubtless for shoes.

On the 14th, though not an errand, he "shovelled snow." More "payment" for his room and board.

In sum, the diary entries for the first fifteen days of 1868 show complexity in Charles Edward's life. He interacts with several relatives. His uncle and aunt, who've given him room and board, but not without expectation of recompense. His six-year-old cousin, Lily, and her young cousin Charlie Hand (but not Charles Edward's). When he has free time, he'll take them out for walks.

Beyond relatives, there's the constellation of teachers, fellow students, and friends, of which a number attend the First Congregationalist Church, which at 10th and Locust is an easy walk of four blocks from home. And then there is the important figure of Dr. Post, who has significant influence on

him, judging from how often he appears in the diary.

CHAPTER 3

THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 3/4 past 4. My fire kept all night. At school as usual. Received a letter from Grandmother Smith to-day with very much good advice. Have concluded to drop latin next term and take up mathematics altogether. Weather very pleasant. Mrs. & Nellie were here this afternoon. I went after a basket of shavings. I bought me a bottle of mucilage for my own use.

FRIDAY 17

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Lessons all went off very good. It snowed a little last evening but all disappeared before noon. Uncle & Aunt gave a supper to some of the inmates of the St. Louis Institution for the education of the blind. Had a very pleasant time indeed. One of the blindest said she could see and she got up and of course raised a laugh from the others who could hear her. I saw one of them home and she remarked that it was an awkward extra.

SATURDAY 18

St. Louis

Arose at 1/4 to 6. After breakfast I prepared to make some soap (an old trade of mine). Went to Mr. Crane's store for grease & to Meyer Bros. for potash. Got through with that and went out to Mr. Crane's house for some mackerel. Had a pleasant chat and then came home tired by my walk as I walked both ways. about (54 or 55 blocks) to save 10 cts. as I am practicing economy now. It was dark when I got home.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 19, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Attended S.S. and our class had the pleasure of being called upon to repeat a poem on a scriptural subject. Our teacher (Col. Flint) to deliver an adress. This afternoon went walking with Jos. Lathrop. While out it commenced to snow. It only lasted a few minutes then rained. When I got home I was slightly reprimanded by Uncle but more so by aunt. I must say that I have not been away from the house a Sunday afternoon but when I got back I was sure to get a scolding. Call Jos. Lathrop in time for prayermeeting. (7 Oclock)

MONDAY 20

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Appointed teacher in spelling by Mr. Stone for 1 week. I teach Samuel Copp. Mr. Taffel lead the singing this morning. He is our German teacher. Went to a Charity Concert this evening. It was splendid especially the Orpheus club and the piece entitled "Rocked in the cradle of the deep." It snowed again to-day and when I came home I raised my muscle to the task of shovelling snow.

TUESDAY 21

St. Louis

Arose at 5. At School Mr. Taffel again lead the singing. Lessons all went off well. I have expelled my scholar and taken up Chas. Lamoureux. It has been very pleasant. Just snow enough on the ground to let a sleigh slide. Not many of them out. Ice has been floating down the river in large quantities for a week. Weather colder towards night.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/4 to 6. At school as usual. Rec'd a letter from G. B. Coe at Tama City Iowa. Mailed one to Grandmother Smith and another to Father. It was pleasant till about 3 Oclock when it commenced to rain just enough to make it disagreeable. Toward evening it grew cold & froze.

THURSDAY 23

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Very slushy but skating on some parts of the sidewalk. At school as usual. missed two words in spelling. Mr. Stone advised me to study Philosophy next term. I went to a soiree (through the kindness of Miss Plimpton) and heard some fine vocal & instrumental music especially the latter by a couple of young boys one of which played a selection from Lucretia Borgia. The church had a sociable this evening at Mr. Holmes but I was engaged. Weather colder. Rec'd a letter from Tama City, Iowa.

FRIDAY 24

St. Louis

Arose at 1/4 to 6. At school as usual. Had another examination and passed without missing any. Making 840 words we have been examined for this term. Weather pretty comfortable. A little ice on the pavements which the boy's improve as there is not skating on the pond. Mr. Jackson made Foster believe that the sun sets in the east. I do not feel as well as usual. Had quite a long talk with Uncle Wm. on the subject of religion and obtained some good advice.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 5. I have not felt well all day, consequently did not do much of anything this afternoon. I went down to French-town to see an instrument which I found out was a new style of Guitar. I inquired the price of a middling good one and lessons for one (1) quarter. He said I could get through easy for $20.00. breakage of strings books &c. To be given two lessons a week. It has not been very cold.

SUNDAY 26

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Attended S.S. and heard Dr. Post preach a sermon to young men. Which he finished this evening. Had a S.S. Concert for the first time since the school was organized. Verses of scripture with containing the word righteousness were recited. Brief speeches by Messrs. Kellog, Flint, Post: Dr. & Coonley. Was examined by the church committe[e] for entra[n]ce to the church as a member and accepted. Will become a member nex[t] communion. The 2nd of Feb. 1868.

MONDAY 27

St. Louis

Arose at 5. All school as usual. Did not or will not recite any more spelling this time as I passed

a satisfactory examination. I rec'd my writing desk to-day and am very much pleased with it. I went down to the A.E. Co. and brought it home on my shoulder. There were charges on it amounting to $1.98 but through the kindness it was checked off. Weather pretty cold. attended pray[er] meeting or went to church but pray[er] meeting was postponed.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Rec'd a letter from home. Pretty cold all day. Examinations commence tomorrow in the University. Mr. Jackson is giving a good long review in latin. Nothing of vital importance to-day.

WEDNESDAY 29

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At School as usual. Recited our last lesson in Physical Geog. In going to school I froze my left ear. The weather was two degrees below zero. Rec'd a letter from Bro. Will. River closed tonight. Went to prayer meeting and heard Dr. Post read his report for the past year. They elected Mr. Coonley as Deacon, it being an adjourned meeting more than anything else. Had quite a chat with young Mr. Post. He is a fine young man.

THURSDAY 30

St. Louis

Arose at 6 Oclock. Had examinations in Latin Phys. Geog. & spelling. Passed in all. Answered a letter of Bro. Wills received yesterday. Weather very pleasant looks like rain. Bought me 2 books a Philosophy & Felters Arithmetic for 1.60 second handed. Also a pair of kid (dress) gloves for 2.50.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Last day of the first term. Had an examination in German in which Prof. Taffel said I did very well. Weather pretty cool. Attended the preparatory lecture (before communion) delivered by Dr. Post. It was good particularly the point We should help one another and not come to church and show an outward feeling of piety while all within is corrupt. The names. Misses Harris and two more. Messrs. Sec. Mack & Dickinson were voted acceptable and will be entered Sunday Feb. 2nd.

CHAPTER 4

The diary entries for the second half of January have a few important details. On January 16th, Charles Edward notes he received a letter from Grandmother Smith "with very much good advice." Smith is such a common last name, one might assume this is not his paternal grandmother. But Grandmother Smith *was* married to the Reverend Pliny Dickinson, Charles Edward's grandfather.

Grandmother Smith was born Mary Bellows, the daughter of Colonel Caleb and Mary Bellows of Walpole, New Hampshire. Mary and Reverend Pliny were married in October of 1819. She was nineteen; he was forty-two. Not only was there a large age difference between the two—twenty-three years—but Reverend Pliny came to know Mary when he took a room in Colonel Caleb's household after assuming the pastorate of Walpole's Town Church (Congregational) in 1805. Mary Bellows was then five years old.

Fourteen years later, the Colonel was upset when wedding banns (marriage plans) were announced in church, "her father rising in church and exclaiming 'I forbid the bands'" (29). Nonetheless, the two married and had ten children before Reverend Pliny, while visiting in Amherst, Massachusetts, suffered a stroke and died on August 27, 1834, three days shy of his fifty-seventh birthday (11).

The day of Reverend Pliny's death was a Wednesday, so it's unlikely the occasion for his visit was for church or college. More likely, he was visiting relatives or friends. Many Dickinsons live in the Amherst area. The patriarch of Pliny's Dickinson lineage was, as mentioned before, Nathaniel Dickinson who co-founded Hadley, Massachusetts. He had thirteen children, many continuing to live in Hadley, Amherst, six miles east, or Granby (where Pliny was born), ten miles southeast. Thus, the visit fifty-one miles downriver, as the crow flies, from Walpole was doubtless among long acquaintances. A connection to Amherst College would have been that Pliny was a fourth cousin of William Fowler Dickinson, a founder of the College, and also known as the grandfather, in 1834, of four-year-old Emily, who would give Amherst, Massachusetts, lasting distinction. (And for the record, Emily and Charles Edward, of the same generation, were sixth cousins.)

Reverend Pliny's sudden death left Mary Bellows Dickinson a widow at the age of thirty-four. Her comparative youth must have made for what were considered at the time excellent re-marriage prospects. She would remarry twice. She married James Crawford in 1838, and they moved to Dubuque, Iowa, and he would die in 1846. In 1861, Mary married George Smith, originally born in Walpole, but living in Dubuque, and Mary once again became a widow with his death in March 1868. That event was not noted, however, in Charles Edward's diary.

A diary entry for January 18 has a detail that clarifies Charles Edward's relationship to Mr. Crane, who's often mentioned. The latter is Aunt Evelina's brother, Francis Watson. So though Charles Edward is not a blood relative, he has a special relationship with the Cranes. The important detail is that Charles Edward goes to "Mr. Crane's store," which confirms Mr. Crane sells food. The next sentence, however, in which Charles Edward goes to "Mr. Crane's house for some mackerel" tends to confuse the entries that follow where he mentions going to Mr. Crane to buy what's usually meats. Evidently, Mr. Crane would sell out of home storage, doubtless on account for his in-laws.

The entry for the following day, Sunday, January 19, makes it clear the relationship between adults and young adults had an edge that might not be understood today. Until someone was independent of their parents—or in Charles Edward's situation, his uncle and aunt (standing in for

parents)—the young adult might be treated like a minor not mature enough to know how to act independently.

Charles Edward writes he took the hours after church and Sunday school to go walking with his friend Joseph Lathrop. Which seems reasonable, for the two young men enjoyed walking outdoors and talking. He relates how it began to snow, then a few minutes later, it rained. When he got home that afternoon, he must have been wet. He then mentions he was "slightly reprimanded by Uncle but more so by aunt" (Evelina). These cross words weren't just for getting wet. No, he immediately adds, every Sunday afternoon when he is away from the house and comes back, he is "sure to get a scolding."

Charles Edward is saying he is not getting the respect a young man of seventeen deserves. He is living away from home, presumably as he did the year before at Grinnell, and though not independent, he deserves some autonomy and need not have a scolding, as if a misbehaving child, for spending time with a friend his own age.

He gives this "scolding" special attention. As is evident from reading the diary entries, Charles Edward is usually an even-tempered fellow. His outlook on life has an amused detachment as he stoically goes about his business, not complaining about the weather, or the chores he has to do. So mention of the scolding as part of a pattern for his Sunday afternoon outings marks an emotional rift developing between nephew and uncle and aunt. In the fifth month of his Academy school year, his stay has taken on inhospitable overtones.

A few days later, on the 22nd, he receives a letter from G. B. Coe, his Grinnell roommate from the preceding school year. He'd written Coe on the 4th. Evidently, like Charles Edward, G. B. Coe has left Grinnell, for he writes from Tama City (now Tama), Iowa.

If Charles Edward has reason to resent his uncle and aunt's slights, he also appreciates the relationship is complex and dependent. He must strive for accommodation to avoid open bickering. Thus, he notes on the 24th a long conversation he has with Uncle William on the subject of religion. The topic had come up when he met with Dr. Post about becoming a member of the First Congregational Church. It's not a choice Charles Edward makes immediately, and whether Uncle William's advice was asked for or unsolicited, we do not know. What is clear, in this instance, is Charles Edward shows respect for an adult's understanding of religion and accepts, apparently, what his uncle says at face value.

And because he does join the church in February at the same time as his friend Henry Mack, he probably went to his peer to talk it over and they must have agreed to do so together.

§

One topic that invariably comes up in the diary for Mondays through Fridays is an accounting for his schooling. Often he makes a cursory remark like "At school as usual." But he'll also go on to say how he did. He tells how many words he missed in spelling (January 23 and 24 entries). That he was an accomplished speller is suggested by the entry for January 20. Mr. Stone, Principal of the Academy and Professor of Rhetoric appoints him to be a teacher in spelling for a week.

He is to teach a younger student, Samuel Copp. Later in a novel phrasing with a pun, he says he has "expelled his scholar," meaning Mr. Copp, and will now take up teaching another student, Charles Lamoureux. Charles Edward was one year older than both Copp and Lamoureux. Evidently, Mr. Stone recognized Charles Edward's facility with spelling and his ability to communicate and teach. Later in the diary, we see more evidence of this talent when he teaches Sunday school class to girls at the Biddle Street Mission in the afternoon, once he's done with his morning church activities.

The classes Charles Edward will take in the second semester, once he finishes the examination period in late January are as follows:

* Philosophy, which he was advised to take by Mr. Stone (see January 23 entry). Philosophy means natural philosophy, which is the older term for what we now call science, the latter term gaining currency in the late 1800s.

* Felter's Arithmetic. This was a popular series of textbooks that went well beyond basic arithmetic. An emphasis was placed on using arithmetic with everyday examples, with problems in surveying, liquid and dry measure, compound numbers, and money, especially loan and interest payments.

* German. Charles Edward continues his study of German from the first semester and drops Latin. He must have thought German had more future value for him than the "dead language Latin." Certainly, there were many German immigrants in St. Louis at the time. Speaking German might be put to practical use right away. As Charles Edward notes, the hired help in the Dickinson household, Annie and Hannah, were fluent in German. Charles Edward, four years later, would go on to marry a woman who was born in Germany.

* Writing and Spelling; Composition and Declamation.

To recap, Charles Edward continues German and Writing and Spelling from the first term. He finishes Physical Geography and drops Latin of the first term. In the second term, he adds Philosophy (or science) and Felter's Arithmetic. He takes four classes each term.

§

As noted earlier in a January entry, Charles Edward inquired about the cost to have a writing desk built. He'd like it to have the same dimensions of the one he left at home, one he used the year before at Grinnell. Larra Crane, Mr. Crane's son, works as a messenger and suggests on January 5 he write home and have the writing desk sent in his (Larra's) name. Why have a new one built? To his delight, he receives his old writing desk on the 27th. The charges amount to $1.98. After a walk of four blocks to North 3rd, he picks it up at the "A.E. Co." (most likely the St. Louis office of American Merchants Union Express Co., or which on February 6 he will refer to as "M.U. X Co's"), he acknowledges mercy for "through the kindness it was checked off." He didn't have to pay the charges. Having it sent in Larra's name, and Larra probably a messenger for that company, must have made the shipping from Dubuque an employee benefit. Charles Edward's reunion with his writing desk was that much more of a joy.

§

One of the striking features of the diary entries, illustrated in the second half of January, is how Charles Edward participated in a fairly busy social life. On the 17th, he notes the night before his uncle and aunt gave a supper for some of "the inmates of the St. Louis Institution for education of the blind." A fitting gesture by Dr. Dickinson, whose specialty was helping persons with vision problems. After dinner, Charles Edward walks one of the blind women home. She remarks, touchingly, that it was an "awkward extra."

Another evening social event is three days later, when on the 20th he goes to a Charity Concert put on by the Orpheus Club. It features a spiritual performance, "Rocked in the cradle of the deep."

Charles Edward must have enjoyed different music, for three days later, he goes to a "soiree" in which vocal and instrumental music is performed, "especially the latter by a couple of young boys, one of which played a selection by Lucretia Borgia." He notes because he was at the soiree, he was not able to attend a sociable (what we now call a social) at his church that same evening. He was engaged, for live music had its own draw.

Besides the concerts, there were regular church prayer meetings weekly, and for young men in

particular; all of which occur often enough, he occasionally remarks he had to study instead, or the weather was too cold.

It's essential to appreciate in 1868, people didn't have the choice of spending evenings watching television, streaming video, and other mass entertainment. And, perhaps, they spent more free time as a community, making those social interactions that gave them a better sense of how they depended on each other.

Two days after Charles Edward enjoys the instrumental musical selection of Lucretia Borgia, he explores the idea he might make music himself. Whether this was a spur-of-the-moment impulse or not, we don't know. He goes to a store in "French-town" (St. Louis had a well-developed French cultural heritage) to see "an instrument which I found out is a new style of guitar." We don't know what the guitar variant was called, but Charles Edward's curiosity was probably sparked by seeing one like it two nights before when the "couple of young boys" played the Borgia selection.

What is interesting about this entry, other than naming a desire to learn an instrument (a desire he did not follow up on) was the specifics about how he'd take up the guitar. He wants to know the price of a "middling good one"—not the best or the cheapest. He wants to take lessons twice a week for one quarter, three months. And the answer is that he could get by for $20.00. Reading his Cash Account records that month, it was probably a financially-embarrassed reach too far. He had to mull it over.

That Charles Edward didn't follow up on learning the guitar is not the main point. What is notable is that as a young man, he greatly enjoys the pleasure of hearing live music, which was all that was available before recorded music. That he would investigate creating his own music testifies to his enjoyment of evening concerts.

The entry for Tuesday, January 28, ends with the sentence "Nothing of vital importance to-day." This is a stock phrase he will use later in the diary. Other stock phrases include "At school as usual" and "Lessons all went off well." The use of these stock phrases shows his interest in a complete accounting of the day for his own satisfaction, even if the day was routine. And "Lessons all went off well" as a stock phrase suggests self-acceptance of how as a student he's usually performing up to the mark.

The entry for Monday, January 20, ends with the phrase "when I raised my muscle up to the task of shovelling snow." This is a good example of the humor often inserted into daily accounts. The tone, gently ironic, can take on an almost detached amusement at what he observes or does, especially here: It's a chore assigned by Uncle William.

In contrast to his uncle, the truly positive figure in Charles Edward's life, across the diary pages, was Dr. Post. He meets with the pastor and before long will act on the latter's suggestion to commit his life to Christ and join the congregation. His respect for Dr. Post shows forth in the entry of January 31, a Friday in which he attends an evening lecture. He says of Dr. Post's words, "It was good particularly the point we should help one another and not come to church and show an outward feeling of piety while all within is corrupt." Charles Edward must see Dr. Post as embodying this ideal and without hypocrisy. Originally from New England, Dr. Post strongly advocated abolishing slavery. His public voice was among those who kept Missouri in the Union during the War years. Thus, Charles Edward saw Dr. Post worthy of emulation for the ideals he espoused.

A few days earlier, on the 29th, Charles Edward speaks with Dr. Post's son, also a student at the Academy, but a year ahead. He remarks, "He is a fine young man." Obviously, Charles Edward sees in Martin Hayward Post a reflection of what he admires in Dr. Post.

At the end of January, Charles Edward has finished his first term final examinations and passed them. He looks forward to the second term with two new subjects: Philosophy and Felter's Arithmetic.

Therefore he buys a copy of the philosophy book for $1.00 and a copy of *Felter's Arithmetic* for $0.60. Both copies are "second-handed." The expense entries dovetail with his Cash Account entries in the back of the diary. Here, as in other instances, he accounts for the money he receives and the money he spends.

As for the German class, we might assume he continued with a textbook from the first term. By March, however (and this is looking ahead) he has made progress and enjoys his developing fluency. He writes in his Cash Account that he bought an English dictionary in German, an *Englishche Wörtebuch*, for $1.75. Unfortunately for modern eyes, he doesn't write this purchase down in roman script. Because of confidence in how he's making progress with the German language, he writes the entry in *Kurrentshrift*, a German handwriting script that will be abandoned in Germany by the 1930s.

His learning *Kurrent* will play a important part in how we read a climactic scene late in the diary when Uncle William confronts his nephew. But that will have to wait several chapters.

So as the second half of January draws to a close, Charles Edward is poised to become a member of his church congregation, whose pastor he greatly admires, and he's ready to start the second term of his school year at the Academy.

CHAPTER 5

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Went to work after breakfast to clean up the cellar. Sawed & split wood and I got through at 3 P.M. Took my boots to a German named Heider to have them half-soled charges $1.50. Uncle came up this evening and we had a very pleasant time. He giving advice & preparing me for the communion tomorrow.

SUNDAY 2

St. Louis Mo.

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Did not attend S.S. But went to church and heard a good sermon. Text (speaking of wisdom) "All her ways are righteousness and all her pathes [sic] are peace." I attended communion and made a profession of religion. Mr. Henry Mack joining the church at the same time. Weather being fine for the time of year. Wrote a letter to H. H. Robbins at Grinnell, Iowa. Went this morning to Biddle St. between 10th & 11th for boots charges. 1.50 reasonable.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Commencement of the 2nd (or Summer) term. I take Philosophy, Felters Arithmetic, German & Spelling. Did not have any recitations as it took pretty near all day to arrange classes. Rec'd a bundle from Larra Crane at St. Charles, Mo. for the laundry. Rec'd a letter from Father. Weather pleasant. Hannah (our hired girl) like to have burned her face badly at the furnace. When I came home filled my water barrel.

TUESDAY 4

St. Louis

Arose at 1/4 past 5. At school lessons commenced in earnest. I recite 8 lessons before & 1 after recess. Christian convention commenced to-day at Dr. Nelson's church on the corner of 14th & Lucas place. Picked over a bushel of cranberries this evening. Weather very pleasant.

WEDNESDAY 5

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Lessons went off very well. Answered a letter of fathers. Was requested & invited to attend a meeting at Dr. Nelson's church but my lessons would not permit. Went after a basket of shavings to the carpenter shop next to the gymnasium on St. Charles. Weather very pleasant.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Arithmetic lessons not perfect. all other lessons were. Rec'd a letter from Larra Crane requesting his clothes at Mr. Crane's house. I went to the M. U. X Co's [American Merchants Union Express Co.] office and Mr. Crane's office to see if any letters had come for him.

Attended the last meeting of the Christian Association. It was interesting and 12 or 14 stood up to be prayed for. Weather pleasant.

FRIDAY 7

St. Louis Mo.

Did not get up till 6. At school as usual. Arithmetic not perfect. The class I was in (in spelling) last term was excused at noon and I with it as I had spelled 4 out of 5 fridays with them. Went to Procter & Greenwood's for codfish 24#. Attended the weekly sociable held in the lecture room of the church. Quite a large gathering. Made some very pleasant acquaintances. Weather very pleasant.

SATURDAY 8

St. Louis Mo.

Arose at 6. Did not have much to do. Sawed a little wood & c. [Abbreviation for etcetera. The "&" substitutes for Latin "et" (and) and "cetera" (other things) abbreviates as "c." Common abbreviation for the period]. Hannah was taken sick and went home. Went & got a hoop for a washtub and put it on. This evening attended a private sociable given by Dr. Weslizenis. Prof. Taffel my German teacher was there and I had a very pleasant time. Weather pleasant till evening when it changed cold & snowed.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 6 made my fire & shovelled off the sidewalk before breakfast. Attended S. S. & church & heard a fine discourse. Dr. Post showing that each one of us had a mission to fulfill. Went to the Biddle St. Mission school and had the pleasure of teaching (for the first time) a fine class of girls. They recited 12 verses. Attended church and heard a minister from Memphis Tenn. preach "The time is short" (text). Weather cold. Today is Mother's birthday. 48 years old.

MONDAY 10

Bro. George is 9 years old to-day. St. Louis

Arose at 6 Oclock. At school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Had quite a snow-storm last evening and this A.M. I had a nice little time shovelling it away and attended the young peoples prayermeeting at our church and heard an instance in which the convention held here last week made a hopeful convert. Weather pretty cold.

TUESDAY 11

St. Louis

Arose at 1/4 past 6. And arrived downstairs to find my fire made and place cleaned up. Went to school as usual. Lessons well. Rec'd a letter from Father with $2.00 enclosed. Work commenced on the bridge at Dubuque Ave. Still crossing on the ice at this point.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 6. Attended school but did not much in the way of study as I had the tooth ache very bad. Weather cold. snow.

THURSDAY 13

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5.

SAME

Had my tooth drawn by Uncle Wm. I never suffered so much pain in my life.

FRIDAY 14

Arose at 1/2 past 5.

SAME

Sick all day.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5 with the jaw-ache. Did not do much. Took a walk down to the river to see the ferry boats breaking the ice for a channel. Also went to Mr. Crane's for an order on Mr. Gallanan for a ham. Sick all day.

CHAPTER 6

Charles Edward's diary entries for the first half of February start on a high note and end on a low note.

On the second of February, a Sunday, Charles Edward stands at communion in the First Congregational Church of St. Louis and makes his profession of faith as a Christian and becomes a church member. By his side, also making this solemn commitment to join the congregation, is his friend from school Henry Ely Mack. That Charles Edward felt he was ready for church membership is shown by his comment that he heard a good sermon by Dr. Post beforehand. He quotes Dr. Post, who spoke of Wisdom, personified as a woman in customary Old Testament fashion, "All her ways are righteousness and all her pathes [sic] are peace." This discriminating enjoyment of a sermon is in keeping with a strong religious tradition in the Dickinson lineage. His grandfather was a Congregational minister. His father ran a temperance hotel in Dubuque, when the temperance movement religiously argued alcohol defiled the human body—God's temple.

Only seven days after joining the church, Charles Edward has a new responsibility: teaching Sunday school to a class of girls at the Biddle Street Mission. A mission, in this context, is defined as a church that's not fully self-supporting, but reliant on a relationship with larger churches. Biddle Street Presbyterian Mission in St. Louis served its congregation from 1864 to 1880 and was at 15th and Biddle Avenue. Charles Edward had a walk of fourteen blocks, or about a mile, from First Congregational at 10th and Locust to the Mission. Charles Edward greatly enjoyed teaching this class, the size of which he will note on March 1 was "9 scholars present."

Teaching shows an active, not passive, understanding of Scripture and Christian teachings as they apply in everyday life. Going from professing one's Christian belief to teaching others in Sunday school shows commitment to a way of life prevalent in both his family and the social class he represented. That it was less about saving his soul in the hereafter and more about conforming to and accepting social values goes without saying.

Besides teaching a class at the Mission, consider how much of Charles Edward's time is spent on church-related activity. On Sundays, he goes to Sunday school and a morning sermon before the class he teaches, and sometimes, an evening sermon. For example, on February 9, he attends church for an evening sermon by a minister visiting from Memphis.

In the middle of the week, on school nights, he also has meetings at the church. As on Monday, February 10, it's a young people's evening prayer meeting. That said, it's interesting he is invited to a meeting at Dr. Nelson's church (First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis), but declines as his "studies would not permit." There is a limit to how much church activity he can squeeze in.

§

If February had an upbeat beginning, it would turn much worse on Tuesday the 12th, when he writes he had a bad toothache. The next day, Uncle William pulls the tooth. It's unlikely Charles Edward had any anesthesia. When he says he "never suffered so much pain in my life," that is not exaggeration. Dentists would start using local anesthesia like Novocaine fifty years later.

Still, to go from toothache one day to tooth extraction the next shows Uncle William's supreme confidence in his medical experience and judgement. Keep in mind that Charles Edward's older brother William Pliny was a dentist, but hundreds of miles away. So Uncle William was unfazed about pulling

a tooth "in the family," even if he'd hear about it later if it didn't go well.

The point is Uncle William was well-qualified to do simple surgery like a tooth extraction. He might have taken steps to prevent infection, notwithstanding Joseph Lister's sterilization measures, derived from Louis Pasteur's theory of germs, were only recently practiced. Although a specialist in eye disorders, Uncle William had a medical degree from Harvard and served in the Civil War as a Union brigade surgeon. I've read an account of his removing a bullet from a wounded soldier's skull under battle conditions, with the important footnote that the patient developed an infection—encephalitis. Uncle William was unaware then of the important contribution Lister would make to medicine only a few years later.

So, yes, although Uncle William would not know what to do about a dental cavity, he was qualified to remove a tooth. The more pertinent question was whether he decided to extract too soon. This was before the days of X-rays, before it was possible to assess damage to the tooth below the gum. But it is true that if a tooth aches, removal of the tooth and associated nerves means the pain will cease. The follow-up recovery doesn't appear to have been drawn out. Charles Edward reports he was "sick all day" the next two days, then doesn't mention any aftereffects in later entries.

It's noteworthy that until February 13, when the tooth is drawn, he has added "St. Louis" to the date heading for each entry. Sometimes he writes the letters with a bit of pencilled embellishment, as if taking a few moments to linger with the place name. In each of these diary entries for six weeks, he is consciously noting where he is geographically. It's as if he wants to remind himself that he's away from home. The next day, February 14, he omits the pencilled place notation, and for the rest of his diary pages, with only an exception or two, he does not write "St. Louis" again.

While leaving out "St. Louis" atop his daily entries might suggest he wished to be elsewhere, that's speculative. What's probable is the tooth extraction by Uncle William, how it was done and the pain, broke down some of Charles Edward's disciplined approach to his diary. And was another possible sign of a simmering uncle-nephew conflict.

§

One reminder of how people lived in the St. Louis of 1868 is the Monday, February 3 comment that he came home and "filled my water barrel." This tells us indoor plumbing, that is, tap water, was uncommon in 1868—anywhere in America. The Dickinson household most likely had a water pump beside the kitchen sink, the handle of which was pulled and pushed to bring up well water. For Charles Edward, his personal water barrel was possibly to fill a basin for washing up, which might not have had a drain for waste water. Or the water barrel might have had a ladle to drink water or boil it in a kettle. But nothing in the diary explains how he used his personal water barrel. Probably it was for personal hygiene.

The entry for February 3 also marks the start of the second term at the Academy. As he notes, that first day little classwork took place, teachers and students spending most of the time arranging classes. He has four classes: "I take Philosophy [natural philosophy or what we now call science], Felters Arithmetic, German & Spelling." The class Spelling is not just about learning to spell correctly. The full University Catalogue title for the class is "Writing and Spelling; Composition and Declamation." We commonly refer to such a class as "English," with an emphasis on composition.

Continuing a theme from January, Charles Edward is exceedingly observant about weather. As mentioned before, whenever he leaves the house, he is *in the weather*. He walks, unshielded by any modern automobile. It is winter and freezing; stormy weather is expected. The reader senses gratitude on February 8 that he's left the house and dodged what Mother Nature might throw at him, having "weather pleasant" until evening "when it changed cold & snowed."

For the next week of entries, Charles Edward adds to "weather cold" or "weather pretty cold" some specifics. On the 11th, he observes that work has begun on a bridge across the Mississippi River at Dubuque Avenue, but apparently people are still crossing on the ice at that point. And on the 15th, he walks down to the river to see "ferry boats breaking the ice for a channel." We get the picture of river traffic temporarily halted with the onslaught of icy winter storms. As the diary unfolds, Charles Edward will also point out how traffic on the river picks up after the winter season ends.

A common topic of Charles Edward's diary entries is his chores. Some are straightforward, others a puzzle. When he says he picked over a bushel of cranberries, we know he's sorted out the bad ones. But when he says he "rec'd a bundle from Larra Crane [Mr. Crane's son] at St. Charles [now part of suburban St. Louis] for the laundry," we have a puzzle on our hands. Was Larra sending his clothes home to be washed? That seems an obvious interpretation. If so, was it economical to mail a bundle of clothes rather than having them washed locally? For if, as suggested in the preceding chapter, Larra was a messenger for the American Merchants Union Express Company, he apparently could have packages sent *gratis* as an employee. The entry is dated February 3.

What confuses is that three days later, on the 6th, Larra Crane sends Charles Edward a letter "requesting his clothes at Mr. Crane's house." Does this mean Larra left some clothes at his parent's house before leaving for St. Charles? Or does it mean he wants his clothes, sent on February 3, if washed, returned? Moreover, why is Charles Edward the go-between in this intra-family transaction?

This instance points up why deriving meaning from a diary can be a problem. No one is around to speak to the ambiguity or give context to what was written.

One other revealing, not puzzling, comment, again from the 3rd: Charles Edward mentions Hannah and in parentheses adds, "our hired girl." It was common in the 1860s to employ hired help. Housekeeping was laborious. Modern labor-saving washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and the like did not exist. Keeping a middle to upper-middle class household took hours of work. In the Dickinson household, we have mentions of Hannah and Annie in the diary. As a side note, eight years earlier, the 1860 U.S. Census recorded two "Servant"[s] in the William Dickinson household, Catherine, age twenty; and Mary, age nineteen. Both were immigrants from England.

Having domestic help didn't mean others in the family merely supervised. Far from it, Charles Edward did many chores. When there's an overnight snowstorm on the 10th, he humorously comments, "I had a nice little time shovelling it away."

On Saturday, February 1, Charles Edward went to a bootmaker named Heider to ask about having his boots half-soled. The charge would be $1.50, and he left the boots for repair. He came back the next day, a Sunday, after church and paid for the repair. He notes, "boot charges. 1.50 reasonable." It's interesting he paid for this out of his own money. At the beginning of February, his cash on hand (according to his monthly Cash Accounts, to be discussed later) amounted to only $1.40. So before he picked up his boots, he borrowed ten cents from Uncle William. That's noted in the Cash Accounts, as well as his repayment to Uncle William of the ten cents on February 14, after receiving $2.00 cash in a letter from his father.

This brings up the question, What money did Charles Edward have? In brief, little. He had no income-producing job. He was a student. Presumably, his father took care of the tuition fees for the Academy by correspondence with the University. The only discernible source of money for Charles Edward was dollar bills from home. Usually a $2.00 bill. In March, we'll see an exception. He'll get a draft for $25.00 and a $2.00 bill. The total of $27.00 is sent with the understanding it's for a suit of clothes. He'll later spend $21.00 on April 25 for the suit.

Although Charles Edward had little more than pocket money, he accounted for every cent in his

Cash Accounts. This is more evidence of his facility and accuracy with numbers. While having little for discretionary spending (as for that new style guitar in the "French-town" shop), Charles Edward dutifully did a substantial amount of unpaid work.

Some chores Charles Edward had to do were just part of being in a household. In the first half of February, he picks over cranberries (February 4) and gets a basket of wood shavings at the carpenter (February 5). But other errands, like going to Mr. Crane's store on February 14 for a ham on order for Mr. Gallanan seemed like an unpaid favor he was expected to do for someone outside the household, someone not a relative. Mr. Gallanan was probably a neighbor unable to get out and buy food. Charles Edward got the assignment and does so out of duty, for he also notes he was "sick all day." Similarly, on February 7 he goes to Procter, Greenwood & Co. to pick up twenty-four pounds of codfish, a walk of five blocks each way for him. This was not likely for home consumption, and probably intended for an outside event (as one at his church).

One such event where many would be fed was a Christian convention that began February 4 at Dr. Nelson's First Presbyterian Church and lasted three days. Dr. Nelson's church at 14th and Lucas Place was a walk of eight blocks from home for Charles Edward. The attendees presumably were from different Protestant denominations. Charles Edward attends the last meeting of the Christian Association and notes, "12 or 14 stood up to be prayed for." Doubtless attending the convention was a minister from Memphis who preached at Dr. Post's church on the following Sunday, February 9.

Once again, Charles Edward's comments about the Christian convention and his participation evidence how religious observance and church activities were needed in his social world. It is as if he regards the church with its services, meetings, and "sociables" as the glue that holds his world, beyond school, together.

He does, however, make a distinction for social activity not at church. On Saturday, February 9, he attends a "private sociable" given by Dr. Wizlizenus, father of his friend Fred Wizlizenus. Away from the Academy, the two go for walks. That he distinguishes a "private sociable" from a church one must mean the former invitation-only gatherings weren't as common as those at the church that filled out his weeks.

As mentioned before, Charles Edward would write in his diary the birthdays of family members both in advance and above his diary entries for the day. A surprising exception to this concerns the entry for February 9. At the end of the entry describing the day's events, he writes, "Today is Mother's birthday. 48 years old." Why did he not fill out a birthday reminder for her in advance as he did for the rest of his family? Why did he note her birthday *after* his account for the day?

Charles Edward might know something about his mother's health he won't share with himself on the written page. As if he is repressing a fear for her tenuous hold on life. The only earlier entry he makes about his mother is a comment his father makes in a letter. His mother had been singing, something she hadn't done in years. It's an odd remark. And suggests his mother's mental state was filled with a longing for the past. Her condition is a mystery and nothing in the diary suggests Charles Edward corresponded with his mother during 1868. His family letters go to others: his father, brother William Pliny, and Grandmother Smith.

CHAPTER 7

SUNDAY 16

Arose at 6. Went to Sunday school & church. Heard Dr. Post on text. (What should it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul) Attended the Biddle St. Mission S.S. in which I have a class. Weather very pleasant.

MONDAY 17

Arose at 6 Oclock. At school as usual. When I came home I had a long talk with Uncle Wm. in regard to my duties being performed with greater alacrity. Rec'd a letter from home & a valentine from Fred. Weather pleasant.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school I attended the weekly sociable held at our church and gained a severe head-ache. I went to bed in a hurry. Weather pleasant and the river has broken up and is open to Alton.

WEDNESDAY 19

Arose at 5 Oclock. At school with a sick head. Lessons not exceedingly brilliant. Weather very pleasant indeed. Boats arriving daily from below. Mr. & Mrs. Hand start for Dalonica [Dahlonega, Georgia] tomorrow afternoon.

THURSDAY 20

Arose at 6 feeling very bad but did my work & attended school. Was excused after my German. Mr. & Mrs. (+ Charlie) left this afternoon at 2 Oclock for Georgia. Weather very pleasant and has been for several days. Took a short walk.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1868

Arose at 6 Oclk. About the same as yesterday if not worse. Did not light the fire as it is very pleasant. Took a walk this morning but this afternoon I laid abed. This (to-day) is the anniversary of our institution and there will be Orations, Declamations, Music & Extemporis.

Saturday 22

Arose at 6 feeling pretty well. Split kindling & did other minor jobs. I commenced to feel unwell and stopped operations for the day. It is very pleasant. The sun shining brightly. River open and hardly any ice floating. Went walking on the levee & counted from 20 to 30 steamers just come out of winter-quarters. Some loading for the Missouri & some for New Orleans.

SUNDAY 23

Arose at 1/2 past 5 not feeling very well. Did not attend S.S. Went to church & heard a good sermon by Dr. Post. Attended the Mission S.S. and took my little class. Mr. Morrison gave to all of the school a little book & to a few others for attendance & learning the entire lesson every Sunday a bible or some suitable present.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1868

Arose at 6. At school Philosophy did not g[o] off as well as usual so I staid [an accepted

alternative spelling for the past tense of "stay" (63)] in to understand the rule about finding the specific gravity of a a body that will not sink in water. Weather very pleasant. Got the barrel (that was in the cellar) emptied & fixed in the yard & filled.

TUESDAY 25

Arose at 1/4 past 6. At school. Lessons all went off well. I had to make my fire up as it was out. Went after shavings & split kindlings. Weather very pleasant. Rec'd in a letter from Father 2.00.

WEDNESDAY 26

Arose at 6. At school as usual. Weather very pleasant. Expected the Chancellor would announce a holliday tomorrow but he did not. Lessons all went of[f] well as usual.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Weather colder than yesterday. To-day is the day of prayer for all colleges held by all churches. Services at Dr. Post's at 10 1/2 A.M. Attended the prayermeeting in the evening.

FRIDAY 28

Arose at 1/4 to 6. At school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Weather somewhat cool just to counterbalance the good weather somewhat we have been having. Went to Mr. Cranes for an order on Ed. Gallahan [sic] for 4 hams, 2 canvassed & 2 not. Bulk weight 54#. Pretty heavy load for a "small boy."

SATURDAY 29

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Did not have much to do so spent most of the day in walking. Saw a great many steamers placarded for the different rivers (Ills. Ohio & Mo.) & New Orleans. Business seems to be brisk on the levee. Wind blew pretty cold while on the levee & clouds of dust (actual dust) arose thick enough to choke a person but I survived them & arrived home none the worse for wear.

CHAPTER 8

The second half of February begins with Sunday activities that are routine for Charles Edward. He goes to Sunday school, and that is followed by a sermon from Dr. Post, the theme being, What should it profit a man if he gain the world and loses his soul? Again, a sermon impresses Charles Edward enough for him to mention it in the diary. After the sermon, he goes to the Biddle Street Mission and teaches a Sunday school class to his young girl "scholars," Bible verse recitation being a highlight.

The Monday entry which follows his Sunday recap has a telling sentence: After he came home from school, "I had a long talk with Uncle Wm. in regard to my duties being performed with greater alacrity." This is more evidence of a strain in the relationship between Charles Edward and his uncle.

Nothing up to the February 17 entry suggests he's done anything to make himself unwelcome in the household. In fact, he appears to want to see his uncle in a positive, supportive light, what he would like from an older male relative. Namely, just before joining the church on February 2, he had a talk with Uncle William the evening before and writes, "We had a very pleasant time. He giving me advice and preparing me for the communion tomorrow." Obviously, Charles Edward harbors no ill-will or prejudice toward his uncle. But Uncle William appears to have animosity toward his nephew.

The "greater alacrity" admonishment strikes to the core of Uncle William's growing emotional rift with his nephew. He mentions "duties." Duties are, in Uncle's mind, Charles Edward's obligation for getting room and board while attending school away from home. In 1868, no student at Washington University in St. Louis, whether the preparatory schools (the Academy or the Mary Institute) or the collegiate departments, lived on campus. The University had no dormitories. So Charles Edward essentially had no choice other than to live with his uncle and aunt.

Uncle William was educated and if he used the word "alacrity," he knew it meant "cheerful readiness, willingness" (as defined by *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary 1900, Comprising the issues of 1864, 1879, and 1884*). Clearly, Uncle William was not suggesting a shortfall in performing duties. Instead, he was saying he didn't like the *attitude* of Charles Edward.

Perception of attitude can be wholly subjective. Moreover, it's unlikely Charles Edward had any say in his living arrangements while attending the Academy. That arrangement undoubtedly was made between his father, George Lyman, and Uncle William. It was an agreement by brothers. Thus, in more ways than one, Charles Edward is engaged in a contest he can't win.

It might seem rash to describe a relationship as troubled because of a few words, "alacrity" and "duties." But as we take up later developments in the diary, this characterization of the uncle-nephew relationship will not be contradicted. And any expectation Charles Edward will improve his attitude to meet Uncle William's satisfaction is far-fetched. Consider, at the end of the month, on the 28th, Charles Edward goes to Mr. Crane's store to pick up an order for Ed. Gallanan, a "duty" we surmise for a neighbor. He notes that the bulk weight of the order was fifty-four pounds. And adds, "pretty heavy load for a 'small boy.'" A bit of ironic acceptance in those humorous words. But to follow Uncle William's demand, Would Charles Edward carry that heavy load with a cheerful countenance, a smile on his face? If he is struggling with the load, his face wouldn't show alacrity.

Charles Edward's remark about a heavy load for a "small boy" raises the question of his height. We have a group photograph of him and his five brothers. He and two others are seated; the other three

stand behind. William Pliny, his older dentist brother, is seated and his head is higher than Charles Edward's. They sit on similar chairs. We know from a document about William Pliny's Civil War experience that he was five feet, eight inches tall. That suggests Charles Edward, at age seventeen, was shorter, possibly five feet, six inches. Without a doubt, fifty-four pounds is a heavy load for one that height. What he lacked in stature, he must have made up for in muscular strength.

If we are in any doubt about how Charles Edward felt about his uncle's imperious demand, we have the entry for the next day, the 18th: He "gained a severe headache." He had no physical injury, so reasonably it was a psychosomatic reaction to his uncle's harsh words of the day before. That his uncle's animosity affects him deeply is shown by entries for the next six days, through the 23rd; all mention not feeling well.

§

If the second half of February didn't start well for Charles Edward, he gains some solace in seeing the worst of winter weather gone. The Mississippi River "has broken up and is open to Alton," or about thirty miles north, upriver. The sight of more river traffic must encourage his spirits when out walking. On the 27th, he notes "River open and hardly any ice floating. Went walking on the levee & counted from 20 to 30 steamers just come out of winter quarters."

Indeed, movement is in the air, and Charles Edward notes that Mr. and Mrs. Hand will be leaving for "Dalonica," he apparently spelling phonetically the name of present-day Dahlonega, Georgia. And with characteristic precision, he writes on Thursday the 20th, Mr. and Mrs. Hand and little Charlie left for Georgia at "2Oclock." Travelling several hundred miles would justify the extended stay with relatives. The Hands apparently stayed with Almira Crane Hand's brother, Francis Crane, and his wife, Sarah.

Mrs. Almira Crane Hand was also the sister of Evelina Crane Dickinson, so she, Mr. Hand and their son, Charlie, had relatives in two St. Louis households to call on. Although Charlie Hand probably spent much of his time at the Dickinsons, where, as a two-year-old, he'd have the company of his six-year-old cousin, Lily Dickinson.

For Charles Edward, being in Uncle William's house—where the latter also had his medical practice office—was sometimes a pressure cooker. It was the third week of February, when he felt "unwell" every day. But he did have ways to let off the pressure, which included criticism for his apparent attitude toward chores and duties. He could, paradoxically, do his chores. Activity and moving large muscles while splitting wood, for example, is a well-known way to blow off steam. But it doesn't always go that way. On Saturday the 22nd, he was splitting kindling and other minor jobs, when he "commenced to feel unwell," and with characteristic understatement notes, "stopped operations for the day."

Charles Edward has other ways besides chores to get out from under his uncle's thumb, so to speak. He's in St. Louis to go to school, and that takes up enough of his day, combined with walking to and from school, that he often has to do chores first thing in the morning. We have reason to think he enjoys school and wants to make sure he gets the most out of it. On Monday the 24th, he notes that he "staid" after school to understand a concept in Philosophy (science) he didn't get the first time. He wanted to know the rule for determining the specific gravity of a body that will not sink in water. For an object that floats, the weight of the displaced water is divided into the object's weight. The resulting specific gravity figure is always a fraction less 1.0, which is water's specific gravity. For some objects, like a ship, it might not be a figure easily calculated in practice. Still, this nontrivial concept from physics shows Charles Edward's keen interest in analytical thinking and the underpinnings of how things work.

Another important activity that took Charles Edward out of the house was church events: Sunday school, sermons, teaching at Biddle Street Mission, and youth prayer meetings mid-week. All approved, we might safely assume, by his uncle and aunt, plus he sincerely admired Dr. Post, his reverend.

But beyond school and church, Charles Edward found refuge away from the house and a way to calm his mind by walking. For his entry of Saturday the 29th, he notes he didn't have much to do; that is, chores. So he walked most of the day. He takes delight in seeing the approach of spring, ice breaking up on the Mississippi and ships moving about again. "Saw a great many steamers placarded for the different rivers (Ills. Ohio & Mo.) & New Orleans. Business seems brisk on the levee." All these steamers are leaving St. Louis. Charles Edward might be projecting a wish to leave too. We don't know yet. But obviously walking gives him comfort and solace in his time away from the house. Even if the "wind blew pretty cold while on the levee & clouds of dust (actual dust) arose thick enough to choke a person but I survived them & arrived home not the worse for wear." So he takes his time out walking as both the challenge of being in the elements, which often weren't, as he would like, "very pleasant" and as a boost to his spirits when he sees steamers on the river sloughing off the inactivity of winter.

§

With the second term under way, it might be a good time to pause and consider where Charles Edward fit into the scheme of education at the Academy. It is telling that he drops Latin after the first term, not continuing with the second term. Dropping Latin (plus not taking any Greek) suggests Charles Edward had decided against collegiate studies at the University (or any other college). In 1868, admission to the University collegiate studies required a solid background in the classics; that is, Latin and Greek language and literature often in the source language.

Most likely, in the first term Charles Edward might have still considered collegiate studies. His diary entry for January 10 (which is in the first term) supports that. It states "our class (2nd Academic) and the commercial had a spelling match ..." But as the second term begins, Charles Edward made a switch from the 2nd Academic class to the Commercial class at the Academy. This is confirmed by the Washington University Catalogue for the academic year 1867-1868 (6) that shows "Charles Edward Dickinson" with a residence of "Dubuque Iowa" listed in the Commercial Class along with two others he tutored in spelling: Samuel O. Copp and Charles Hall Lamoureax. Those in the Commercial Class were usually preparing for a business career or professional studies not found in the Collegiate or Scientific Departments of the University. And though a member of the Commercial Class, Charles Edward might attend some classes with students in the Academic and Preparatory Scientific Classes.

One thing to keep in mind is college in the mid-1800s was unlike college today. It was less affordable for most. Room and board, while not working, was a big expense. Because much of the U.S. population was still engaged in farming and rural occupations, it was a luxury for a young person to go off to college. Moreover, the emphasis on a classical education as a prerequisite meant studying Latin and Greek for years. Studying these "dead languages" was important for scholars who read old texts, especially Bible scholars. Many of the first college graduates in America became ministers, as did Charles Edward's grandfather, Pliny, a graduate of Dartmouth. Nonetheless, the 1860s saw change come to the character of colleges, helped specifically by the creation of Land-Grant Colleges, beginning with the Morrill Act of 1862.

So though at this time, we don't know Charles Edward's career ambitions, we can reasonably rule out collegiate studies. His father, George Lyman, did not go to college—he left the Walpole Academy at age twelve—and he was an entrepreneur. In 1868, he owned and operated the seventy-two room Tremont House in Dubuque, and also was an agent for the Protection Life Insurance Company of Chicago.

It's also obvious Charles Edward admired his older brother William Pliny, a practicing dentist. Although we'd call William Pliny a professional, he did not go to college. He went from high school into the Civil War as a private, later promoted to major. After being mustered out, he apprenticed to a dentist in Dubuque, then had a dental partnership in Joliet, Illinois.

It's reasonable Charles Edward, with the examples of his father and brother, realized his future had a variety of opportunity. Although there was a tradition of college education in the Dickinson family, he must have foreseen other paths for his life's career, which might not be apparent today, when the college degree has largely supplanted the high school diploma.

In sum, Charles Edward's choice of courses for his second term was in line with pursuing a good education at the exclusive Academy, but without the required Latin or Greek for collegiate studies.

CHAPTER 9

SUNDAY, MARCH 1, 1868

Arose at 1/4 to 6. Attended S.S. & Church. Afternoon attended B. St. M. S.S. 9 scholars present 47 verses committed & recited. Mr. Morrison asked me to get the residences of any scholars & visit them, but I find that there are others who are just as able to do as I and do not, so I think I will make an excuse of "all time occupied during the week" with school studies. Weather not very pleasant. Had quite a little rain-storm about 1/2 past 4 P.M.

MONDAY 2

Arose at 6 Oclock. At school Philosophy did not go off well so staid after school. Had quite a snow-storm last night. It kept me busy for about an hour sweeping it off from the porches and sidewalk. Went to the carpenter shop for a basket of shavings. Weather very cold.

TUESDAY 3

Arose at 6. At school Mr. Stone took up all the class time in trying to get some one who could explain the Gridiron pendulum. He did not succeed. Received a letter from home & one from W. R. Plumbe. Answered the one from father. Got a basket of shavings. Filled up the barrels. Weather pretty cold for time of year here.

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1868

Arose at 6. Weather tolerably cool. At school as usual. Nothing especially worthy of note happened to-day.

THURSDAY 5

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Set my fire & got my work all finished before 6 Oclock. This morning Mr. Arnold gave us a problem in Partial Payments. I worked on it 1 1/2 hrs in school and 4 out and did not get it within 2 cts.

FRIDAY 6

Arose at 6 Oclock. At school as usual. After school went out to Milk mans on Grand Avenue for butter milk (1 gal) and left 1/2 at Dr. Nicols'. Worked a good while on an example in partial payments. Attended pray meeting. Afterwards with Joe Lathrop & Henry Mack went to hear the St. Louis Institute Brass Band play and they discoursed some very fair music. Weather moderate.

SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1868

Arose at 6. Did not have much to do only to split kindling and stop up a rathole in the back yard which I think I did effectually. Worked all of the afternoon on an example in partial payments & could not come nearer than 56 cts. Took a short walk between 5 & 6 Oclock P.M. After Supper went down to the Mercantile Library rooms with Mr. Guild & spent a very pleasant evening. Weather milder.

SUNDAY 8

Arose at 1/4 past 6. Attended S.S. & Church. Heard Dr. Post preach on a text from the 12th chapt. of Daniel. Just before church a couple of news-boys got to showing of their pugilistic qualities in earnest & had the pleasure of being lodged in the police station. Such is life. In the afternoon saw a man who had who had fallen from the street cars and jamed [jammed] his head. A police man asked

him what was the matter & he said Oh I only got on a tight, pleasant.

MONDAY 9

Arose at 1/2 past 6. At school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Aunt & Uncle were to entertain Wendell Philips to-day & tomorrow but came to find out he had been here & delivered his lecture & gone. Did not go to prayermeeting. Weather rainy all day.

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1868

Arose at 6. At school Lessons went off very well. Weather stormy. Went to Hordon Taller & Co. for a spool of 70 cotton thread for Auntie. Recd a letter from home. The ice at Dubuque floated down about 150 feet on the 8th and the river rose several. Bro. Will is going home sometime this week.

WEDNESDAY 11

Arose at 6. At school as usual. Rained pretty near all day. Consequently not anything extraordinary was performed by myself. Went to prayermeeting. Cleared off this evening and pleasant.

THURSDAY 12

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Weather very pleasant all day. This evening Aunt & Uncle gave an informal party at which I made some valuable acquaintances. Had a very pleasant time indeed. Henry Mack and Fred Weslizenus were there. Made the acquaintance of Mr. Dodd of Dodd, Brown & Co. Dry goods jobbers.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school Mr. Stone did not go very hard on us at our Philosophy class as he took up most of the time explaining resultant motion. Went on board the low presure (steamer) Great Republic the largest steamer on the Miss. Finely finished & furnished. Plying between St. Louis & New Orleans. No ice in the river but is gorged at Rock Island & Davenport. Attended prayermeeting.

SATURDAY 14

Arose at 6 Oclock. Took off the coverings of the steps and yard windows. Split kindlings, filled water barrels & stopped up two ratholes. Studied some after dinner & then collected some bills for Uncle Wm. ($85) first for him. Went down to see the Great Republic go out but was disappointed.

SUNDAY 15

Arose at 6. Attended S.S. and Church. Heard a sermon by a Methodist minister (attending the convention here) in the morning and from another in the evening. My class at B. M. S.S. of 5 two only having verses recited 82 one 39 & the other 43. Weather very pleasant indeed more like Summer than Spring.

CHAPTER 10

The diary entries for the first half of March have details about Charles Edward's arithmetic class that deserve special discussion. The entry for March 5 is as follows: "This morning Mr. Arnold gave us a problem in Partial Payments. I worked on it 1 1/2 hrs in school and 4 out and did not get within 2 cts." Then two days later, the 7th: "Worked all of the afternoon on partial payments & could not come nearer than 56 cts."

Up to now, everything we've read in the diary suggests Charles Edward has a facility with numbers. He precisely notes quantities, temperature, sometimes even writing them in both word and figure style: "two (2)," for example. If he is spending hours on one problem from his new Felter's Arithmetic, Is he in trouble? Is he in danger of flunking the class, or even flunking out of the Academy? And yet I couldn't rashly jump to any such conclusion. Not until I saw the problem in Partial Payments with the same eyes at Great-grandfather.

I took this on as a challenge I felt more than qualified to tackle. I have an MBA in Finance. I've taken Society of Actuaries exams. A Partial Payment problem, even one from 150 years ago, shouldn't be that hard to comprehend.

Stoddard A. Felter, A.M., was an American educator who wrote a series of popular textbooks used in public and private schools at the pre-college level. I searched his textbooks (1868 and earlier) for partial payment problems and believe his *The Analysis of Written Arithmetic, Book Second* (1864) has problems similar to the one on which Charles Edward labored long hours. Moreover, he bought his textbook second-hand, so an 1864 edition might be his textbook (28).

Felter defines a Partial Payment as a payment in part of the amount due on a note, bond, or other debt obligation. But before giving problems, Felter lays out a ruling from the U.S. Supreme Court that applies to partial payments for the thirty-seven states (in 1864), except Connecticut and New Hampshire, which use slightly different rules given by their respective state supreme courts. The rule states that a partial payment will reduce the principal of the debt obligation only if it exceeds the accrued interest from issue date. If not (partial payment is less than accrued interest), then "take no notice of it" and carry it forward "until other payments are made."

Wanting to know what it was like for Charles Edward to work out such a problem, I selected the following from Felter's 1864 textbook:

"A loan is made on January 1, 1858. It is in the amount of $369.84.

Assume an interest of 6.0% simple annual. Six partial payments are made on six different dates as follows:

June 13, 1858, $50.

December 11, 1858, $60.

September 13, 1859, $60.

July 9, 1860, $120.

August 13, 1862, $15.

December 29, 1862, $89.

What will remain due January 9, 1863, five years and eight days after issue?"

This is a messy problem because it has a series of linked calculations. Starting with the first partial payment, I calculated how many days had gone by on the loan. I assumed a 30-day month and a 360-day year, which was standard banker practice at the time. (Felter states this assumption elsewhere in his textbook.) Then I multiplied six percent interest by the year fraction. The resultant interest fraction was applied to the original loan amount of $369.84. The accrued interest to date was less than $50, so I could subtract the difference for an amount to reduce the principal. Then I could take up the second partial payment.

In all, I probably spent most of an hour working out all six of the partial payments to get a remainder due on January 9, 1863. I plowed through the calculations using a basic four-function calculator. My answer was forty-one cents off what Felter gave as the solution of $82.241.

I wasn't especially upset I didn't hit the textbook answer on the penny, though Charles Edward appears to have thought he should have. For one thing, doing all that chained arithmetic can lead to a buildup of calculation rounding errors, depending on how many places past the decimal point you calculate intermediate results. (Felter doesn't specify how to do this and gives an answer that is not in whole cents.) My four-function calculator carries numbers six and seven places to the right of the decimal.

Then it hit me. In 1868, electronic calculators, electric calculators, or mechanical calculators did not exist. Charles Edward was doing his calculations by hand. He was dividing 162 days into 360 days by long division. That task for us, 150 years later, seems like pure drudgery. But Charles Edward had no other way of doing the problem except straight-ahead hand calculation. That alone explained why he spent hours on one problem.

So although Charles Edward talks about spending "all afternoon" on a problem, I have a fresh understanding of his calculation handicap. Rather than seeing him as a bumbler in his new Felter's Arithmetic class, my solving a problem much like his with the help of a four-function calculator gave me an unshakable appreciation of his persistence. Anyone who can spend hours working out a finance problem, doing calculation after calculation by hand, has bulldog tenacity.

§

Several entries highlight the importance Charles Edward gives to doing well at school. On Sunday, March 1, presumably after teaching his Sunday school class at Biddle Street Mission, he is approached by Mr. Morrison who suggests he get the "residences of any scholars [young women students in his Sunday school class] and visit them but I find there are others who are just as able to do so as I and do not, so I think I will make an excuse of 'all time occupied during the week' with school studies." Charles Edward was happy to teach Sunday school, but balked at adding proselytizing to his duties too. And though it's a convenient excuse, pleading schoolwork, it's still true he's dedicated to succeeding at school.

The next day, he notes "At school Philosophy did not go off so well so staid after school." Presumably, he wanted more explanation from Mr. Stone on a natural philosophy topic. One of those topics is brought up the next day. Mr. Stone cannot get anyone in class to explain how the Gridiron pendulum works. This is a mechanism from the 1800s utterly foreign to us. Its time had come and gone. It was a solution to the problem of thermal expansion in the length of a clock's pendulum, which affected accuracy. The Gridiron pendulum had two rods, side by side—one of iron, one of zinc—whose thermal expansion properties differed such that they counterbalanced each other. This gave a more constant length for the pendulum and improved the clock's accuracy. It's not surprising, however, Mr. Stone "did not succeed" and had no takers.

Away from school, during his free time, Charles Edward hints at his yearning to travel. On Friday the 13th, he is walking down by the river and sees the "largest steamer on the Miss.," which is the *Great Republic*. As he notes, its voyages take it back and forth on the Mississippi River, "plying between St. Louis & New Orleans." His interest in this steamer, and where it might travel, brings him to go aboard. What he sees is "finely finished and furnished." His attraction to this steamer was such that he returned the next day, a Saturday, to see it "go out but was disappointed."

Charles Edward must have been late to see the *Great Republic* leave St. Louis because earlier he'd been on a errand for Uncle William: collecting bills for $85. That amount is substantial, if not in today's dollars, because it's payment for professional services of an eye doctor. Yet despite the chores and errands that go with living in Uncle William's house, Charles Edward enjoys a few household privileges. One is Uncle William's membership in the nearby Mercantile Library, a block away down Locust Street. This is a private, subscription-only library.

On Saturday the 7th, he goes to the Mercantile Library with a Mr. Guild, who is evidently an older house guest visiting St. Louis for some reason not given in the diary. The two go to one of the Library rooms, which must have been well-furnished, and they "spent a very pleasant evening."

Other social occasions come up during these two weeks, and one is the evening of Friday the 6th, when he accompanies his friends Joseph Lathrop and Henry Mack to hear the St. Louis Institute Brass Band play. As he genteelly puts it, "they discoursed some very fair music." Another instance of how Charles Edward characteristically expresses himself is the entry for Sunday the 8th, when "Just before church a couple of news-boys got to showing off their pugilistic qualities in earnest & had the pleasure of being lodged in the police station." Then he adds with ironic detachment, "Such is life."

Over and over, the reader has the impression Charles Edward enjoys socializing with people, both new and familiar. On Thursday the 12th, his uncle and aunt give a party at which he makes "some valuable acquaintances." Specifically, Mr. Dodd of Dodd, Brown & Co. ("Dry goods jobbers"). That his friends Henry Mack and Fred Wislizenus were also there only added to this "very pleasant time indeed."

Despite admitting some of his schoolwork required extra time—staying after class to clarify a Philosophy topic and involved calculations for partial payment problems—Charles Edward's two weeks end positively with comment, more than once, in the second week that lessons "were going over very well."

It's also a boost to his spirits that the weather is on the upswing, with winter storminess in retreat. Ice in the river is melting. Temperatures are climbing, and Charles Edward does more outside chores around the house with spring in the offing and seasonal cleaning inevitable.

§

As has been noted earlier, Charles Edward eagerly anticipates letters from his older brother William Pliny. The bond between the brothers differs from what he might feel for his three younger brothers at home. William Pliny has made the transition to adulthood and doubtless serves as a guide for Charles Edward's own future.

So it's of interest on March 10, he receives a letter from home, which he summarizes, "Bro. Will is going home sometime this week." That is a bit of a puzzle until one learns (from other sources) Brother William is not in Dubuque, but in Joliet, Illinois and was returning to Dubuque.

Whereas Charles Edward was too young to fight in the Civil War—age ten at its onset—William Pliny was the perfect age for new recruits when at the age of eighteen, and in his last year of high school, the Confederates fired on Ft. Sumter, April 12, 1861. Eleven days later, William Pliny left school and was mustered in as a private in the 1st Iowa Infantry.

Expectations at the time were the Southern uprising would soon collapse, so the 1st Iowa Infantry and Private William Pliny were mustered out ninety days later. He went back to Dubuque to work as a hotel clerk in his father's Tremont House for the next year. In August 1862, he volunteered again and became part of Company H of what would be Iowa's 21st Regiment. The Civil War continued, and Private William Pliny was soon promoted to Sergeant Major, mostly because of his military experience of ninety days in 1861.

Iowa's 21st saw a fair amount of action over the next twelve months, and on May 22, 1863, William Pliny was wounded in battle with injuries to his right shoulder and back. His recovery was slow and he did not return to action. By the end of the year, he was discharged from military duty and returned to Dubuque where he married Mary Lee Jones on April 11, 1864.

The next month he began studying dentistry as Dr. E. L. Clark's assistant in Dubuque. This began a lifelong dedication to dentistry and he read on his own every book he could buy or borrow on the subject.

After a year, in May 1865, William Pliny opened his dental practice in Charles City, several hundred miles from Dubuque in north central Iowa. In the 1860s professional education to practice dentistry was not well-established. For William Pliny, apprenticing to a practicing dentist, Dr. Clark, was enough to hang out his shingle.

So as William Pliny set out on his career, Charles Edward could see college was not needed to have a profession. The practice in Charles City was short-lived, however, as William Pliny's wife, Mary Lee Jones, died three days after giving birth to an infant son on July 9, 1866. The infant son also died a few months after that.

An interesting, and touching, insight into how much Charles Edward appreciated familial bonds is shown by looking ahead to his birthday reminder for September 27, 1868:

"Sister Mary would have been 28 years today. Died July 12th/66. Born Sept. 27th/40"

He uses "Sister," not "Sister-in-law," which is more defining, if colder and formal. Calling his older brother's wife "Sister" shows how completely he accepted Mary Lee Jones into the Dickinson family and, moreover, honors her after her death.

In 1866 after Mary's death, William Pliny, despondent about continuing in Charles City, sold his practice and moved north to Joliet, Illinois. His dental practice there was a partnership with another dentist, but only for a year. In the spring of 1868, as Charles Edward notes in the diary, his older brother is coming back to Dubuque to practice dentistry.

Charles Edward won't see "Bro. Will" until he leaves St. Louis during the summer break. But at least he knows he'll see more of him than he did during the years of the Civil War and dental practice away from Dubuque.

§

Another feature of the entries for the first half of March is an accounting for all the chores Charles Edward undertakes. It is as if he takes special care to account for himself, that he responsibly carries out the duties that come with staying at his uncle and aunt's. It snowed heavily on March 2, so he notes "It kept me busy for about an hour sweeping it off the porches and sidewalk." Each day's entry has the same methodical listing of what he did that day.

And when he doesn't have chores to do on a particular day, he writes almost apologetically, "Nothing especially worthy of note happened today," as on the 4th, or on the 11th: "Rained pretty near all day. Consequently not anything extraordinary was performed by myself," a bit of mocking, ironic understatement.

Entries for these two weeks of March also detail the central importance of religion to Charles Edward. On the 15th, a Sunday, he not only attends Sunday school in the morning, but he also hears a sermon by a visiting Methodist minister, who likely attended the convention of Protestant ministers in St. Louis that week. Dr. Post's church is Congregational, so having a guest minister from another denomination shows an ecumenical spirit. Then after teaching his Sunday school class at Biddle Street Mission, Charles Edward returns to church in the evening to hear a sermon by yet another minister visiting St. Louis for the convention. In one way or another, most of his waking hours on this particular Sunday were spent in church.

As the 15th of March rolls by, Charles Edward must sense fairer, pleasant weather is on the way. Will spring, days away, continue to lift his spirits, helping him mull over the possibilities once he finishes his schooling at the Academy? He looks forward to being with his brother William Pliny again, whose letters he anticipates, and with whom he might go over some of his plans.

If there's a concern about how things are going, it's surely the sporadic friction and chiding from his Uncle William. Why that is so, we don't know. Charles Edward doesn't give enough clues about his uncle's behavior. His uncle's presumption of a parental role toward his nephew must at times feel needless.

CHAPTER 11

MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Lessons all went off well. Filled up my water-barrels but did not make a fire in the furnace. Very warm out of doors. Clouded up about 5 Oclk & commenced to rain & blow about 1/2 past 7. It did considerable damage unroofing houses at the Gasometer & c.

TUESDAY 17

Arose at 20m to 6. Made a fire. At school. Rec'd a very short letter from Father. Somewhat cool out of doors to-day. Went to Procter & Greenwood's for 27# of Codfish & to White Bros. & Forbes for 5# of Hyson tea. The Fenians had their Annual celebration in honor of St. Patrick & the "Ould country."

WEDNESDAY 18

Arose at 1/2 past 5. School as usual. Lessons all well. Commenced a review in Philosophy 12 pages. Weather very pleasant indeed. Attended prayermeeting & heard a kind of a sermon from Dr. Post.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1868

Arose at 6. At school recited our review lesson in Philosophy. I had the subject of Impenetrability. Went on an errand for Aunt E. & could not find the house till I went the 2d. time. Weather pleasant. The steamer "Reserve" departed for Dub. to-day.

FRIDAY 20

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Lessons all went off well. Out of 75 words in spelling a match I missed 1. Weather very pleasant. Rec'd a draft for $25.00 and a $2.00 bill from Father to buy me a suit of clothes and rec'd a letter from Grandmother Smith. Attended prayermeeting.

SATURDAY 21

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Split kindling & fixed around generally all the morning. After dinner went to walk. Saw the Hawkeye State (the boat I came down on). She will be sent out sometime this month. Went to the top of the court house with Mr. Guild and had a very poor view of the city it being so smoky. Weather very pleasant indeed.

SUNDAY, MARCH 22, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Went to Sabbath School & church. Mission School in the afternoon. Only three of my class were there & only two had verses. Very pleasant. Went to church this evening & heard a good sermon by Dr. Post.

MONDAY 23

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual, lessons all well. Rained all day consequently very muddy. Did not go to prayer meeting. Nothing of importance only that Mr. Guild (my roommate) sawed the last stick of the cord of wood that Uncle got last fall.

TUESDAY 24

Arose at 6. At school, lessons all well. Rained to-day. Received a letter from Bro. Will at

Dubuque. Expects to remain till the 1st of April. Got the blinds up out of the cellar & washed them. Rained all day. Mr. Guild commenced to split wood to-day.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school, lessons all well. Sandpapered off most of the blinds this afternoon after school. Rained pretty near all day. We are having enough rain I should think. Did not go to prayermeeting.

THURSDAY 26

Arose at 5. At school. Lessons as usual. Went to a very interesting meeting this afternoon. It has been very unpleasant out all week so I have nothing of vital importance to write. The Hawkeye State left for D.

FRIDAY 27

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Had an examination of 200 words in spelling of which number I missed 1. Went to prayer-meeting. Consulted with Henry Mack & H. Post in regard to having a boys meeting to be called next Tuesday. Weather pretty cold.

SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Did not have much to do. Went into the Mercantile library. Also looked at Parker's selection of religious (second hand) books. Visited Mr. Crane with Mr. Guild to bid them good-bye. Weather very pleasant though somewhat cool.

SUNDAY 29

Arose at 6 Oclock. Went to S.S. & church in the morning. Mission S.S. (where my class recited 101 verses one alone reciting 40) & to our S.S. monthly concert in the afternoon & Church in the evening. I heard some splendid essays at the S.S. C. by Howard Post & Mr. Geo. Belcher. One on the life of Peter, the other on Elijah. Weather very pleasant indeed.

MONDAY 30

Arose at 6. At school as usual. Came home at 5 Oclock & carried a lot of tea & coffee that Uncle had bought [sic] into the store-room. Rec'd a letter from Father to-day. Weather pleasant. Went to prayer-meeting.

TUESDAY, MARCH 31, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 5. At school. Answered a letter from Home. Mr. Guild started for home. Weather very pleasant. Saw Mr. Gilbert of Dubuque. Bought a singing book. Filled up my water barrels.

CHAPTER 12

Looking at the second half of March, we see on Saturday the 21st Charles Edward goes out for a walk, drawn as so often to the Mississippi River. The *Hawkeye State* steamboat catches his eye because it's "the boat I came down on." Dubuque, Iowa, his hometown is north of St. Louis, up the Mississippi River, and slightly north of Chicago's latitude. Taking a steamboat to travel between Dubuque and St. Louis was preferred to travel by horseback and coach, or railroads that were not yet in wide use. In 1868, railroad had not surpassed river passenger traffic, though that was changing in a hurry after the Civil War. His lingering attachment to this particular steamboat is evident in a comment five days later when he writes, "The Hawkeye State left for D." If nothing else, he knows that boat will take him home, come summer.

One of the more puzzling mentions in the second half of March is a "Mr. Guild," who Charles Edward in his entry of the 28th identifies in parentheses as "my roommate." That term is not precise and possibly in jest. Mr. Guild is mysterious, more so without a first name. What we know is Mr. Guild is mentioned six times, and only in March. Mr. Guild is not a lodger, sharing quarters with Charles Edward and paying for room and board. Uncle William didn't need the money.

The fact that Charles Edward's interactions with Mr. Guild are showing him around the city—going to the Mercantile Library and climbing to the top of the courthouse, four blocks south from the Library—suggests Mr. Guild was a temporary house guest for the month of March. Moreover, Mr. Guild was possibly related to Aunt Evelina (a Crane) because Charles Edward accompanies Mr. Guild to say good-bye to Mr. Crane on the 28th before he leaves for home three days later.

Without his first name, it's hard to pin down the Mr. Guild that would be accepted as a house guest at Uncle and Aunt's. If he wasn't a relative of Aunt Evelina or Mr. Crane, then he was possibly a close family friend from back home—for Aunt Evelina and Mr. Crane that would be Boston. Mr. Guild might have come to St. Louis seeking work and needed a place to stay if his finances were tight.

Mr. Guild's weeks-long stay is like that of the Hands who stayed with the Cranes before leaving for Georgia in February. Our modern eyes might see such visits on the long side, weeks in duration. But any perceived imposition on relatives or close family friends must be balanced against the time and difficulty of travelling far cross-country in the 1860s. If it wasn't by boat, it meant much travel overland, as when the Hands left for Georgia.

While not as puzzling as Mr. Guild, a gasometer is what Charles Edward writes about on March 16 when a storm brought rain and strong winds about 7:30 p. m. "It [the wind] did considerable damage unroofing houses at the Gasometer."

A gasometer would be an exceedingly odd structure for us today. It featured an enormous structure (approaching 100 feet in height) of cross-braced ironwork that formed an open fence around an equally enormous metal storage tank filled with natural gas. The tank floated on water underneath, allowing it to rise and fall inside the frame of the gasometer. The intended effect of this rising and falling storage tank was to equalize pressure in the natural gas lines connected to it. Gasometers have largely been taken down in this country and replaced with underground tanks.

An important use of the gas lines pressurized by the Gasometer was gas lighting. Beginning in the early 1800s, gas light replaced oil lamps for such public illumination as street lights. Moreover, gas lighting was quickly adopted for indoor use. Factories could operate longer hours. In homes, gasoliers

would take over from oil lamps and candles of an earlier era.

When Charles Edward went to the Mercantile Library a block away at night, he would be greeted by a bright interior lit by gas light that, for example, allowed him to stay until 9:30 p.m. as he will mention in his entry for April 4. And certainly Uncle William's house in central St. Louis would have a gasolier or two, though nothing in the diary specifically mentions what was gas lit or if oil lamps were also used. Outdoor and indoor lighting by gas in the United States would give way to electricity beginning in 1880 with Edison and others offering and promoting the advantages of electric lighting over its gas counterpart.

About a mile and a half walk southwest from his home, the Gasometer was located at 14th and Gratiot Street on a vacant lot surrounded by nearby houses and apartments (9). The Gasometer must have been a prominent, spectacular sight in Charles Edward's landscape. In his walking about this storage behemoth, he noted unroofed houses nearby. And the Gasometer's structure, with its huge floating tank, reaching a height of seventy feet and having a capacity of 1,000,000 cubic feet (30), was enough of an obstacle in the wind's path, it might have created local wind shear forces punishing to house roofs. Charles Edward doesn't identify this effect, but his observation of damage around the Gasometer might have led him to conclude that.

On the 19th, Charles Edward mentions another steamboat, *Reserve*, departed for Dubuque. That he noted two steamers leaving for his hometown in a matter of days hints he is looking forward to going on one again and seeing his family, once school is over.

He mentions getting three letters in the last half of March, each of which must have mattered much to him. One, on the 24th, is from his brother Will (William Pliny), who had left the dental partnership in Joliet and gone back to Dubuque. Brother Will writes he expects to be in Dubuque only until April 1st, or just another week.

A second letter, on the 20th, is from Grandmother Smith, his paternal grandmother.

The third letter, also on the 20th, is from his father. The letter includes a two-dollar bill and a draft for twenty-five dollars. This is a huge infusion of funds into Charles Edward's meager cash on hand, as we can see from his Cash Account for March in the diary's back pages.

The twenty-five dollars is not for Charles Edward to spend freely. It is offered to buy a "suit of clothes." That expression is seldom used now. We might simply say a "suit." But a suit is typically a coat and dress pants, where a suit of clothes meant an outfit. That would be a coat and pants and probably a vest and a suitable belt too. The phrase doubtless derives from the medieval "suit of armor," and for both, an ensemble of personal wear meant to be used together.

We can only speculate why George Lyman felt his son needed a new suit of clothes. Possibly the suit he had, if any, was worn and in need of repair. Or George Lyman foresaw an upcoming occasion when his son needed to make a good impression. But, as often in the diary, what's not written invites guesswork.

One inescapable impression, however, from the diary is Charles Edward's unwavering sense of discipline and duty. Day after day, the first words he writes are "Arose at 1/2 past 5," or something similar. His discipline is to get up early every day, even if he later writes, "sick all day." He has no excuse for getting out of bed late.

Often he follows the time out-of-bed with an account of chores around the house and errands run. Typically done after school's over, and when he's back home. As mentioned before, the chores and errands were implicit payment for room and board. So the schoolboy had duties besides classwork to keep up with. The blend might be striking. Thus, on the 19th, he remarks that in Philosophy, he had the task of reciting an understanding of Impenetrability in class to Mr. Stone's satisfaction. But when he

goes home, his task, much more mundane, is frustrating: “Went on an errand for Aunt E. & could not find the house till I went the 2nd time.”

When we read how many chores and errands Charles Edward has, it’s apparent his time for after-school study was limited. Take the entry for the 17th: He goes to a fishmonger for twenty-seven pounds of Codfish and then to a tea and spice merchant for five pounds of Hyson tea. This is a fair amount of groceries to carry home on foot, and he had this as an absolute priority, as a “duty.” The diary describes the free time he has, with chores and errands out of the way, as spent going for walks or meeting friends. He seldom mentions having to study at home, though earlier he spent hours at home on calculations for an involved loan repayment problem. But that was his choice. Unlike the modern teacher, Charles Edward’s instructors apparently did not assign much “homework” for students to do once they left class and its recitations.

§

Education in the 1860s, especially at the pre-college level, differed from how students are taught today. Although now disparaged, the rote-memory approach was widely practiced then. Consider the Sunday school Charles Edward teaches at Biddle Street Mission on Sunday afternoons. Almost every time he sums up his classwork, he tells how many Bible verses were recited from memory—learned by heart—by how many of his students. It is a simple deduction to conclude his teaching of the Sunday school class mirrors his experience at the Academy.

So why did “rote learning” work in the 1860s? If, for example, Charles Edward had a lesson in German, it would start with instructor Rudolf Tafel standing in front of the class, his students fewer than in today’s classroom, maybe a dozen or so. The students would have their textbooks open to the page Mr. Tafel was reading aloud. His task was to show what was to be learned for the day—possibly conjugation of a verb. Importantly, the lesson had focus. After Mr. Tafel went over the material aloud several times, emphasizing the correct pronunciation, he then called on students to recite. Possibly not everyone the same day. But every student present knew they could be called on to stand up and recite before their classmates.

The result was unavoidable: Students had to have a finely honed memory for the German words, the correct pronunciation, and how they fit together in well-constructed sentences. Yes, rote memory could mean they would forget the lesson, but not easily. That is, each student was under much pressure, standing before his fellow students and the teacher, to get it right. That pressure could only motivate the student to memorize. Any study time at home was probably geared to indelible memorization so he would recite well.

Successful recitation from memory before one’s peers is self-reinforcing and builds a positive self-image for the student. (Charles Edward often made a school-day entry of “Lessons all went off well,” meaning he did well at recitation.) What he recites, he cannot forget until he takes a test of his understanding that will be similar in approach to rising before his classmates and instructor to recite.

Outside of attending the Academy classes, the other sphere of activity that takes up much time for Charles Edward is the myriad meetings and services at his church. Most of Sunday is church, start to finish. He goes to Sunday school and attends a morning sermon. Afternoons, he teaches Sunday school at Biddle Street Mission. And often, evenings, he goes back to church to hear a second sermon by Dr. Post.

His evenings mid-week also have church activity, for which he has an obligation to participate. Reviewing the diary entries for, say, the 23rd through the 27th, he appears to have prayer meetings at the church scheduled for Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. He notes in his diary he did not go to the prayer meeting on Monday the 23rd, or the one on Wednesday the 27th. But he did go to the prayer

meeting on Friday the 27th. As if these prayer meetings did not take up enough of his evenings on weekdays, he "considered with Henry Mack & H. [Howard] Post [son of Reverend Post] in regard to having a boys meeting to be called next Tuesday."

Both Henry and Howard go to the Academy like Charles Edward. The meeting Charles Edward proposes to discuss and organize took place two Tuesdays later, on April 7. As he sees it, there will be boys (young men) prayer meetings every Tuesday evening from 7:45 until 8:30 p. m. It's easy to see that Charles Edward enjoys his involvement in church activities. He proposes to add a fourth prayer meeting to his weekly commitment. In effect, he will only have one evening during the week that is "free." Committing this much time to what students now call "school nights" shows, as discussed above, Charles Edward must have had little homework from school. His learning took place in the classroom, and it was shaped by extensive memorization and recitation of the subject matter.

Another compelling reason Charles Edward enjoyed church activity was it gave him a chance to socialize with his friends, many being classmates at the Academy. Henry Mack, Joe Lathrop are two such fellows who belong to his church.

As his Cash Accounts at the back of the diary show, Charles Edward has limited funds, excepting the one-time draft for a suit of clothes. Unlike many public schools today, the Academy did not give out textbooks. Thus, on January 30, he spends $1.00 on his Philosophy book and $0.60 on his Felter's Arithmetic. Both textbooks are second-hand. Whether the $1.50 he spent a few days later, on February 2, for repair of books was for these textbooks is not clear, but possible.

On March 18, he makes another school-related purchase. This is for his German class. He buys an English-German dictionary for $1.75. He takes such pride in learning his new language, he writes out the title of his dictionary in *Kurrentshrift: Englisches Wörtebuch*. That is a type of German cursive script writing abandoned early in the twentieth century, and, to the modern eye, it appears indecipherable.

After visiting the Mercantile Library on March 28, he goes to Parker's, also on Locust Street and mid-block between the Library and home. They had a selection of "religious (second-hand) books." He was browsing. His appetite for religious reading was evidently stimulated five days earlier when he bought a book entitled *Young Christian* for $0.75, possibly at Parker's.

A week into April, having browsed Parker's religious titles, he returns and buys a copy of Ernest Renan's *Life of Jesus* (44) for $1.00.

So though what was spent on books might seem minor to us, the book purchases took a goodly part of his limited funds. That he spent some on religious books affirms the importance of religion to him and his family—the Renan book was recommended by his father. Charles Edward's religious heritage includes his grandfather Reverend Pliny, and his diary has many favorable comments about sermons by Dr. Post. It's easy to see Charles Edward's church as the social hub around which his life revolved away from school life at the Academy.

CHAPTER 13

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Lessons all went off well. Are to have an examination in Philosophy tomorrow. Weather pleasantly cool. Nothing of interest taking place.

THURSDAY 2

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Have been painting all the week. Weather pleasant. Had a young peoples meeting at the church this after noon but I did not go. Nothing of importance.

FRIDAY, APRIL 3, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school missed three (3) words in the spelling match. Commenced to fix up the yard by putting a new brick here & there all over, also put some in the cellar.

SATURDAY 4

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Went to work right after breakfast & did not get through till 2 Oclock, whipping carpets carrying & laying brick. Went down to the Mercantile library rooms & staid till 1/2 past 9 P.M.

SUNDAY 5

Arose at 1/4 to 6. At S.S. & church in the morning Biddle market M. S.S. & communion in the afternoon. My class at S.S. recited 88 verses. one of them 48. Mother & Father have been married 27 years to-day.

MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Lessons went off very well. Mr. Stone said I deserved to be marked higher in my last report than I was. Which made me feel good. I hope I may not disappoint the hopes which he has of my standing high in his class of Philosophy. Weather somewhat cool. I had the "Pleasure" of hearing that I was commissioned (by Uncle) to get in his winter's coal friday & saturday of this week.

TUESDAY 7

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Did not have much of a lesson in Philosophy as Mr. Stone was called out. Rec'd a letter from Father with a dollar enclosed for the purpose of by [sic] the "life of Jesus." Weather cold for time of year. Had a meeting for organizing a boys prayer meeting to be held every Tuesday evening at 1/4 to 8 & continue 3/4 of an hour.

WEDNESDAY 8

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Lessons all went off very well. Mr. Taffel sick & we did not have any German. Weather cold. Had a snow storm. Answered Father's letter.

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school as usual. Did not have any spelling at the time for recitation & recited it at recess to Mr. Arnold. Mr. Taffel is sick & no German. Weather pleasant. Rec'd a letter from Bro. Will & answered it.

FRIDAY 10

Arose at 1/2 past 5. No school to-day. Got ready putting in the next winter's coal. But Uncle thought it would rain & did not order. Went down on Washington Av. bet. Main & 1st. Strts to Rail. R. & Foundry supply office for a wheelbarrow. It has been cool all day.

SATURDAY 11

Arose at 6. The coal will not come till Monday. I fixed up the cellar & put in 50 Bushels of coke for the office fire next winter. Went to the M. Library rooms this evening. Weather very pleasant all day.

SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At S.S. Church A.M. & Miss. S.S. & Church P.M. Weather not very pleasant. Clouded & looking like rain. A minister spoke on behalf of the Freedmen this morning & solicited subscriptions of money or clothing.

MONDAY 13

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Weather stormy. Lessons all went off well. Did not get our coal as expected. Nothing of importance. Did not go to prayermeeting.

TUESDAY 14

Arose at 6. At school. Lessons all well. Stormy & disagreeable, fixed up the yard, filled water barrels. Took down the furnace pipe & cleaned it out. Had our first boys prayer-meeting this evening & I don't know that I ever had such a religeous [sic] feeling. Rec'd a letter from home & answered it.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Lent my umberella [sic] to Lizzie (our house girl) & had it returned broken, so much for being obliging. Weather very pleasant. Nothing of vital interest. Attended prayer-meeting.

CHAPTER 14

Several entries for the first half of April show Charles Edward's devout religious belief and practice. Clearly, the diary suggests he's supported in his Christianity by both his father and his uncle, besides being influenced by the impressive figure of Dr. Truman Post, his minister.

In the last chapter, I wrote Charles Edward bought a used copy of Renan's *Life of Jesus*, but was it his choice? In fact, the entry for April 7 explains that he received $1.00 from his father to buy "life of Jesus." The $1.00 is also recorded in his Cash Account for April on that date. But note on the same day he receives the dollar, he goes out and buys a used copy of the book. That is, Charles Edward was quick to act on his father's recommendation. He answers his father's letter of the 7th the next day, presumably replying he'd bought *Life of Jesus*.

What sort of book is *Life of Jesus*? To understand Charles Edward's religious outlook, to be sure it wasn't "hell, fire, and brimstone," I bought a copy of Renan's most popular book, an 1866 edition. A delightful surprise, Ernest Renan, French Biblical scholar, wrote a biography drawn from the four Gospels and Flavius Josephus and others. He went to Galilee, visited Jerusalem, Hebron, and Samaria; and wrote *Life of Jesus*, inspired by the landscape, *in situ*. With utmost care, Renan strives to uncover truth and present a nuanced life. When he asserts, for example, Jesus was not born in Bethlehem, but Nazareth, he ties that to sources. Almost every page of the book has multiple footnotes. In brief, Renan evaluates the four Gospels with a rigor typical of modern Biblical scholarship. Reading Renan's book is more evidence Charles Edward's religious outlook was enlightened, not dogmatic.

Continuing with an initiative for a boys prayer meeting he, Henry Mack and Howard Post came up with earlier, they met on the 7th. What is interesting is the formality of the arrangement: The three, and presumably others, took the time to organize prayer meetings in advance. Nothing is improvised about getting together for prayer.

The first prayer meeting is held a week later, Tuesday the 14th and Charles Edward's reaction is intense: "I don't know that I ever had such a religeous [sic] feeling." He says this with utmost sincerity, from a bedrock of strongly held convictions about his religious practice. We read his words with perhaps jaded eyes. We now live in a largely secular age. But for Charles Edward, what was preached from the pulpit by Dr. Truman Post mattered in everyday life. Originally from New England, Dr. Post was a staunch abolitionist. His anti-slavery views resonated with the Great Awakening (1800-1840), a religious revival in America, especially strong in New England and the Midwest. In that era, abolition, temperance, and women's rights became social reforms with strong religious support. Opposition to slavery was the wedge that plunged the United States into the traumatic Civil War. A war Charles Edward lived through, but as a child. But he knew his two older brothers, William Pliny and Eli Horton, served as Union soldiers on the victorious side that vanquished slavery.

Thus, it is entirely fitting that a guest minister preached from Dr. Post's pulpit on Sunday, April 12, and "spoke on behalf of the Freedmen this morning & solicited subscriptions of money or clothing." Hearing these words, Charles Edward must have taken to heart his congregation's obligation to help in the aftermath of the Civil War and how best to "bind up the wounds of the Nation." Helping out former slaves who were now Freedmen was putting words into action.

§

The entries for the first half of April bring up a few questions about style. First, the entry on April

1 has a sentence that seems ungrammatical: “Are to have an examination in Philosophy tomorrow.” The sentence has no subject and is incomplete. But soon we realize many of Charles Edward’s entries have sentences with an understood subject, “I.” Thus, he’ll write, “Arose at ...” or “Went down to ...”. He knows he writes this for himself, so he doesn’t needlessly specify the subject as (or clutter the entries with) “I.” The sentence that begins, “Are to have ...” differs slightly because the subject is “We,” comprised of Charles Edward and others. So what at first seems ungrammatical agrees with the syntax with which he writes all diary entries.

A second stylistic note is Charles Edward’s use of irony. For example, on April 15, he mentions lending his “umberella [sic] to Lizzie (our hired girl) & had it returned broken...” He concludes with irony, “so much for being obliging.” We note in his Cash Account entry for April 24, he spent $0.55 to have the umbrella repaired.

A stronger use of irony is found in the entry for Monday, April 6: “I had the ‘Pleasure’ of hearing that I was commissioned (by Uncle) to get in his winter’s coal friday & saturday of this week.” Charles Edward emphasizes the irony twice over. First, he capitalizes the word “Pleasure,” then places it between quotation marks. No one can read that sentence and miss he does not look forward to the hard physical labor of shovelling coal. To be clear, this delivery of coal in April is for the winter season 1868-1869. Presumably buying coal in spring gets a better price for his uncle.

§

We know from earlier entries the relationship between Charles Edward and Uncle William is formal at best, and not amicable or supportive. With the earlier mentions of chastisement by his uncle, an ironic stance in the relationship seems inevitable, if not essential, for Charles Edward’s mental well-being.

The coal doesn’t get delivered as scheduled, but comes twelve days later in the second half of April. We take up that delivery in the next chapter.

Because of the warming weather, Charles Edward has many spring-cleaning chores. These April entries have that theme with one task after another. On Thursday, April 2, he writes “Have been painting all week.” The next day, he “Commenced to fix up the yard by putting in new brick here & there all over, also put some in cellar.” The next day, a Saturday, he is “whipping carpet, carrying & laying brick.” Much of his free time after school is consumed with such household tasks. And he faces the daunting assignment of getting in the coal once it is delivered.

If Charles Edward had any time to himself, it was on two Saturday evenings, on the 4th and the 11th when he left the house to go to the Mercantile Library with pleasant surroundings in which to read, or possibly to see acquaintances, and be away from Uncle and Aunt. A bit of psychological relief, as it were.

School work continues to go well in the first weeks of April. Because he is in the Commercial class at the Academy, he does not take a traditional “classics” curriculum, with its heavy emphasis on Latin and Greek texts. Having dropped the Latin he was taking in the Fall semester, he continues his study of German. Far from a “dead language,” German had currency in the Midwest and St. Louis, where many German immigrants settled, attracted by the availability of land for farming.

The only notes Charles Edward makes about his German class are that his teacher, Mr. Tafel, is out sick for a few days. These cancelled German classes, mentioned on two successive days, suggest disappointment at missing his German on those days. We saw several weeks earlier, in March, he bought a dictionary for looking up words in German. He writes out the purchase as “*Englische Wörtebuch*” or English word book. His pencilled entry, however, is in the cursive, essentially undecipherable, handwriting that is *Kurrent*.

That Charles Edward would confidently write in a new longhand script testifies to his enthusiasm for the language. He sees German as a living language, reflected in people around him. He mentions, on January 13, speaking German to Hannah and Annie, hired help in the Dickinson household, and they say his pronunciation is "very plain" (that is, understandable).

One other possible reason Charles Edward might have taken up German was his Uncle William suggested it. After Harvard Medical School, Uncle William pursued advanced study in ophthalmology at the Virchow and Graefe clinics, both in Berlin. That experience might have caused his uncle to suggest German. But given the oft strained relationship between the two, it's unlikely Charles Edward took up German at Uncle's suggestion, or worse to please him. Rather, I think Charles Edward realized during his stay in St. Louis—then the fourth largest city in the United States—that America was a land of immigrants from many countries. Given a German presence in St. Louis and throughout the Mississippi Valley, studying German might help him in future work.

The one class Charles Edward took that had application to the emerging technology of the 1860s, excepting his study of mathematics with Felter's Arithmetic, would be the misleadingly named class in Philosophy taught by Mr. Stone. As noted earlier, the "Philosophy" studied was natural philosophy, what we now know as science. Mr. Stone's class is where Charles Edward and his classmates learn how a pendulum that self-compensates for temperature changes works. Or how that behemoth of a Gasometer against the St. Louis skyline allows its natural gas storage tank to go up and down on a bed of water. What Mr. Stone brought to his students was an understanding of natural phenomena around them, even something as practical as how much weight a ship on the Mississippi River could safely carry without capsizing or sinking.

Philosophy is a class Charles Edward enjoys and in which he does well. His Monday, April 6 entry notes Mr. Stone said, "I deserved to be marked higher in my last report than I was. Which made me feel good." Which is not to say Mr. Stone graded Charles Edward too low, but that recent progress showed he was "getting it," and his grasp of the subject could only improve. Charles Edward is grateful for the compliment and writes, "I hope I may not disappoint the hopes which he [Mr. Stone] has of my standing high in his class of Philosophy." Mr. Stone has singled out Charles Edward as one of his best students, one who has begun to shine, and that must be a sure motivation.

Although Charles Edward doesn't comment on how his mathematics study is going, he does report his performance in spelling—he missed three words. How he does in spelling—the number of words he misses—is something that sticks in his memory, and he invariably reports it in his diary. In the era of the 1860s, American English had variable spellings; standard spelling was still years away. In that light, Charles Edward's writing is mostly free of spelling errors. True, he might write "umberella," not "umbrella." But his writing "staid," not "stayed," for example, is a spelling variant from the 1800s that has been mostly dropped in modern, uniform usage.

§

One of the characteristics of Charles Edward's diary is how he will write an almost apologetic "Nothing of interest taking place," or "Nothing of vital interest," as if he is excusing his account of the day as being unexceptional. I did not take these comments by themselves as reflecting boredom, more that his days followed a set pattern, especially the school days.

Put another way, there is a template for his school-day entries. He mentions when he gets up in the morning. Then he comments about school, as in "Lessons all went off well." Then he makes a comment about the weather. If he walks everywhere during the pre-automotive era, he is intimately familiar with the elements *each* day. After noting these three essentials for his school-day entry, if he doesn't have much else memorable about the day, he will write that apologetic, dismissive comment about nothing special happening.

Because the diary audience consists of one person—himself—Charles Edward could possibly put more reflection, as a modern diarist (or journalist) might do, with an internal monologue about emotions, especially as brought on by relationships with others. But the paramount values in Charles Edward's life, as they would be for many his age during the 1860s, were *discipline* and *duty*. His diary reflects an orientation toward these two values. The diary has no self-indulgent, "therapeutic" exploratory thoughts. People in that era had yet to hear the mantra of a Sigmund Freud, "Express, don't repress!"

When Charles Edward does disclose personal feelings, it is always in the context of an interaction with another person. As noted earlier, his Philosophy teacher, Mr. Stone, compliments his progress in class, and Charles Edward reacts: "It made me feel good." Or when he and friends have a first boys prayer meeting, his reaction is "I don't know that I ever had such a religeous [sic] feeling."

The entries for the first two weeks of April show a strong bond between Charles Edward and his father, George Lyman. Though they lacked the modern conveniences of telephones and the like, they made due with the United States Post Office, for the mail would travel fairly quickly and frequently by coach or by steamboat down the Mississippi River from Dubuque to St. Louis without mountainous obstacles. A letter might arrive in a day or so of being posted. As one example, Charles Edward wrote he got a letter from home saying Brother Will would be home *this* week (the week he read the letter). So the communication between father and son, if not immediate, was prompt.

Charles Edward mentions his father sixteen times in the diary. The same number of mentions he gives his minister, Dr. Post, and one more than the fifteen Uncle William gets. So although they could only communicate by mail (though available, telegraph was exceedingly expensive and impractical for ordinary families), it was enough to keep the respectful feelings Charles Edward had for his father in the forefront of his consciousness. If separated by more than 300 miles from his family, Charles Edward did his best to keep the home ties close in spirit.

One of the mysteries in the diary is an apparent lack of communication with his mother in Dubuque. On April 5, he acknowledges, "Father and Mother have been married 27 years to-day," but the diary has no record of his mother writing him, unlike his Grandmother Smith, who sends several letters. The only hint that his mother might not be up to writing a letter was the cryptic comment from his father in January that "he had heard Mother sing, a thing which she had not done for a number of years."

Obviously, from the early April entries, the stage is being set for the season's big event: delivery of Uncle William's coal. Charles Edward must do the exhausting work. As a nonpaying schoolboy boarder, he is obligated.

Charles Edward gets ready and on Friday the 10th, he goes to the "Rail. R. & Foundry" supply office for a wheelbarrow." Given his precise location of the business at Washington Avenue between 1st and Main, it's a ten-block walk each way for him to bring home a wheelbarrow. Uncle William puts off delivery of the coal because he thinks it will rain. So the coal is not delivered on Friday the 10th. It doesn't rain, though, or on the day after, Saturday. Moreover, the revised delivery on Monday the 13th doesn't happen. This brings us to the second half of April when Charles Edward *will* carry out his onerous assignment.

CHAPTER 15

THURSDAY 16

Arose at 6. At school. Lessons all went off well. Took my “parasol” to the shop (on Market bet. 4th & 5th south-side) to be fixed & will cost 1.25. It will have to be dissected & put together as a more improved plan. Since I began to understand Philosophy I notice that Mr. Stone does not hit me so hard.

FRIDAY 17

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Had our 4th spelling match and the victory was the 2nd. Academic’s. Got ready for the coal that is comming [sic] tomorrow. Nothing of interest. Shook a large Brussels carpet before breakfast.

SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1868

St. Louis

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Went after men to help get in the coal, but they did not get here till 9 Oclk. Worked hard all day & put away about 684 Bu. Tonight I feel actually tired feel as if I could sleep. A motto on my caleder [sic] says “Sweet is the sleep of the industrious man” & I think it refers to me.

SUNDAY 19

Arose at 1/2 past 6. Sore and tired from yesterday’s work. Attended Sunday school & church in the morning & S.S. & church P.M. Weather very pleasant. Had a teachers meeting at Biddle M. M. S.S. to see what topic we should take up whether it would pay to have a meeting every monday eve. & exhaust the following Sunday’s lesson. We appointed Monday for the first meeting.

MONDAY 20

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. When I came home I helped clean out the cellar & wash down the yard & alley. Weather very pleasant. Did not go to prayer-meeting. Rec’d 50 cts. for my shelves that I left at Grinnell. Rec’d a letter from home.

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1868

Arose at 6. At shool [sic] late on account of staying to hang blinds. Rec’d a letter from Bro. Will. Had to wash the alley again. Weather pleasant. Nothing of importance only house cleaning.

WEDNESDAY 22

Arose at 1/2 5. At school. Lessons all went off smoothly, fine weather & c. but nothing of interest occured to relieve the monotony.

THURSDAY 23

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Whipped a carpet. At school in time, came home & helped put down 2 carpets. Aunt says if I can’t do any-thing else I can whip carpets (Flattery,) Weather fine.

FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Put down carpet when I got home. loafed till about 1/2 past 4 then cleaned up the back cellar. Pd. for fixing umberella .55.

SATURDAY 25

Arose at 6. Finished cleaning my room. Got some shavings, filled my water-barrels & cleaned out the furnace. Bought me a suit of clothes for $21.00. Had my every-day pants mended & it cost .50.

SUNDAY 26

Arose at 6. Went to S.S. & church & S.S. & M.S.S. concert of our S.S. Weather very pleasant.

MONDAY, APRIL 27, 1868

Arose at 6. At school. Had an examination in Philosophy in which I missed 2 out of 20. Pleasant weather & very warm.

TUESDAY 28

Arose at 6. At school. Another examination in Philosophy. I answered 22 out of 30 questions asked.

Had quite a rain storm, rec'd a letter from Father containing 1.00 also the news that Mother was a little better. Went to the boys prayer-meeting.

WEDNESDAY 29

Arose at 1/2/ past 5. At school. Weather pleasant but warm. Did not go to prayer-meeting. Wrote a letter to Grandmother Smith. Nothing of interest.

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Rec'd my report for this month. My Philosophy was 90% highest 95% Deportment 100% &c. Very pleasant but warm. Nothing of interest.

CHAPTER 16

The last half of April has a few entries that deserve special attention to elicit context, given we only have Charles Edward's brief, fleeting words.

First, the entry for Thursday, April 16 must strike modern readers as a shocker. He says, "Since I began to understand Philosophy I notice Mr. Stone does not hit me so hard." Corporal punishment of a student is now considered abuse, without qualification. It would be grounds for the teacher's dismissal. But 1868 was a different time. Corporal punishment at home and in school was accepted and widely endorsed, typified by the saying "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

Although we've discarded corporal punishment as a teaching tool throughout most of the Western world, it is still practiced in other cultures. One quick example that comes to mind is Zen monks who meditate in the early hours at temple. They sit in rows and often have hours of meditation, which begin in morning darkness. They are supervised by a head monk, whose job is to make sure the session goes well. He keeps an eye out for the monk who might nod off. This head monk, holding a stick in hand, is quick to catch any involuntary sleepiness and sharply raps the offending meditator on the shoulder to wake him. It is understood as purely corrective, not as punishment.

Similarly, when Mr. Stone would catch Charles Edward, or any other student, giving a wrong answer, he felt obligated by the cultural standards of the time to take a ruler or stick and rap the student on the shoulder or back with enough force so the student knew the answer was wrong. To avoid future punishment, the student would have to memorize better and clear up any misunderstood concepts before he would again recite from a lesson.

So though the modern teacher might try a softer, wheedling approach to get a student to apply himself, in 1868 the approach was direct and not easily forgotten. Corporal punishment was okay, and a practice Charles Edward doesn't appear to question in the least.

§

Another entry that is puzzling and naturally leads to speculation about context is one on Tuesday the 28th. He notes a letter from his father had $1.00 "with the news that Mother was a little better."

The phrase "was a little better" is troubling, ominous. It suggests a continuing health problem without any sense of quick recovery. Besides noting his mother's birthday (February 9, when she is forty-eight years old) and his parents' twenty-seventh wedding anniversary (April 5), there is only one other mention of his mother. That's January 7 when his father writes in a letter the cryptic comment about hearing her sing for the first time in years. We diary readers can only speculate.

During the 1860s, people did come down with wasting diseases like pulmonary consumption (tuberculosis one variant) and would linger for years, not getting better, not recovering, and becoming invalids. Not once in the diary does Charles Edward mention writing his mother. What we know is he has no reluctance to write to his Grandmother Smith, which he does the day after he receives the news his mother "was a little better." Does writing his grandmother, with whom he exchanges letters more than once in the diary, signal he might be confiding to her as an empathetic woman the concerns he has for his mother?

While away at school in St. Louis, Charles Edward would appear to stoically accept his mother's health is precarious. He has all the more reason to see his father as a source of strength for

what the Dickinson family of Dubuque will be facing.

His father, besides serving as an emotional bedrock for his seventeen-year-old son, also occasionally sends money. The largest sum, a $25.00 draft for Charles Edward to buy a suit of clothes. Which he did April 25. His suit of clothes cost $21.00, and while he was at it, he had his "every-day pants mended" for $0.50.

The coal Charles Edward had been anticipating was finally delivered on Saturday, April 18. Presumably, the delivery was dumped in the street at the Dickinson house, and it was his job, with men he got to help, to shovel the coal into wheelbarrows, including one he'd bought (or rented) a week before. One load after another, the coal would be wheeled over to the coal chute that went to basement storage. A drawn-out, tiring task.

Charles Edward makes the point that the men who were to help didn't show up until 9 o'clock. So he had time on his own, shovelling and wheeling the coal. When the men show up, certainly with wheelbarrows, working off the pile could only speed up. Nonetheless, Charles Edward says he worked "hard all day & put away about 684 bu.," the effort specified with his trademark quantitative precision.

Having put away the coal delivery, Charles Edward remarks he feels truly tired, such that he could sleep. Which is to say, the work was so exhausting, he felt he could go to sleep early. He modestly refers to a motto on his calendar, "Sweet is the sleep of the industrious man," and he thinks it refers to him. (He must have felt proud of the accomplishment, if only for his sake. That April 18, he uncharacteristically wrote "St. Louis" beside the diary date, a practice of noting place he'd abandoned in February.)

The person not helping get in the coal is Uncle William. Such manual labor must be considered below his station in life, a prerogative of a medical doctor who doesn't get his hands dirty. But he feels free to assign the task to the nephew obligated to pay for room and board.

April is the traditional time for spring cleaning. Part of that is cleaning carpets. This was before vacuum cleaners, so commonly the carpets would be taken out of the house, into the backyard where they would be slung over a clothesline. The carpets were then beat, usually with a broom. An onerous, dusty job that was put upon whomever couldn't avoid the work. Predictably, the beating of carpets fell to Charles Edward. In an instance of continual tension with his uncle and aunt, he notes, "Aunt says if I can't do any-thing else I can whip carpets (Flattery,)". The underscore of "can," the capitalization of "flattery," and the enclosure of the latter in parentheses all make this a pointedly ironic comment and suggests resentment toward Aunt Evelina, who like Uncle William, has no scruples about treating him as an inferior.

It's apparent Charles Edward doesn't enjoy many of the chores he's assigned in the name of spring cleaning. This shows in his Tuesday, April 21 comment, "Nothing of importance only house cleaning." Moreover, that day he was late to school, being detained at home to "hang blinds." And when he got home, he "had to wash the alley again." That he's busy but bored is also shown in his comment the next day, the 22nd, "Nothing of interest occured [sic] to relieve the monotony."

And on the 24th, he elaborates on his conviction he is mercilessly driven to do menial work. He writes he came home from school and "put down carpet when I got home. loafed till about 1/2 past 4 then cleaned up the back cellar." Underlining "loafed" highlights his taking a break was possibly disparaged. Certainly any pause in one's work was not the "alacrity" that Uncle William wanted to see, a work trait Charles Edward apparently lacked and for which he was chastised in January.

He adds the "Nothing of interest" comment to his entries for the 29th and 30th. What Charles Edward might be saying by indirection is that without school and church activities, he finds being in the Dickinson household boring and monotonous. The house guest Mr. Guild is gone. Young Charlie

Hand, who ran about with six-year-old Lily, has left with his parents for Georgia. Charles Edward might find the household he's in for the school year has turned stifling. He doesn't directly say so, but he tallies up many apparently thankless tasks and chores he is asked to do.

A few late April entries touch on the miscellany of Charles Edward's finances. On the 20th, he receives $0.50 as payment for shelves he left at Grinnell, where he attended preparatory school the year before. And on the 24th, he spends $0.55 to have his umbrella repaired, after it was broken by Lizzie, to whom he'd lent it. Both are seemingly minor amounts, but both are dutifully recorded in his April Cash Account page.

Although it's been said before, Charles Edward is in a vulnerable position as a student: He earns no income, having only what pocket money his father mails him. And receiving room and board at his uncle and aunt's means he is "obligated" to earn his keep. This is the eighth month of the arrangement, and it's more apparent the setup is one-sided and not in his favor.

But this was the 1860s and what must be understood is that minors were often "shipped off" to relatives and expected to work at their behest. If minors got anything in return, it was never negotiated with them; any agreement was between adults.

§

The importance of religion to Charles Edward continues to be shown in the diary pages by how much time he keeps dedicating to church activities. We've seen in early April, he and others organized a boys prayer meeting for Tuesday evenings. On Sunday the 19th, he writes of an impromptu discussion among teachers, he being one at Biddle Street Mission Sunday School. They discuss whether they should meet every Monday evening to go over the topic for the following Sunday. His entry in longhand has "What topic we should take up" crossed out and replaced with "Whether it would pay to have a meeting every Monday eve." Then he follows this with the phrase "& exhaust [by which he means discuss completely] the following Sunday's lesson." This is a rare instance of Charles Edward striking out what he's written in the diary. He wants to clarify the decision about time and place for the teachers' meeting came before deciding its purpose.

Not only does Charles Edward have plenty of time committed to church activity, he also notes when he misses a mid-week prayer meeting, which further shows the importance of religion in his life. The reader might ask, Why is religion so important to this young man? We've mentioned before the Dickinson lineage starting with Puritan forebears, personified by his grandfather, Reverend Pliny Dickinson, and leading to the respected Dr. Truman Marcellus Post, Charles Edward's minister. But more importantly, I think practicing religion connected Charles Edward to his family back in Dubuque.

He is in a new environment. St. Louis is not Dubuque. Uncle William does not treat him in the same gentle, fatherly manner as George Lyman back in Dubuque. St. Louis is distant and his home life is filled with menial chores and little gratitude for his work. So it's understandable Charles Edward would find people at church activities appreciated him for more than menial labor. He teaches a Sunday school class of girls. He has people skills too.

But it's a little more than that. Charles Edward gets $1.00 in the mail from his father, who says it's to buy Renan's *Life of Jesus*. Not waiting a day, he gets a used copy with the dollar. He seems intent on finding a way of being in the world that is not filled with petty, personal conflict. And if he might live a Christian life, his thinking must go, the path to adulthood would be smoother.

Part of Christian life in the 1860s was an abhorrence of alcohol, Congregationalists and Presbyterians being known for that. Importantly, his father ran Dickinson's Temperance Hotel in Dubuque before the larger Tremont House. We will return to the religious ideals of seventeen-year-old Charles Edward later, but for now we'll accept church was for him the social institution where people

got together. Coming from a family predisposed to religious commitment, he found in the St. Louis church of Dr. Post and the Biddle Street Mission a continuation of his family upbringing and values that served to ground him.

§

Diary entries for the last half of April show he's doing well in school. The entries touch on his progress in Philosophy with Mr. Stone, beginning with the remark Mr. Stone is going lightly on him with corporal punishment and winding up with a report on April 30th that his score of 90% compares with 95% for highest in his class. His deportment is a flawless 100%. If he does well in a tough subject like Philosophy (science), we could reasonably expect similar results for German and Felter's Arithmetic.

When Charles Edward writes, "Lessons all went off well," we may assume he excels in school. There can be no doubt, with the possible exception of Mr. Jackson after Charles Edward said he was dropping Latin, that his teachers enjoyed having him in their class.

CHAPTER 17

FRIDAY, MAY 1

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Lessons all went off well. Weather very warm. Went to the Mercantile Library. Met Weslizenus. Played part of a game of chess. Took a little walk with him & got home 1/4 past 9 P.M.

SATURDAY 2

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Weather pleasant. Did not have anything in particular to do. Bought me a pair of slippers for 2.50 and had my hair cut. .50. H.E. Camp left his card for me to call. I called on him at the St. Nicolas Hotel. He is going home on a visit home. Went with him to the top of the Court-House. There are 240 steps of ascent.

SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. After breakfast, I washed up & called on Harry Camp. Went to church. Met Mr. Alden Jr. at St. Nicolaus. He is in the Vinegar business here on commercial St. Weather pleasant till about 1/2 past 3.P.M. when it commenced to rain. Continued to do so pretty near all night.

MONDAY 4

Arose at 5. At school. Lessons all went off well. Rained all this morning, but cleared up towards night. Did not go to prayer-meeting. Had a little talk with Uncle as regards my occupation. He says I am not well fitted to be a druggist & I have not been brought up to be precise enough but that the Grocery business would suit me, “Ich glaube auch”

TUESDAY 5

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Weather very pleasant & warm. Did not receive my accostumed [sic] letter to-day. Nothing of interest. Went to the boys prayer-meeting.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1868

Arose at 5. At school. Whipped the lower stair carpet before going to school. Rained a little A.M. About 1 P.M. it commenced to blow a perfect hurricane with rain. It unroofed the observatory at the University but it passed away very soon. Did not go to the prayer-meeting.

THURSDAY 7

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Heard the chancellor say there would be no school tomorrow of which I was not sorry. Weather drizzly nearly all day.

FRIDAY 8

Arose at 1/2 past 5. No school. Whipped the dining room carpet. This afternoon went to 1412 S. Seventh & paid a bill for Uncle Edward. Went to the Gashouse & saw them making excavations of a now [sic] Gasometer. Went to Alden & Clough’s Vinegar factory. Met John Rackerby of Dub. Weather pleasant.

SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1868

St. Louis Mo.

Arose at 1/2 past 5. With the toothache. Did not do much of any thing this morning. This

afternoon I painted the outhouses & back gate. Weather pleasant. Rec'd a letter from Bro. Will. Made myself some pomade.

SUNDAY 10

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At S.S. & Church. Both in afternoon & forenoon. Weather pleasant. Nothing of interest transpired.

MONDAY 11

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school lessons perfect. Came home & painted the back stairs. Did not go to the prayer-meeting. It rained after 1/2 past 3 P.M., pretty near all night.

TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Weather not very pleasant. Lesson went off well. Rec'd a letter from home with $5.00 enclosed, which I paid to Uncle for my shoes, the man that made them owing him. Went to prayer-meeting. I took charge.

WEDNESDAY 13

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Weather cool. At school. Lessons went off well. Did not go to meeting. Nothing of importance.

THURSDAY 14

Arose at 1/4 to 5. At school. Weather very cool for time of year. Lessons all well recited.

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Weather pretty cool. Went after paint (for floors) to Straus Noxon & Paust before school & after school. Went after a load of earth for flower pots. Nothing else of interest.

CHAPTER 18

One diary entry in the first half of May is, perhaps, the most discouraging and heartbreaking words we have read so far. Earlier in January with Uncle William's "greater alacrity" slight, we saw a preview of the animosity he had for Charles Edward. The entry of Monday, May 4 brings it out front and center.

The account of Uncle's cruel and cutting words reads as follows: "Had a little talk with Uncle as regards my occupation. He says I am not well fitted to be a druggist & I have not been brought up to be precise enough but that the Grocery business would suit me, 'Ich glaube auch'" (the last three words written in *Kurrent* as "*Ich glaube auch*."

Unpacking why Uncle William's words were such a crushing blow to Charles Edward requires looking at how what was said offends in several ways. First, the statement that Charles Edward is not "precise" is an unapologetic lie. Two days earlier, Charles Edward was showing Mr. Camp around and they climbed to the top of the courthouse. His May 2 entry notes, "There are 240 steps of ascent." Based on how accurately Charles Edward records so much in his diary, his cash accounts, how he wrote "two (2)" so there was no mistaking the number, I would be willing to wager a tidy sum if the courthouse of 1868 still stands in St. Louis, it has two-hundred forty steps of ascent.

Charles Edward *always* notes quantitative information with precision. I, for one, would have no problem with him counting out the pills for any prescription I might, through time travel, hand him.

Second, when Uncle William says, "not brought up to be precise," he impugns Charles Edward's father, George Lyman, William's older brother. George Lyman Dickinson was a self-made, successful businessman in Dubuque. He owned the Tremont House, which had seventy-two rooms and a staff of seven in 1860, not including family members.

To baldly say one's successful older brother didn't bring up his son to be "precise" is gratuitously false. Uncle William judges his nephew incapable of becoming a druggist with lies, instead of stating his more likely motive: He doesn't want Charles Edward in his household once the spring semester at the Academy ends. When summer arrives, Uncle doesn't want to see his nephew again.

With duplicity, Uncle William gives Charles Edward another reason to give up on becoming a druggist: Charles Edward is better suited for the grocery business. Why does he say that? Because Charles Edward is repeatedly sent out to buy a ham, quails, codfish, tea and sundry groceries? Does running shopping errands give his nephew promise as a grocer? Coincidentally, perhaps, the first grocer Charles Edward often goes to is Mr. Crane, a produce and provisions merchant. Mr. Crane is Aunt Evelina's brother, Uncle William's brother-in-law. It's a stretch, but Uncle William might have imagined an opportunity to fob Charles Edward off on the Cranes, if his return to Dubuque was not for good.

Before we tackle the question of why Uncle William was opposed to Charles Edward becoming a druggist, we need to look at the rest of the May 4 entry. Charles Edward's reaction is written in German, "*Ich glaube auch*," which he encloses in quotation marks. The English translation is "I believe also," the quotation marks showing he means this ironically. Clearly, Charles Edward doesn't believe he should give up on becoming a druggist just because Uncle William says so. Especially not if he and his father agreed this was a good professional career ambition, and akin to his older brother becoming a dentist.

Charles Edward's reaction is predictably ironic and indirect. For to be a young man in the 1860s—and in decades before and after—was to keep up the front of manliness. He would not show self-pity or reveal personal hurt, even if his audience was just his diary pages. He writes in German to limit the possibility someone (like we readers?) would come across his diary and know how he reacted to Uncle William pulling the rug out from under him. Although I studied German in high school and college, I read these three words as indecipherable many times before realizing they were written in German *Kurrent*, a handwriting script abandoned in the early twentieth century. In the last 150 years, Charles Edward had his keen disappointment, expressed in three ironic words, kept from everyone who conceivably saw any of the diary except for Dora Cickel Dickinson his German-born, future wife, who would have read *Kurrent*.

In May of 1868, Charles Edward is a few months away from his eighteenth birthday. He won't be coming back to the Academy because he will be graduating as a member of the Commercial Class, an excellent preparation for a young man set on entering the world of business and that includes becoming a druggist.

But first a few words about the pharmacist's world circa 1868. Like other professions, it was emerging, and one in which education was taking over from time-honored apprenticeships. Remember, older brother William Pliny became a dentist after serving in the Civil War by apprenticing to an established dentist, much self-study, and then hanging out his shingle.

For Charles Edward, a similar transition to professional education was under way with pharmacy. The "old school" way of becoming a druggist was to apprentice to an apothecary in the days when an entrepreneurial sort could open a drugstore and dispense home remedies and medicines. The apprentice learned the commercial and customer service skills that went with a viable drugstore, and the technical knowledge to compound drugs. Such apprentices eventually became apothecaries.

This leads to a possible answer for why Uncle William was ready to douse Charles Edward's ambition to become a druggist. The year 1868 was one in which the professional education of pharmacists was taking hold. A few years before, in 1864, the St. Louis College of Pharmacy opened its doors in the St. Louis Medical College (45). The College, now 150+ years old, was the first west of the Mississippi River. That speaks to why Charles Edward was staying with Uncle William in St. Louis.

If the ambition of Charles Edward was to be a druggist, an ambition doubtless supported by his father, the plan must have been along the lines of "family helps family." Charles Edward would finish his school year at the Academy in a month or so, go back to Dubuque for the summer, and then return to St. Louis in September to begin studies at the St. Louis College of Pharmacy, again living with Uncle William and Aunt Evelina.

Uncle William must have at first agreed with the plan of his older brother, George Lyman. But after months of second thoughts, he decided to back out, concluding his student nephew, not paying room and board, was taking family obligation too far. Not the most surprising development, when we later see more evidence of Uncle William's niggardly personality.

Did Uncle William's professional success as a medical doctor go to his head? Had he forgotten that when he was Charles Edward's age, someone back in Walpole, New Hampshire, might have, financially or otherwise, helped him attend Dartmouth or medical school at Harvard? Did he not remember the part others might have played in his successful launch into adulthood?

What we can conclude is that Uncle William evidently didn't need a student living in his household for the upcoming 1868-1869 school year. Even if Charles Edward did a miscellany of chores and errands. Uncle William already had the hired help of at least two young women, who had no ambitions other than being of service.

Another irony in Charles Edward's dashed hopes for the St. Louis College of Pharmacy, which probably would have accepted him for 1868-1869 school year, was that for the following year (1969-1870) a lack of enrollees forced it to close its doors for two years. The College reopened in 1871 and continues to educate future pharmacists to this day.

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When Charles Edward writes "Uncle," he always refers to Uncle William. Thus, without an earlier mention, he surprisingly writes on Friday, May 8, "This afternoon went to 1412 S. Seventh & paid a bill for Uncle Edward." It's not clear why Charles Edward is paying the bill, but it's likely he does so at the direction and with money from Uncle William, Uncle Edward's older brother. Jumping ahead to the entry on Sunday, May 17, we read "Uncle Edward arrived with his bride this afternoon. He was married on the 14th of the present month." Uncle Edward, age forty-nine, has become the second husband for his bride, a widow at age twenty-four, who is now Missouri Turnbaugh Dickinson. Presumably Edward and Missouri will honeymoon in St. Louis for a few days before returning to Jackson, Missouri, where Uncle Edward has a medical practice.

Uncle Edward's background was he went to Dartmouth and earned a Master's degree (8). Like Uncle William, he became an M.D., attending Albany Medical College (New York) and Rush Medical College (Chicago). In the Civil War, he served as surgeon for the Missouri State Militia Calvary. After the War, he established a medical practice in Jackson. Unfortunately, health problems would force him to give up the practice and pursue pharmacy in Kansas City. The 1870 U. S. Census for the 2nd Ward of Kansas City will list his occupation as "Druggist" (54).

But for a gap of a few years, it's likely Uncle Edward would have supported Charles Edward's goal of becoming a druggist. But in May of 1868, Uncle Edward had a medical practice, he was newly married, and Charles Edward's career goal had been derailed.

A last, if minor, disproof of Uncle William's assertion his nephew is unqualified to be a druggist, didn't have the skill to "precisely" compound medicines is suggested by a recipe for hair pomade (dressing) Charles Edward includes in the Memoranda of the diary. It reads as follows:

"1/2 lb. lard. 1 teacup beef marrow (fried) whites of two eggs. Mix & beat till white, then add perfume. I use ten cents worth of Rosewater."

The point being a young man of age seventeen who makes his own hair dressing, who has a written recipe for it, who has probably arrived at the recipe by trial and error, is not utterly unqualified by "the way he was brought up" to be a druggist. And while Uncle William backing out of the agreement to help Charles Edward's future education might provoke tension with his older brother, George Lyman had more to be emotionally wrought about, that being the precarious health of his wife Lucy.

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It's evident Charles Edward was an outgoing fellow and he writes on Saturday, May 2, that H. E. Camp had left his calling card, when Charles Edward was out. Mr. Camp was staying at the St. Nicholas Hotel while in St. Louis, and when Charles Edward meets him, he understands Mr. Camp is about to go home. Doubtless, home is Dubuque, and the two being from the same upriver town might be why Mr. Camp wanted to see him. He probably had news from home, something more than what Charles Edward would read in his weekly letter from his father.

While at the St. Nicholas Hotel meeting Mr. Camp, he is introduced to a Mr. Alden, Jr. Mr. Alden is in the vinegar business and Charles Edward takes him up on an offer to tour the vinegar plant at 3rd and Spruce a few days later, Friday April 8. It was an eleven-block walk, or about a mile, from home. Whether visiting the vinegar plant had anything to do with future employment is an open

question. Charles Edward must have been keen on widening his circle of business contacts.

And while at the Alden & Clough Vinegar Factory, he also meets, working there, a John Rackerby of Dubuque. Once again, we sense Charles Edward's wish to keep alive hometown connections, however casually he might come across them.

An entry that confirms how Charles Edward tended to spend his free time away from the Dickinson household and chores is for Friday, May 1. He goes to the Mercantile Library a block away, which, historical photographs show, had rich, wood-panelled rooms, giving it a private club feeling. He meets his friend Fred Wislizenus there and they "Play part of a game of chess," then leave and go for a "little walk" and Charles Edward gets home at "1/4 past 9 P.M." (again showing precision when he writes time of day). This is one of several close friendships Charles Edward makes in St. Louis. That the two met owes something to their both attending the Academy and Dr. Post's church.

On Friday the 8th, the day Charles Edward visits the vinegar factory at 3rd and Spruce, he first walks over to the Gashouse (a utility building) to watch excavation underway for building a new Gasometer, the structure for natural gas storage discussed earlier in the March accounts. The new Gasometer will be near Convent Street between 2nd and Levee (9), or about a mile and three-quarter walk from home. Clearly, Charles Edward was interested in real-world examples of the principles he's learning from Mr. Stone's Philosophy (science) class. The Gasometer is such, being a large object floating on water, moving up and down, depending on the weight of gas being stored.

Almost without fail, Charles Edward takes note of the weather. As mentioned before, he walks everywhere and is not isolated from the raw elements. On Wednesday, May 6, "It commenced to blow a perfect hurricane with rain. It unroofed the observatory at the University," as he writes the next day. He also adds, "Heard the chancellor say there would be no school tomorrow of which I was not sorry."

On Saturday, May 9, he awakes and says he is "with the toothache." It's unlikely this resulted from the tooth extraction by Uncle William in February. More likely, the toothache, while suggesting the painful extraction, was a delayed response to the harsh words from Uncle five days earlier on the 4th. Which is to say, it was probably psychosomatic. He doesn't mention the aching tooth again in the diary.

On Tuesday, May 12, Charles Edward receives $5.00 in a letter from home. At once, he gives it to his uncle because the latter owed the cobbler who made Charles Edward's shoes. I mention this as a transaction that is not recorded in Charles Edward's Cash Accounts. It's an apparent exception to his methodical record-keeping. Charles Edward must have seen it as simply a "pass-through" payment of his father to Uncle William.

In the evening of the 12th, Charles Edward goes to the boys prayer meeting at the church, which he helped organize. As he puts it, "I took charge." This is yet another sign of his commitment to a religious way of life and a willingness to take on responsibility socially.

CHAPTER 19

SATURDAY 16

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Weather pleasant. Sawed out a table for Dining room. Laid some bricks & c. Went down to the levee & to Alden & Clough's Vinegar factory. Had quite a sure shower. River rising. Rec'd news of A.J's nonimpeachment. A Million Dollars went from St.L. given by the liquor dealers for his non-conviction.

SUNDAY 17

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Went to S.S. & Church in the morning & ditto in the afternoon. Uncle Edward arrived with his bride this afternoon. He was married on the 14th of present month. Weather pleasant.

MONDAY, MAY 18, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Lessons all well. Weather pleasant. Nothing of importance occured to break the monotony.

TUESDAY 19

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Rec'd a letter from home containing 2.00 as pocket money. Weather pleasant. Went to prayer-meeting

WEDNESDAY 20

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Weather very pleasant but nothing of importance transpired.

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. At school. Weather pleasant much the same as yesterday. Nothing to break the monotony only I painted the dining room this morning.

FRIDAY 22

Arose at 1/4 past 5. At school, perfect in all my lessons. Weather pleasant. The Mary Institute has an exhibition this evening. Went to Belchers Sugar Refinery for 3. Gal Golden Sirup [an alternative spelling of "syrup"] 1.12 pr Gal. & wheeled it home on a wheelbarrow.

SATURDAY 23

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Gave the shed roof two coats of boiled oil preparatory to painting. Fixed the stone steps in the alley. This evening went into the Southern Hotel. It is Elaborately furnished & worthing [sic] a persons visit. Weather pleasant but rather warm.

SUNDAY, MAY 24, 1868

Arose at 1/2 past 5. Went to S.S. & Church A.M. Gave my class at B. M. S.S. each a testament & they all seemed pleased. Went to Church in the evening. Weather pleasant.

MONDAY 25

Arose at 1/2 to 6. At school. Lessons all went of well. Weather quite warm.

TUESDAY 26

[no entry]

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1868

[no entry] Dates crossed out and re-dated June 21, 1876. An ink entry as follows was added in this space:

"(John Adams & Jessie Lyon) Crystal Wedding

(Chas. Lyon & Nellie Adams) June 19th

Iowa Chas Marechal & Bro.

Rouse & Dean

Notable Guest of Tremont House

Dubuque Iowa

Chas. Marechal & Bro.

F. P. Dickinson & wife

Barnough & Sister"

THURSDAY 28

[no entry]

FRIDAY 29

[no entry]

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1868

[no entry]

SUNDAY 31

Bro. Will is 26 yrs. old to-day.

MONDAY, JUNE 1 [two entries in ink, evidently written with different fountain pens]

Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening.

Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening.

The next diary entry is:

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1868

Sister Mary Lee would have been 20 years old to-day. Born June 16th /48 Died Dec. 16 /50.

Followed by the remaining entries:

THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1868

St. Louis

Start for home. Oh ain't I glad.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1868

I am 18 yrs. old to-day.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1868

Father is 48 years old today.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1868

Sister Mary Anna would have been 22 years old to-day. Born Sept 4th /46 Died Aug 25th /47

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1968

Bro. Fredie is 7 years old to-day.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1868

Sister Mary would have been 28 years old today. Died July 12th /66, Born Sept 27th /40

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1868

Sister Julia would have been 16 years to-day. Born Dec. 26th /52. Died June 4th /60.

CHAPTER 20

The second half of May 1968 in the diary begins with an entry on the 16th that's possibly the biggest news story of the year. As Charles Edward puts it, "Rec'd news of A.J.'s nonimpeachment. A Million Dollars went from St.L. given by liquor dealers for his non-conviction." It's special for the reader to see this 150 years later, for it's a handwritten, contemporary reaction to an event from the history books.

The U. S. Senate voted to acquit President Andrew Johnson of the first article of impeachment that day. How did Charles Edward learn of this? News travels fast person to person, but the news getting to St. Louis was helped by telegraph, especially as used by newspapers. So it's no stretch to believe Charles Edward knew how the Senate voted within hours.

What Charles Edward witnesses here is yet another chapter in the restoration of the Union post-Civil War. Most historians agree the impeachment and attempted removal of President Andrew Johnson was politically motivated. The vote to convict failed by one vote, and the Senate adjourned for ten days and then voted, again by one-vote margins, not to convict on two other articles of impeachment.

A bit of background: The political maelstrom around President Johnson was touched off by his removal of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. Stanton was a notable hardliner and ally of the Radical Republicans in Congress, who wanted to enforce the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865 and end slavery unconditionally and immediately. The firm attitude of Stanton and the Radical Republicans contrasted with the spirit of the late Abraham Lincoln, who wanted to "bind up the wounds" of a nation torn apart by a bitter, prolonged conflict. What would have been Lincoln's more pragmatic treatment of the losing Southern states was taken on by Andrew Johnson. But Johnson lacked the wisdom and political will of an Abraham Lincoln and was seen as compromising the Union victory in the Civil War. Johnson felt free to offer the Southern states a Reconstruction plan that let states manage the transition away from slavery by re-writing their state constitutions, but importantly without the obligation of a role for freed slaves in state politics. If the Southern states nominally ended slavery, they would replace it with a succession of segregation ("Jim Crow") laws as the years rolled on. Johnson's primary antagonist in this far-reaching controversy was Secretary of War Stanton. Stanton had to go.

It's in the hyperbolic second sentence of the entry ("A Million Dollars ...") that Charles Edward reacts to the news. What he seems to say is that he and many in his immediate circle of acquaintances expected Andrew Johnson's conviction, his removal from office. That the outcome was a surprise—the conviction failing by one vote—begs for an explanation. That, in Charles Edward's reasoning, a vote was bought. Historical evidence suggests financial and other inducements were offered to switch an acquit vote to convict and vice versa. A figure of $40,000 has circulated. But the bribe was not $1,000,000 from St. Louis liquor dealers, that being Charles Edward's runaway imagination. What we know for sure was he was well aware of corruption in politics at the time and that votes could be bought.

What matters more in Charles Edward's condemnation of the Senate vote for acquittal is the suggestion he wanted the outcome to go the other way. The outcome of the Senate vote must have been a disappointment to Charles Edward and his acquaintances, notably his pastor, Dr. Truman Post, if the freedom promised by the Civil War Amendments (Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth) was circumvented. We know Dr. Post was a staunch and vocal abolitionist before the Civil War. And if we look at his writings during the post-Civil War period (43), we find references to controversy in

Reconstruction, but names are not mentioned. He argues dispassionately that history shows "questions begun on the battlefield, and victorious there, must be argued to their full and ultimate conclusions in the halls of legislation or in the popular canvass." And he's enough of a realist and student of humankind to know counter-reactions would set in (as shown by Southern resistance to reform after the Civil War). Nonetheless, "The principles in the name of which our recent great battle was fought and won [that is, the Civil War] we believe are true and eternal and must in time thoroughly dominate the public reason and conscience and establish their rule in permanent institutions." Dr. Post would argue the good cause will triumph in the end and "Those looking to the restoration of the old status [that is, slavery] might as well expect the return of feudalism." Dr. Post must have been disappointed with President Johnson's Reconstruction plan. A disappointment Charles Edward must have shared.

If Charles Edward had the dispassionate words of Dr. Post to sway him that the Southern states might be treated too leniently by President Johnson, he had a stronger personal reason to want Southerners to honorably take their loss on the battlefield. Although Charles Edward mentions his older brother William Pliny, eight years his senior, throughout the diary, it is that William Pliny wrote oft anticipated letters to him. Not mentioned in the diary is his brother Eli Horton, six years his senior. Eli Horton also served in the Civil War on the Union side, but he suffered the fate of being a prisoner of war in the notorious Andersonville Prison of the Confederacy. A concentration camp in the most literal sense, Eli Horton's distinction is he survived what has been described as a "hell on earth."

In his own words, Eli Horton describes what it took to survive: "Winter was upon us; no shelter —not even tents. With my companions—five of us—the question was how to protect our bodies from the cold. We were the possessors of one pair of blankets and a piece of another. We excavated as best we could a hole in the ground long enough for the tallest man and sufficiently wide for five to lie in close together. In this we placed a few pine boughs to keep our bodies off Mother Earth. The blankets served as a shelter in some degree from storms, as they were extended in tent form over us during the day and used for a covering during the night, Taking regular turns sleeping as outside man, we kept from freezing to death that memorably long winter of 1864-'65. To say we suffered with cold and hunger expresses but lightly the feelings of one in such a situation" (41).

Of the 42,000 Union POWs held in Andersonville, 12,000 died from lack of food, overcrowding, and disease. Eli Horton, a Private in the 5th Iowa Calvary was captured July 31, 1864 and exchanged April 5, 1865, spending some eight months there. When Eli Horton came home to Dubuque after his release from Andersonville, Charles Edward must have been inwardly revulsed at the sight of his brother's skeletal figure after surviving inhumane treatment by Southerners. Eli Horton would go on to work with his father at the Tremont House and recover, but Charles Edward must have understandably not agreed with Johnson's Reconstruction policy and its indulgence of the losing side in the Civil War.

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While May 1868 had the convulsive event of a U. S. Senate trial to remove President Johnson, the month also had wrenching personal turmoil for Charles Edward. As discussed before, on May 4 his plan to become a druggist was betrayed by Uncle William. And while he was sorting out that setback, he was hit by a loss even more heartbreaking.

Right after the May 31 entry in which Charles Edward reminded himself, "Bro. Will is 26 yrs. old to-day," we have a puzzling and the diary's most emotional entry on June 1. Written in fountain pen black ink, not pencil, is the following:

"Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening

Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening"

We appreciate the obvious shock Charles Edward must have felt upon learning his mother had died. Earlier entries in the diary, though only two, hint that all was not right with his mother. And suggest a chronic illness might one day claim her life. But the final word that she had passed on, with Charles Edward's penchant for precisely noting time of day, is dutifully recorded in the diary. And written twice: Did he do this as if he were not ready to accept she had died?

But interpretation of this entry is more complicated for it raises many questions. The first obvious point is the entry was not written in the hours after Lucy Evans Dickinson on June 1 died of what was later documented as consumption (11). The entry might have been written weeks later, if not months or years. The entry(ies) is in black ink, not written in pencil as he did from January 1, 1868 onward. Not using his customary writing implement means the entry was likely written after Charles Edward left St. Louis with his diary, which he does on June 18.

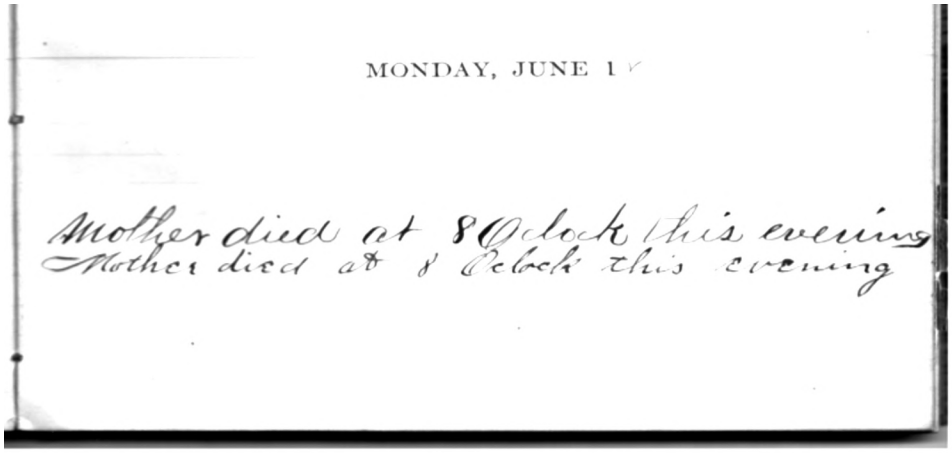
The other reason I believe this entry was not written on June 1 is the question, How did he learn of his mother's death? In 1868, homes did not have telephones—his father did not call. And it is nigh impossible, though technically feasible, for George Lyman Dickinson to leave his deceased wife and go to the telegraph office and send a prohibitively expensive telegram to his son 300 miles away in St. Louis on June 1. Or on June 2, or on any day after.

No, what's more likely is that on Monday, May 25, he might have had his customary weekly letter from his father with the news that the doctor caring for his wife Lucy said she only had a few days to live. That chronic pulmonary consumption had taken its toll, and her body was starting to shut down. The family had to prepare for the inevitable. Charles Edward might well have known on May 25 his mother was near death. On May 25, he makes his next to last concurrent entry in the diary (His last is on June 18). The entry reads as follows: "Arose at 1/2 to 6. At school. Lessons all went of [sic] well. Weather quite warm." An entry of no distinction whatsoever with much in common with his other "template" entries.

The next day and following days are blank until we see his pre-written reminder of brother William Pliny's birthday on May 31.

It's also possible he didn't stop writing in his diary because he'd gotten word of his mother's impending death. Instead he might have felt an acute apathy toward writing about his remaining days in St. Louis. He'd seen his life take on too much misfortune, and he couldn't wait to go home. All he knew was that on Thursday, June 18, he'd take the *Hawkeye State* and leave St. Louis for Dubuque.

But back to the entry of June 1. Not only was it written days, if not longer, after her death, but there's reason to think the repeated statement was written at two different times, if not by two different persons!


MONDAY, JUNE 1

Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening
Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening

Figure 1: Entry for June 1, 1868.

Referring to Figure 1, the first “Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening” was obviously written by Charles Edward. My study of handwriting analysis supports that as follows:

Consistent with the rest of the diary entries in pencil, Charles Edward’s handwriting has “e”s that are formed as simple loops, unlike those of the second writing in Figure 1, which have Greek-style “e”s. The two “t”s in the first writing are both crossed post-stem (to the right of the upward stroke) and that’s consistent with the “t”s throughout the diary, which lack the centered crossing of the stem shown in the second writing. Moreover, the first writing has an “r” that’s consistent in form with diary entries elsewhere and unlike the “r” of the second writing.

The clincher that these sentences were written at two different times, if not by two different hands, lies in the fact that two different fountain pens were used. The second writing came from an observably finer pen nib than the first. Observe the thickness of the first “8” at top, compared to the thinner second “8” in Figure 1. The down strokes of the first can be broad, suggesting that nib has more flexibility than the second pen’s nib.

Based on my understanding of handwriting analysis, it’s not impossible Charles Edward wrote the second entry. The two writings have similarities: slant, relative size of upper and lower extensions, and so forth. It’s possible Charles Edward later modified his handwriting and, for example, took up a Greek-style “e.” But I conclude the two lines for the entry were written with two different fountain pens, possibly much after the fact, and not at the same time.

Evidence that Charles Edward made inked entries in his diary well after he left St. Louis in June 1868 is shown by the space for Wednesday, May 27, 1868. In fountain pen black ink, he crosses out “May” and “1868” and writes above “June 21, 1876,” which dates the writing eight years later, when he is twenty-five.

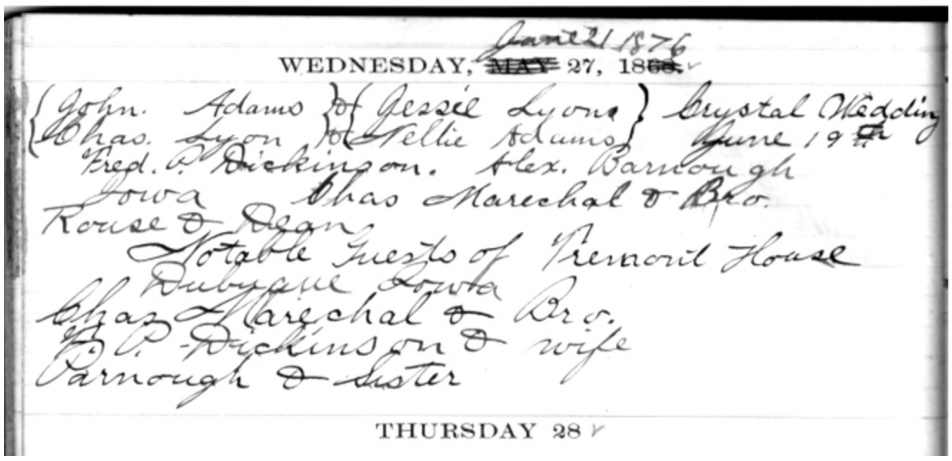


Figure 2: Diary page re-dated June 21, 1876.

Referring to Figure 2, his entry consists of the following list:

"(John Adams & Jessie Lyon) Crystal Wedding

(Chas. Lyon & Nellie Adams) June 19th

Iowa Chas Marechal & Bro.

Rouse & Dean

Notable Guest of Tremont House

Dubuque Iowa

Chas. Marechal & Bro.

F. P. Dickinson & wife

Barnough & Sister"

Charles Edward's handwriting has changed in the intervening eight years from his last diary entries. Although he does not write a Greek-style "e," his initial capital "M" for "Marechal" has a right tending initial stroke like the "M" in "Mother" for the second writing in Figure 1. In sum, handwriting analysis would suggest the first writing of "Mother died at 8 Oclock this evening" was written weeks or possibly months after the event. The second writing was written years later and possibly by someone else.

For personal reasons, Charles Edward was drawn back to his 1868 diary and made these later entries in ink, which contrasted with those originally written in pencil. He must have seen the record of those first six months of that year as pivotal in how his life came to unfold. While he kept up the diary, he doubtless sensed his mother's precarious hold on life, which she'd finally surrender before he got back to Dubuque. And so this diary, a keepsake, was for him an enduring testament to a keen loss from

which he did recover.

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If Charles Edward saw himself in a holding pattern those last weeks of May, he found a few bright spots worthy of comment. On May 17, a Sunday, he sees Uncle Edward with his new bride. Then on Friday, May 22, he notes the Mary Institute is having an exhibition that evening. Possibly he attends with a friend. The Mary Institute is the young women's school that complements the Academy. President William G. Eliot's intention was to have a preparatory school for young women that offered an education comparable to that enjoyed by young men at the Academy. The Institute was named in memory of President's Eliot's daughter, who sadly died at age seventeen.

Possibly the brightest spot in Charles Edward's entries for the last weeks of May came on Saturday, May 23: "This evening went into the Southern Hotel [a walk of about seven blocks to Walnut Street from his home]. It is Elaborately furnished & worthing [sic] a person visit." Why Charles Edward took such obvious joy from seeing a top-flight hotel in St. Louis must have been anticipation of going back to Dubuque and his family's Tremont House.

The entry for Sunday, May 24, is poignant: "Gave my class at B. M. S.S. each a testament & they all seemed pleased." If we go to his Cash Account for May, we see he bought five testaments (surely the New Testament) on Friday the 22nd for $1.00. Thus, his Biddle Street Mission Sunday School, which he taught for four months, consisted, on that Sunday, of five girls, and it must have gladdened his heart to be appreciated as their teacher. His gift of a New Testament to each was surely his way of saying good-bye, now that he was going back to Dubuque, with no plans to return to St. Louis. He must have handed out the gifts feeling bittersweet.

After the thoughtful entry about his Sunday school students, he makes what will be his last concurrent entry in the diary, nearly four weeks later. On Thursday, June 18, he writes, "Start for home. Oh ain't I glad." The second sentence is wholly at odds with the narrative tone of all that came before. Day after day, he has written entries showing his discipline and duty to school, home, and church. And he wrote all those entries in proper English and occasionally with a touch of irony.

But then he writes, "Oh ain't I glad." That one sentence breaks through all the restraint and loyalty he showed in the Dickinson household in St. Louis, especially toward Uncle William. He has suffered as much loss in a few weeks as any young man might be dealt at age seventeen. And as if to emphasize that he's leaving St. Louis, he reverts to a habit abandoned four months earlier: He writes above his entry in large, elaborate letters "St. Louis." He's seen the last of that place.

His losses, on the cusp of adulthood, are such that they recall the words of that beloved poem "Invictus" by William Ernest Henley (1844-1903): "My head is bloodied, but unbowed ... I am the master of my fate / I am the captain of my soul." He will go back to Dubuque, Iowa, to find his future. For that one sentence with an "ain't" not taught at the Academy reveals to us a vitality, a life energy of a Charles Edward who knows his true self. He will put his time in St. Louis in perspective, pluses and minuses. He will remember his friends, his teachers at the Academy, especially Mr. Stone, and at the First Congregational Church of St. Louis that towering figure of Reverend Truman Post.

Before we find out what happened to Charles Edward once he left on June 18 and boarded the Hawkeye State for Dubuque upriver, we'll devote the next chapter to a miscellany of other entries in the diary. Then we'll briefly survey what happened to a few of those persons mentioned in Charles Edward's diary.

CHAPTER 21

Charles Edward's diary has a miscellany of entries that fall outside the convention of day-to-day accounts. As noted earlier, Charles Edward would write out in advance reminders of birthdays in his family. He does so on his DIARY pages before he's written anything else. He will also make a few lists, after he quit keeping up the diary, on blank DIARY pages. His diary also has a section titled MEMORANDA. He uses this as extra space to continue two diary entries. Third, he has CASH ACCOUNT pages for each month, and being number-savvy, he uses these to track his money for January through May, the months he keeps up the diary. The fourth section of pages is his monthly BILLS PAYABLE section, and he puts a few lists there.

In the DIARY pages, he's recorded family birthdays and importantly includes three sisters who are deceased. On September 4, he notes "Sister Mary Anna would have been 22 years old to-day. Born Sept 4th/46. Died Aug. 25th/47," living only one year. And on June 16, he notes "Sister Mary Lee would have been 20 years old to-day. Born June 16th/48 Died Dec. 16th/50," living but two years. That Charles Edward had two sisters with the first name Mary was consistent with Puritan convention (and continued by successor Congregationalists) to reuse the name of a deceased child for a future-born. So a Mary would follow the first, if with different middle names, Anna and Lee. Lastly, on December 26, he notes his sister Julia would have been sixteen years old, but died at the age of two. Charles Edward has only one living sister, Helen, who he records as being twenty years old on January 9, 1868.

Also in the DIARY pages is space for a May 27, 1868, entry with the month and year crossed out and re-dated "June 21, 1876," some eight years later. This is the puzzling "Notable Guests of the Tremont House" list that was discussed in the preceding chapter.

Not puzzling are the entries added to the four DIARY pages beginning on October 12. In the spaces for October 12, 13, 14, and 15; Charles Edward has put together a four-part list—in black ink—of possible employment opportunities as follows:

[1] "H. Rouse
C. B. Dean
Real Estate
Office Furniture
Patterns
H. Rouse
Labor
Mdse.
C. B. Dean
Expense

[2] "Exchange
Novelty Iron Works
Fuel

Jones & Laughlin

E. B. Preston

Tools & Machinery

J. A. Rhomberg

Andrew & Tredway

Cofie & Maxell

[3] "Hanson & Co.

Western Brewery

Iowa Lumber Co.

Laflin Rand Power [sic, should read 'Powder'] Co.

Str. [Steamer] J. G. Chapman

A. F. Jaeger

Str. [Steamer] Albany

Geo. Kinney

Geo. E. Black

[4] "Hough & Co.

J. E. Fairbanks & Co.

D. & S. R.R.

Conrad Smith

C S & S Burt

Robt. Gardner"

When Charles Edward wrote up this list, he was back in Dubuque, having left St. Louis June 18. He had to get a job with a future that appealed to him. This is a list of employers in the Dubuque area, with one non-Dubuque exception, Jones & Laughlin, the steel manufacturing colossus 700 miles away in Pittsburgh. Charles Edward possibly included J & L because he'd heard its steel mills were hungry for workers, and he might have felt he could get a sure job there if he made the trip.

If we discard Jones & Laughlin as possible brainstorming, we're left with a list of familiar Dubuque employers in the 1860s. Thanks to the online *Encyclopedia Dubuque* (24), we have descriptions for many of the firms and named principals. At the top of the list are names of the partners in Rouse, Dean and Company, one of Dubuque's main participants in the boat building industry. The boats are often the steamboats that ply the length of the Mississippi River, catching Charles Edward's eye so many times when he would be out walking the levee in St. Louis.

That Charles Edward was attracted to river boats, or steamers, is supported by the names of steamers *J.G. Chapman* and *Albany* on his list. This apparent yearning to be part of the river traffic he saw on the Mississippi might signal a future ambition.

Another firm on Charles Edward's list was Novelty Iron Works, which manufactured machinery for flour mills, sawmills, steam engines, water wheels (for steamboats), and well-drilling. Importantly, Novelty Iron Works was the successor to J. L. Dickinson & Co., with Joseph Lathrop Dickinson continuing as Superintendent of the work force. Joseph Lathrop was Charles Edward's uncle and his

father's younger brother. It's only natural he would think about working at a company where his uncle was a principal. Uncle Joseph was a mechanical wizard with machinery. He was granted a patent for a steam engine governor and also awarded two patents for steam engine valves (24). But it was with shingle-sawing machinery, he made a special contribution.

In September 1892, the Dubuque Daily Herald had an article extolling a shingle-sawing machine made by Novelty Iron Works. With one shipment of the new machines to a Puget Sound company, that recipient would be able to make 180 million shingles a year. Though Novelty Iron Works was running at full capacity, they were behind on orders for the shingle-sawing machines, so great was the demand from all over the world. Joseph Lathrop Dickinson contributed to the excellence of that machine. In 1891, the U. S. Patent Office granted him Patent No. 450,995 for significant improvements to a shingle-sawing machine.

We might assume, given Charles Edward's characteristic energy, as his diary activities show, he got busy with knocking on doors after a few months, at most. Surely, when September 1868 came around—when he once thought he'd be in pharmacy school in St. Louis—he must have felt the urgency to figure out a new career path in earnest. But before finishing discussion of this list, it's important to note it has nothing about apothecaries or drugstores whatsoever. Charles Edward irrevocably abandoned that plan. And not on the list are mentions of the grocery business or food distributors—Uncle William's gratuitous suggestion of a better career.

What the list reveals is a keen interest in the new ways of travel, whether paddle-wheel steamboats on the Mississippi River or the emergent network of steam-powered locomotive trains criss-crossing the Union. His one mention of a railroad "D. & S. R.R." (Dubuque Street Railway Co.) is a local opportunity he might investigate.

But beyond travel by river and rail lies a more encompassing fascination with all things mechanical. Charles Edward must be drawn to his Uncle Joseph Lathrop, the inventor, who is Superintendent at Novelty Iron Works, manufacturer of what saves labor and gets products made efficiently. Whether it's a curiosity first tapped by Mr. Stone's Philosophy (science) class at the Academy, or something deeper in his personality, he's keen on machinery and has an affinity with his inventor uncle, Joseph Lathrop Dickinson. As such, he has a bit of the god Hephaestus in him, the Greek god who wields power for ends benefitting all, the Greek god of fire, metalworking, stone masonry, forges, the art of sculpture, technology, and blacksmiths. The Laflin Rand Powder Co., a Dubuque distributor of dynamite and gunpowder, would be an obvious fit with Charles Edward's Hephaestian yearning to tame power.

But a few names on the list are not enterprises dedicated to machinery, that are at odds with what we know about Charles Edward and the family he came from. J. A. Rhomberg, born in Austria, a prominent Dubuque businessman appears on the list. Although associated with several businesses (including helping organize the Dubuque Street Railway Co.), his distilleries of whiskey and other spirits made the fortune (24) that would allow him to be a principal player in, for example, Dubuque real estate development.

Another odd inclusion in the job seeker's list is Western Brewery. According to the *Encyclopedia Dubuque*, in 1869 the city had nine breweries, so beer production must have been thriving when Charles Edward returned home.

But whiskey distilling, beer brewing, and Charles Edward? The son of the George Lyman Dickinson who ran a temperance hotel before the Tremont House? This is also the same Charles Edward who months earlier had written disparagingly of liquor dealers in St. Louis and political corruption. What had changed?

One explanation is that Charles Edward was only interested in getting a job. He'd work where he could support himself as an "adult," now that he'd turned eighteen and was expected to show some independence. But the idea he would work in any perceived devil's workshop, as it were, is a bit of a stretch. What's more likely he came back to Dubuque with some taste of defeat and looked for consolation from friends his age.

Peer validation, possibly, might have persuaded him the question of alcohol was not black-and-white. Moderation, as always, was a choice. It was the father who drank to excess, who wasted his paycheck (if he could keep his job), letting his family starve, who convinced the Prohibitionist alcohol was evil. That Charles Edward would think about working for a brewery suggests he might have decided it was time to think for himself and make his own decisions. The plan to attend the St. Louis College of Pharmacy failed, and he was humiliated. He would not be a professional like his brother William Pliny. No, he saw his future working with his hands, being in the world of machinery like his uncle the inventor, Joseph Lathrop Dickinson. If others in that milieu would sometimes down a brew at the end of the week, he might too. He would become one of the men.

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The MEMORANDA entries are only two. The first entry continues the diary entry for January 17. The original entry noted his uncle and aunt had a dinner party for members of the Institute for Blind Education, an event not inappropriate for an ophthalmologist to host. The continuation in the MEMORANDA goes on to add what is done at the Institute: "the articles manufactured at the institution are brooms, bead-work & c. besides teaching them to read, music & dancing." The second MEMORANDA entry we've already discussed. It's Charles Edward's recipe for hair pomade and is an interesting example of how someone in 1868 took pride in "greaser" locks (start with "1/2 lb. lard").

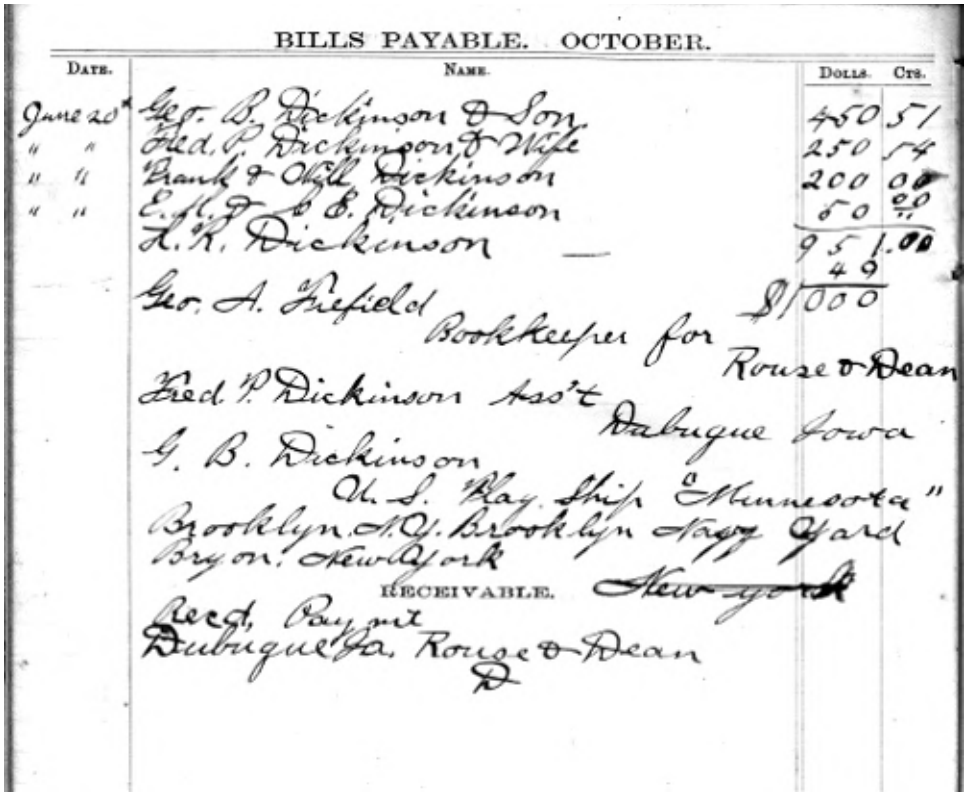
§

The CASH ACCOUNT pages January through May 1868 are for the months Charles Edward kept up the diary. The entries are straightforward, many small purchases he makes with the pocket money mailed by his father. The big cash in, cash out transaction had to do with his father sending him a draft to buy a suit of clothes. He buys used textbooks, a German dictionary, religious books, but poignantly the last entry in his CASH ACCOUNT pages is the $1.00 he spends on New Testaments for the young scholars in his Biddle Street Mission Sunday School class he must stop teaching. All of the CASH ACCOUNT entries are written in pencil and may be assumed to have been written concurrently with the diary entries.

§

BILLS PAYABLE pages comprise the last section in the diary, but Charles Edward uses them for his purposes, not detailing any money he might owe. BILLS PAYABLE on the April page has entries for April letters he received, the dates, and a check mark if he answered. These entries, written in pencil, are likely concurrent. Also written in pencil and dated April 21 on the December BILLS PAYABLE page is a list of things Charles Edward wants to buy. "1 box collars, 1 necktie, Hair oil, my umbarella [sic]." He had check marks next to the first two and the last. His own pomade must have let him forget about the hair oil.

A third entry, written in black ink, is found in the October BILLS PAYABLE page. It is shown as Figure 3 below:



BILLS PAYABLE. OCTOBER.

Date.	Name.	Dolls.	Cts.
June 20th	Geo. B. Dickinson & Son	450	51
" "	Fred. P. Dickinson & Wife	250	54
" "	Frank & Will Dickinson	200	00
" "	E. H. P. & C. Dickinson	50	00
	H. R. Dickenson	95	1.00
		49	
	Geo. A. Fifield Bookkeeper for Rouse & Dean	$1000	

Fred. P. Dickinson Ass't Dubuque Iowa

G. B. Dickinson U. S. Nav. Ship "Minnesota" Brooklyn N. Y. Brooklyn Navy Yard Bryon. New York

RECEIVABLE. ~~New York~~

Recd. Payment Dubuque Ia. Rouse & Dean

Figure 3: Distribution of $1,000.00 to Heirs of Lucy Evans Dickinson

What to make of this entry? It was written in fountain pen ink after Charles Edward left St. Louis on June 18. But the date of June 20 has no year specified.

One thing stands out: The list of persons are living children of Lucy Evans Dickinson, who died June 1, 1868. Namely, sons George Bellows, Fred Perry, Frank Champney, William Pliny, Eli Horton, Charles Edward and daughter Helen R. Dickinson. But George Bellows was nine years old in 1868 and didn't have a son until October 1882 (11). Moreover, the U.S. Naval address given for George Bellows had to be after 1876, when he joined the *USS Rendevous* at age seventeen. Similarly, Fred Perry, who was six then, didn't marry until 1886 (11). Lastly, the list appears to be a distribution of an even amount of money: $1,000. Doubtless an amount distributed to her heirs, other than her husband. Given the limited information here, we can only surmise Charles Edward has recorded a distribution that took place eighteen or more years after 1868.

Charles Edward has written down the name of the bookkeeper approving the distribution on behalf of the Dubuque firm of Rouse & Dean. So a likely reason for this distribution was that Lucy Evans brought an asset (like a real estate lot) into her marriage with George Lyman. (Iowa was notably progressive for women's rights: Even before becoming a state in 1846, the Territory of Iowa allowed married women to hold property in their own names.) Upon her death, the property was passed on to seven co-owners. They would share the proceeds when it would be sold, possibly in the 1880s, to Rouse & Dean for $1,000. Lucy Evans' will stipulated the fractional shares each of her children had in the property, with larger shares (45% and 25%) going to the youngest, George, nine, and Fred, six years old.

The foregoing has discussed the rest of Charles Edward's diary outside the daily entries. As we

have seen, some writing, especially that done in fountain pen ink, was most assuredly done after he quit keeping up the diary in pencil. But before we go on to what we believe became of Charles Edward once he got back to Dubuque, let's briefly look at what happened to a few of those often on Charles Edward's mind, as shown in the diary.

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Without a doubt, the nemesis of Charles Edward was his Uncle William. We'll never truly know why Uncle William took such a dislike to his nephew: The evidence is scant; too much time has gone by. But an interesting insight into Uncle William's character comes from his hobby of collecting coins. Contributed by the American Numismatic Society, digital copies of business correspondence he had with the coin dealer Chapman Brothers in Philadelphia for 1886 through 1892 are online (12). A letter Uncle William, age sixty-nine, wrote March 12, 1892 to Chapman reads in part:

" ... In regard to the Sale of my Coins, I am appalled by the fact that at your terms proposed for disposing of them every 1/2 dollar must realize 67 cts. in order for me to obtain its face value + only 37 1/2 cts. for intrinsic value: Whatever the cost to me may have been: and the inquiry suggests itself, had I not better dispose of them *here* at Private Sale and at a price considerably below cost to me as an inducement for one to buy? Many of the pieces I got of you paying you 10 pr ct: now if by you Sold I must pay 25 pr ct. making 35 pr ct. more than one third their cost to me. I Shall lose less by Selling them here at 15 to 20 pr ct less than their cost to me .... But I feel I am paying pretty dear for a defunct whistle to pay 35 pr ct for indulgence in this fad ...."

Uncle William obviously didn't understand the difference between retail (the price a collector pays) and wholesale (the price a collector gets), and that a price spread is how coin dealers and auctioneers stay in business, providing a service to collectors like Uncle William. The complaint also seems a misunderstanding of why one collects coins as a hobby. There's personal enjoyment through the years, and when the time comes to sell a collection, one doesn't quibble about "cents on cents."

As to what finally became of Uncle William, Aunt Evelina died in 1888, and he retired from his St. Louis practice in 1893. His daughter, the six-year-old Lily (Evelina Laura) of the diary received a Bachelor's degree in Classical Studies from Smith College in 1883, and later would move to Palo Alto, California. When Leland Stanford Jr. University opened its doors in 1891, she was on the faculty as an instructor in Latin and also pursued a Master's degree as a graduate student. Uncle William would visit her on January 24, 1894, but, alas, he died nine days later, February 2, 1894.

§

The one brother Charles Edward looked up to was William Pliny. In the summer of 1868, William Pliny was practicing dentistry in Dubuque again. He remarried in 1871, his first wife having died in childbirth. In 1883-1884, he attended the Pennsylvania College of Dentistry, earning his D.D.S. (Doctor of Dental Surgery) degree. He had an evident love of teaching others and lectured at Iowa State University and Chicago's College of Dental Surgery. In 1890, he moved to Minneapolis where he joined the Dental Department at the University of Minnesota. He was to serve as Dean of the Department for five years. Unlike abrasive Uncle William, William Pliny was described by one writer as "most fruitful in service to his profession bringing greater number of students and practitioners under the influence of his character" (22).

In 1910, after his eyesight began to fail, he and Evalina moved to Portland, Oregon, where his daughter Lucy Evalina lived. After successful surgery on one eye, he returned to teaching at Portland's former North Pacific College, which had a department of dentistry (later to become part of Oregon Health Sciences University). By 1918, at the age of seventy-six, his health began to fail and the following year he died (22).

His body was cremated and I went to the mausoleum of record in Portland, the on-duty clerk retrieved the appropriate card, and I read: “Remains delivered to E. H. [Eli Horton] Dickinson 1497 Arch St. Dubuque, Iowa 4/17/20. Sent to Mr. E. H. Dickinson by order of Mrs. Evalina Dickinson on 4/17/20.” Thus, five months after his decease, the circle of one distinguished life—William Pliny Dickinson—was complete, from Dubuque back to Dubuque. Certainly, Charles Edward must have been proud of his dentist brother.

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As for Charles Edward’s father, George Lyman, he lost his Lucy Evans when he was forty-eight, as shown in the diary. He would remarry—Caroline Moore in 1870—and at the age of sixty-eight in 1888, he and Caroline moved and retired in Minneapolis, doubtless enjoying being near the number one son, William Pliny. He would die four years later in 1892 at the age of seventy-two.

Another influence in Charles Edward’s life, the Reverend Truman Post, continued to serve the greater Congregational ministry with his notable speaking and writing. He helped establish and spread Congregational churches throughout the South after the abolition of slavery. At the age of seventy-two, he resigned from his duties at the First Congregational Church of St. Louis in 1882. He would die four years later.

This brings us to where the odyssey of Charles Edward’s diary for 1868 led. We take up the rest of his story in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 22

Once we leave Charles Edward's diary, we have to go elsewhere, to other documents, to see how his life unfolded. The fountain pen notes, surely added once he was back in Dubuque, evidence he was determined to find employment. Any idea of becoming a druggist dashed, he and his family grieving the passing of his mother; being home must have felt like his personal recovery was now squarely in his own hands. Fortunately, his father's Tremont House offered temporary work. He could work as a registration clerk between rounds of knocking on employer doors.

He must have asked about employment prospects at most of the Dubuque firms on his diary list. Distilleries and breweries aside, his interests were in machinery, transport by river and rail, and anything else associated with the power-driven advances of the Industrial Revolution. The happenstance of the world Charles Edward lived in led him to a growing realization his companion god in life would be Hephaestus, the Greek god of fire, forges, blacksmiths, and technology. The jobs Charles Edward would look for in the remaining months of 1868 have a Hephaestian quality that resonated with him, but if his Greek mythology was half-remembered, he knew he'd be part of an America transforming itself from an agricultural nation to a leading participant in the Industrial Revolution.

We don't know the day Charles Edward started the job that would launch him into adulthood. But we know it was the epitome of Hephaestus, the god of fire. For the U.S. Census reports on June 23, 1870, Charles Edward's employment was as "R.R. Fireman" (53) or in the 1870 Dubuque Directory, "Fireman I.C.R.R." (14), boarding at his father's Tremont Hotel. He was nineteen years old and in 1870, if not earlier, working for the Illinois Central Railroad, an important railroad in the Midwest with two principal routes (31). The famous "City of New Orleans," immortalized in Steve Goodman's song, ran from Chicago south through Kankakee, Memphis, and on to the Crescent City; but also an east-west route, the "Iowan," ran from Chicago through Dubuque to Sioux City, Iowa. Charles Edward must have known the second run well.

But first a word about how a steam-powered locomotive with its train of cars is manned. At least, the crew would be five. In the locomotive cabin, the engineer had hand controls for the steam engine, setting train speed and the like. Near him, the fireman shovelled coal, the fuel, into the boiler's firebox. Charles Edward was Hephaestus personified as he kept the boiler going with the hard labor of tossing in coal. Not for nothing he showed his physical endurance getting in Uncle William's winter supply of coal. Working close to the steam engine's firebox made the heat not only taxing, but the fireman's job was as dangerous as any other on the crew.

The rest of the crew would consist of a front brakeman, a rear brakeman, and the conductor in the rearmost caboose. Despite his trailing position, the conductor made decisions about the train. For example, he would tell the engineer how long they would spend at a stop. The conductor gave orders.

Charles Edward's position as fireman put him close to the engineer and gave him hopes he might be promoted to engineer. As such, the steam locomotive fireman was often regarded as an engineer-in-training, and he was permitted to take the controls under direct supervision of the engineer.

We can easily imagine Charles Edward's first day on the job. He'd be working alongside the engineer, and they'd have a commanding view of the landscape rushing by. As the Illinois Central's "Iowan," steel wheels on steel rails, rumbled on, *chuff-chuff-chuff-chuff-chuff*, out across farmland, Chicago-bound, how could he not exclaim in Steve Goodman's words, "Good morning, America, how

are you?"

That moment was the culmination of an unshakable dream, having a part in commanding the massive machine and knowing he kept the steam pressure coming on the pipe with each toss of coal in that firebox. So at the age of eighteen (certainly nineteen), Charles Edward's career was under way. Railroad travel and transport were expanding without limit; the job had security and paid well. And after a few years into the 1870s, Charles Edward with a respected, if hard, job had arrived and was ready to take on more responsibility. He was ready for marriage.

I have been handed down a family Bible (26) bought from Grosvenor & Harger, Booksellers, Dubuque, Iowa. The flyleaf is inscribed, "A Wedding Present from Father to Charles and Dora by George L. Dickinson, May 16th, 1872." On that day, at the age of twenty-one, Charles Edward took Dora Cickel, born in Pilgratz, Prussia (Germany) (26), and naturalized in the United States at age three, as his wife. The following year in March 1873 with the birth of their first son, Harry Lyman, Charles Edward and Dora became parents and would go on to have four more children.

In 1875, a second son, Clifford Curran, was born; followed by a third, Charles Oliver (my grandfather) in 1877. The Dubuque City Directories during the 1870s would show the Dickinson household moved to a residence at 822 Iowa Street, which was doubtless adjacent to the Tremont Hotel at 8th and Iowa. Throughout the 1870s, Charles Edward worked for the Illinois Central Railroad.

Then something happened. Charles Edward is missing from the Dubuque city directory for 1880 (20).

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A preponderance of evidence suggests Charles Edward left Dubuque for that most basic of personal reasons: job advancement. He would leave in June of 1879 (37), after ten years or so as a fireman for Illinois Central, to join the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Mankato Railroad as a locomotive engineer in Fergus Falls, Minnesota.

True, after 1870 the Dubuque city directories (15, 16, 17 18 and 19 list his occupation as "eng. I.C." or "engineer," but that is certainly a misunderstanding of his status as a fireman, who at the time was commonly known as an "engineer-in-training." I contradict the directories for passing along ambiguous information because I have seen an affidavit for a delayed birth certificate for Charles Oliver Dickinson, Charles Edward's third son. The affidavit was executed more than sixty years after Charles Oliver's birth. Nonetheless, in 1940 before a notary public in Barnesville, Minnesota, Charles Edward's sole daughter, Abigail, stated that in 1877 her brother Charles Oliver was born and that his father, Charles Edward, was twenty-seven years old and his occupation was "Locomotive Fireman" (32). Because the occupation of fireman was recorded by both a U.S. Census enumerator in 1870, the *1870 Dubuque City Directory*, and confirmed as unchanged for 1877 in a sworn affidavit, I've concluded Charles Edward was a locomotive fireman for about ten years from 1869—1879.

Another reason for skepticism about Charles Edward being a full-fledged engineer, not an engineer-in-training, is one does not go from locomotive fireman to engineer in a year or two on the job. One doesn't get the experience that quickly to take control of a locomotive pulling scores of railroad cars by age twenty or twenty-one. This is illustrated by Charles Edward's number one son, Harry Lyman, who years later worked as a locomotive fireman. As shown in census data discussed below, Harry was a fireman for at least five years—1895-1900. Last, I would suggest Charles Edward would not leave Dubuque and his employer, Illinois Central, with its job security, for a smaller railroad in Fergus Falls if the latter didn't offer job advancement. As it was, Charles Edward was moving his family—Dora and three sons—and leaving his father, brothers, a sister, and other relatives and friends for somewhere new. The motivation had to be compelling.

Unfortunately, neither Charles Edward nor his family are to be found in the 1880 U.S. Census, the chief research tool for tracking residence and occupation. The trail does not go cold, however: The state of Minnesota conducted a decennial census five years later (36).

§

Charles Edward and his family show up in the Census of Minnesota Fifth Decennial (1885) for 1st Ward, Fergus Falls, Minnesota, a town that is 370 miles northwest of Dubuque. No occupations are recorded, but our suspicion of a better job for Charles Edward is confirmed ten years later, when the Census of Minnesota Sixth Decennial (1895) lists his occupation as "Locomotive Engineer" (37).

So with these two statewide censuses in Minnesota, we can reasonably conclude Charles Edward left his fireman job with Illinois Central and grabbed his chance to step up and take control of the machine: Becoming a locomotive engineer was a beckon to him from the town of Fergus Falls, which was blessed with abundant water power amidst a wheat-growing region.

Fergus Falls, Minnesota, in the 1880s boomed. Its population more than doubled, from 1,635 in 1880 to 3,772 in 1890. Located in Otter Tail County in northwest Minnesota, it was on the Otter Tail River and had the distinction of an eighty-foot drop of the river level within its city limits. The river was always ready to power saw mills, flour mills, other machinery, and generate electricity. Charles Edward's gift, as we saw once he left St. Louis, was that of Hephaestus. He was at a center of power and machinery (25).

Fergus Falls' location at the end of the Red River Valley made it ideal for shipping wheat grain and other agricultural products: The city was on a railroad line that connected to a major train hub in Fargo, North Dakota, and Moorhead, Minnesota, to the northwest. The railroad came to Fergus Falls in November 1879. The St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railroad would have its division headquarters in Fergus Falls from 1879 to 1885, before moving to Barnesville to the northwest. The SPM&M, which Charles Edward joined, became part of Great Northern Railroad from 1889 on.

But the reader might ask, What about the 1890 U.S. Census? What does that show? Again, we're stymied, not because Charles Edward and his family weren't counted, but more appallingly the records for everybody were destroyed. The 1890 U.S. Census records suffered a massive fire in the U.S. Commerce Building in 1921. Not being a complete and accurate census anymore, the remaining 1890 records were destroyed at the direction of Congress in 1933. The 1890 Census might have shown Charles Edward's occupation as locomotive engineer five years earlier than the 1895 Minnesota Census, but still we've reasonably established the move from Dubuque to Fergus Falls was for job advancement.

When Charles Edward's family is enumerated in the 1885 Minnesota Census, he is thirty-four years old, Dora is thirty-three, Harry Lyman is twelve, Clifford Curran is ten, and young Charles Oliver (my grandfather) is seven. No occupations are recorded.

A lot happens in ten years, for the 1895 Minnesota Census shows the family now lives in Barnesville. Charles Edward is forty-four and working as a "Locomotive Engineer;" Dora is forty-three and without recorded occupation; Harry Lyman is twenty-two and has his dad's old job, "Locomotive Fireman;" Clifford Curran is twenty and a "Machinist;" and surprisingly, Charles Oliver, now seventeen, works as a "Druggist" (37)—his dad's ambition in St. Louis when he, too, was seventeen. More likely, Charles Oliver was a druggist assistant, lacking at his young age a professional education.

Before we leave the 1895 Minnesota Census, we should note a few things. It asks, How long a resident of this state? Charles Edward answers sixteen years, implying he came to Fergus Falls in June of 1879 to take the locomotive engineer job with SPM&M. Dora and the three sons answer fifteen years and six months, thus joining Charles Edward close to the start of 1880. The Census also asks,

How long a resident in this enumeration district? (that is, Barnesville). They all answer four years, which suggests the family moved from Fergus Falls to Barnesville in June of 1891.

CHAPTER 23

What happened next to Charles Edward's family between 1895 and 1900 is something not to be found in records, government or otherwise, of any sort. The typical research tools yield nothing.

Yes, what happened next is something most people don't want to talk about, especially men. They would just as soon let bygones be bygones. No, it sometimes happens when two women get to know each other—when they have a bond, as it were—that a family history of hardship, shortcomings, and embarrassments is brought out into the open. Such was true when my mother met her new mother-in-law, Nicolina Egeberg Dickinson in Barnesville, Minnesota, many years ago.

Grandma had some time alone with Mother and explained why her husband, Charles Oliver, the young druggist (or assistant) of 1895, never touched alcohol in his life. His father, Charles Edward, who was a well-paid locomotive engineer with Great Northern lost it all for drinking on the job. He would never again work for a railroad after that. The job was dangerous enough without any personal impairment. Moreover, Charles Oliver, probably still a teen then, expressed some resentment about his dad's failing to Nicolina, telling her because his dad lost his job, he and his two brothers had to work that much harder to help support the family.

If there was any chance for Charles Oliver to go to college, and he had the brilliance and curiosity to benefit from higher education, it was gone when his dad lost his battle with the bottle. If Charles Edward had some preparatory school advantages given him by attending Grinnell and the Academy in St. Louis, that was never in the plans for Charles Oliver. From teenage years on, he worked to support the family and he knew that.

So the revelations Grandma shared with Mother were not casual gossip, but rose above that to emotional truths about the Dickinson family into which my mother had married and which her Norwegian mother-in-law willingly shared.

And while one might speculate why Charles Edward came to let down his family, ceasing to be a provider for months (or years), we know the Charles Edward who left St. Louis—not fated to be a trusted, admired professional like his dentist brother—had found his personal god in Hephaestus. He'd come to drive the locomotive across farmlands of the Red River Valley, asking, "Good morning, America, how are you?" when he already knew the joyous answer in his soul. He'd done that, then lost it, when the rough-and-tumble self he found for himself—at first shovelling coal into that firebox and working with a sweat-stained shirt—brought him to reverse decades of the Dickinson legacy of temperance by readily enjoying the brew or the nip.

We don't know when Charles Edward lost his Great Northern job, and we don't know how long he was unemployed, not supporting his family, and relying on his sons. The U.S. Census for 1900 (56) lists his sons, ages twenty-two through twenty-seven, and not one is married, when he married Dora at the age of twenty-one. Possible marriages delayed suggest family finances were tight.

The 1900 U.S. Census also confirms Charles Edward has a new occupation: "Electrical Engineer." The 1910 U.S. Census (57) will add that it is with the "Power House." The 1900 U.S. Census also asks how many months the respondent was unemployed during the preceding twelve months. Charles Edward, age forty-nine, "Electrical Engineer," puts down three months; his son Harry, age twenty-seven, "Railroad Fireman," puts down eight months; Clifford, age twenty-six, "Machinist," puts down two months; and hard-working Charles Oliver, age twenty-two, now a "Helper-Machinist,"

puts down no unemployment. The youngest son might have rightly thought, at times, he was supporting the family.

From the diary entries, we know Charles Edward had several personal qualities that would help an employer give him a second chance. The diary entries testify to his unfailing discipline (rising promptly every day) and sense of duty (his taking on many household chores and errands while in St. Louis). Charles Edward was an outgoing fellow, amiable, cooperative, and ready, as the reader saw, to organize a weekly boys prayer meeting, one at which he notes, "I took charge." As shown by his bulldog tenacity in working out Felter's loan repayment problems, Charles Edward was one to overcome apparent obstacles. Moreover, his gift from Hephaestus melded with the new technology. Charles Edward was always precise when a number came attached. Charles Edward is the sort of fellow you want operating an electrical power house.

As for Charles Edward and alcohol, it's probable he never again drank alcohol after the Barnesville fiasco. The likelihood of someone embracing sobriety after facing the consequences for such a lapse would appear to be higher for one raised in a family that was abstinent, that belonged to a Protestant denomination—Congregationalists—who joined the Methodists and Baptists in the Anti-Saloon League and campaigned for Prohibition. Because of what we know of Charles Edward's dutiful character, he must have easily accepted he couldn't keep his family going unless he swore off alcohol forever.

This idea of a reformed Charles Edward is supported by his grandson Wesley Edward who, in a memoir, describes his granddad as a "teetotaler." The grandson, out of ignorance, must have been unaware of the family history, from which his parents understandably shielded him.

The occupation of electrical engineer has great prestige today, often requiring a college degree to qualify for jobs that add to the unfathomable mix of electrical engineering design that surrounds us. But in the 1880s and the 1890s, electrical engineering was in its infancy. Edison and Tesla on the East Coast worked to bring electricity to people everywhere. When it arrived in Barnesville, the electrical engineer was the electric dynamo's operator, much like a locomotive engineer. This second-chance career let Charles Edward redeem himself.

§

We don't know how long Charles Edward was unemployed after he lost his Great Northern Railroad job. But his new job as Electrical Engineer at the Barnesville Power House meant by age forty-nine in 1899 he had back his role as main provider for his family: Dora, their four sons—three born in Dubuque and one in Fergus Falls—and the youngest child, a daughter, Abigail, born in Barnesville.

In 1903, Charles Edward's second son, Clifford, died. And by 1910, his remaining three sons had all left home. The 1910 U. S. Census shows he and Dora had fifteen-year-old Abigail and three grandchildren living with them. Now age sixty, a redeemed Charles Edward shows us another instance of taking on responsibility as a good family provider.

The three grandchildren are eldest son Harry Lyman's: Dorothy, age five; Warren, age four; and Floyd, age three. Not unheard of—children raised by grandparents—the three were with Charles Edward and Dora because of two circumstances. Soon after 1900 and before 1903, Harry left the railroad and took up itinerant work as a circus showman. Usually, he was on the road. Second, his wife—Mary Herman, whom he married in 1903—died in 1908 following birth of their fourth child, daughter Harriet, who lived only weeks (11). Thus, with the early, unexpected death of their mother, and their father on the road, all three children were thankfully taken in and cared for by Charles Edward and Dora in Barnesville, Minnesota—after being born and living in St. Louis, Missouri.

Though his experience came at a later age, Charles Edward must have known what these three felt after losing their mom.

In 1903, the year of his marriage, Harry worked for Tanner Brothers' Great United Railroad Shows and as they stated in *Billboard* (1), "Our World's Colossal Museum under the personal direction of the well known Harry Dickinson will be one of the largest and best equipped side shows ever operated in the West." Harry's life as a showman was not only itinerant, but also independent, as shown by this notice in *Billboard*, also in 1903: "Harry Dickinson and his dogs, monkeys and birds closed with the Skerbeck show and joined Ferari Bros.' London Carnival Co. at Pullman, Ill" (2).

In 1918, Harry's WWI draft registration (62) shows he was employed by "Metropolitan Shows," yet another circus, and his place of employment was "enroute Macon Ga," with a permanent home address in York, Pennsylvania, where his nearest relative, Ursula Dickinson, also lived—possibly a second wife.

The 1920 U. S. Census, enumerated January 15, shows Harry's three children have left grandparents Charles Edward and Dora and joined him, living in St. Louis, Missouri. No wife is listed in the Census household. Now aged fifteen, fourteen, and thirteen; Harry must have seen his children as old enough to adapt to his work as a circus showman. Moreover, daughter Dorothy would marry a few months later in April 1920 (7).

As for the two sons, Warren and Floyd, they joined him in his travels. In 1921, Harry filled out a passport application for travel to Cuba, leaving from Tampa, Florida. He planned to take Warren and Floyd on the trip whose purpose was "Business and Pleasure." The Department of State issued the passport January 28, 1921. Throughout the 1920s, the sons would help their dad with what *Billboard* called the "Harry Dickinson Attractions," an expansive circus midway sideshow—large enough that Harry would eventually buy his own railroad car to move the outfit. *Billboard* for March 10, 1923, reported, "Warren Dickinson will have charge of the Zoo attraction, which will present more than forty cages of animals and birds. Floyd Dickinson will sell tickets for the Dog and Pony Show. The Senior (Harry) Dickinson will make the openings on the latter show, also give the performance with twenty dogs and ponies, an unridable mule and White Eagle, the 'wonder cockatoo,' and featuring Cuba, one of the best pick-out ponies before the public ... "(3).

The weekly issues of *Billboard* throughout the 1920s occasionally mention Harry. Often it's his advertisements to buy and sell circus animals, but also correspondence about his trips to Cuba. In 1928, he opened two "store shows" in New Orleans: "The 'Dime Museum' at 632 South Rampart Street is in charge of his son, Warren, and the 'The Zoo' at 738 South Rampart is under his personal direction" (4).

Then in 1929, the Dickinson family Bible (26) has this entry: "Harry disappeared June 14, '29." For reasons evidently known only to Harry, perhaps deciding at last to make balmy Cuba his home.

§

Charles Edward retired from the Barnesville Power House after another of his sons, Hiram, died in 1913. Both Clifford and Hiram died in Barnesville. Both apparently never married. The 1920 U.S. Census confirms sixty-nine-year-old Charles Edward as retired. Social Security didn't exist then, so it would appear in the fifteen years plus since his redemption as a family provider, Charles Edward husbanded finances so he and Dora could face retirement with some confidence.

As for daughter Abigail, 1920 U.S. Census shows her, age twenty-five, as living at home and working as a newspaper reporter. Subsequently, she and her future husband, Ben Holum, would own the Barnesville newspaper, the *Record-Review*.

As for Charles Edward's number three son—the only son around with Harry on the road and later disappearing—Charles Oliver might not have liked his teenage years spent earning money for the

family. This son might have resented no college and a future limited to working with his hands—the "Helper-Machinist" of the 1900 U.S. Census. Nonetheless, this beleaguered number three son, Charles Oliver, got a marvelous gift. His dad, Charles Edward, gave him a love for all things Hephaestian—the new technology that was remaking the world.

§

Sometimes, the race is not won in one generation. Working as an electrical engineer in the power house, Charles Edward must have felt close to the source, the fire, and the forge that would change people's lives forever. His number three son, soon imbued with this passion, would go on to become the locomotive engineer his dad once was. More importantly, it's what that son, Charles Oliver, did in his spare time that took him to technology's frontier. Charles Oliver was obsessed with radio when it arrived. Crystal radios were the beginning for the tinkerer who had to take apart his radios and rebuild and improve their circuits.

His youngest son, Wesley Edward, got special attention. Yes, unlike his two older brothers, Harold and Vernon (my father), Wesley Edward was freed from going to relatives' farms during the summer and working for room and board. No, his summer vacations were filled with hours alongside his tinkering-happy dad, who was seized with radio's possibilities. They put together radios; they took apart new radios and improved them. Wesley Edward soon became a ham radio operator, learning the binary code of Samuel Morse. He'd go to college at North Dakota State in Fargo, join the Army Air Force during WWII, when he'd pilot a B-25 Mitchell bomber, return to the States, where on the G.I. Bill, he'd get a master's degree in electrical engineering from M.I.T.

A different, more specialized electrical engineer than his granddad, Charles Edward, but still sharing that Hephaestian passion for where technology was going, Wesley Edward would show up in San Jose, California, when IBM opened the doors to its new research laboratory at 99 Notre Dame Avenue in a cement-block building that had housed a printing plant. In September 1952 the term "Silicon Valley" meant nothing.

In 1956, Uncle Wesley would be the co-project engineer for a team that put together the world's first disk drive, RAMAC (an acronym for Random Access Method of Accounting and Control), an invention that changed computing forever. That disk drive had an arm with a dual-function head to execute read and write operations. Uncle Wesley has patent US2994856A (42) for the positioning mechanism that moves the arm anywhere on a spinning disk, an essential part for the invention that would unleash billions of disk drives to follow. Surely, the ghosts of great-granduncle Joseph Lathrop, patent holder (46) for the improved shingle-sawing machine sold worldwide; granddad Charles Edward, electrical engineer at Barnesville Power House, and, yes, father Charles Oliver, who'd died but months before, must have all looked on that September day when IBM proudly started shipping RAMAC—for the world of electrical engineering had demonstrably moved—and they smiled.

While Charles Edward did not live to see how his Hephaestian dream of technological progress would play out in our time (he died in 1934, largely deaf, possibly from his hours around locomotives and power dynamos), his legacy lived on. A young man standing on the banks of the Mississippi River in 1868 admires the mechanics of a steam-powered paddle wheeler setting off for New Orleans and knows he not only wants to explore, he wants to have the power to set everything in motion.

James Burke had a TV series called *Connections* that described how ideas propagate over many years, leading to unexpected inventions. Charles Edward admiring steam power led to operating locomotives and then a power house; he would give his enthusiasm for technology to his son Charles Oliver, who became obsessed with radio waves in the ether; and he, in turn, would share the passion with Charles Edward's grandson Wesley Edward, who would take up the gauntlet and do the spadework for what became Silicon Valley.

In that conflict—so present in the diary—with Uncle William, Did Charles Edward have the last word? Certainly. If Uncle William suggested he didn't deserve a professional education, he did something else, something with his Hephaestian gift. Charles Edward possessed a life energy that persevered, that endured with characteristic discipline. While Uncle William died at the age of seventy-two, Charles Edward would live eleven more years to the age of eighty-three, a full life, a life of more than one act, a life in which defeat was overcome, a life in which, though at times he gave his sons the gift of poverty, the baton of eventual victory was to be handed off through three generations.

APPENDICES:

1. A CAST OF CHARACTERS: Names Mentioned More Than Once in the Diary

FATHER (16 mentions), George Lyman Dickinson of Dubuque, Iowa. A self-made man and entrepreneur. His schooling at Walpole Academy (N. H.) ended at age twelve. After two clerical jobs, at age sixteen he joined a three-year successful whaling voyage around the Cape Horn. Upon his return he would have a furniture business in Walpole for four years, then leave for Dubuque, Iowa, where he homesteaded a farm forty miles west of town before building and opening Dickinson's Temperance House in town. He lost everything in the panic of 1856-57, but started over, opening the 72-room Tremont House in 1861 (41).

DR. POST (16 mentions), Truman Marcellus Post, D.D. of St. Louis, pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church (later the First Congregational Church), a prominent abolitionist, and Professor of Ancient and Modern History at Washington University in St. Louis.

UNCLE WM. (15 mentions), William Dickinson, M.D. of St. Louis, graduate of Dartmouth (1843) and Harvard Medical School (1851), Civil War Brigade Surgeon, oculist and pioneering ophthalmologist in private practice.

BRO. WILL (12 mentions), William Pliny Dickinson, D.D.S. of Dubuque, Iowa, Civil War veteran, dentist in private practice, and later, Dean of Dental Department at the University of Minnesota.

MR. CRANE (11 mentions), Francis Watson Crane, "Produce and Provisions Merchant" (23), brother of Almira Crane Hand and Evelina Crane Dickinson; and William Dickinson's brother-in-law, son of Larra Crane of Boston, and father of Larra Crane of St. Charles, Missouri.

AUNT E. (9 mentions), Evelina Crane Dickinson of St. Louis, wife of William Dickinson, sister of Francis Watson Crane and Almira Crane Hand of Dahlonega, Georgia, and daughter of Larra Crane of Boston.

MR. STONE (8 mentions), George B. Stone, A.M. of St. Louis, Professor of Rhetoric, and Professor of the Academic Department at Washington University in St. Louis.

MOTHER (6 mentions), Lucy Evans Dickinson, mother of Charles Edward, William Pliny, and others.

MR. TAFFEL[sic] (6 mentions), Rudolph L. Tafel, Ph.D, Professor of Modern Languages and Comparative Philology.

MR. GUILD (5 mentions), temporary guest at William Dickinson household.

JOS. LATHROP (5 mentions), Joseph Lathrop of St. Louis and not related to Joseph Lathrop Dickinson of Dubuque, Iowa.

HENRY MACK (5 mentions), Henry Ely Mack of St. Louis, student in the Freshman class of the Collegiate Department at Washington University in St. Louis.

LARRA CRANE (4 mentions), son of Mr. Crane and grandson of Larra Crane of Boston.

CHARLIE HAND (4 mentions), 2-year old son of Nathan and Almira Crane Hand of Dahlonega, Georgia.

MR. JACKSON (4 mentions), George E. Jackson, A.M., Acting Professor of Latin, Academic Department and Collegiate Department, Washington University in St. Louis.

GRANDMOTHER SMITH (4 mentions), Mary Bellows Dickinson Crawford Smith, widowed wife of the Reverend Pliny Dickinson, Walpole, New Hampshire. Remarried twice. Mother of George Lyman Dickinson.

FRED WISLIZENUS (4 mentions), Frederick Augustus Wislizenus, Sophomore class in the Collegiate Department, Washington University in St. Louis. Would later have a law practice in St. Louis.

MRS. C. HAND (3 mentions), Almira Crane Hand, wife of Nathan Hand, sister of Francis Watson Crane and Evalina Crane Dickinson, and daughter of Larra Crane of Boston.

HANNAH (3 mentions), hired help in William Dickinson household.

WILLIE PLUMBE (3 mentions).

ANNIE (2 mentions), hired help in William Dickinson household.

MR. ARNOLD (2 mentions), Denham Arnold, A.M., Teacher of Latin and Greek, Washington University in St. Louis. Charles Edward's instructor for *Felters Arithmetic*.

H. E. CAMP (2 mentions).

CHANCELLOR (2 mentions), William Chauvenet, L.L.D, Chancellor, and Professor of Astronomy and Mathematics, Washington University in St. Louis.

G. B. COE (2 mentions), roommate of Charles Edward at Grinnell College preparatory school in 1866—1867 school year.

MR. CONLEY (2 mentions).

MR. CRANE'S WIFE (2 mentions), Sarah Crane.

LILY DICKINSON (2 mentions), Evelina Laura Dickinson, six-year-old daughter of William and Evelina. Graduate of Smith College; Latin instructor and graduate studies at Stanford University.

UNCLE EDWARD (2 mentions), Edward Curran Dickinson, M.D., of Kansas City, 1826 graduate of Dartmouth (A.M.), Albany Medical College (NY), and Rush Medical College (Chicago), Civil War Surgeon, Missouri State Militia Calvary, physician and druggist. Brother of George Lyman, William, and Joseph Lathrop Dickinson. Second Husband of Missouri Turnbaugh Dickinson.

COL. FLINT (2 mentions), Charles Edward's Sunday school teacher at First Congregational Church.

MR. ED. GALLANAN [GALLAHAN] (2 mentions), a neighbor of the Dickinsons for whom Charles Edward picked up groceries.

J. B. GOFF [GOUGH] (2 mentions), President of Laclede Tobacco Co. in St. Louis.

MR. HAND (2 mentions) Nathan Hand, husband of Almira Crane Hand, and father of Charlie Hand. Lived in Dahlonega, Georgia.

SISTER HELEN (2 mentions), Sister of Charles Edward.

MR. MORRISON (2 mentions).

DR. NELSON (2 mentions), Henry A. Nelson, D.D., Reverend, First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, 1856-1868.

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