THIS MONTH

THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL, SURVIVAL OF AN ERA
By Rogers W. Young ............... Page 3

HUMAN VALUES FIRST
By Clifford C. Presnall ............. Page 9

DIVIDENDS FROM PARK USE PLANNING
By William Hay ..................... Page 13

EQUIPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER
By Alfred F. Hopkins ............... Page 19

NEW ECHOTA, BIRTHPLACE OF THE INDIAN PRESS
By Hugh R. Awtrey .................. Page 25

Patrick Henry National Monument : : Before and After
at Fort Pulaski : : Publications
and Reports

THE UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
· NATIONAL PARK SERVICE ·
REGION ONE — RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Typical of the lock houses built on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between 1828 and 1837 is that at Lock 18, Great Falls, Maryland, which is shown in the photograph. The route of the canal is indicated by the heavy black line on the map.
March THE REGIONAL REVIEW

THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL

A Survival of an Era

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The first half of the nineteenth century was the period in American history which saw the inception of the significant movement for internal improvement and national expansion of the new republic. The era was one of vast political, economic and social change. Conservative political and economic forces of the older East, which had dominated the post-Revolutionary period of governmental and economic experimentation, now began to give way before the spirit and influence of the expanding frontier during the early decades of the new century. Especially after the War of 1812 did the American mind turn from the perfecting of political and governmental organization to the development of national resources.

Opening the path for expansion was the democratic governmental philosophy of Jefferson, although its early progress was deterred temporarily by the constitutional scruples of his successors, Madison and Monroe. Popular and Congressional support of the nationalistic policies of Calhoun and Clay, however, soon defined and established the ephemeral American System, which included internal improvements as one of its cardinal features. Election of John Quincy Adams, an ardent disciple of that system, brought immediate federal aid to the movement and launched it upon the great period of ante-bellum activity.

The gravest national problem confronting the young nation, as the nineteenth century opened, was the conquest of the natural Appalachian barrier which lay between the commercially established east and the frontier resources of the undeveloped west. To link these two regions into a national system of enduring growth, vast improvement in the transportation facilities was urgently necessary. Jefferson, in 1806, first authorized federal aid for the opening of the west when he allotted money for building a national highway across the Alleghenies. The National or Cumberland Road, an improved thoroughfare from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling on the Ohio, was completed by 1817.

Following this precedent and in order to make an aggressive bid for the trade moving across the Alleghenies on the National Road, Maryland soon opened an extensive system of state turnpikes which connected with the National Road and radiated to the seaboard. Pennsylvania previously had invested millions in support of a state road system constructed westward across the Alleghenies and converging on Pittsburgh. As a result, she was enjoying by 1821 an almost complete monopoly of overland western traffic between the Atlantic and the Mississippi north of the Potomac.
The vigorous impulse given to the eastern and western movement of men and materials by the opening of the road systems led the country to search for and develop an even more economical means of transportation. The feeling swept the country in the early 1820's that water transport, either by canal or by improved river navigation, was vastly superior to the turnpike systems. Lending chief support to this contention was the phenomenal success of the Erie Canal, begun in 1817 and opened for its entire length in 1825. Its influence was significant in providing an economical water route between the western and lake region and the eastern seaboard. It opened the way for heavy western emigration and provided an outlet in the east for the rich raw materials of the west. Perhaps its most decided influence was the development of a dominating western trading route through New York's Mohawk Valley at the expense of Pennsylvania and Maryland, which previously had monopolized western trade by their geographic control of the road systems leading through the old Potomac and trans-Allegheny routes.

The record of the third decade of the nineteenth century in fostering internal improvements, consisting primarily of canal construction, is impressive. From 1825 to 1828, under the administration of John Quincy Adams, several canal companies, including the Chesapeake and Ohio, received direct federal support in the form of government subscriptions to their stock. In July, 1826, Pennsylvania accepted the Erie's challenge of her virtual control of the western trade route and began construction of a pretentious state system of canals leading toward the Ohio and its tributaries. By 1830 more than 3,000 miles of canals were completed or well advanced in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, while additional hundreds of miles of canals were under way in these states, the south and the mid-west.

As the canal fever spread throughout the country the cry went up for increasing federal appropriations. At the height of the era, however, Andrew Jackson provided an effective check to the uncontrolled expansion of the movement at the expense of the federal government. In 1830 his repeated vetoes of federal appropriations for canal construction, on the ground that it was unconstitutional to expend such funds for works of a local rather than national character, assured that further canals would be built only by state or private enterprise.¹

The ultimate decline of the canal system of internal improvements was already under way when Baltimore reluctantly embarked upon her desperate effort to obtain a water route to the west. Before 1825 her commercial position on the eastern seaboard had rivaled closely that of New York and Philadelphia, due mainly to her connections with the Maryland state road system leading to the Cumberland Road and the western trade. Unfortunately Baltimore was not situated geographically to command a western water route, having no connecting river valley to develop. Confronted with New York's growing advantage via the Erie, and

Philadelphia’s imminent threat promised by the Pennsylvania state canal system, Baltimore was forced either to give tentative support to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal project or to fail entirely in the struggle for a waterway to the western trade.

The Chesapeake and Ohio was proposed as a continuous canal along the old Potomac and trans-Allegheny trade route to the Ohio. It was the direct economic heir of the old Potomac Company, which had attempted unsuccessfully from 1785 to 1819 to fulfill George Washington’s life-long objective of developing a practical water route between east and west through the Potomac Valley. Strongly promoted in 1823 by interested tidewater citizens of Virginia, the District of Columbia and western Maryland, who saw its tremendous commercial potentialities for the Potomac Valley, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company was not chartered by Maryland until 1825. Baltimore's powerful business and political interests had shown little enthusiasm for a project which would do more to benefit their rivals on the lower Potomac, but they were placated by the reservation providing for the building of a lateral branch canal to serve Baltimore.

Construction was begun on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal on July 4, 1828, and on the same day in Baltimore was inaugurated the building of a new mode of transportation, one destined to be the chief competitor of the canal system, to cause its ultimate decline, and finally to displace it. For, by then supporting the building of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Baltimore showed her determination to maintain her position in the intense competition for the western trade even though it be through an untried experiment. Launched with $3,000,000 capital stock, one-third of which was the federal government’s sole aid to the company, the Chesapeake and Ohio undertaking languished for want of operating funds, after encountering construction difficulties and experiencing a bitter four-year right-of-way controversy with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. When, as a result of this situation, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was forced to resort to Maryland for financial aid, it was only following the pattern of most of the canals built in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, 1830-1840, after Jackson’s inflexible stand. The lamentable feature of the internal improvement policy of that decade was that many states continued to build the waterways, even though it was
becoming evident to discerning people that canals, if not obsolete, were at least outmoded.\(^2\)

The four disastrous years from 1836 to 1840 mark the beginning of the end of the age of canals in America. Yet, at the very height of this era of speculation when the states were heavily overbonded and credit everywhere generally overextended, Maryland, now thoroughly alarmed for the prosperity of Baltimore and the state, authorized in 1836 the floating of an $8,000,000 bond issue to finance a great system of internal improvements within her borders. Casting aside her scruples, Baltimore temporarily espoused the support of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, along with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and minor works. In addition to the $2,000,000 it had obtained from Maryland in 1835, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal now received $3,000,000. Despite the ill effects of the panic of 1837, Maryland was forced to make two other heavy loans to the canal, in 1839 and 1845, before the waterway could be completed to Cumberland in 1850. This city became its western terminus, though far short of its original goal across the Alleghenies.\(^3\)

Unfortunately, the Chesapeake and Ohio did not provide an effective competitive trade route to the west. Although it had reached a vantage point for trans-Allegheny commerce by 1850, it was finished on the threshold of the decade between 1850 and 1860 which saw the virtual end of the canal era in the United States. The peak of canal boating had marked the end of the pre-machine age in transportation. With the perfection of the steamboat, and the rapid introduction of the railway locomotive in this era, the industrial revolution in transportation was complete. As a consequence, the simple labor of man and beast in canal transportation became outmoded and within a few decades after the Civil War the disappearing network of American canals had been completely replaced by faster and better methods. The factor of speed had been important in hastening the downfall of the canal system.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal fittingly serves today as an example and survival of the American canal era. Primarily, this undertaking was the economic heir to the Potomac Company's pioneer efforts to open a water route to the western trade through the Potomac Valley. As a political issue in Maryland, it developed into a state canal project. Then it became a temporary agency of Baltimore's desperate attempt to maintain her commercial position on the eastern seaboard by developing a western water route to forestall the Erie Canal's growing monopoly of the western trade. The construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio fits significantly into the ante-bellum struggle of the lower eastern seaboard to wrest control of the western trading route from the northern and eastern states.

The canal never attained any great measure of economic success but it afforded considerable benefit to the economic development of the Potomac Valley region. Ever cursed by lack of way trade, the canal did

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\(^2\) Ibid., 107-108.
\(^3\) Ibid., 113-116.
not reach the peak of its commercial development during the ante-bellum era, when its downstream traffic included only lumber, building stone, grain, flour, whiskey and some coal. Between 1860 and 1880, however, the waterway felt its heyday when the profitable coal-carrying trade reached its height on the canal, exerting a considerable influence on the intensive development of the George's Creek coal regions. The reopening of the old Potomac route to the west by means of water transportation along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal blazed the way for the development of the pioneer east and west railway communication, via the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and contributed to the ultimate industrialization of the east.

While the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was not the longest, the most famous, or the most successful canal in our national history, today as one of the best preserved and least altered of our old canals, it is an unusual and significant example from that period of American economic growth known as the era of internal improvements. As historical physical remains safeguarded by the National Park Service, it illustrates uniquely the era of our early national expansion, the attempts to link the eastern seaboard with the western frontier, the development of our frontier resources, and the solidifying of national unity. The canal itself may be regarded as an important and picturesque physical document with its varicolored stone locks, the sturdy brick and stone lockkeepers' houses, the grass-grown towpath, the winding water courses and abandoned stretches of sod-covered bed, all forming an eloquent historical exhibit of our great canal era.

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Patrick Henry National Monument

Public interest in Red Hill, the Virginia estate on which Patrick Henry lived during his last years and where his body has rested since his death in 1799, has been revived in recent weeks as a result of the approval on January 29 of an Act of Congress authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the historic lands. The act appropriated $100,000, or such portion as may be required, for acquisition purposes. When established officially the area will become Patrick Henry National Monument, administered by the National Park Service as a perpetual memorial to the man and the valuable services that he contributed in winning American independence.

In 1794, when 58 years old and possessed of a sufficient fortune for the needs of his large family, Patrick Henry decided to withdraw from public life. The next year he left the Long Island estate in Campbell County, Virginia, and moved to the Red Hill property in Charlotte County. Red Hill consisted of 2,920 acres, together with a house, one story and a half high, and certain adjoining buildings. The residence was situated on a ridge which divided Campbell and Charlotte Counties and was within a few hundred yards of the point where Falling River joins the Staunton. From the elevation of the house the valley of the Staunton is in full view to the south for three miles or more, presenting a scene of great beauty. From the ridge west of the house may be seen the Blue Ridge Mountains stretching along the horizon; and when the visibility is good the Peaks of Otter, 60 miles distant, come into view.

Henry added a frame lean-to to the Red Hill residence, not for the additional room afforded, but, it is said, because he wanted to hear the patter of the rain on its roof. After his death June 6, 1799, the estate passed by will to two of his sons, John Henry, the eldest, receiving the house and half of the land. While John lived few changes were made in the old home, the principal one being the alteration in about 1833 which made it into a two-story structure. It was at about the same time that the boxwood gardens were planted under direction of his wife. The hedges now rank among the best in Virginia and have attained a height of eight to ten feet.

When John Henry died in 1858 the property went to his son, William Wirt Henry, a lawyer of note whose practice kept him in Richmond, and for many years Red Hill was left in the care of an overseer. William Wirt Henry was the father of the present owner, Mrs. Lucy Gray Henry Harrison, the great-granddaughter of Patrick Henry, who came into possession of the estate in 1906. She repurchased a great portion of the original lands and remodeled the house into a [Continued on page 38]
HUMAN VALUES FIRST

A Biologist Looks at a Recreational Demonstration Area

BY CLIFFORD C. PRESNALL
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Washington.

Editor's Note: "This is intended as an open forum type of article," wrote Mr. Presnall to The Regional Review, "the views of one individual on a subject deserving and requiring the best thought of many of us before definite and concerted action is possible."

To many of us who started our national park careers in an earlier period, the present scope and magnitude of the Service are both surprising and stimulating. They are surprising because we had been accustomed to think of national park areas largely in terms of primitive wilderness; and stimulating because the great new assemblage of historic shrines, parkways, seashores, and vacation areas offers such a broadened opportunity for all of America to utilize fully the inspirational values inherent to them.

Each new type of area included within the system during the last few years presented a distinct challenge and a distinct problem that could not be met by routine application of methods previously evolved for the original wilderness parks. Upon the basic principle of preserving natural features intact for the enjoyment of present and future generations there had to be developed new concepts and methods suitable to attainment of new objectives. Take two examples: in historical areas the objective is to recreate the atmosphere of a definite event or stage in history so that the significance of the past may be visualized readily; in a parkway the purpose is to provide an attractive pleasure vehicle route through a considerable expanse of country rich in scenic, scientific and cultural features of national significance. The various objectives are recognized quite generally within the Service, but the complexities arising in the course of their practical application are seldom appreciated fully by those not in direct contact with development work.

All this came rather forcibly to my attention during a recent inspection of wildlife matters at Swift Creek Recreational Demonstration Area, near Chester, Virginia. The visit primarily was for the purpose of studying the question whether the open fields existing in...
the area at the time of purchase (1934) should be allowed to revegetate naturally, eventually making the entire place a solid forest, or whether it would be preferable to maintain them free of tree growth. It was noted that natural vegetative succession, proceeding unhampered since 1934, had reached a stage of dominance by broomsedge, with a rapid natural pine reforestation beginning in numerous places.

Now if Swift Creek were part of a wilderness park in which preservation of natural primitive conditions is a chief objective, everyone would agree that it should be allowed to revert to forest; but it is not a wilderness park, nor was it set aside primarily for preservation of primitive conditions. It was established as a part of a national land utilization program in which certain areas were designated for the primary purpose of showing how they could be used most effectively for community recreation of a type closely related to nature, hunting excepted.

Studies by recreational planners show that an area having open and forested tracts in the ratio of about 30:70 yields maximum recreational opportunities. The ratio at Swift Creek is 5:95, and is rapidly changing to 1:99 or more. I am told that natural revegetation is having the same effect in many Recreational Demonstration Areas of the southeast. That would be fine, if the areas were intended to be natural reforestation projects. But it does not look so good for conservation of human health and happiness. If a bunch of kids cannot dry out their blankets in the sun they are not going to be too healthy, and if they have nothing but woods to hike and play in they are not going to be as happy as if they could enjoy the more varied experiences of mixed woodlands and fields and the much more varied and abundant wildlife that would be attracted to such an environment.

It happens that a field-woodland ratio of 30:70 is close to the optimum for wildlife as well as for recreation, because young human beings and young animals are not far different in their needs. Despite that correlation, wildlife conservation is not the primary purpose of a Recreational Demonstration Area, any more than is reforestation. It would seem that both animals and trees should be conserved to the extent that they will best contribute to recreational use. In actual practice that ideal probably can never be attained, for it may involve such things as having a swimming pond with clean shores and bottom, and a fishing pond full of snags and bordered with aquatic vegetation, where turtles and water birds might be found. A boy can have a lot of fun with a turtle. There may even be instances where planting would be advisable to attract birds and thereby increase the pleasure of people using the open areas thus maintained. For winter food a few shocks of corn near a fence row or woods border might be justifiable.

These thoughts are not intended to discredit in any way the admirable provisions for protection of fauna and flora from damage by the public (Administrative Manual for Recreational Demonstration Areas, approved April 19, 1937). Such protection is necessary to insure the best recreational advantages to future generations. That protection, however,
need not imply a "hands off" policy relative to management by the administra­tive agency. Such a policy might easily result in a future wilder­ness of minor value for the types of recreation now believed to be most desirable in Recreational Demonstration Areas.

The subject of management policy for such areas is a difficult one, involving great potential benefits to coming generations if properly handled, and mediocre results if carelessly considered. The intimate contacts with everyday life in numerous communities which are possible through the work in these areas would seem to make them one of the major responsibilities of the Service. It follows that every person concerned with development and management of a Recreational Demonstration Area (or any Service area) should place his actions on an objective rather than a subjective basis. What does that mean? Well, suppose I go charging into a Recreational Demonstration Area loaded with wildlife ideas and handicapped with limited time, - the exigencies of travel schedule being such as they are. The place looks ideal for inauguration of some wildlife projects: a fish pond, some snags for wood duck nests nearby, and a good turkey range on certain ridges. Then I return to the Interior Building in Washington and play a tune on the typewriter: "How to Have Wilder and Woolier Wildlife on Whose Run Recreational Demonstration Area."

Suppose a forester, likewise, reports on how to make the area a forested paradise, a landscaper recommends such use of native materials as will result in a dream of esthetic perfection, and an engineer shows how to build a series of dams that are masterpieces of earth construction.

If all these divergent ideas were converted into action the place would be "Whose Run" all right. It would belong to everybody but the kids for whom it was intended.

Of course, none of us would do such a thing, except maybe the wild-lifers, but just suppose we did. That would be subjective reasoning. Some judicious bumping together of heads might be necessary in order to jostle them into objective reasoning and action. Then instead of trying to make the areas serve wildlife or other specialized interests, we should all ask ourselves how our particular technical branch could contribute to the major objective of the area. Instead of thinking "How will such and such action affect the natural beauty of the place?" the question would be "How can landscape architecture best aid optimum recreational use of the area?" or "What wildlife practices will give those kids the kind of fun they deserve?" In other words, we should all be park, or recreational demonstration area, or parkway people first, and keep our individual professional skills subservient to primary objectives.

I like to remember something the late Colonel C. G. Thomson once told some of us when we became a little too cocky out in Yosemite National Park: "You fellows are just necessary nuisances around here, and you ought to be damn glad to use what little ability you have to keep this park ticking. It's no good arguing whether public contacts take precedence over traffic regulations. Park objectives have precedence over everything."
The Service’s ears have been burning at a great rate this month while, by press and radio, appreciative observers said nice things about its life and works.

The Atlanta Journal, long proud that its daily issue "Covers Dixie Like the Dew," said editorially on March 13: "... We in this country are just now fairly awakening to the values of our history. Always, of course, devoted groups have cherished the landmarks and shrines of the past, but now the public — at least the thinking, feeling part of the public — turns to such spots with eager hears and eyes. Tourists and vacationists will select a route to visit the house where a poet was born or to stand on a hillside where regiments of men died for a conviction. No small measure of the credit for this aroused and growing interest belongs to the National Park Service. Its development of historic areas is done so discerningly, so coherently and with so fine a sense of educational benefits that the result is often equally gratifying to the veteran student and the young engineer...."

Edwin C. Hill, veteran air commentator, flashed the nation a tidy bouquet on the night of March 4 when he pointed a finger of praise at activities now under way at the Statue of Liberty National Monument. He broadcast: "Bartholdi’s Big Girl down the bay is having her face lifted. Pedicurists, manicurists and cosmeticians are industriously restoring her beauty; for the remodeling of Bedloe’s Island as a national park, and the incidental restoration of the majestic Statue of Liberty, is well under way.... From the tiny walk in the torch held high in the right hand of Miss Liberty, 300 feet above the waters of New York harbor, men swarm like ants, grading and planning the reclaiming of five acres to be taken from the water. Its reclaimed green lawns and flower gardens will make the little park one of the beauty spots of America and with a perfect setting facing the towers of Manhattan...."

PARK PEDAGOGY

An episode at Fort Marion National Monument, Florida, which in February recorded 28,841 visitors from all 48 states and four foreign countries, suggests that educational opportunities, like most other things, are where you find them.

After a class of third grade school children had made a tour of the ancient Spanish citadel in St. Augustine, the teacher gave an examination which required her charges to append pencil sketches of features that had interested them most of all.

The results, transmitted to Service officials, "proved remarkably interesting." The Monument staff now is analyzing this fund of pre-adolescent observations with the aim of preparing a special guide script for visitors of the indicated age group.

It well may be that a little child shall lead the Bos bison of the Department of the Interior to those fathomless springs whence issue the fugitive waters of the crystal stream of knowledge.
DIVIDENDS FROM PARK USE PLANNING

Tennessee Surveys the Results of an Experiment

BY WILLIAM HAY

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Division of State Parks
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During the last two years Tennessee has been experimenting with a planned program of stimulating and guiding the use of its state parks through leadership and group contact activities. Initiated tentatively in 1938, the program did not reach its full scope until last year. Actual records now show that it almost doubled both attendance and participation in activities and that it is rapidly creating a park consciousness in the public mind.

In addition, it is helping to arouse a keener interest in conservation by instilling a greater respect for nature in the minds of thou-
sands of park visitors by giving them enjoyable experiences in the out-of-doors. As a result of the success of the program, planned recreation has been accepted as a permanent administrative policy of the Division of State Parks of the Department of Conservation.

The program is not a hair-brained scheme plucked out of thin air. It evolved slowly as a result of experience, observation and careful study of the recreational habits and needs of the state's population. It was based on a knowledge that a vast majority of Tennessee's 2,600,000 people have had little opportunity to acquire interests and skills in the out-door forms of recreation. It was established through observation that park visitors were motivated largely by curiosity rather than recreational interests. A large number of these recorded during the first year stood around throughout their stay, gazing wistfully at the few who engaged in activities. While some of them no doubt were entertained by what they saw, as a spectator enjoys his indirect participation in a ball game, the majority nevertheless went away not to return --- good evidence that the park was not providing something which they went there to get. This led to a conclusion that, if the parks were to afford the maximum use of each resource and each facility, and if they were to serve the greatest number of persons, then a certain amount of educational effort was needed to acquaint visitors with recreational opportunities. We believed such work could be accomplished only through a planned program of appropriate character carried out under capable leadership.
Since the Division of State Parks was just initiating its park operation and since funds were low and personnel inadequate, it became necessary to look elsewhere for the leadership that was required. Accordingly, when the director of the Work Projects Administration's State Division of Recreation volunteered cooperation in the establishment of a recreational program on the new park areas by providing assistance from his administrative staff, which included specialists, district supervisors and the director himself, his offer was accepted eagerly. In addition, a man and woman leader were obtained for each of the four areas which were open to the public. They were furnished quarters at the park and placed under supervision of the park superintendent. Besides providing leadership service, they acted as good will ambassadors, assisting patrons in every manner possible, especially in interpreting the features of the park and explaining the extent of the program offered. The women leaders acted also as hostesses at the lodge and other gathering points.

The program was planned to accomplish the following objectives:
(1) Give a maximum of suitable leisure-time activities to our people;
(2) Increase participation in activities;
(3) Increase general park attendance;
(4) Maintain a high rate of attendance during week-days and off-seasons;
(5) Establish the habit of repeat visits by patrons, and
(6) Utilize to the best advantage the natural resources of each of the state's parks.
The plan was inaugurated with the opening of the first parks in July, 1938, but during the first year its scope was limited to rendering the services already enumerated and to a careful study of park patron habits and interests. At the close of the season work was begun on the formulation of a year-around program. The following steps were evolved and approached in the order of their sequence, the field work being done by the park superintendent and a trained recreation leader.

(1) A 15-, 25- and 50-mile highway zone was established around each park in operation.

(2) The compilation of a list of all groups and organizations functioning together as a body and lying within this 50-mile zone was begun. At the same time information concerning the size, nature, time of regular meeting and type of program was obtained. Whether the agency sponsored or participated in recreational activities was recorded. Groups of divers types, such as luncheon clubs, social clubs, 4-H Clubs, Home Demonstration Clubs, music clubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Reserves, were included.

(3) Each group was contacted through its presiding officer by mail or by personal interview of the park personnel. Letters were used at first for the smaller and more remote groups to describe the advantages of the park facilities and recreation program. They were shown how their own program might be elaborated or stimulated by the various activities of the park conducted under competent leadership. Similar information was given to larger groups in talks by park representatives. In many cases the lectures were illustrated with the state park motion picture, The Dawn of a New Day, which depicts in natural colors the activities enjoyed in the parks and shows how the visitors engage in them. Many new recreational pursuits thus were demonstrated for persons possessing varied interests. Their curiosity and desire for such experiences were aroused.

(4) They then were invited to the park to engage in some activity in which they already were well versed, or for some new program. They became familiar gradually with the new enterprise and eventually each group became independent to a great extent as far as leadership at the area was concerned. Each person soon sought his favorite activity on repeat visits.

(5) As each group contacted came to the area a complete record was made of the number, age, sex, activities chosen, and the extent of assistance given by the park personnel. A special record was kept of each repeat visit when members of the group appeared together.

(6) Informal groups and individuals coming to the park were assisted in some activity and the leaders, though careful not to impose their aid on the patron, were alert to help anyone showing interest in some particular pursuit.

(7) District conferences for Work Projects Administration leaders were held at several state parks. This not only acquainted them with actual demonstrations of park activities but also caused them to take their enthusiasm and information back to the communities in which they lived, thereby encouraging many more persons in the use of the areas.
Specialists from the state office of the Work Projects Administration were assigned to state parks at intervals to stimulate and promote interest in handcraft and social and other activities.

The results achieved at Cedar of Lebanon State Park, a typical area, illustrates the general effectiveness of the program. During the first year (1938) of operation by the state the park had little leadership and no community educational work. During the 1937 season, before the formal opening, less than 10 per cent of the visitors engaged in activities and the attendance was low despite people's curiosity concerning the new development.

In the 1938-39 season, recreational guidance in activities was provided by a well-trained leader and the park superintendent. Group contact and community educational work had not been carried on, however, before the fall of 1938. Participation in activities that year was 53 per cent of the total attendance. In 1939, after this plan had been set in action and group contact work was carried on through the winter, participation increased to 84 per cent of total attendance. Attendance itself increased 79 per cent.

A soft drink bottling firm may be cited to illustrate the effects of this program on a typical group, and the advantages of advanced planning. The president of the company, who was acquainted with the park program, brought a group of 150 persons to the area. The park superin-
tendent and recreational leader prepared an all-day program varied in nature and fitted to the interests of the group. As a result of the success of the venture this park has been chosen for the company's annual outing.

During the winter of 1938-39 one hundred sixty-seven different organizations were contacted, forty-seven of them by personal interview. Of the forty-seven, thirty-five came to the park during the past summer. Of the 120 remaining groups, seventy-eight have visited the park.

It is difficult to make statistical tabulations of the entire results because, as is true in any creative work, there are many intangible elements. The indirect effect of the group contact work may be cited as an example. A good many of the individuals who came with the various groups had never been to the park before. After the first visit many of them returned a number of times, bringing their families and friends, or a church, civic, social or school group to which they belonged. At Cedar of Lebanon State Park 75 per cent of those in attendance on a date when a check was taken were repeat visitors.

Due to the many elusive factors influencing a program of this kind, no attempt has been made to show the cause and effects of every step taken. We may conclude from the results shown to date, however, that the plan is making a definite contribution to a more widespread and intelligent use of our parks, and a more alert interest in conservation.

Planned recreation has become a definite part of the state park program in Tennessee. Present evidence indicates that it provides a more effective method of conserving human resources and that, at the same time, it decreases the danger of destroying scenic resources. We feel, as do others who are close to our problem, that an encouraging advance has been made toward solving the recreation question in the state. It is felt that better service is being performed for the public.

All photographs by courtesy of the Tennessee Department of Conservation
EQUIPMENT OF THE SOLDIER

During the American Revolution

BY ALFRED F. HOPKINS
Museum Curator
Morristown National Historical Park
New Jersey

How did the soldier of the American Revolution keep his powder dry? What kind of musket and how many bullets did he carry? What other weapons and accoutrements were included in the equipment of the fighting man?

These questions, which arouse a renewed interest today because the wars in Europe have redirected public attention to military arms, are answered by the exhibit that has been placed on display in the museum of Morristown National Historical Park. The authenticated collection em-
braces most of the equipment with which the American soldier brought to a successful close the seven-year struggle for freedom.

An order of April 6, 1779, issued in Boston and now preserved in the Emmet Collection of the New York Public Library, describes in detail the arms and accoutrements of that day. A copy of it in the Morristown exhibit reads:

To Shrimpton Hutchinson Esq.

SIR,

You are hereby ordered and directed, to compleat yourself with ARMS and Accoutrements, by the 12th Instant, upon failure thereof, you are liable to a FINE of THREE POUNDS; and for every Sixty Days after, a FINE OF SIX POUNDS, agreeable to Law.

Articles of Equipment,

A good Fire-Arm, with a Steel or Iron Ram-Rod, and a Spring to retain the same, a Worm, Priming wire and Brush, and a Bayonet fitted to your GUN, a Scabbard and Belt therefor, and a Cutting Sword, or a Tomahawk or Hatchet, a Pouch containing a Cartridge Box, that will hold fifteen Rounds of Cartridges at least, a hundred Buck Shot, a Jack-Knife and Tow for Wadding, six Flints, one pound powder, forty Leaden Balls fitted to your GUN, a Knapsack and Blanket a Canteen or Wooden Bottle sufficient to hold one Quart.

These prescribed articles, with the exception of the knapsack, blanket and worm (the latter used in extracting the charge from the barrel of the musket should that become necessary), all are exhibited, bearing appropriate labels. Included in the display are

1. a hat of black felt, the brim rolled to form a tricorn, worn by Moe Judson, a soldier in the Revolutionary Army;
2. a flint, steel and tinder-horn, and
3. two powder horns, the larger for containing the coarse powder for the barrel charge, the smaller to hold the more finely ground powder for use in the priming pan of the lock. Such horns were obtained from domestic cattle and used frequently when bullets and powder were not rolled together to form cartridges, the leaden balls and wadding then being carried in the pouch.

Musket cartridges, prepared by those skilled in their making, often were supplied to the troops from the ammunition laboratories. A unique regimental ammunition cart intended for the transportation of 18,000 cartridges, a conveyance designed by George Washington in The Regional Review, Vol. II, No. 5, May 1939, p. 187, already has been placed on exhibit in the Morristown Revolution Room.
When cartridges were not supplied from the laboratories it was necessary for the soldier to "roll his own". He melted his lead and poured it into an iron mold, forming balls which numbered 12 or 16 to the pound depending on the caliber of the musket in which they were to be used. The handles of the mold formed a snipping device intended for use in cutting off the "neck" of the bullet after molding; but the soldier usually preferred to smooth the leaden pellet with his jackknife.

Into an oblong of tough paper he placed the ball, sometimes with four or six buckshot, and four or four and one-half drams of coarse black powder which he rolled into a cylinder, twisting or tying the ends. After receiving a coating of grease for protection from dampness, the cartridges were placed in separate borings in the wooden block forming part of the cartridge pouch and covered by its flap of leather. The pouch, suspended by a shoulder belt of webbing or leather, was worn behind the right hip and usually held 24 cartridges or "rounds of ammunition". If the pouch and its contents became thoroughly wet during a rainfall or at a river ford, the soldier, except for reliance on the bayonet, was hors de combat until his ammunition dried or a fresh supply of powder was obtained.

In order to load his musket when ammunition in the form of cartridges was used, the soldier brought the hammer of the lock to half-cock and uncovered the pan by pressing the frizzen upward and forward (See diagram above). Tearing or biting through the cartridge at its powder end, he filled the pan with powder, retaining it by closing the frizzen. Placing the butt of the piece on the ground, he poured the remaining powder, together with the ball and paper as wadding, into the muzzle of the barrel and rammed them all well down with the rammer. Lifting the piece, he slapped it upon the stock opposite the lock in order to shake a small quantity of powder from the pan into the touch-hole of the barrel. The piece was then ready to fire.

If loose powder carried in horns was used, the soldier poured down the barrel a quantity that he considered to be the correct charge, dropped in a lead ball taken from his pouch and, with a twist of tow as wadding, rammed all downward. The pan of the lock was filled from the

(1) From United States Martial Pistols and Revolvers, by Major Arcadi Gluckman, United States Army.
horn, the smaller one usually containing more finely ground powder for promoting better ignition. To fire the piece the hammer was brought to full cock and pressure applied to the trigger. The hammer, holding securely in its jaws a piece of flint, was brought down by force of the main spring, and the flint, striking the steel of the frizzen, threw it forward, uncovering the priming powder in the pan into which a shower of sparks was sent at the same instant. The sparks ignited the priming and fire passed through the touch-hold of the barrel and to the charge inside. Expanding gases resulting from the explosion of the charge in the barrel sent the bullet wobbling on its way from the smooth bore toward its mark.

The range of military muskets of the period was between 400 and 600 feet, depending on their origin, weight of ball, and quality and charge of powder. Because of their smooth bores they had little accuracy but were intended primarily for volley-firing at a distance not exceeding 300 feet. Yet, when a ball hit its mark after being fired from a musket of .69 or .75 inch in bore (the prevailing bores of military arms of the period), it was capable of inflicting death or serious injury if not too spent.

The musket shown in the illustration on page 19 is the French army regulation arm of the period, the Charleville model of 1763. It was selected for display for the reason that by the time the order quoted above was issued in 1779 virtually all the American army was equipped with this type. Together with other French regulation muskets made at the Royal Arsenals of Maubeuge, St.-Etienne and Tulle, which differed only slightly in design, it was the finest military arm of its day. Manufactured with greater care and having an improved type of hammer and barrel securely fastened to the stock by bands instead of "pins" through lugs, it possessed greater durability, accuracy and range than did the British musket, or the Colonial arms modeled from it, with which the Americans entered the war. The Charleville model was somewhat lighter than the British arm and its caliber was less, having a bore of about .69 inch.

If pressed, the trained Continental soldier could load and fire his piece four times a minute, but the rate generally was slower. He took little care in aiming, aware of the inaccuracy of his weapon except for short ranges. He swung his cartridge pouch to the front for greater accessibility; and between loading he thrust his ramrod conveniently into the ground beside him. His flint, if of good quality and adjusted properly between a fold of leather or lead in the jaws of the hammer, could be used 50 or 60 times. His handicaps were fouling of the barrel from powder combustion, which necessitated swabbing with the ramrod; and fouling of the flash-pan and frizzen with clogging of the touch-hole, requiring the use of a small iron brush and slender wire pick that usually were hung from the shoulder of the cartridge pouch or powder horn.

Visitors to the Morristown museum have shown so much interest in the equipment of the Revolutionary soldier that types of British, French and Hessian muskets also have been placed on display.
When Wendell C. Walker, a visitor from Rockwood, Tennessee, went to Cockspur Island, Georgia, in 1931, Fort Pulaski, he now recalls, "was half-hidden by a dense growth of subtropical vegetation." He borrowed a rowboat and crossed the Savannah River channel to make the (top) photograph of the terreplein. How the National Park Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps have made the historic fortress accessible to the public is illustrated by the (middle) picture made this month from the same camera position. At the bottom are seen some visitors examining a Confederate-made Brooke rifled cannon rescued recently from a junk dealer and mounted at Fort Pulaski National Monument.
America's first Indian newspaper, which was published at New Echota, the capital town in North Georgia. Column 4, printed in the symbols of the Sequoyan syllabary, announces the results of a general census which had been conducted on orders of the National Council.
NEW ECHOTA,
Birthplace of the American Indian Press

BY HUGH R. AWTREY,
Associate Recreational Planner,
Richmond, Virginia

New Echota National Memorial is one of the smallest and most obscure of the 155 areas administered by the National Park Service. Few travelers turn aside from the Dixie Highway (U. S. Route No. 41) onto the rural road that leads from the present town of Calhoun to a pastoral scene in the north Georgia hills where a modest stone chronicles briefly the rise and fall of a nation. The story seldom is told, yet merits constant and eloquent repetition; for it is the recital of an unparalleled human achievement. It is the record of a people raised in a scant decade, by its own intellectual bootstraps, from unlettered savagery to the refined estate of a government by published code -- and a literature by the printed word. It is the moving but tragic history of the Cherokee Indians.

American ethnologists, political economists, social and religious historians, and students in numerous allied fields may find at this abandoned eastern capital of the Cherokees the subjects for fruitful investigation into many questions of aboriginal culture. The present discussion is intended merely to suggest some of the little trod trails of inquiry which might lead to profitable discoveries in the realm of Indian journalism, a surprisingly prolific institution which had its origins 112 years ago at New Echota before it spread westward and gave the first periodical press to at least two of the young states beyond the Mississippi.

New Echota's unique page in the history of world journalism is an incidental gift of Sequoyah, that incredible genius whose career still awaits a comprehensive biography which over-reaches academic quibble. Long recognized as "America's Cadmus," that untutored linguist, who spoke no word of English or any other "civilized" tongue, endowed his fellow tribesmen with a written language which offered to the eye an easy and faithful transcript of their ancient speech.

Strange to tell, Sequoyah, hero of his nation, beneficiary of the only literary pension ever granted by the United States government, recipient of a medal from Congress, commemorated in Statuary Hall at the national Capitol, official emissary in Washington, veteran of the War of 1812, subject of an oil portrait by a leading painter of the day, drunkard turned prohibitionist, artisan who developed silvercraft to the highest point attained by North American Indians, inspiration for the name of a famous giant tree, and above all, inventor of a remarkably efficient

system of language signs, remains today, a century after his death, something of a man of mystery.2

This fact becomes all the more astounding when it is considered that many inquiring visitors, including men of literary reputation, interviewed Sequoyah in his later years. Nevertheless, his paternity, the time and place of his birth, and even the details of his death, are unproved questions which have tantalized numerous researchers. One of them,3 after a cautious review of the evidence, believes that "it may be enough to say that Sequoyah was born of a Cherokee mother, somewhere in the lower Appalachian region, between the years 1755 and 1775."

Fortunately for those lay readers who are not disagreeably insistent upon microscopic substantiation of pleasantly plausible theories, most students of the Sequoyan saga concede, with varying degrees of reservation, that the gifted Indian was born about 1760 at Fort Loudon, near the original Echota in East Tennessee, the son of a white man.4 The somewhat uninspiring etymological thesis has been advanced that the hero's name derived from Sikwe, suggesting "pig pen".5 Another explanation, which perhaps could not withstand the dissolving acids of philological scrutiny is that the Indian mother, forsaken by her itinerant spouse before the arrival of their child, chose the name Sequoia, meaning "he guessed it."6 Happily, such discussions are but academic by-paths which stem from the high road of achievement blazed by the man himself.

Divested of split-hair carpisms, the essential story starts with his recognition of the superior power that written speech, "talk on paper," conferred upon the men who understood it, in contradistinction to those who could transmit their ideas only by mouth. He began in 1809 to devise a system of symbols for words and ideas which developed gradually into an elaborate, laborious and inflexible pictography similar in basic principle to Chinese. Aware of his error, he made a new start; and there was his stroke of genius. He noted carefully every sound in the Cherokee language and designated each by an arbitrary character.7 After a decade of experimentation, while enduring patiently the jeers of relatives and friends, he perfected a system of 85 fundamental symbols, plus one recurrent prefix, and evolved, not precisely an alphabet, but a syllabary—a phonetic transcription of the entire Cherokee vocabulary with its be-

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3 Davis, op. cit., 135.

4 One school of Sequoyan genealogists favors George Guess, a German peddler from Savannah. Another rejects him with scholarly vehemence and cites Colonel Nathaniel Gist, friend of Daniel Boone. Orthographical variants include Guess, Guest, Gist, Guist and Guyst. Government records concerning Sequoyah contain the forms Guess and Gist.

5 Davis, op. cit., 136.

6 Herbert Earl Wilson, The Lore and Lure of Sequoia, the Sequoia Gigantea, Its History and Description (Wolfer Printing Company, Los Angeles, 1928), 90.

7 Most of the signs are letters of our own alphabet employed normally, reversed or upside down. Some investigators suggest that Sequoyah adapted them from an English spelling book (which he could not read), others that he followed the print in a newspaper picked up on the roadside.
wildering nine modes, fifteen tenses and three numbers (singular, dual and plural).

The prime significance of Sequoyah's invention, however, was not his own mastery of a complex lingual problem. It was the amazing facility with which others could learn the system. A considerable number of the Cherokee Indians, some of them cultured and wealthy, commanded polished English, and a few perhaps were scornful of the syllabary. The unschooled tribesmen, however, found it a linguistic open sesame which unfolded magnificent new vistas of knowledge and vicarious experience. Scoffers were quieted by a successful public demonstration of the system in 1821, and thousands of Indians were conversant with it by the following year. It was adopted officially in 1825 by the General Council of the Cherokee Nation.²⁹

Stirrings of powerful new intellectual interests among the Indians soon were observed by workers at Brainerd Mission, an institution near the present city of Chattanooga, which had been established in 1817 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.³⁰ The Missionary Herald of February, 1826, reported:

A form of alphabetical writing, invented by a Cherokee named George Guess, who does not speak English, and was never taught to read English books, is attracting great notice among the people gen-

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(8) Foreman, op. cit., 11.
(9) Davis, op. cit., 166.
generally. The interest in this matter has been increasing for the last two years; till, at length, young Cherokees travel a great distance to be instructed. . . In three days they are able to commence letter writing, and return home to their native villages prepared to teach others. . . Probably at least twenty, perhaps fifty, times as many would read a book printed with Guyst's character, as would read one printed with the English alphabet." 11

Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, a distinguished New England missionary who lived among the Cherokees for 34 years and served for a time as New Echota's postmaster, seized upon the Sequoyan syllabary as a potent instrument for the diffusion of religious literature. He urged the immediate establishment of a press which would disseminate, by the new-found system, the message that he had sought to convey through the clumsy device of interpreted sermons and lectures. The Board of Commissioners had received an urgent plea as early as September, 1825:

The Cherokees have for some time been very desirous to have a press of their own, that a newspaper may be published in their own language. . . Already the four Gospels are translated and fairly copied; and if types and a press were ready, they could be immediately revised and printed and read. 12

The Missionary Herald of December, 1827 13, contains several items of superlative significance in Cherokee history. One is the eleven-line reproduction [See illustration at left] of Dr. Worcester's translation of the first five verses of Genesis --- the initial use, in printed form, of Sequoyah's phonetic symbols. Another is the announcement that a font of Cherokee type had been cast in Boston and "an iron press of improved construction" purchased. Reflecting the missionary group's interest in the venture, the note continues:

A Prospectus has also been issued for a newspaper, entitled the Cherokee Phoenix, to be printed partly in Cherokee and partly in English. . . All this had been done by order of the Cherokee government, and at their expense. . . 14

Among the Cherokees, then, we are to see the first printing press ever owned and employed by any nation of the Aborigines of this Continent, the first effort at writing and printing in characters of their own; the first newspaper, and the first book printed among

(11) The Missionary Herald (Crocker and Brewster, Boston), Vol. XXII, No. 1, 47.
(12) Foreman, op. cit., 7.
(13) Vol. XXIII, No. 12, 382.
(14) The Council, meeting at New Echota, October 15, 1825, had authorized the expenditure of $1,500 for a press and two type fonts. Three days later it directed that an editor be chosen at an annual salary of $300. On November 2 it approved construction of a printing house "24 by 20 feet, one story high, shingle roof, with one fireplace, one door at the end of house, one floor, and a window in each side of the house, two lights deep, and ten feet long." On November 4 it appointed Isaac E. Harris "principal printer" of the Cherokee Nation at a salary of $400 a year. Cf. Foster, Literature, 38, 41-42.
themselves; the first editor; and, the first well organized system for securing a general diffusion of knowledge among the people. Among the Cherokees, also, we see established the first regularly elective government, with the legislative, judicial, and elective branches distinct; with the safeguards of a written Constitution and a trial by jury...

The Cherokee press and type were shipped by water from Boston in November, 1827. They arrived at Augusta, Georgia, via Savannah, and finally reached New Echota in January, 1828, after an overland trip by wagon. Isaac H. Harris and John F. Wheeler, two printers who had waited at the Cherokee capital since December 23, 1827, greeted the equipment with professional enthusiasm. Wheeler, who went to Arkansas in 1834 and became a pioneer typographer in the new country of the west, designed the first Cherokee type case, probably while at New Echota, but never received a patent for it. He later recalled the arrival of the printing materials in North Georgia:

The Press, a small royal size, was like none I ever saw before or since. It was cast iron, with spiral springs to hold up the plates, at that time a new invention. We had to use balls of deerskin stuffed with wool for inking, as it was before the invention of the composition roller... John Candy, a native half-breed... could speak the Cherokee language, and was of great help to me in giving me the words where they were not plainly written.

The absence of newsprint caused a delay in the publication of Volume I, No. 1, of Tsalagi-tsi-le-hi-sani-hi, the Cherokee Phoenix. A supply finally was obtained from Tennessee and, on February 21, 1828, there appeared the inaugural issue of the father of America’s aboriginal newspapers. It was a journal of four five-columned pages measuring 21 by 14 inches. The vignette included a representation of the fabulous phoenix, the Egyptian bird which lived for 500 years, was consumed by a cleansing fire, and arose from its own ashes in all its youthful freshness. That first issue announced that the weekly Phoenix could be procured for $2.50 a year paid in advance, or $3.50 paid at the end of the year. Rates were reduced to $2 and $2.50 for non-English readers. Altogether, the

paper justified the 1827 prospectus, already mentioned, which had said that it would contain:

(1) The laws and published documents of the Nation.
(2) Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion and the arts of civilized life, with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.
(3) The principal interesting news of the day.
(4) Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees.17

Here an admirable and tragic character appears on the journalistic stage of the American Indians. He is Elias Boudinott, known also as Kuble-ga-nah (and other spellings), meaning "The Buck," a brilliant young part-breed who had been singled out at Brainerd Mission and sent to a higher church school at Cornwall, Connecticut. Among his scholarly achievements at an early age was the distinction of having calculated a solar eclipse, "very neatly projected and the results stated in the usual form."18 Boudinott, whose signature bore two "t"s, although he had adopted the name of Elias Boudinot, Governor of New Jersey and President of the American Bible Society,19 created something of a social ferment when he married Harriet Ruggles Gold20 at Cornwall in 1822 and departed with his white bride for the wilderness of New Echota. Because of his superior mental powers and his excellent training, he was chosen clerk of the Cherokee National Council. With the issuance of the Phoenix he became America's first Indian editor.

Aware of the extraordinary handicaps imposed upon him by a pioneer publishing venture born in the wilds of Cherokee Georgia, young Boudinott was diplomatic but purposeful as he wrote his first editorial. The newspaper was not undertaken for profit, he explained, but would depend largely on the liberality of his supporters. He continued:

We would now commit our feeble efforts to the good will and indulgence of the public . . hoping for that happy period when all the Indian tribes of America shall rise, Phoenix-like, from the ashes, and when the terms "Indian depredation," "War-whoop," "scalping-knife" and the like, shall become obsolete, and forever be buried "deep underground".

Considering the objectives which it was created to serve and the unusual circumstances of time and place in which it was produced, the Cherokee Phoenix was a good newspaper. While it functioned, on the one hand, as the official organ of a nation, it also did duty, on the other, as something of a "local weekly". That second office was subordinated entirely to the first, however, and the struggling little paper maintain-

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(18) Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes (University Of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), 355.
(19) Foster, Literature, 55.
ed a journalistic standard whose catholic tone and editorial technique merit the respectful attention of present-day students of the press.

The earliest issues contained many reprints (in English) of informational odds and ends from other newspapers. Some of them, such as those relating to the complexities of European politics, probably quickened few pulses among Cherokee readers; but the contents improved as editor and printers became better oriented and crystallized their "interest" formula. The paper was strongly educational, mainly, perhaps, because young Boudinott wished earnestly to convey to his more benighted tribesmen some of the knowledge that white men have gathered from the corners of the earth. There were carefully chosen articles on better farming and a series on natural history. Descriptions of Calcutta rubbed columnar elbows with excerpts from Robinson Crusoe, Washington Irving's Traits of Indian Character, and translations of The Parable of the Prodigal Son. An official duty was performed by the serial reproduction (in Cherokee and English) of the Cherokee Constitution and Laws, but there also were political announcements of district candidates for National Council seats, a poetry corner, lost and found column, and notices (printed bilingually) from husbands who foreswore responsibility for their wives' debts.

Resulting probably from the indirect sponsorship of missionary workers and from the fact that Editor Boudinott had been educated among them, the Phoenix had about it a distinct aura of prescriptive morality. There were frequent exhortations against the evils of intemperance, and generous reprints describing the tragic fate of those unfortunates who fell victims to the insidious beguilements of the bowl. Nicotine, as well as alcohol, was clad in the wanton garments of iniquity, for the issue of July 2, 1828, reported under the heading, "Warning to Snuff Takers," the arresting case of an Englishwoman who, upon taking an over-generous pinch, forthwith had sneezed her neck out of joint and died. An autopsy revealed "four and one-half pounds of snuff in the place where her brains should be."

Most significant of all the contents of the Phoenix, however, were its political editorials. They inveighed against the abuses, some imaginary, others only too real, which the Cherokees suffered from white settlers and adventurers, and there were attacks but half restrained upon the Georgia government. More informative than carefully organized argumentation is the indignant note of February 19, 1831:

Let our patrons bear in mind that we are in the woods, and as it is said by many, in a savage country, where printers are not plenty, and therefore they must not expect to receive the Phoenix regularly for awhile, but we will do the best we can. . . This week, we present to our readers but half a sheet. The reason is, one of our printers has left us; and we expect another, who is a white man to quit us soon, either to be dragged to the Georgia Penitentiary for a term of not less than four years, or for his personal safety to leave the Nation, to let us shift for ourselves as well as we can. Thus is the liberty of the press guaranteed by the Constitution of Georgia. . .
It may have been similar utterances, but more probably it was the moral zealotry of the editor, which had led the National Council on November 19, 1828, to instruct him to withhold "scurrilous communications which have a tendency to excite and irritate personal controversies, also he shall not support or cherish . . . anything on religious matters, that will savour sectarianism."\(^\text{21}\)

Meanwhile, the fame of the Phoenix had spread afar. Mr. Duponceau, president of the American Philosophical Society, sent a copy of the first issue "to a learned society in France as a great curiosity!"\(^\text{22}\) William de Humboldt, a German philologist, wrote a commendatory letter to the editor,\(^\text{23}\) and The London Times exchanged on even terms with the Indian journal. The Georgia government recognized it as an official organ and often sought to have notices inserted in it.

It must have become early apparent to Boudinott, however, that his publisher's duties were to be fraught with woes. In the issue of April 24, 1828, there was an announcement that, because of difficulties encountered in replenishing the supply of paper, no Phoenix would appear the next week. On June 18, he considered it desirable to inform his readers that the post office had promised better delivery service, and added ruefully:

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\ldots \text{Another complaint has reached us, and that is, our papers are not done up in a substantial manner. There we acknowledge the complaint is reasonable, but the fault is not designed, but altogether from necessity. Our readers probably know that we live in a wilderness, and of course cannot obtain paper without considerable expense. As soon as may be, we intend to supply ourselves with good wrapping paper.}
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Boudinott lamented in the issue of July 30, 1828, that the wealthiest and most influential tribesmen were not subscribers of the Phoenix. He announced his resignation on December 3, pleading ill health, but must have mended, or was dissuaded, for the next number to be found in the collection of the Library of Congress (February 4, 1829, Vol. I, No. 47)\(^\text{24}\), contains an explanation from the same editor that the Phoenix was placed in the mails in routine fashion on the preceding week and no reason could be established to indicate why no one ever received it.

A month later, March 4, 1829 (Vol. I, No. 51), he directed attention, with some pride, to the forthcoming final number of the first volume of the newspaper. He then cited the lack of an assistant, wherefore "it is impossible to devote a large portion of the paper to the Cherokee language, as the whole must be original." To reassure those readers who might con-

\(^{21}\) Foster, Literature, 51.
\(^{24}\) There are 96 issues in the file: 28 of 1828; 33 of 1829; 15 of 1830; 18 of 1831, and 2 of 1832. Some 250 issues are available in the library of the American Antiquarian Society but, humiliating as it may be, the most nearly complete collection of originals is not to be found in the United States, but in the British Museum.
strue his linguistic preference as an evidence of disloyalty, he asserted:

... The paper is sacred to the cause of the Indians, and the editor will feel himself especially bound, as far as his time, talents and information will permit, to render it as instructive and entertaining as possible to his brethren, and endeavor to enlist the friendly feelings and sympathies of his subscribers abroad, in favor of the aborigines.

A tragi-comic misfortune overtook that issue. An editorial notice of the following week (March 11, 1829, Vol. I, No. 52), described the calamity. Mail from the small post office at New Echota was transported to that at Spring Place by a post rider. With bundles of the Phoenix slung across his saddle, the messenger fell from his horse while crossing Holly Creek and dropped his load in the water. The papers remained submerged for seven hours before they were recovered and taken to Spring Place. The postmaster notified Boudinott that all the papers were damaged and the addresses rendered barely legible. "In short," he wrote to the editor, "the whole mail is in a miserable situation." He proposed, however, to attempt to dry the papers as well as he could and to make the distribution as usual.

After Boudinott, because of illness, had omitted his editorial comments from the issue of April 1, 1829 (Vol. II, No. 3), he explained apologetically in the next Phoenix: "The Editor of this paper regrets, that owing to indisposition, he is not able to render his present number as interesting as he would wish." The issue of April 22 was skipped entirely for want of printer's ink, the editor announced in the following number (April 29, 1829, Vol. II, No. 7). He published at the same time the news that Wheeler, one of his printers, had married Nancy Watie at New Echota on April 23. The paper then suspended entirely until May 27 (Vol. II, No. 8), when it was explained that the order of ink had been delayed. The reader is left to wonder whether a bridal trip of the Wheelers might have been partly responsible for the hiatus of three consecutive issues.

The illness of "a hand" reduced the Phoenix of September 22, 1829 (Vol. II, No. 22) to two pages and, for the first time since its establishment, there was no Cherokee type in its columns. A study of the newspaper file reveals a diminishing quantity of material printed in the Sequoyan syllabary, an indication, perhaps, that the poor health of Boudinott, who still was only about 26 years old, did not permit him to devote his entire time to editorial duties. Another explanation may be found in the fact that Boudinott and Dr. Worcester were busily engaged in preparing religious materials for publication on the Phoenix press. Portions of the Bible were translated from Greek into Cherokee, numerous tracts were issued, and an Indian hymn book, first printed in 1829 at New Echota, ran through new editions long after both co-authors had died.25

(25) A missionary wrote in 1861: "... they were singing a hymn in the Cherokee language. Never before did music appear half so sweet to me. The language is music itself. The air is a sweet one, and the deep feeling of devotion with which it was sung rendered it truly refreshing." Cephas Washburn, Reminiscences of the Indians (Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Virginia, 1869), 42.
Worcester began a Cherokee geography, and a dictionary and grammar were in progress when he left Georgia for the West. One investigator estimated that the press produced 733,890 pages in Cherokee within five years after adoption of the syllabary.26

Boudinott's bad health was noted again in the Phoenix of February 12, 1831 (Vol. III, No. 37), and issuance of the paper became increasingly irregular thereafter. Wheeler's name had disappeared by April 9, 1831 (Vol. III, No. 44) from its accustomed position in the masthead and John Candy's took that place. Finally, on August 1, 1832, Boudinott laid down the editorial banner which he had borne so well through four and a half years of wilderness journalism. It was taken up by Elijah Hicks, a fellow tribesman who later became a leader in the Indian Territory and in 1839 was a member of an official mission in Washington.

A precise determination of subsequent events awaits a thorough sifting of the records by a patient student. Activities of the Phoenix were linked inextricably to the long and complex three-sided controversy which raged between Washington, the Georgia government and the Cherokees concerning the removal of the Indians to the West. The New Echota newspaper, a strong voice for Cherokee independence, was marked as early as 1831 as a factor with which Georgia would have to contend, and it soon was assailed because it was a potent weapon against white encroachment. Dr. Worcester was imprisoned that year, won a decision from the United States Supreme Court in 1832, and was released at last in 1833. Meanwhile, the Phoenix appeared more and more irregularly. It is conceded generally that the last issue was published May 31, 1834, and that the press and types were seized by the Georgia authorities in October, 1835. That was after Boudinott, still a resident of New Echota, had placed his signature sincerely but unadvisedly to a "treaty" providing for removal west of the Mississippi. He represented the views of only a small minority of the Nation and his act cost him his life four years later in the West — a grim assassination with knives and hatchets.

The Cherokee National Council revolved in 1836 to remove its press from Georgia and set it up across the border at Red Clay, Tennessee. When a wagon was sent to transport it from New Echota, possession was refused. Chief John Ross and other leaders complained to the Secretary of War that the equipment was being "used by the agents of the United States in publishing slanderous communications against the constituted authorities of the Cherokee Nation."

The tragic climax came in 1838. A few thousand Cherokees were taken west as prisoners on boats, but the majority, some 13,000, were sent in 13 overland parties on the journey of three to five months down the harrowing "Trail of Tears" to the West which, only by bitter irony, could be called "that happy land beyond the setting sun". About 4,000 died en route.

What became of the pioneer Indian printing press and its novel Sequoyan type? The National Park Service could make a noteworthy contribution to the history of Indian journalism if, circumstances permitting,
it might devote the required study to a determination of the fate of the mechanical apparatus which gave to an extraordinary people the printed pages that lifted thousands of common tribesmen from the illiteracy of the forest to the lettered realm of higher citizenship.

Dr. Grant Foreman, a leading historian of the removal, writes: "In spite of my research and the examination of every scrap of evidence I could get my hands on, what happened to the Cherokee Phoenix press is still a mystery to me."[27] John P. Brown, a Chattanooga investigator cited above (Old Frontiers), is "of the opinion that the Georgia Guard demolished the printing press, as that would be the natural thing for them to do with the feeling then raging...."[28] Dr. Worcester took a press to the West with him and issued the first pages printed in what now is Oklahoma, but the claim that it was the same machinery used at New Echota appears to be open to serious doubt. Dr. Foreman is "persuaded that Mr. Worcester obtained a new press which he brought out with him and set up at Union Mission in 1835."

A font of Cherokee type, four type cases and 140 matrices were received by the United States National Museum in 1911 by transfer from the Office of Indian Affairs, but those materials were transmitted in 1915 to the Cherokee Orphan Training School, at Park Hill, Oklahoma (now the Sequoyah Orphan Training School, of Tahlequah, Oklahoma).[29] Although it had been believed by some students that the type was a part of the font used at New Echota, the archivist of the Oklahoma Historical Society reveals[30] the existence of official records which show that the metal had belonged to the Cherokee Advocate, established at Tahlequah in 1844 as the western successor of the Phoenix and published there as the official national organ until the disintegration of the tribal government in 1906. E. D. Hicks, a 75-year-old grandson of Elijah Hicks (mentioned above as the second editor of the Phoenix), who has lived in Tahlequah since birth, discloses that the press and some of the other equipment of the defunct Advocate were sold to J. S. Holden, "who tried to run a paper in Ft. Gibson [Oklahoma], but he died and what became of the old outfit I do not know."[31] It appears improbable, in any case, that either the Advocate type, or that now to be found in a mixed case of English and Cherokee type stored in an attic of the school at Tahlequah,[32] ever served in producing the New Echota Phoenix.

Nevertheless, even though the historic physical equipment of publication be lost forever, there still must remain at New Echota National Memorial the material for an exceptional volume of stories yet untold concerning the Phoenix and its monumental work. Those stories well may deserve public recital by the Service.

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(27) Personal communication, February 17, 1940.
(28) Personal communication, March 4, 1940.
(29) Personal communication from the United States National Museum, February 29, 1940.
(31) Personal communication, March 19, 1940.
(32) Personal communication of March 16, 1940, from Superintendent Jack Brown.
Publications and Reports

AMERICAN LOG CABIN LEGEND TRACKED DOWN


Reviewed by Orin M. Bullock, Jr.

Dwellings erected by the first English colonists in America were described in a history of Dedham, Massachusetts, written in 1827, as "log houses"; and with that brief and fallacious description the log cabin myth appears to have been born. There followed the romantic popularization of the myth until 1857, when John Tyler, in his address at the 250th anniversary celebration at Jamestown, introduced it into Virginia. The imaginary conception was next fostered in the north and, in Mr. Shurtleff's words, "The ball was now kicked to the Puritans, who keep it briskly in play until well after the Civil War, when the Cavaliers recover it on a fumble and carry it down the field for a touchdown." Finally, the true character of the dwellings of the first settlers seemed lost entirely to historians and laymen alike.

This book, devoted to 17th century buildings alone, is available none too soon. The misconception of the type of habitation built by our forefathers gained widespread currency, particularly during the "log cabin campaign" of 1840 which resulted in the election of President Harrison, and was intensified by the romantic appeal of the log cabin beginnings of Abraham Lincoln. There was a growing tendency to project the log cabin form back into the period of the first settlers. So great has been the effect of careless research and romantic illustration that the myth still is current despite several historians' having published since 1927 some accurate descriptions of early dwellings.

The form and fashion of these dwellings have been taken at last from the realm of romanticism and hypothetical invention into the field of realism. The romantic appeal of their rude shelters, and our admiration for the genius and fortitude of our ancestors, gain rather than lose through our better understanding. Our broadened conception of history transforms into vital importance the question of the sort of houses in which pioneer Americans lived, for the cultural and social history of the nation may be traced in the construction of its dwelling houses.

The Log Cabin Myth, thoroughly documented for the student, is filled with detailed descriptions and illustrations for the restoration architect, and affords a starting point for further study of sociology as it relates to buildings. It is written in a style to delight lay readers and through it are many quotations from original sources which illustrate the immutability of human nature.
As a by-product of the principal theme, some light is thrown on other popular misconceptions. The wigwam of eastern Indians was not the conical structure many imagine it to have been, but was contrived in a form not unlike a covered wagon top. The tepee, shelter of the Plains Indian only, was conical. The steep roofs of early houses were not so built to shed snow (they were steep wherever the Englishman settled), but because their prototypes were roofed with thatch which must be laid at an acute angle to shed water properly.

Mr. Shurtleff was an architect, artist, philosopher and historian whose hobby, since Harvard student days, had been social history and the relation of manners, customs and folkways to political philosophy and the manifestations of art. His book is the fruitful outgrowth of his three interests: architecture, history and the history of ideas. As Director of the Research Department of the Williamsburg Restoration, he was confronted by the almost universal bias in favor of the log cabin type as the dwelling of the first English settlers, although able historians already had found convincing proof that there were no log cabins in the English settlements in America until the end of the 17th century. His history is confined to an examination of the type erected during that century, and makes no attempt to establish its design or to trace the spread of the log form from its source — the Swedish settlements of the Delaware — throughout the colonies in the 18th century. It is unfortunate that such a scholarly book should be forced into the role of a "debunker," for it is in fact a careful account of the beginnings of American architecture.

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The Public Estate

No other country on earth possesses a park system comparable to our own in extent and variety, directed by the National Park Service. Lack of space, much higher density of population and, therefore, total absence of public lands made that impossible in the older countries. We were much more fortunately situated in all respects, but most fortunately so because our government set aside large and conspicuous tracts in time to save them from private exploitation and spoilation. Even now private and corporate cupidity greedily tries to reach into these illustrious reservations for loot and lucre, as may be witnessed in nearly every session of Congress. Owing to the lack of a federal control agency these evil forces have succeeded only too often. Theirs is an offense not merely against material values, but moreover against spiritual ones, against one of the finest cultural expressions by the American people, their Public Estate. — Richard Lieber. From a lecture delivered at Wabash College.
Transfers and Assignments

BLAIR A. ROSS, of Memphis, Tennessee, who served for many years in the Corps of United States Engineers, entered on duty this month as Superintendent of Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee.

W. W. LUCKETT, formerly Acting Superintendent at Shiloh National Military Park, has entered on duty as Superintendent at Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia, and JOHN C. EWERS, who had been Acting Superintendent there, will serve in his regular designation as Museum Curator.

JAMES M. FORD, formerly Chief Clerk at Vicksburg National Military Park, Mississippi, has been promoted to Assistant Superintendent.

HAROLD H. HAWKINS, formerly Assistant Geologist assigned to the Washington office, has been appointed Geologist with headquarters in the Region One office.

THOMAS M. PITKIN and EDWARD M. RILEY, Associate and Junior Historical Technician respectively, and CONRAD B. BENTZEN, Junior Archeologist, have entered on duty at Colonial National Historical Park, Virginia.

ELMER T. EDWARDS has entered on duty at Shiloh National Military Park as Park Ranger.

HAROLD W. SORRILL, formerly Executive Officer at Colonial National Historical Park, has been transferred to the Region One headquarters as CCC Field Auditor.

CLARENCE SCHULTZ, Junior Historical Technician, Statue of Liberty National Monument, Bedloe's Island, has been transferred to Fort McHenry National Monument, Maryland, in an exchange with FREDERIC ROUSH.

IRA B. LYRES, Assistant Inspector, has been detailed as Acting General Project Superintendent, North Carolina Beach Erosion Control Project, following the resignation of A. C. STRATTON, who had held that position. Mr. Stratton accepted a post with the National Youth Administration.

JERRY G. BETTS, formerly Junior Landscape Architect at Vicksburg National Military Park, has been transferred to Spring Lake State Park, Mississippi, as Senior Foreman Landscape Architect.

PATRICK HENRY NATIONAL MONUMENT

Continued from page 37/ mansion of 18 rooms. At the same time she had the old office in the library wing where Patrick Henry died moved about 20 feet from its original site. The mansion burned in 1919 but the law office fortunately escaped destruction. An original kitchen, situated to the rear and northwest of the old house site, was burned in 1928.

Red Hill consists today of an extensive tract of land, the original law office and study used by Henry during his last years, the beautiful boxwood gardens and hedges which were planted many years after his time, and the 50-foot square where two marble slabs mark the burial places of the man and his wife Dorothea. If the estate is acquired in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress, the Service undoubtedly will have to engage in extensive research before any plans for development can be undertaken. Red Hill is six miles off State Route 40 and U. S. Highway 501 about 150 miles southeast of Richmond.

--- Roy Edgar Appleman.
THE CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM M. HAY, the first person employed by Tennessee exclusively for state park work, farmed on the Ozark Mountains at 10 and in the cotton belt at 16. He entered landscape practice nine years ago and for the last four years has been associated with Tennessee's state park program. He is in charge of operations.

CLIFFORD C. PRESNALL entered the Service in 1929 at Yosemite National Park after having attended its School of Field Natural History. He was park naturalist at Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks. Two years ago he was transferred to Washington as assistant chief of the Wildlife Division, which recently became the Section of National Park Wildlife of the Biological Survey. Born 40 years ago in Iowa, he was reared in Oregon and is an alumnus ('23) of its State College.

MAURICE SULLIVAN, who has been park naturalist at Acadia National Park since 1936, had been stationed formerly in Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains National Parks as junior wildlife technician. He was born in Illinois. Holding degrees from Eastern Illinois State Teachers College and the University of Chicago, he was a graduate student and teaching fellow at the University of California and an instructor at the University of Rochester. He is a graduate of the Yosemite School of Field Natural History.

HUGH R. AWTREY (Vol. II, No. 6); ALFRED F. HOPKINS (Vol. II, No. 2, and Vol. IV, No. 1); ROGERS W. YOUNG (Vol. III, No. 6).