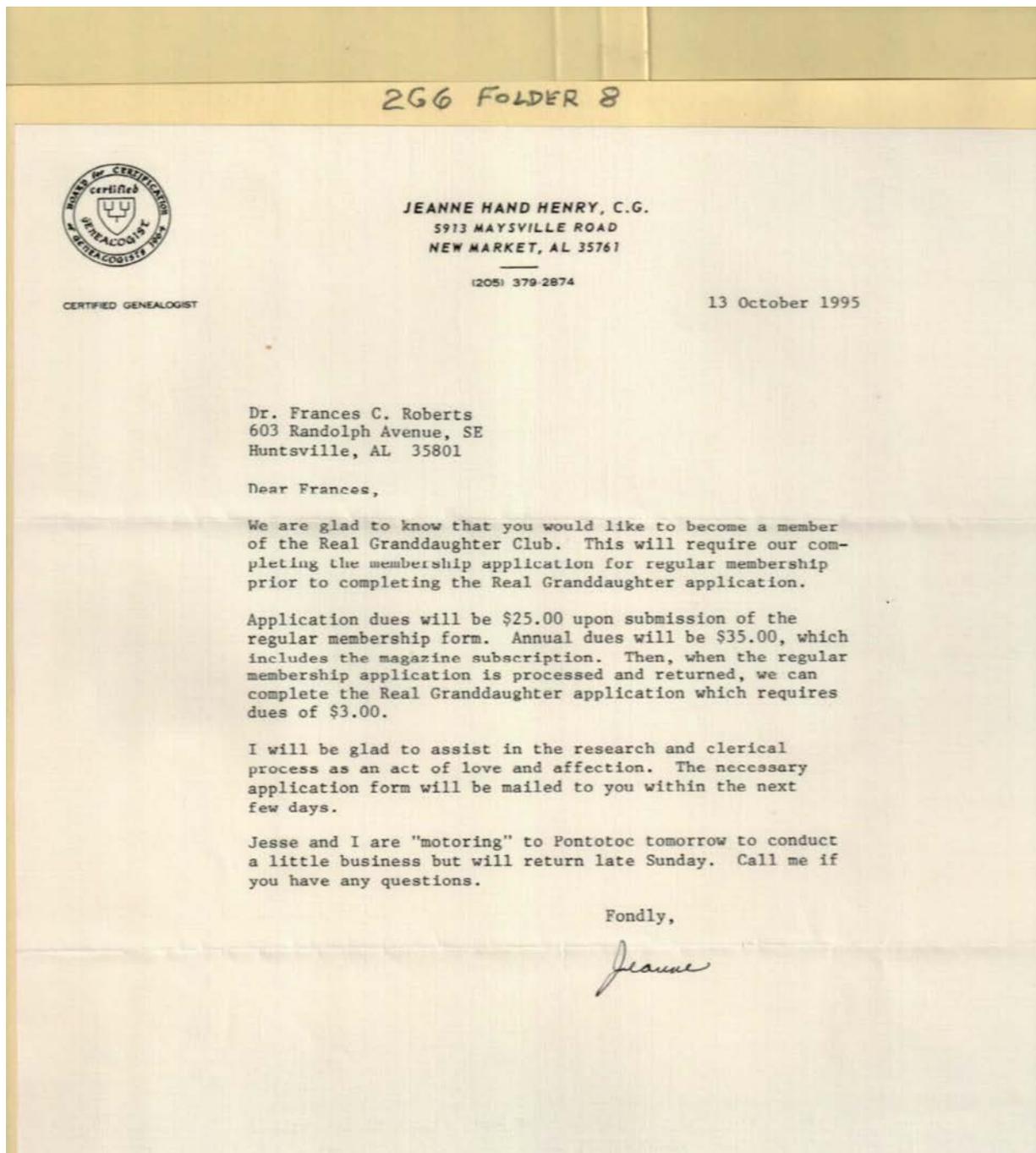


Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 1 r02g06-08-000-0001 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Henry, Jeanne Hand

Real Granddaughter
Club

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

New Market, AL

Types:

correspondence

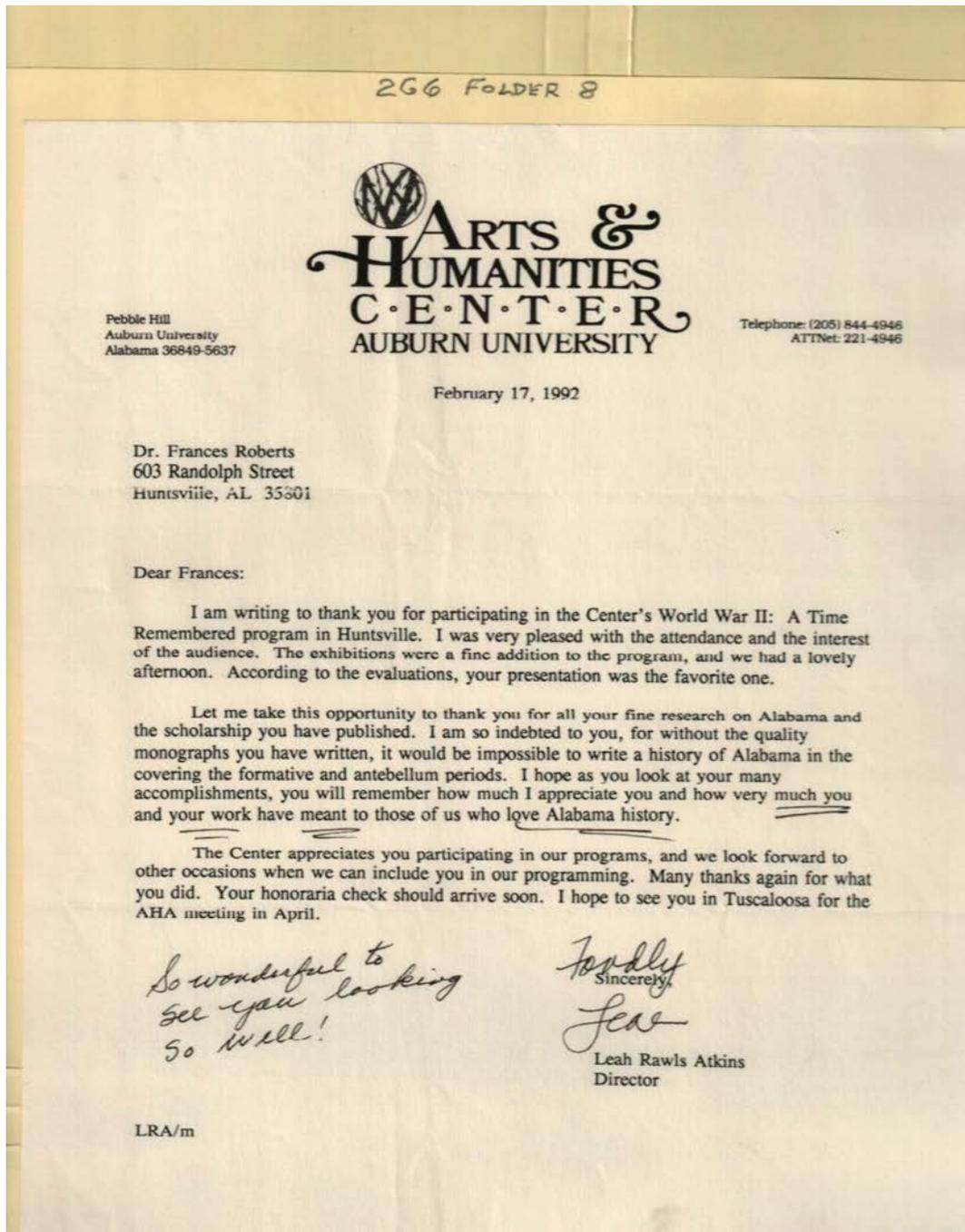
Dates:

Oct 13, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 2 r02g06-08-000-0002 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



266 FOLDER 8


**ARTS &
HUMANITIES
C·E·N·T·E·R**
AUBURN UNIVERSITY

Pebble Hill
Auburn University
Alabama 36849-5637

Telephone: (205) 844-4946
ATTNet: 221-4946

February 17, 1992

Dr. Frances Roberts
603 Randolph Street
Huntsville, AL 35801

Dear Frances:

I am writing to thank you for participating in the Center's World War II: A Time Remembered program in Huntsville. I was very pleased with the attendance and the interest of the audience. The exhibitions were a fine addition to the program, and we had a lovely afternoon. According to the evaluations, your presentation was the favorite one.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for all your fine research on Alabama and the scholarship you have published. I am so indebted to you, for without the quality monographs you have written, it would be impossible to write a history of Alabama in the covering the formative and antebellum periods. I hope as you look at your many accomplishments, you will remember how much I appreciate you and how very much you and your work have meant to those of us who love Alabama history.

The Center appreciates you participating in our programs, and we look forward to other occasions when we can include you in our programming. Many thanks again for what you did. Your honoraria check should arrive soon. I hope to see you in Tuscaloosa for the AHA meeting in April.

*So wonderful to
see you looking
so well!*

Leah
Sincerely,
Leah

Leah Rawls Atkins
Director

LRA/m

Names:

Atkins, Leah Rawls

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Auburn, AL

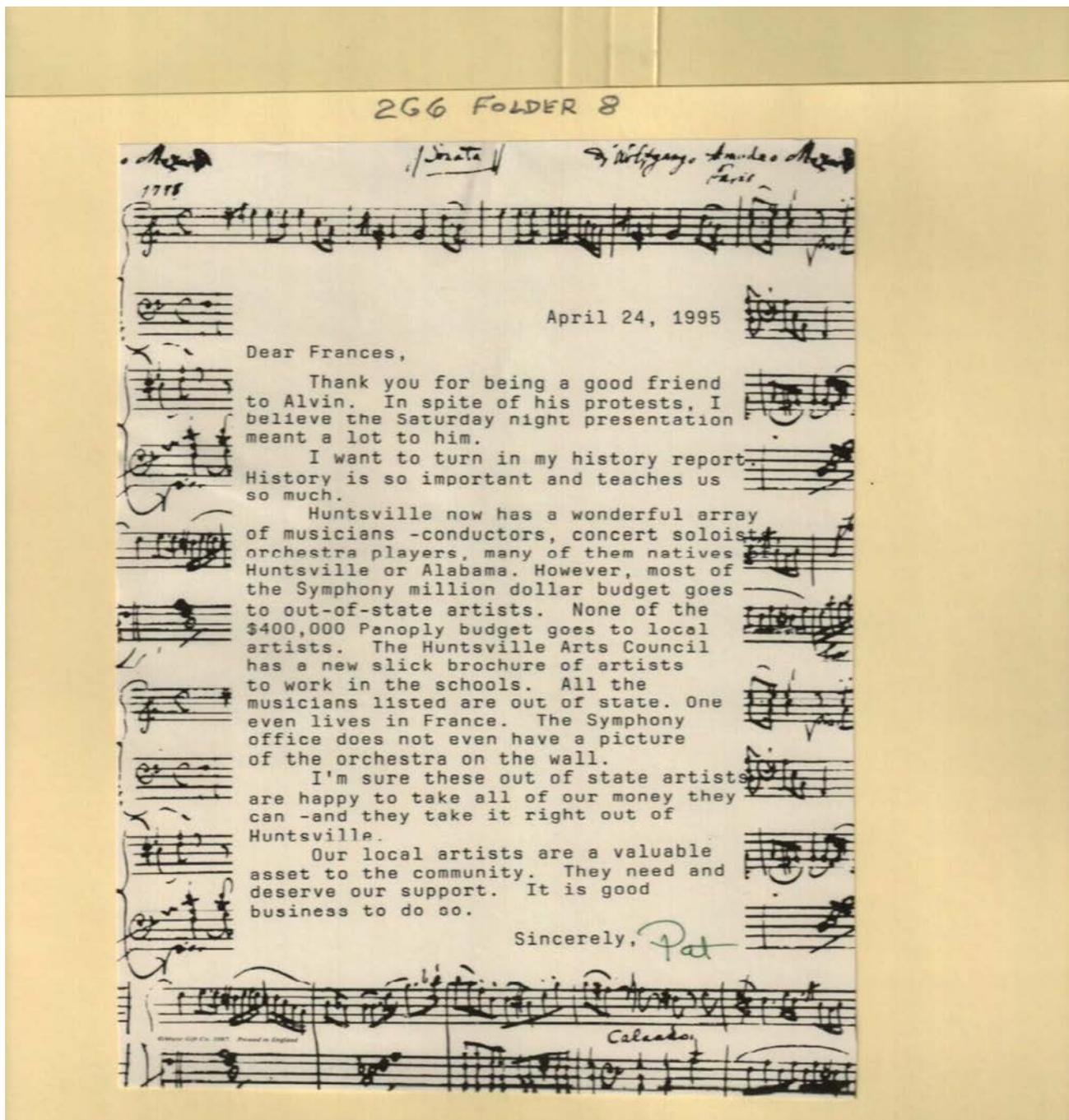
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Feb 17, 1992



Names:

Dreger, Alvin

Dreger, Pat

Roberts, Frances

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Apr 24, 1995

266 FOLDER 8

THE ORCHESTRA FAMILY

As The Twig Is Bent

"Since the future of the orchestra depended heavily upon the number of available musicians as well as listeners, music education became one of the early priorities of the orchestra's Board of Trustees." wrote Ruth Weber in "A History of the Orchestra" for the 25th Season commemorative program.

The founding of the Huntsville Symphony was enthusiastically supported by families who came from all over the country and all over the world because of the space program. They played in the orchestra, enjoyed music as an audience, and valued this cultural asset to the community. Forty years later, due to the outstanding work of the Symphony Guild and Huntsville School Music Supervisor Dorothy Adair in developing the Youth Concerts, and Huntsville music educators who pioneered string instruction, school and youth orchestra programs, the community has produced its own native professional caliber symphony musicians. High school students who played with the Civic Symphony in the 1950's and 60's are now adults working here and performing with the increasingly professional Huntsville Symphony. The children of many symphony players have participated along side their parents in the orchestra. From the ranks of the symphony have been fine music educators, private teachers, school band and orchestra directors, whose years of teaching in Huntsville has developed outstanding music students who play in the symphony and win Youth Orchestra and Symphony Concerto auditions. In 1995, our community has string programs in city and county schools, string instruction offered by the education departments of churches, music stores, and 3 colleges, several Suzuki String studios, 3 excellent summer orchestra camps, and two youth orchestras with 3 or more performing groups. Thousands of school children hear live symphony performances through the annual youth orchestra school tours, and through Huntsville Symphony and youth orchestra performances at the Youth Concerts, Panoply, and Gazebo Concerts. In the spring of the 40th Symphony Season, the goals and efforts of the orchestra's early developers have clearly blossomed and come to fruition.

Pat Dreger
April 1995

Names:

Adair, Dorothy

Dreger, Pat

Weber, Ruth

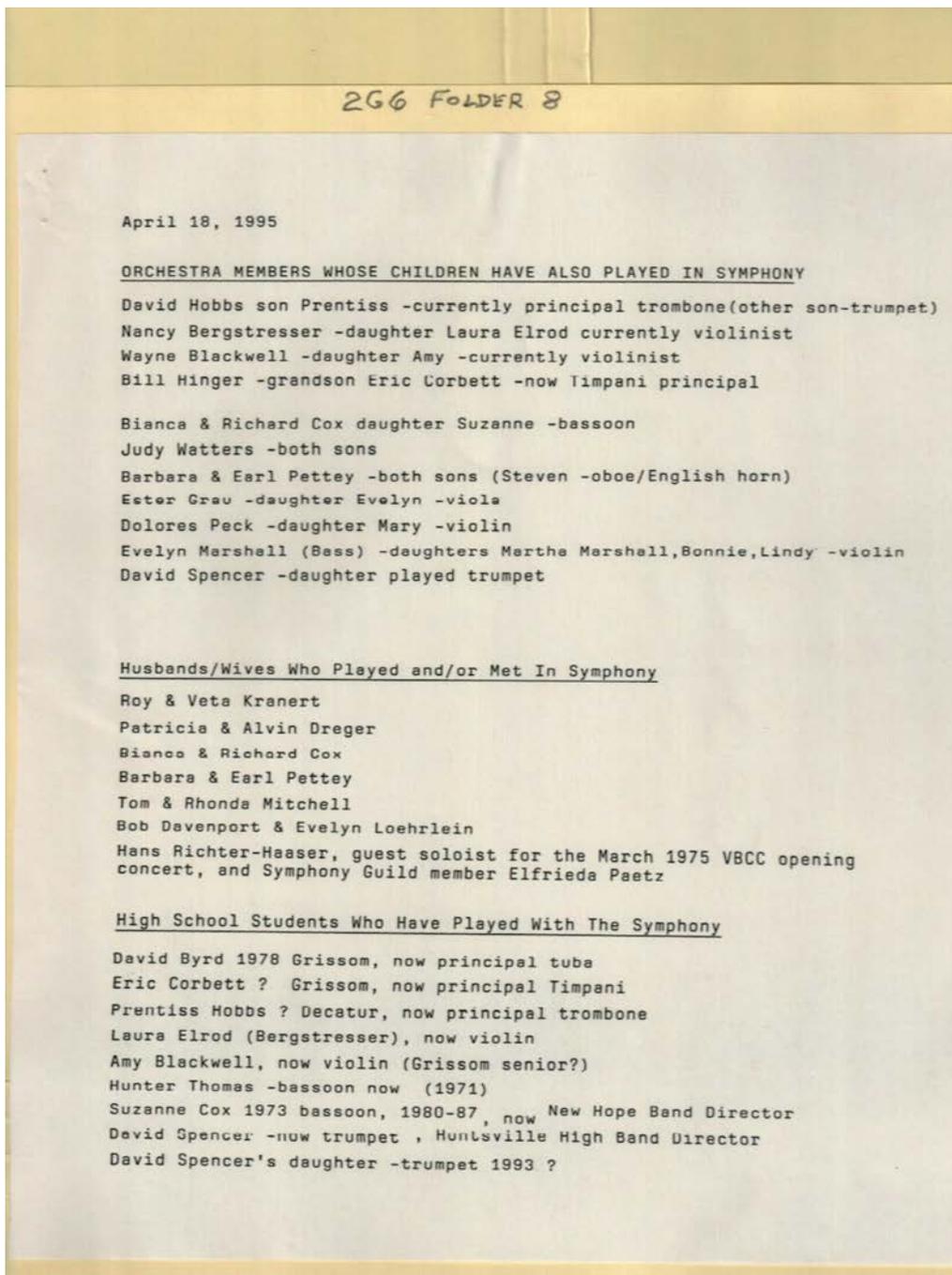
The Orchestra Family

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Dates:

April, 1995



Names:

Bergstresser, Nancy
Blackwell, Amy
Blackwell, Wayne
Byrd, David
Corbett, Eric
Cox, Bianca &
Richard
Cox, Suzanne
Davenport, Bob

Dreger, Patricia &
Alvin
Elrod, Laura
Grau, Ester
Grau, Evelyn
Hinger, Bill
Hobbs, David
Hobbs, Prentiss
Huntsville Symphony
Kranert, Roy & Veta

Loehrlein, Evelyn
Marshall, Bonnie
Marshall, Evelyn
(Bass)
Marshall, Lindy
Marshall, Martha
Mitchell, Tom &
Rhonda
Paetz, Elfrieda
Peck, Dolores

Peck, Mary
Pettey, Barbara &
Earl
Pettey, Steven
Richter-Hasser, Hans
Spencer, David
Thomas, Hunter
Watters, Judy

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

list

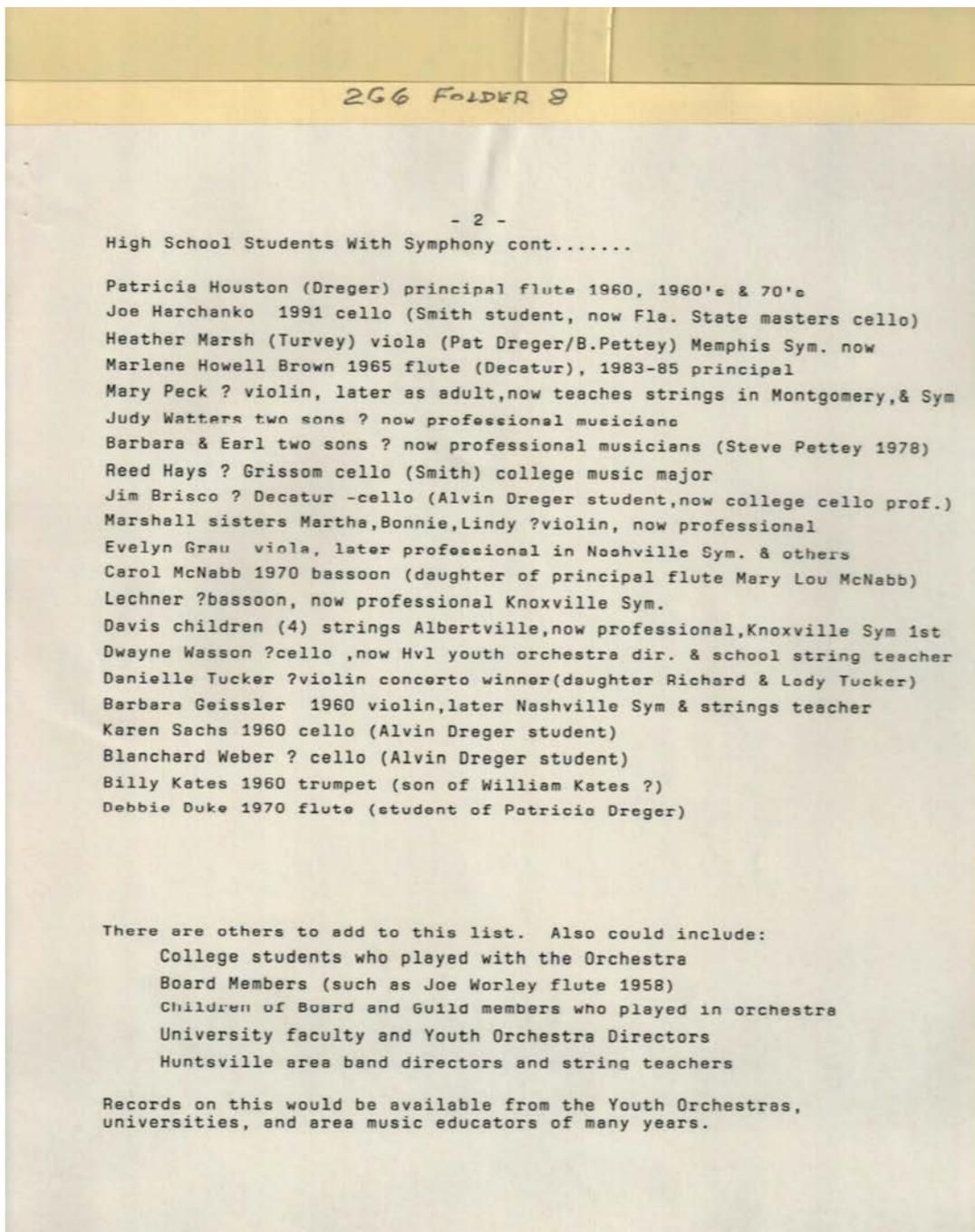
Dates:

April 18, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 6 r02g06-08-000-0006 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Brisco, Jim
Brown, Marlene
Howell
Duke, Debbie
Geissler, Barbara

Harchanko, Joe
Hays, Reed
Houston, Patricia
Kates, Billy
Marsh, Heather

McNabb, Carol
McNabb, Mary Lou
Sachs, Karen
Tucker, Danielle

Tucker, Richard &
Lady
Wasson, Dwayne
Weber, Blanchard
Worley, Joe

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

list

Dates:

April 18, 1995

266 FOLDER 8

April 18, 1995

DISTINGUISHED MUSICAL SERVICE TO THE HUNTSVILLE SYMPHONY

DURING the 40 years of the Huntsville Symphony, there have been a number of outstanding musicians, many of excellent professional caliber, who have made significant contributions to the development of the symphony both as teachers and performers.

If we value these years of In-Kind Service at the present rate of \$5,000 a year for principals, an orchestra player who has been with the symphony 20 years has made a contribution of \$100,000.00 to the Huntsville Symphony!

Today the front office of the symphony is decorated with pictures of past conductors and names of past Guild and Board Presidents. It is fitting to include with great pride photos, awards, and history of the accomplishments of our local, native artists.

Musicians making distinguished and significant artistic contribution to the Huntsville Symphony over a period of many years include:

Barbara and Earl Pettey (17 & 15 years)

Barbara and Earl commuted from Decatur each week to play with the Huntsville Symphony, Barbara serving as principal violist for 17 years, Earl playing principal trombone for 15 years. Both of the Pettey's sons played in the symphony. Barbara studied at Western Kentucky University, special clinics/workshops. She has taught in Huntsville and Decatur for 28 years, producing outstanding string students (such as Heather Marsh) to play with the Youth Orchestra and Symphony. She has performed for many school, church, and community concerts and has worked with AOA and AMEA for years. Earl, who studied at Ball State U. and Peabody, Nashville, is Music Instructor at Calhoun Community College in Decatur, teaches private brass students, and plays in many musical events throughout North Alabama.

Dr. E. Dennis Johnson (20 years)

Dennis has commuted from Hartselle since 1974 to play violin with the Huntsville Symphony, serving as Concertmaster part of that time. He studied with Sigmund Effron at Cincinnati Conservatory. He earned a Bachelor of Science degree from MIT and his Ph.D. from Hamilton State in electrical engineering. He has taught violin students at Smith String Studio in Huntsville and in Decatur. Dennis has played in and conducted many church and community orchestras in North Alabama, and served as President of the Youth Orchestra.

Names:

Johnson, E. Dennis,
Dr.

Pettey, Barbara &
Earl

Places:

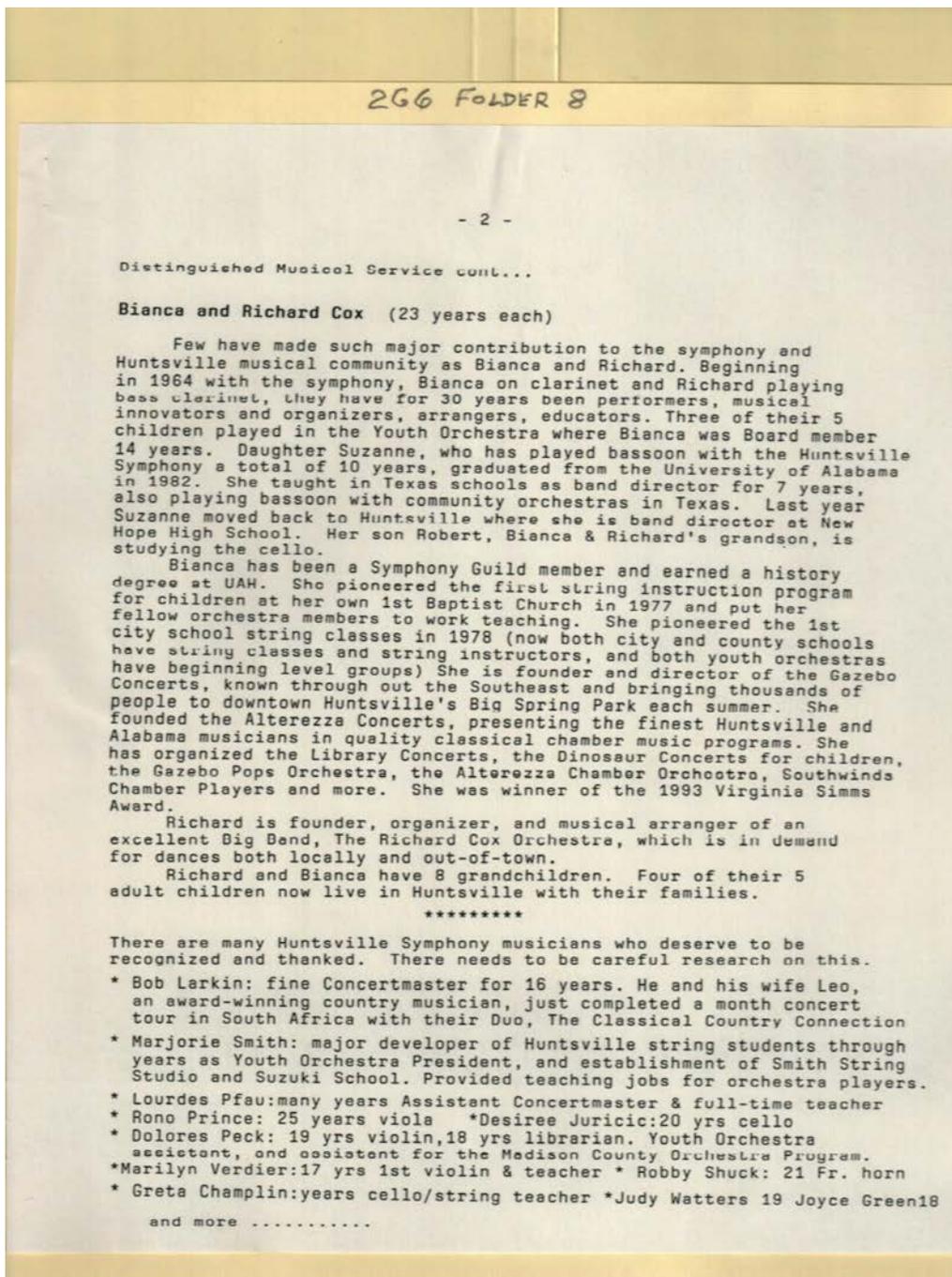
Huntsville, AL

Types:

biography

Dates:

April 18, 1995



Names:

Champlin, Greta
Cox, Bianca &
Richard

Green, Joyce
Larkin, Bob
Peck, Dolores

Pfau, Lourdes
Prince, Rono
Shuck, Robby

Smith, Marjorie
Verdier, Marilyn
Watters, Judy

Places:

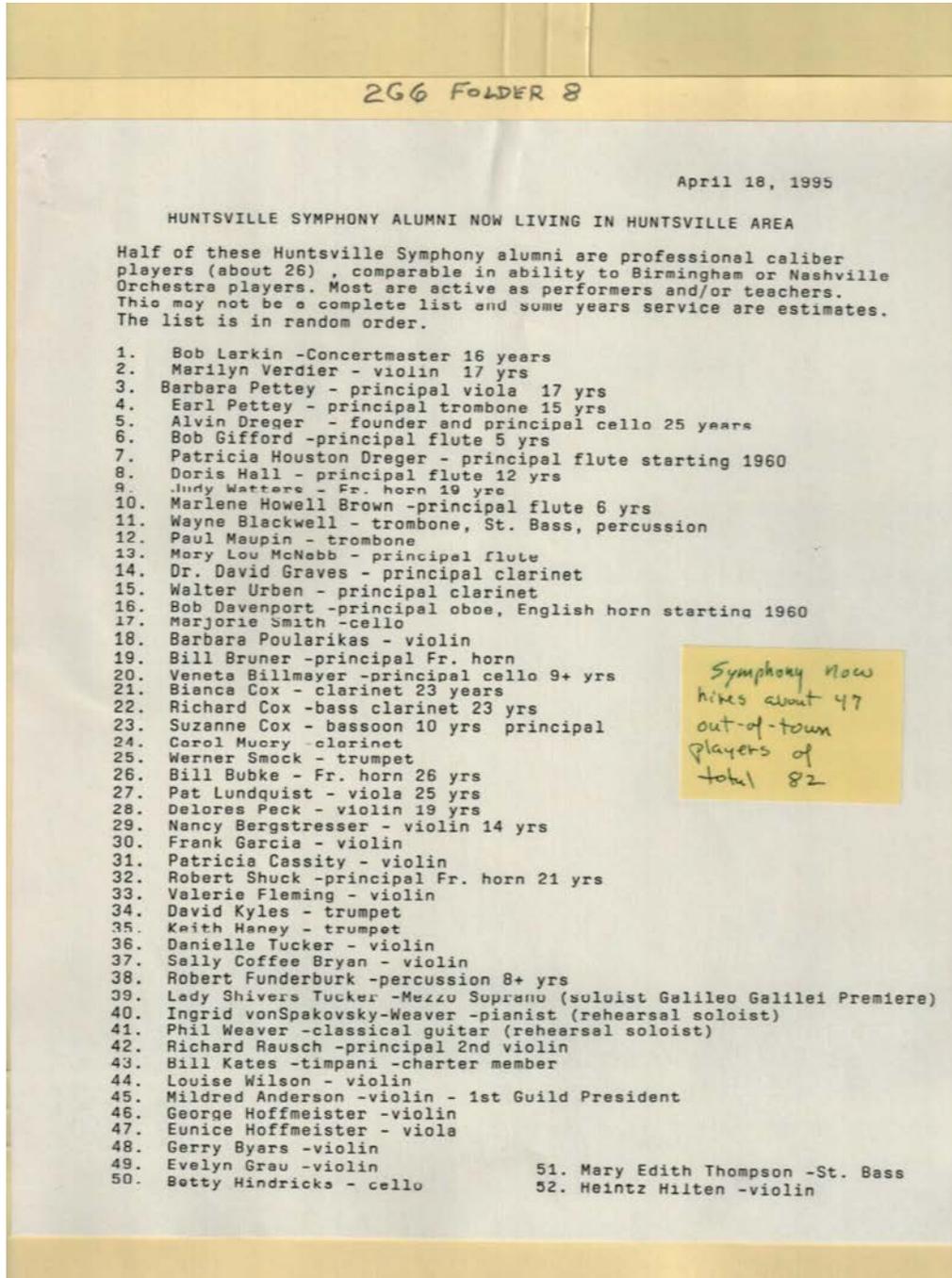
Huntsville, AL

Types:

biography list

Dates:

April 18, 1995



Names:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Anderson, Mildred | Cox, Bianca & Richard | Haney, Keith | McNabb, Mary Lou |
| Bergstresser, Nancy | Cox, Suzanne | Hilten, Heintz | Mucry, Carol |
| Billmeyer, Veneta | Davenport, Bob | Hindricks, Betty | Peck, Dolores |
| Blackwell, Wayne | Dreger, Patricia & Alvin | Hoffmeister, Eunice | Pettey, Barbara & Earl |
| Brown, Marlene Howell | Fleming, Valerie | Hoffmeister, George | Poularikas, Barbara |
| Bruner, Bill | Funderburk, Robert | Huntsville Symphony Alumni | Rausch, Richard |
| Bryan, Sally Coffee | Garcia, Frank | Kates, Bill | Shuck, Robert |
| Bubke, Bill | Grau, Evelyn | Kyles, David | Smith, Marjorie |
| Byars, Gerry | Graves, David, Dr. | Larkin, Bob | Smock, Werner |
| Cassity, Patricia | Hall, Doris | Lundquist, Pat | Thompson, Mary Edith |
| | | Maupin, Paul | |

Tucker, Danielle
Tucker, Lady Shivers
Urban, Walter

Verdier, Marilyn
Watters, Judy
Weaver, Phil

Wilson, Louise
vonSpakovsky-
Weaver, Ingrid

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

list

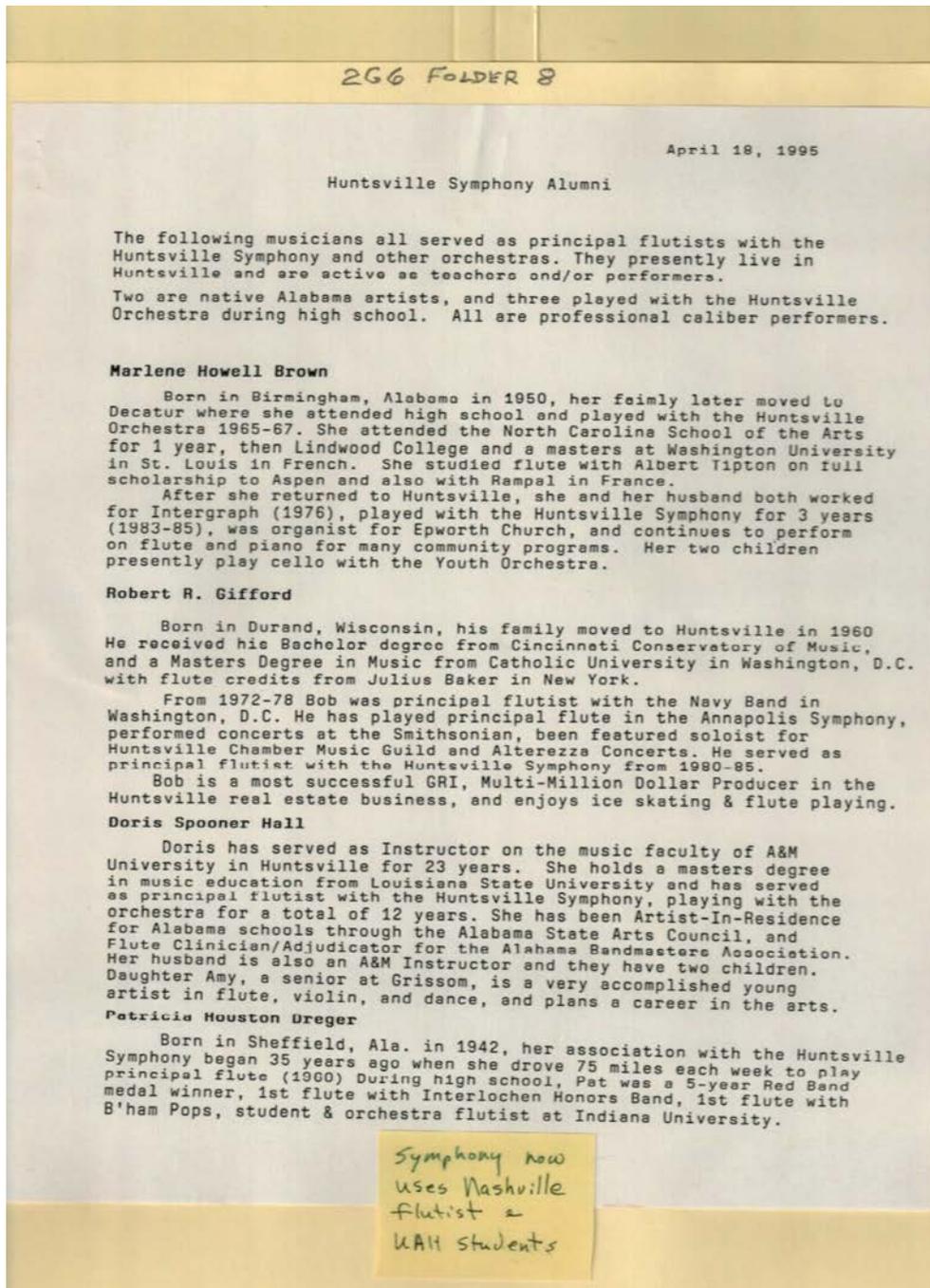
Dates:

April 18, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Brown, Marlene
Howell

Dreger, Patricia
Houston

Gifford, Robert R.
Hall, Doris Spooner

Huntsville Symphony
Alumni

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

biography

list

Dates:

April 18, 1995

266 FOLDER 8

- 2 -

Principal flutists cont.....

(Patricia Houston Dreger)

After graduation from the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston with a major in Orchestral Performance (1964), she returned to Huntsville to teach and play with the orchestra. She has played principal flute with the Huntsville Symphony (1970's), served as president of the Huntsville Chamber Music Guild, music critic for the Huntsville Times, and did summer graduate study at Indiana University and Aspen.

In 1973 she married Huntsville Symphony founder and principal cellist Alvin Dreger.

Her students have won numerous honors and have played with the Huntsville Symphony and Youth Orchestras. In 1977 she and Bianca Cox were co-founders/Directors of the first string instruction program in Huntsville and the first school string classes. She was founder and Director of the Madison County Schools Orchestra Program from 1980-85, teaching over 500 string students and winning acclaim from renowned educators such as Marvin Rabin.

Names:

Dreger, Patricia
Houston

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

biography

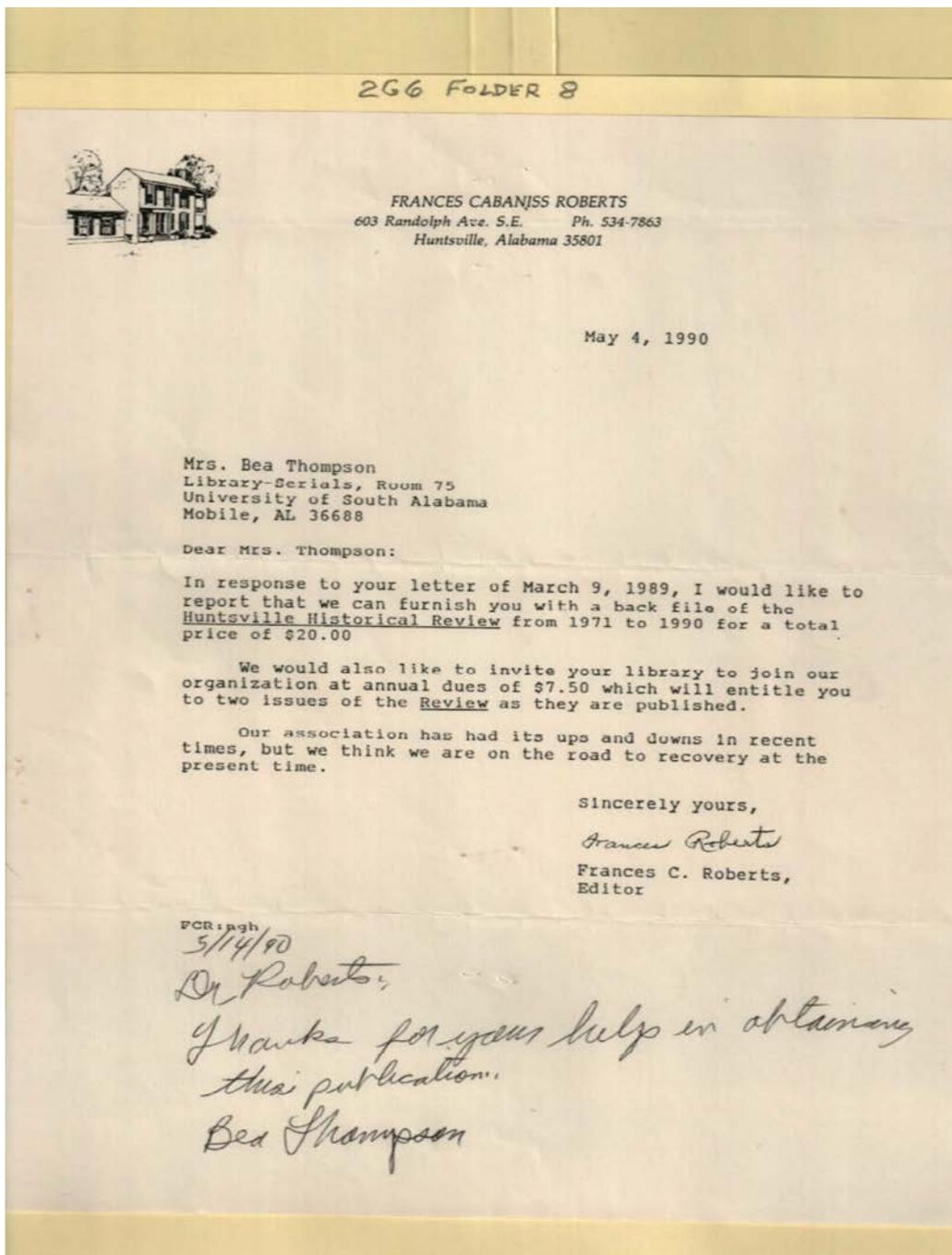
Dates:

April 18, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 12 r02g06-08-000-0012 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Roberts, Frances C.

Thompson, Bea, Mrs.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Mobile, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

May 4, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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266 FOLDER 8

May 4, 1990

Mrs. Bea Thompson
Library-Serials, Room 75
University of South Alabama
Mobile, AL 36688

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

In response to your letter of March 9, 1989, I would like to report that we can furnish you with a back file of the Huntsville Historical Review from 1971 to 1990 for a total price of \$20.00

We would also like to invite your library to join our organization at annual dues of \$7.50 which will entitle you to two issues of the Review as they are published.

Our association has had its ups and downs in recent times, but we think we are on the road to recovery at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

Frances C. Roberts,
Editor

FCR:ngb

Names:

Roberts, Frances C.

Thompson, Bea, Mrs.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Mobile, AL

Types:

correspondence

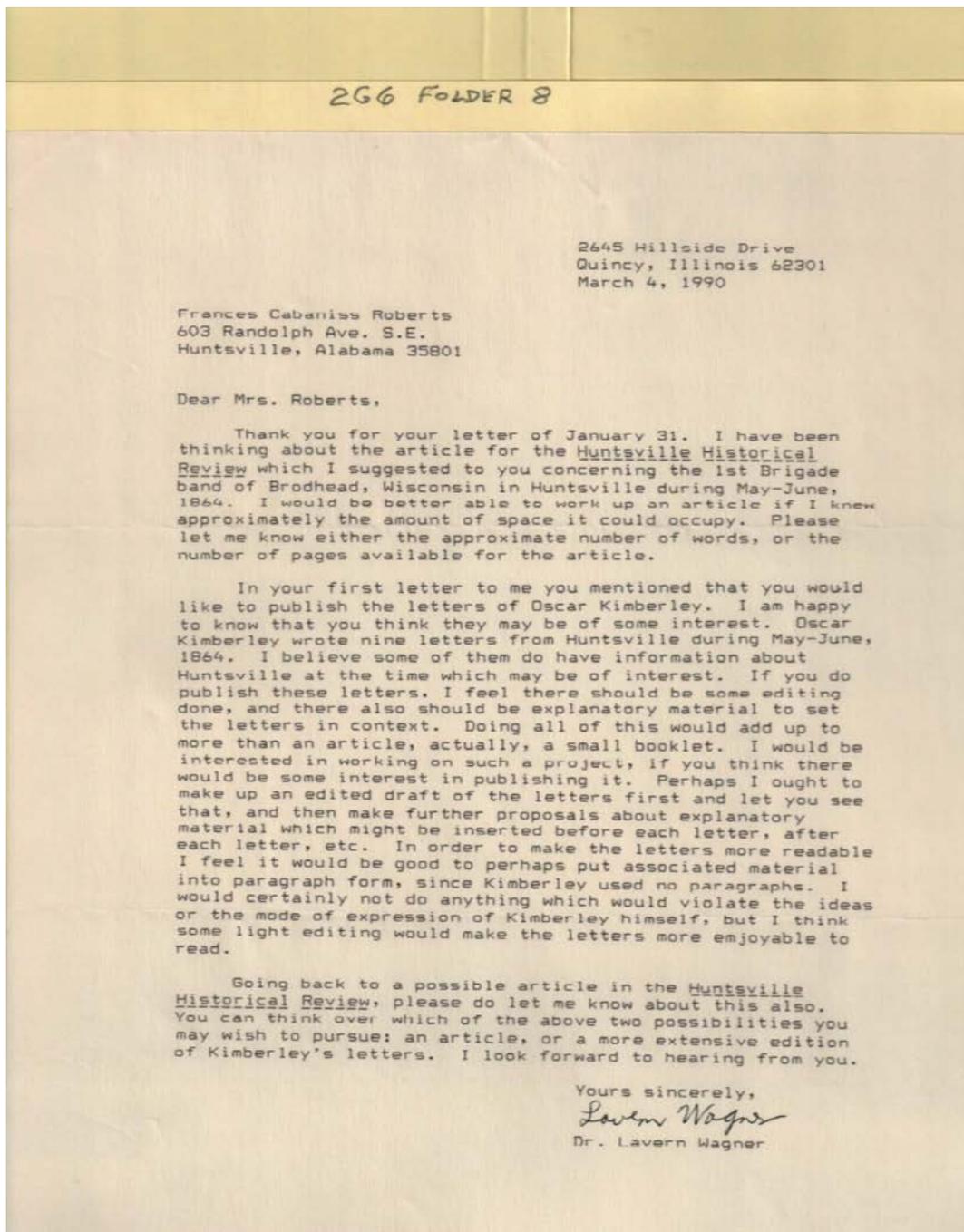
Dates:

May 4, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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266 FOLDER 8

2645 Hillside Drive
Quincy, Illinois 62301
March 4, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts
603 Randolph Ave. S.E.
Huntsville, Alabama 35801

Dear Mrs. Roberts,

Thank you for your letter of January 31. I have been thinking about the article for the Huntsville Historical Review which I suggested to you concerning the 1st Brigade band of Brodhead, Wisconsin in Huntsville during May-June, 1864. I would be better able to work up an article if I knew approximately the amount of space it could occupy. Please let me know either the approximate number of words, or the number of pages available for the article.

In your first letter to me you mentioned that you would like to publish the letters of Oscar Kimberley. I am happy to know that you think they may be of some interest. Oscar Kimberley wrote nine letters from Huntsville during May-June, 1864. I believe some of them do have information about Huntsville at the time which may be of interest. If you do publish these letters, I feel there should be some editing done, and there also should be explanatory material to set the letters in context. Doing all of this would add up to more than an article, actually, a small booklet. I would be interested in working on such a project, if you think there would be some interest in publishing it. Perhaps I ought to make up an edited draft of the letters first and let you see that, and then make further proposals about explanatory material which might be inserted before each letter, after each letter, etc. In order to make the letters more readable I feel it would be good to perhaps put associated material into paragraph form, since Kimberley used no paragraphs. I would certainly not do anything which would violate the ideas or the mode of expression of Kimberley himself, but I think some light editing would make the letters more enjoyable to read.

Going back to a possible article in the Huntsville Historical Review, please do let me know about this also. You can think over which of the above two possibilities you may wish to pursue: an article, or a more extensive edition of Kimberley's letters. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Lavern Wagner

Dr. Lavern Wagner

Names:

Kimberley, Oscar

Roberts, Frances
Cabaniss

Wagner, Lavern, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Quincy, IL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

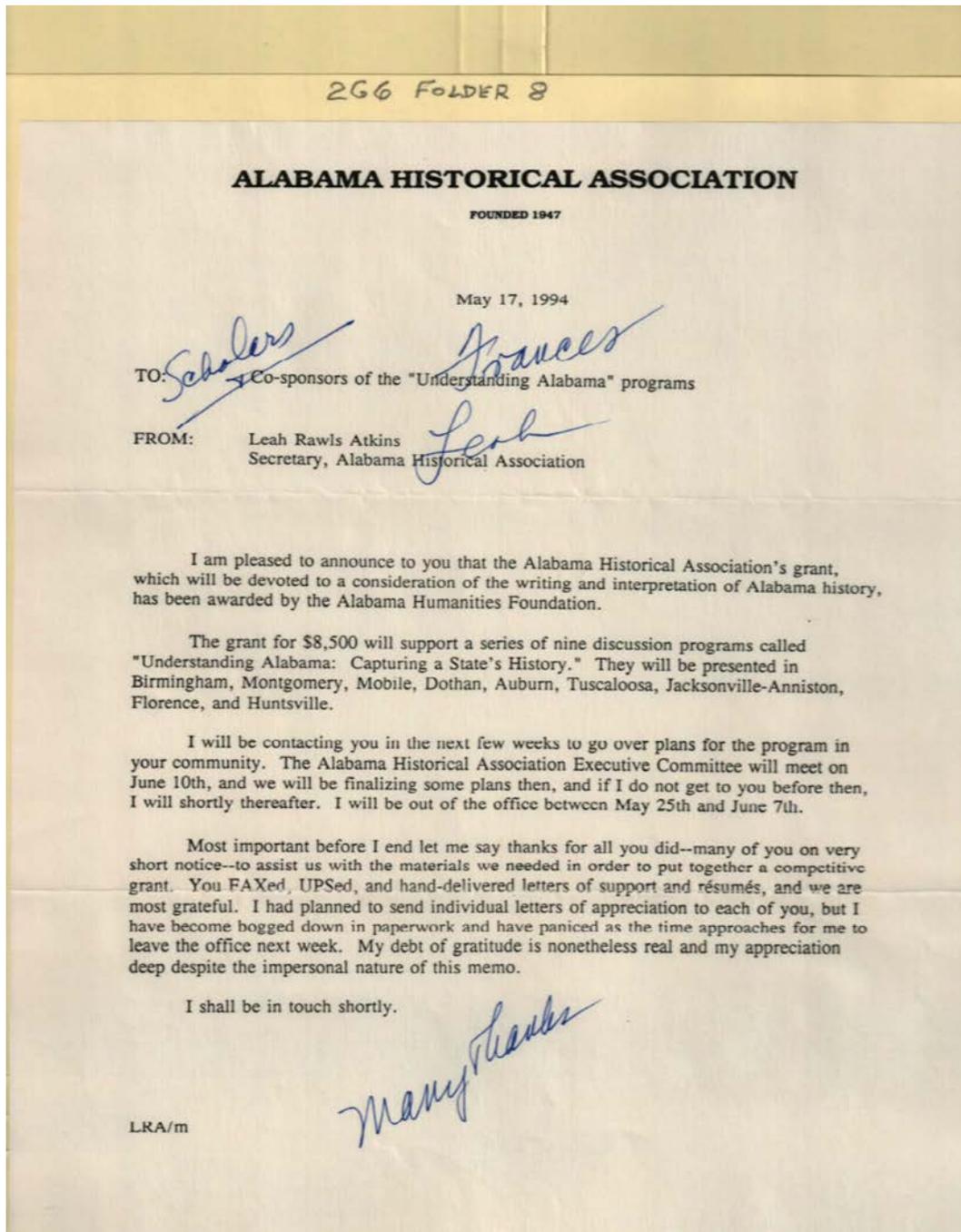
1864

Mar 4, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Atkins, Leah Rawls

Types:

correspondence

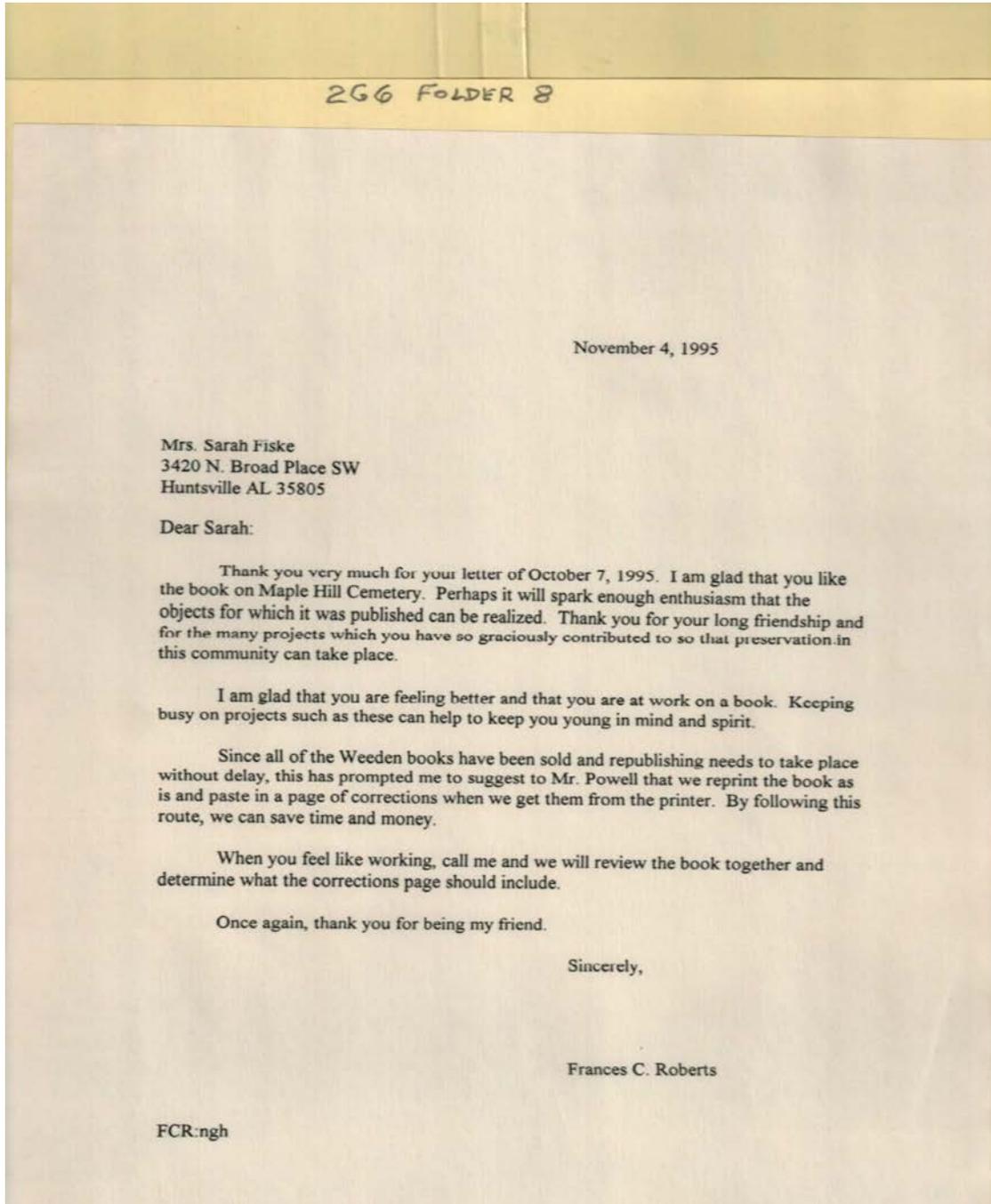
Dates:

May 17, 1994

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Fiske, Sarah, Mrs.

Powell,

Roberts, Frances C.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

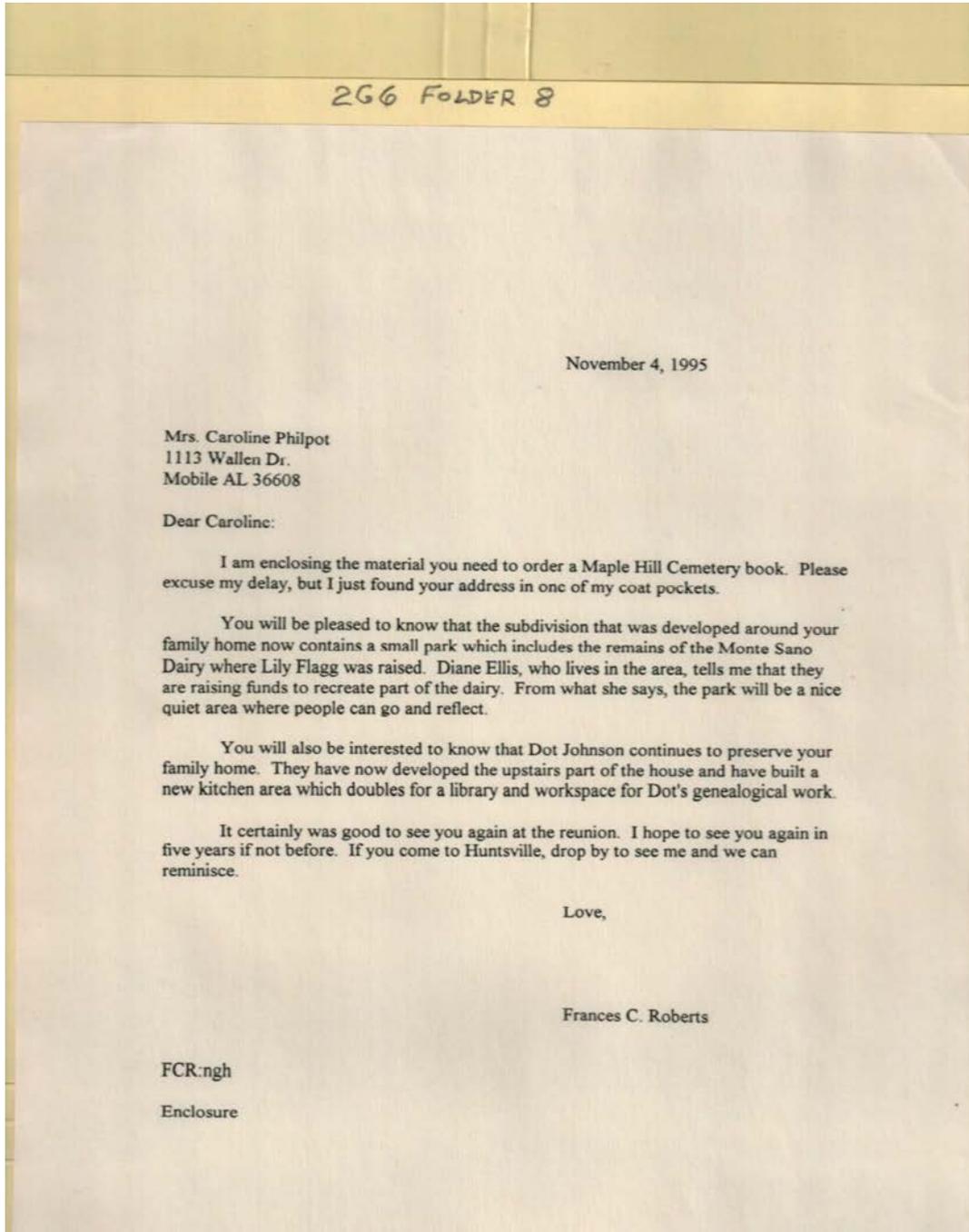
Dates:

Nov 4, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Ellis, Diane
Johnson, Dot

Philpot, Caroline,
Mrs.

Roberts, Frances C.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Mobile, AL

Types:

correspondence

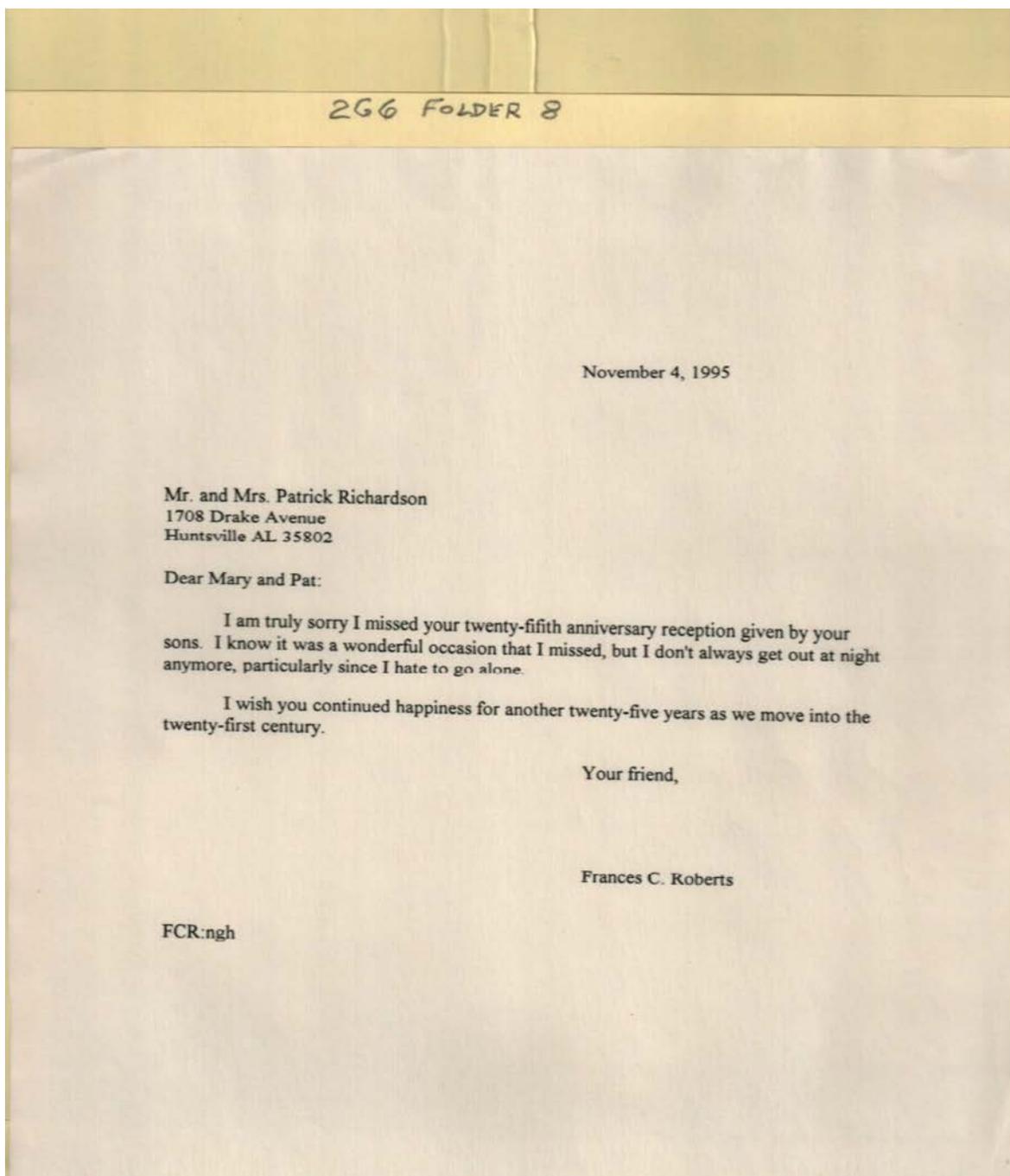
Dates:

Nov 4, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Richardson, Patrick

Roberts, Frances C.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

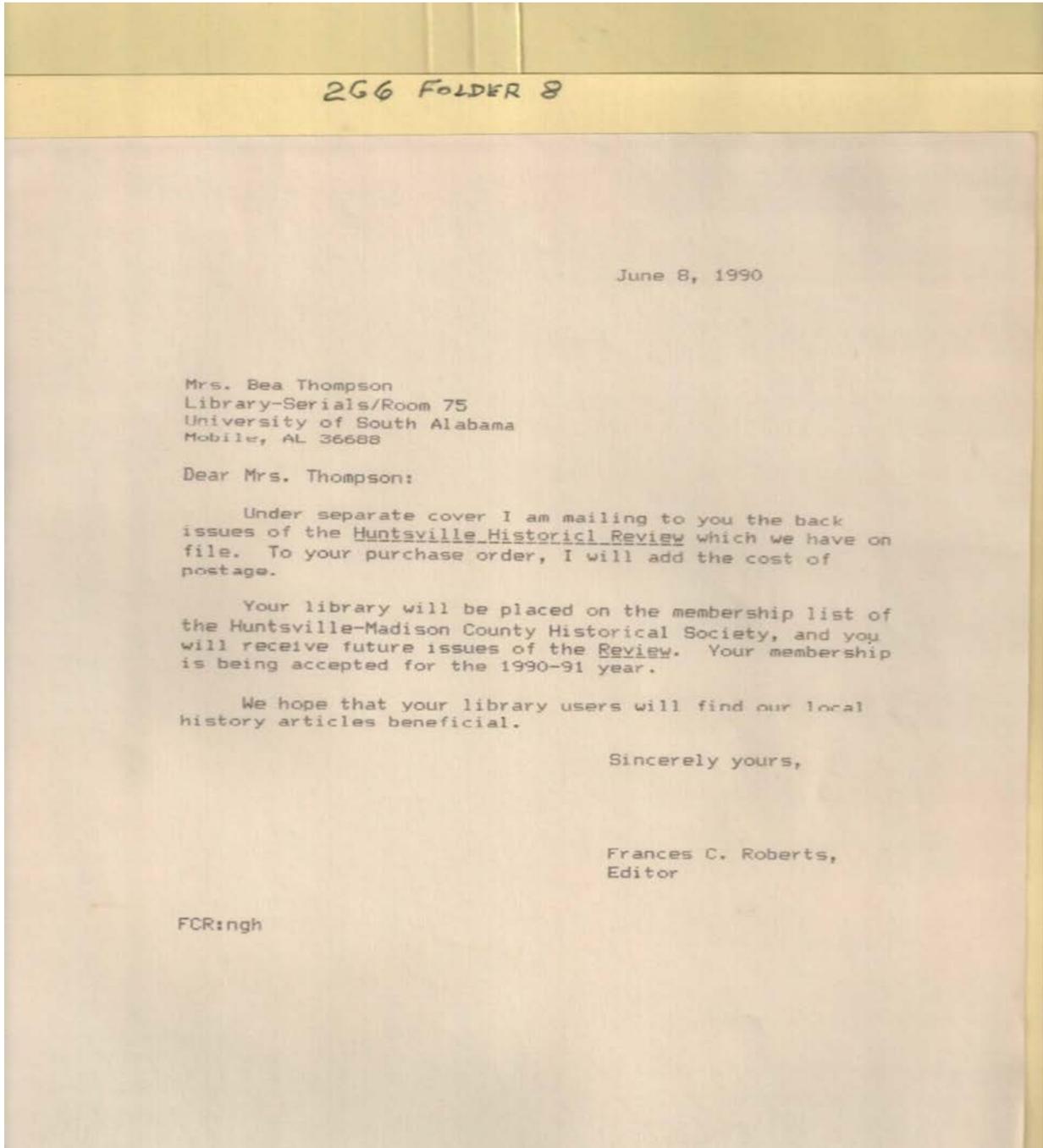
Dates:

Nov 4, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Roberts, Frances C.

Thompson, Bea, Mrs.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Mobile, AL

Types:

correspondence

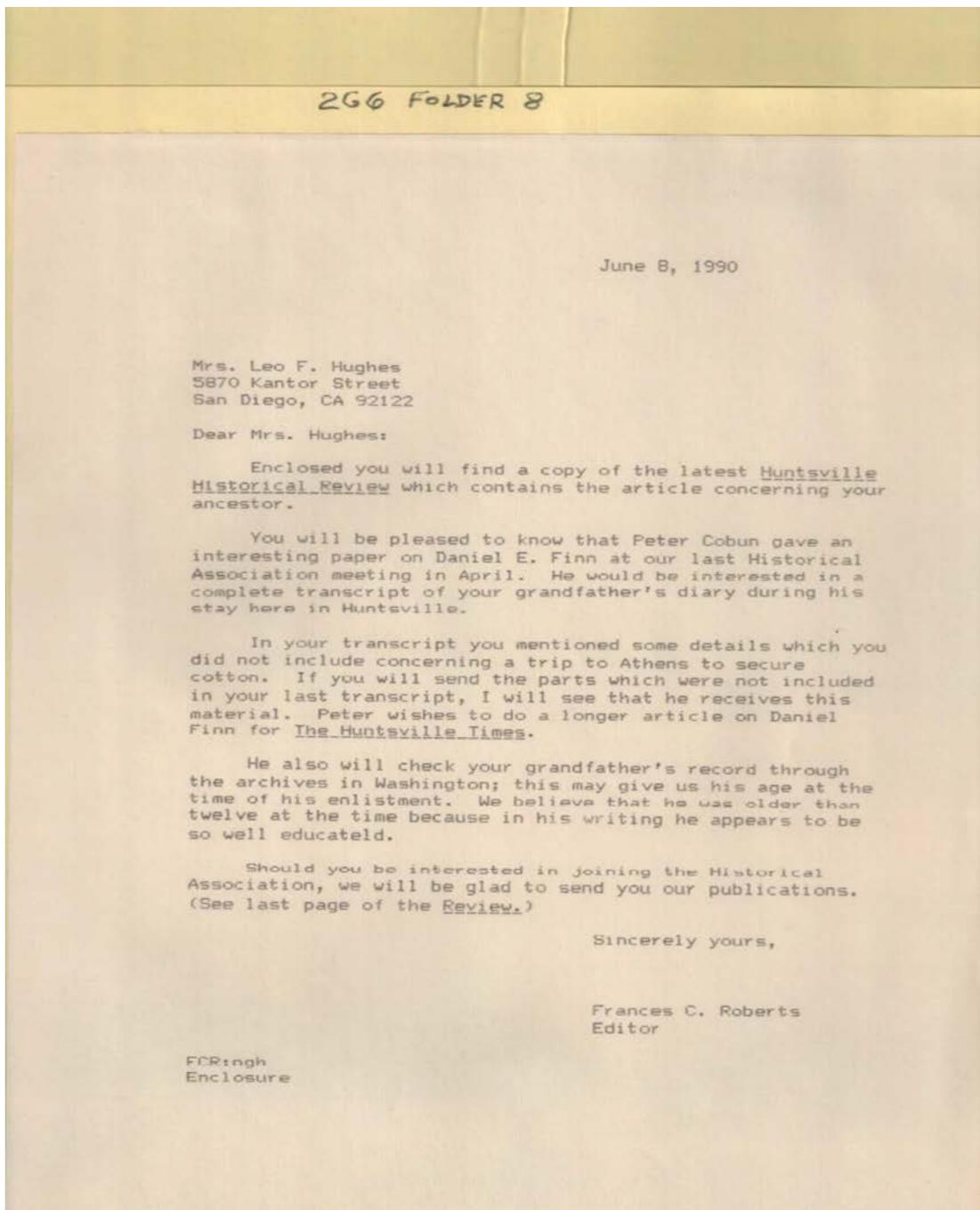
Dates:

June 8, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Cobun, Peter

Finn, Daniel E.

Hughes, Leo F., Mrs.

Roberts, Frances C.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

San Diego, CA

Types:

correspondence

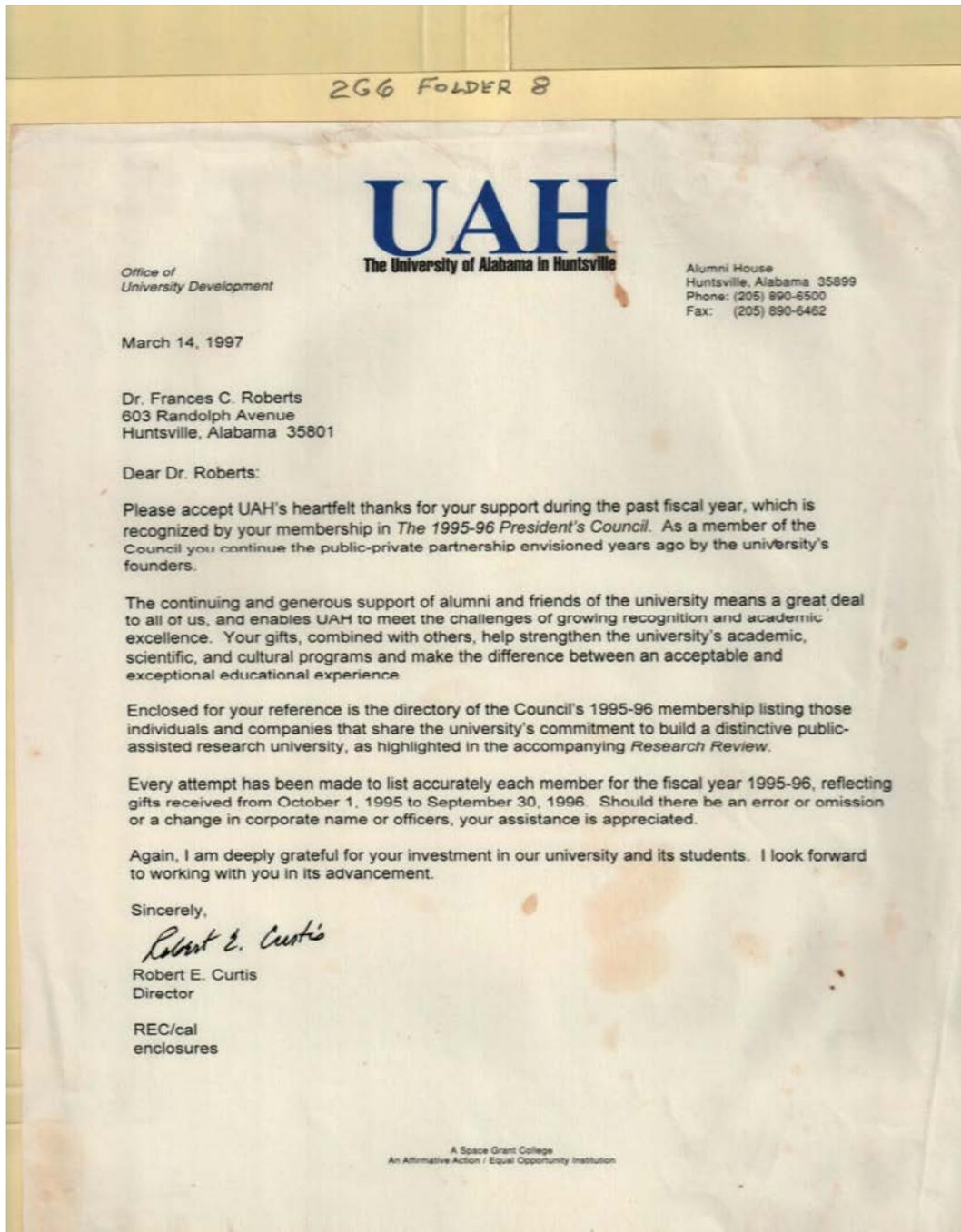
Dates:

June 8, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Curtis, Robert E.

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

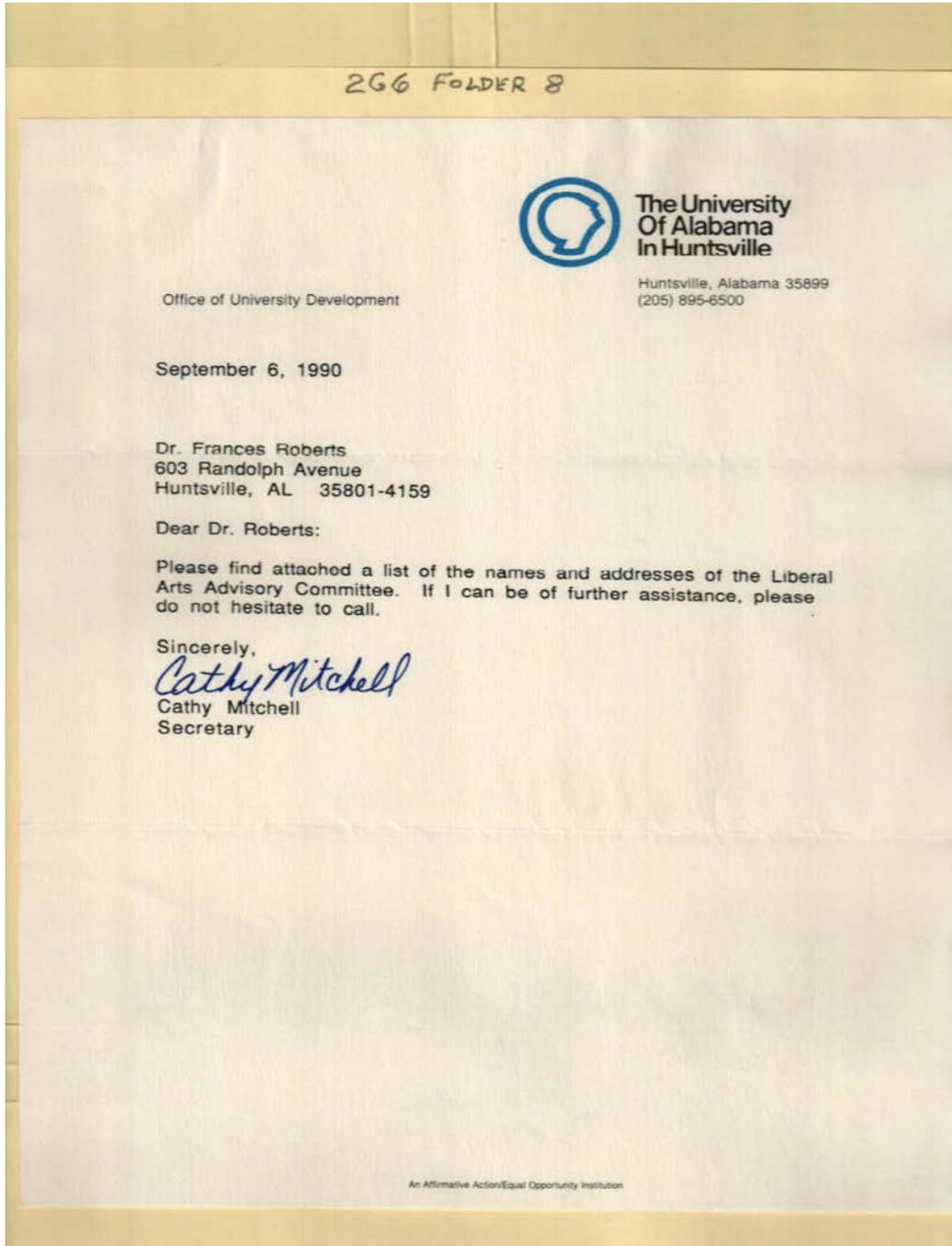
Dates:

Mar 14, 1997

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Mitchell, Cathy

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

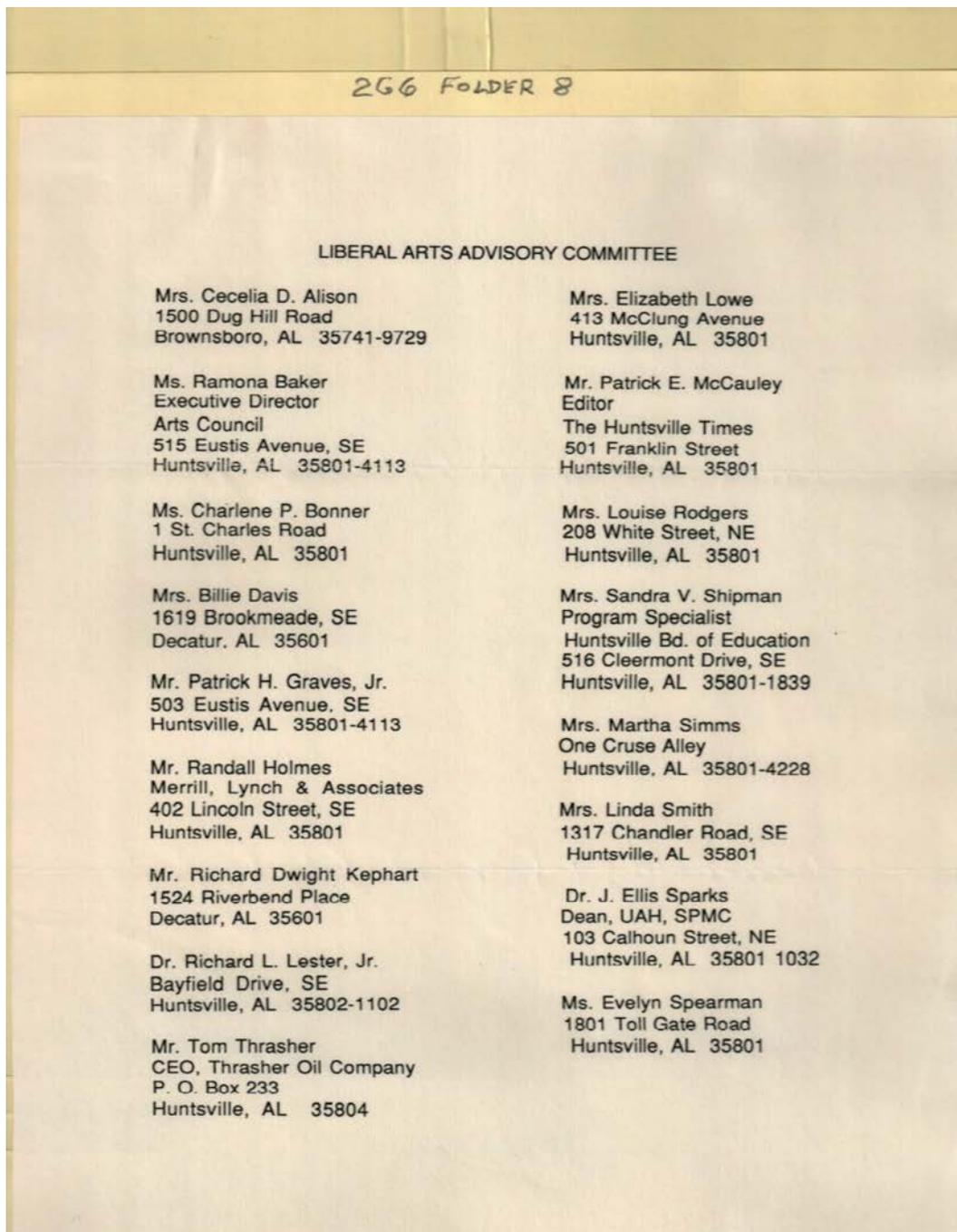
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Sept 6, 1990



Names:

Alison, Cecelia D.,
Mrs.
Baker, Ramona
Bonner, Charlene P.
Davis, Billie, Mrs.
Graves, Patrick H., Jr.
Holmes, Randall

Kephart, Richard
Dwight
Lester, Richard L., Jr.,
Dr.
Liberal Arts Advisory
Committee

Lowe, Elizabeth,
Mrs.
McCauley, Patrick E.
Rodgers, Louise,
Mrs.
Shipman, Sandra V.,
Mrs.

Simms, Martha, Mrs.
Smith, Linda, Mrs.
Sparks, J. Ellis, Dr.
Spearman, Evelyn
Thrasher, Tom

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

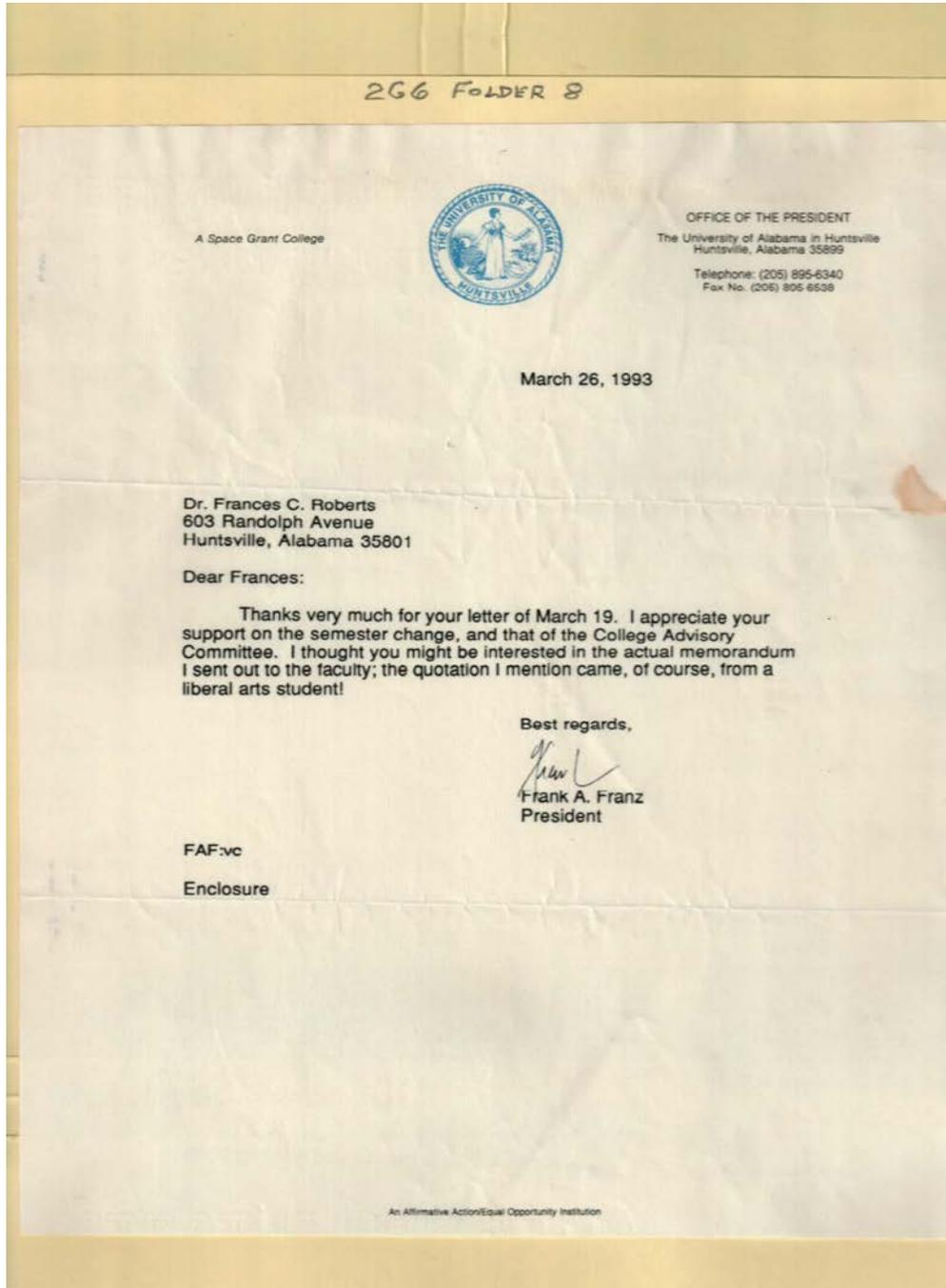
list

Dates:
1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Franz, Frank A.

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

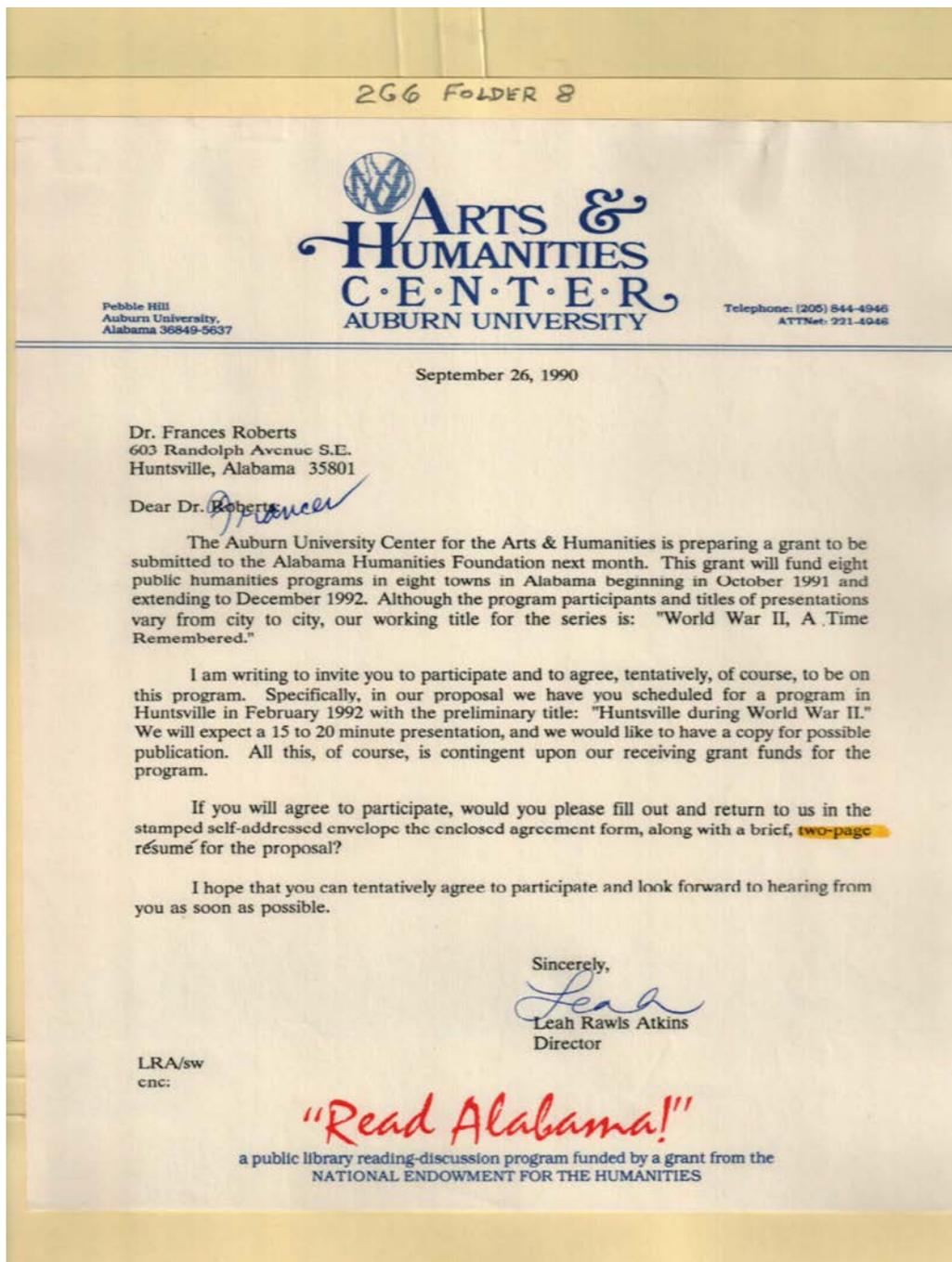
Dates:

Mar 26, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 25 r02g06-08-000-0025 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Atkins, Leah Rawls

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Auburn, AL

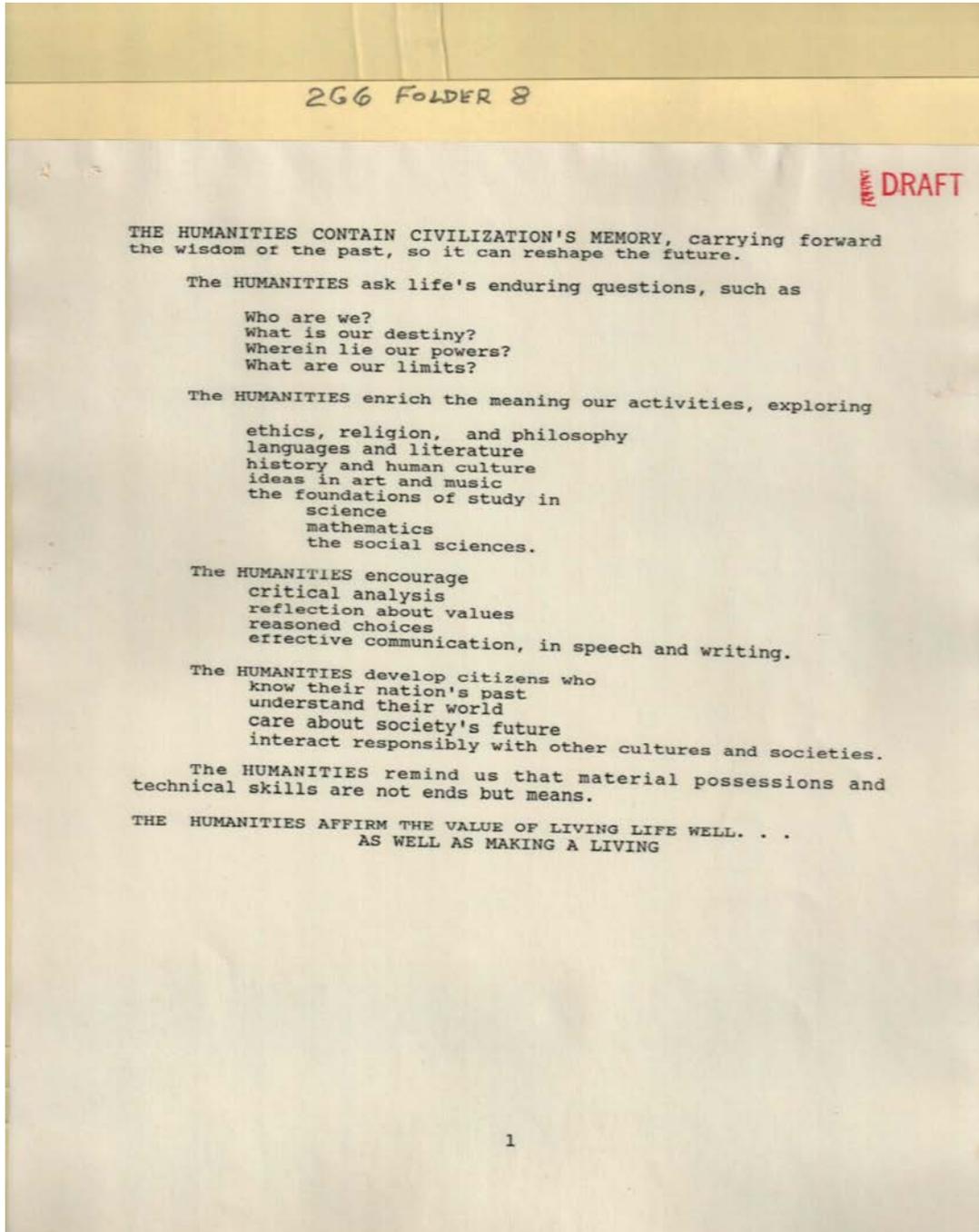
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Sept 26, 1990



Names:

The Humanities

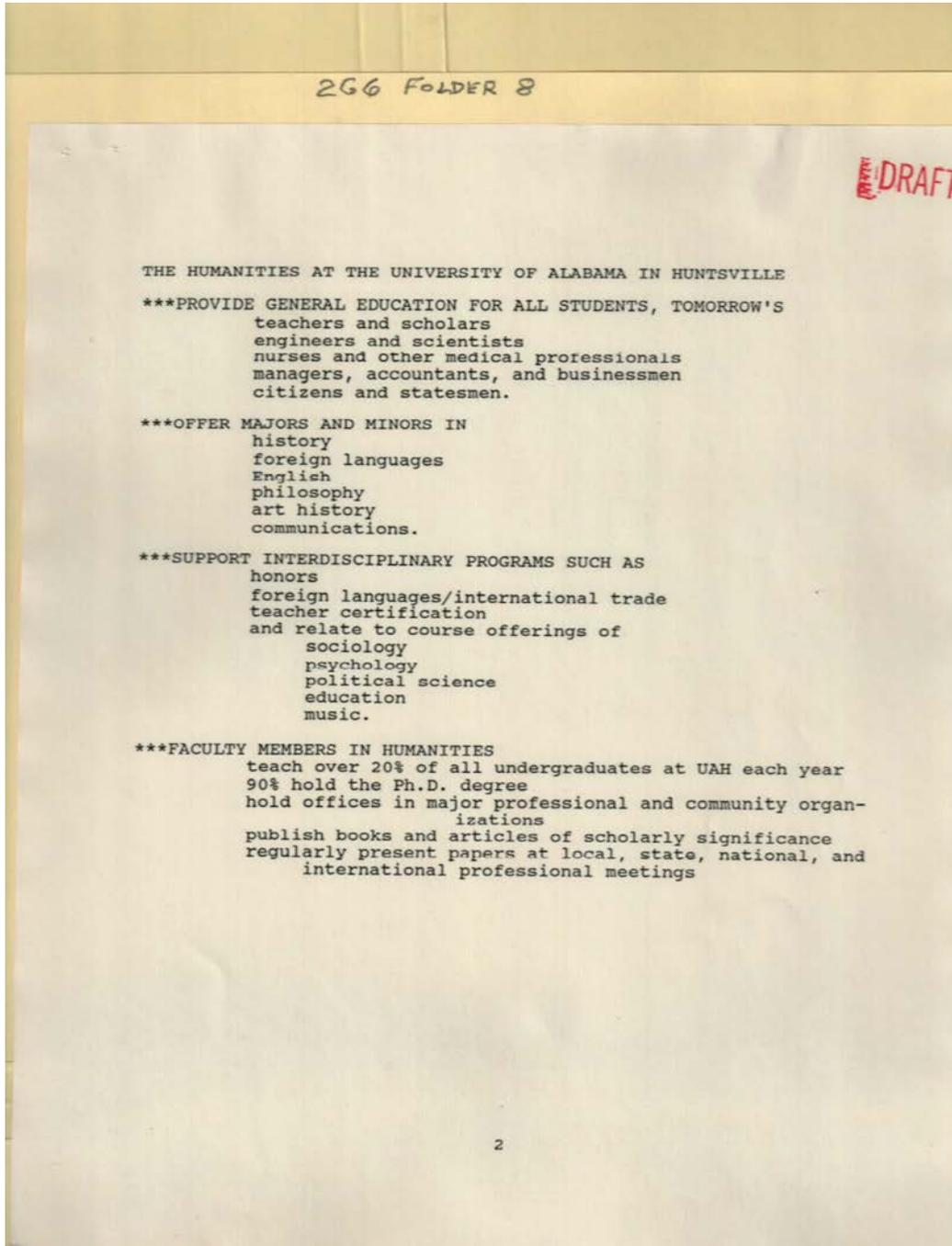
Types:

draft

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 27 r02g06-08-000-0027 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

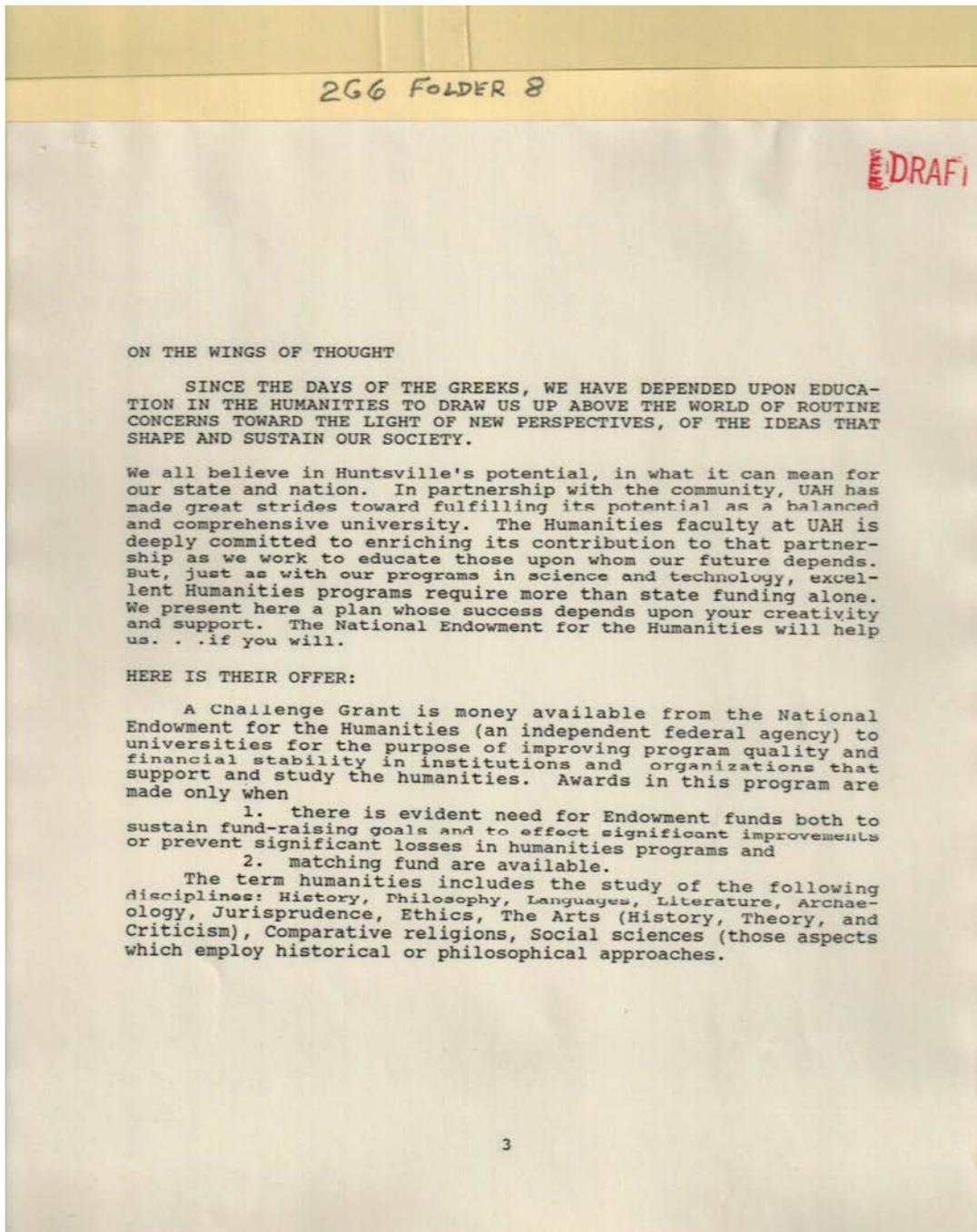
The Humanities at
UAH

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

draft

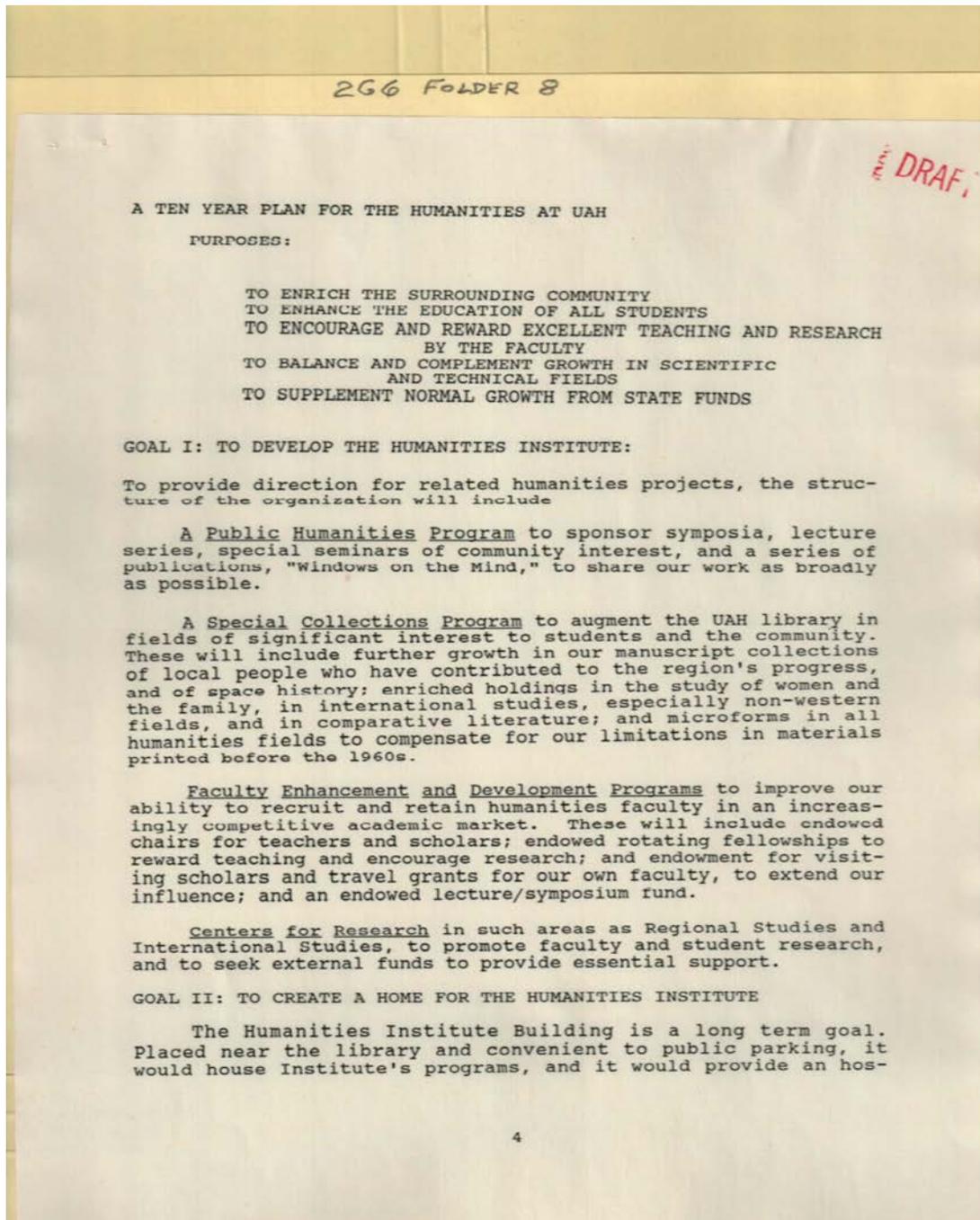


Names:

The Humanities

Types:

draft



Names:

The Humanities at
UAH

Places:

Huntsville, AL

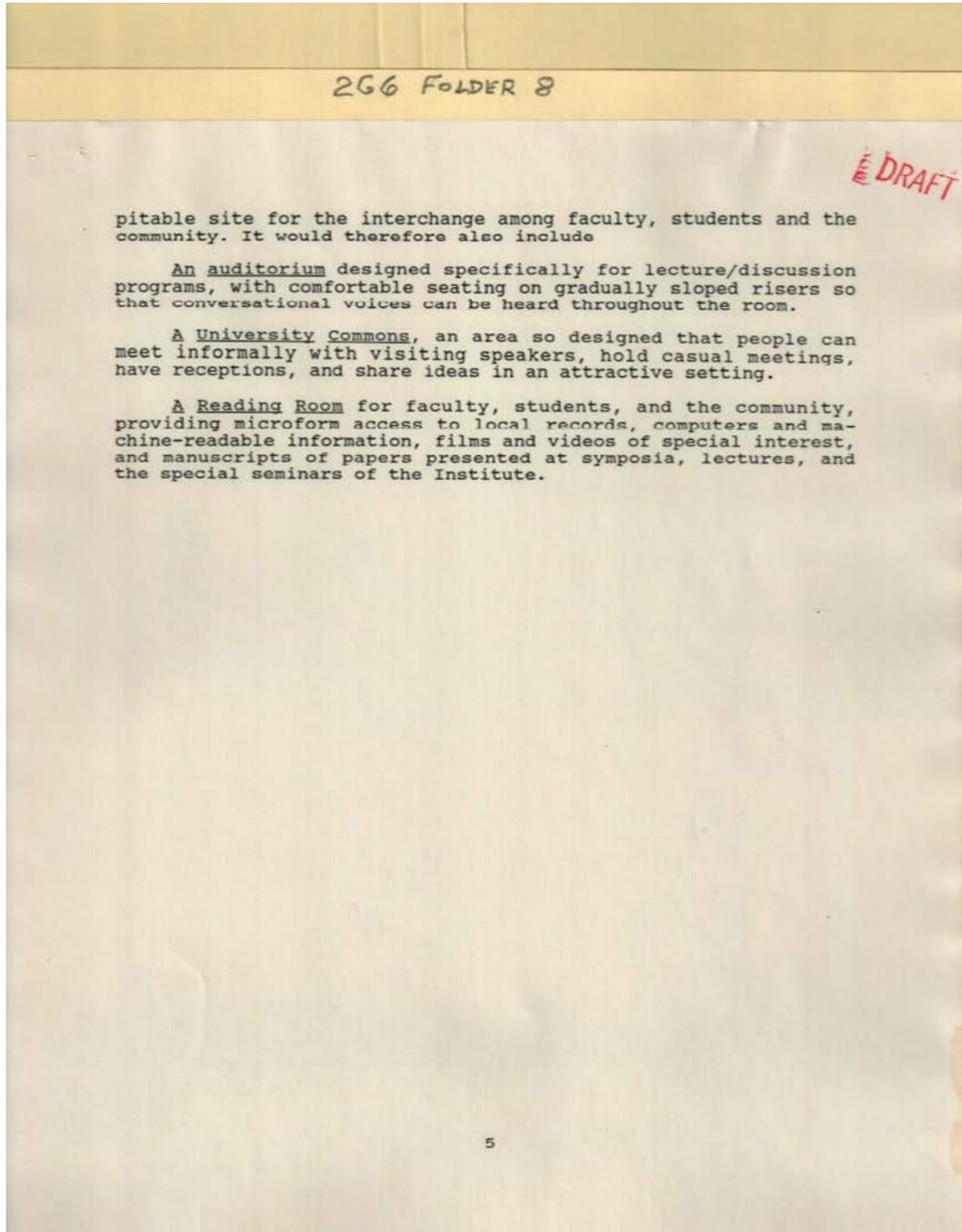
Types:

draft

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

The Humanities at
UAH

Places:

Huntsville, AL

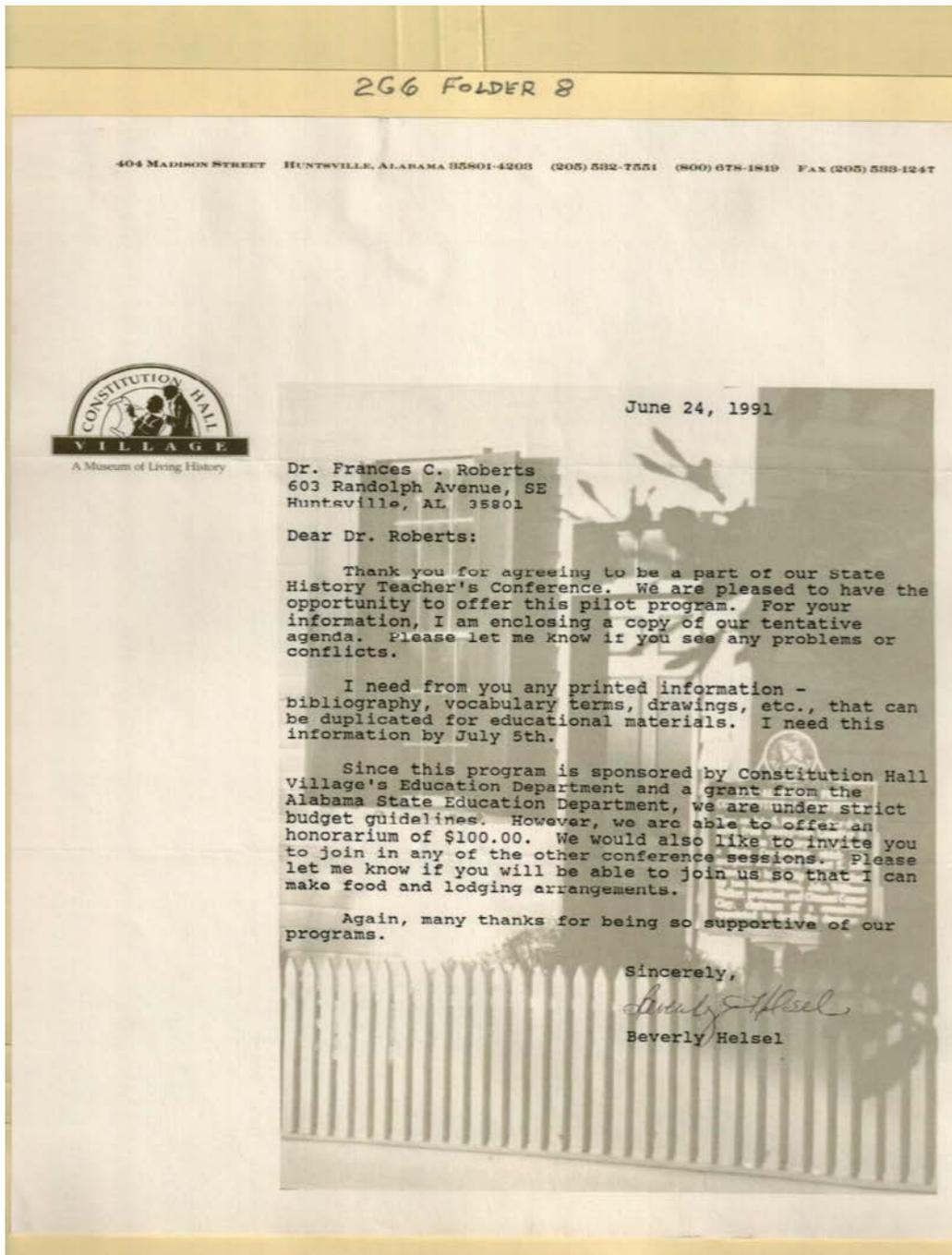
Types:

draft

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Helsel, Beverly

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Places:

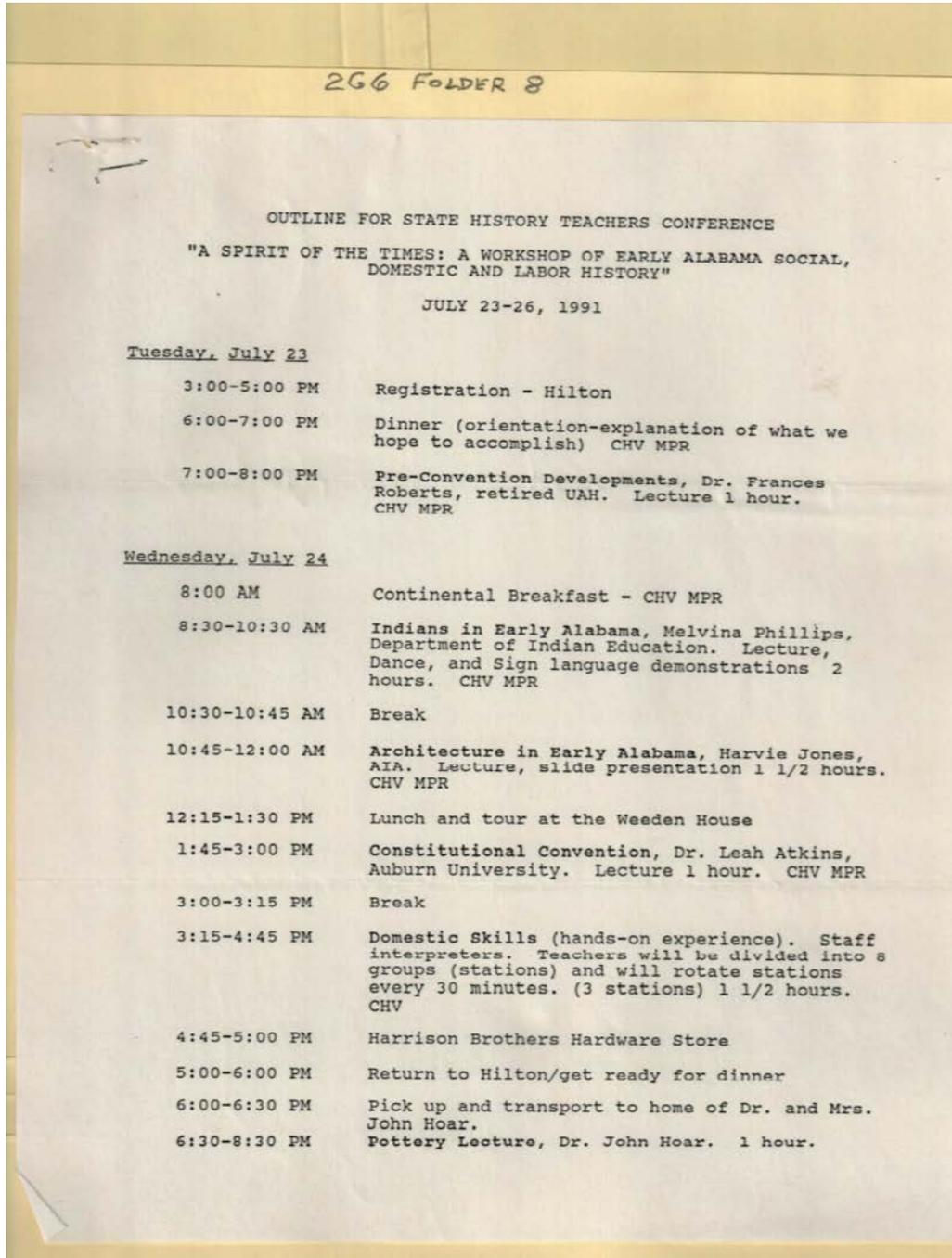
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

June 24, 1991



Names:

Atkins, Leah, Dr.
Hoar, John, Dr. &
Mrs.

Jones, Harvie
Phillips, Melvina
Roberts, Frances, Dr.

State History
Teachers
Conference

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

program

Dates:

July 23, 1991

July 23-26, 1991

July 24, 1991

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Dinner to follow.

8:30 PM Return to Hilton

Thursday, July 25

8:00 AM Continental Breakfast CHV MPR

8:30-9:30 AM The Formative Years, Dr. Leah Atkins, Auburn University. Lecture 1 hour. CHV MPR

9:30-10:30 AM Journalism/Printing in Early Alabama, Dr. Walter Clement, retired, Auburn University. Lecture 1 hour. CHV MPR

10:30-11:30 AM Paper making and paper marblizing, Jane Young, Constitution Hall Village. Hands-on 1 Hour. CHV Outdoors

11:30-12:00 PM Walking tour Twickenham 1/2 hour.

12:00-1:30 PM Lunch in Twickenham-return to CHV

1:30-2:30 PM American Folklore, Angelia Hartline, Lecture 1 hour. CHV MPR

2:30-5:00 PM Domestic skills (5 stations) 2 1/2 hours credit. CHV

5:00-6:00 PM Break at Hilton

6:00-7:00 PM Dinner

7:00-9:00 PM Music/Dance in Early Alabama, Joyce Cauthen, (dance instructor) Alabama Folklife Association. 2 hours. CHV

Friday, July 26

8:00 AM Continental Breakfast CHV MPR

8:30-10:30 AM Blacks in Early Alabama, Dr. Alma Freeman, Alabama State, Montgomery. Panel discussion 2 hours. CHV and Slaves Quarters

10:30-10:45 AM Break

10:45-11:45 AM Studying Alabama History Techniques - University of Alabama Education Department. Lecture 1 hour.

11:45 AM Close of Conference

Stations:

*Add Frances Robb
Historical Researcher*

Names:

Atkins, Leah, Dr.
Cauthen, Joyce

Clement, Walter, Dr.
Freeman, Alma, Dr.

Hartline, Angelia
Robb, Frances

Young, Jane

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

program

Dates:

July 25, 1991

July 26, 1991

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Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Cornelius, Donald W.

Mariner's Compass

Roberts, Frances C.,

Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

address

envelope

note card

Dates:

Aug 19, 1993

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1212 Huntsville Hills Dr.
Huntsville, AL 35802
August 18, 1993

Dear Dr. Roberts,
I'm delighted you have agreed to present a lecture on Huntsville in the Civil War on September 28 from 11:05-12:35 in Room 206 of Sprague Hall. If you'd prefer to make other arrangements for a meeting place, please let me know at once. I intend to send a schedule to all who have signed up for the course.

I am looking forward to seeing you on Sept. 28 and thank you for your assistance in the UAH-ALL Local History course.

Sincerely,
Kay Cornelius

Names:

Cornelius, Kay

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

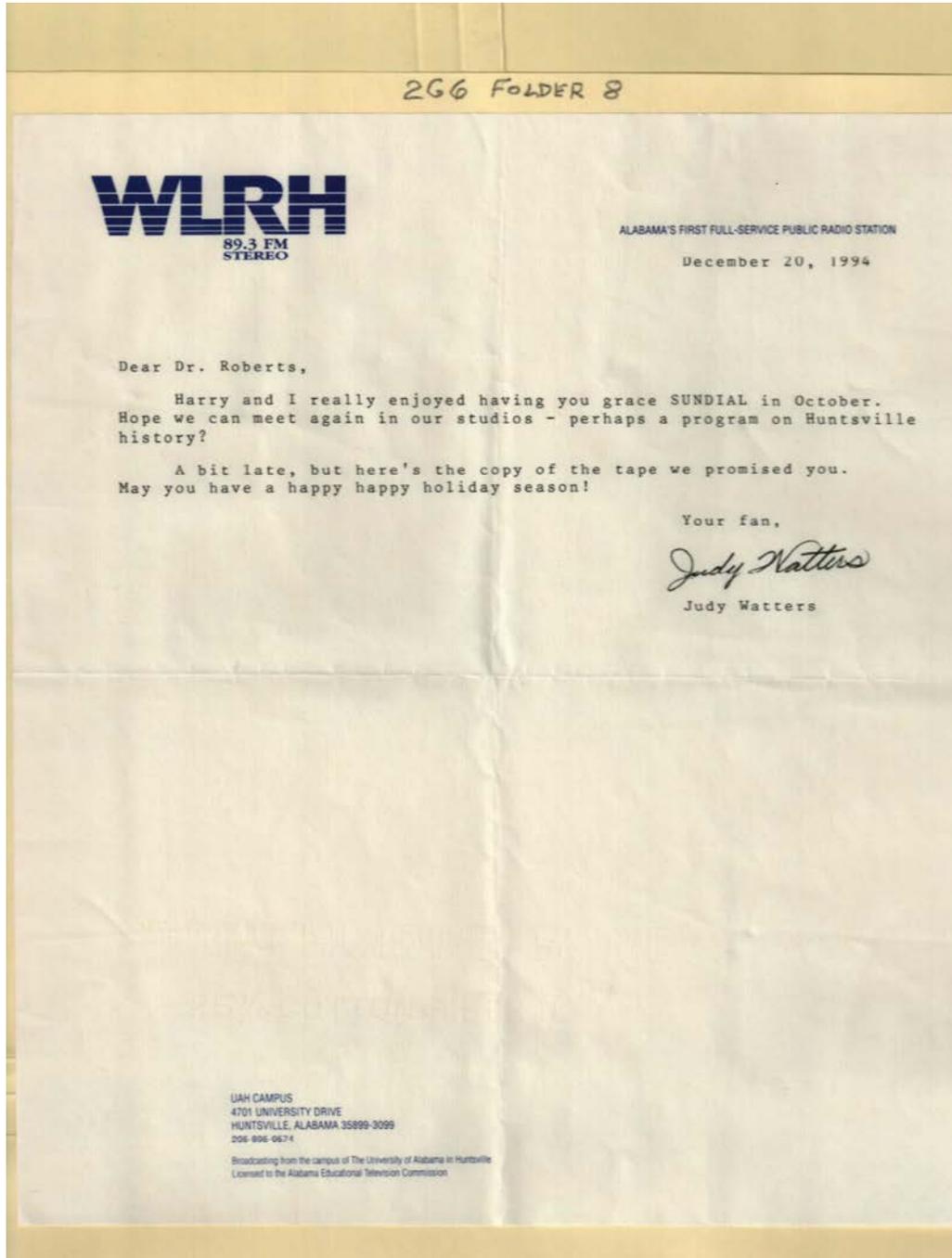
Dates:

Aug 19, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Watters, Judy &
Harry

Places:

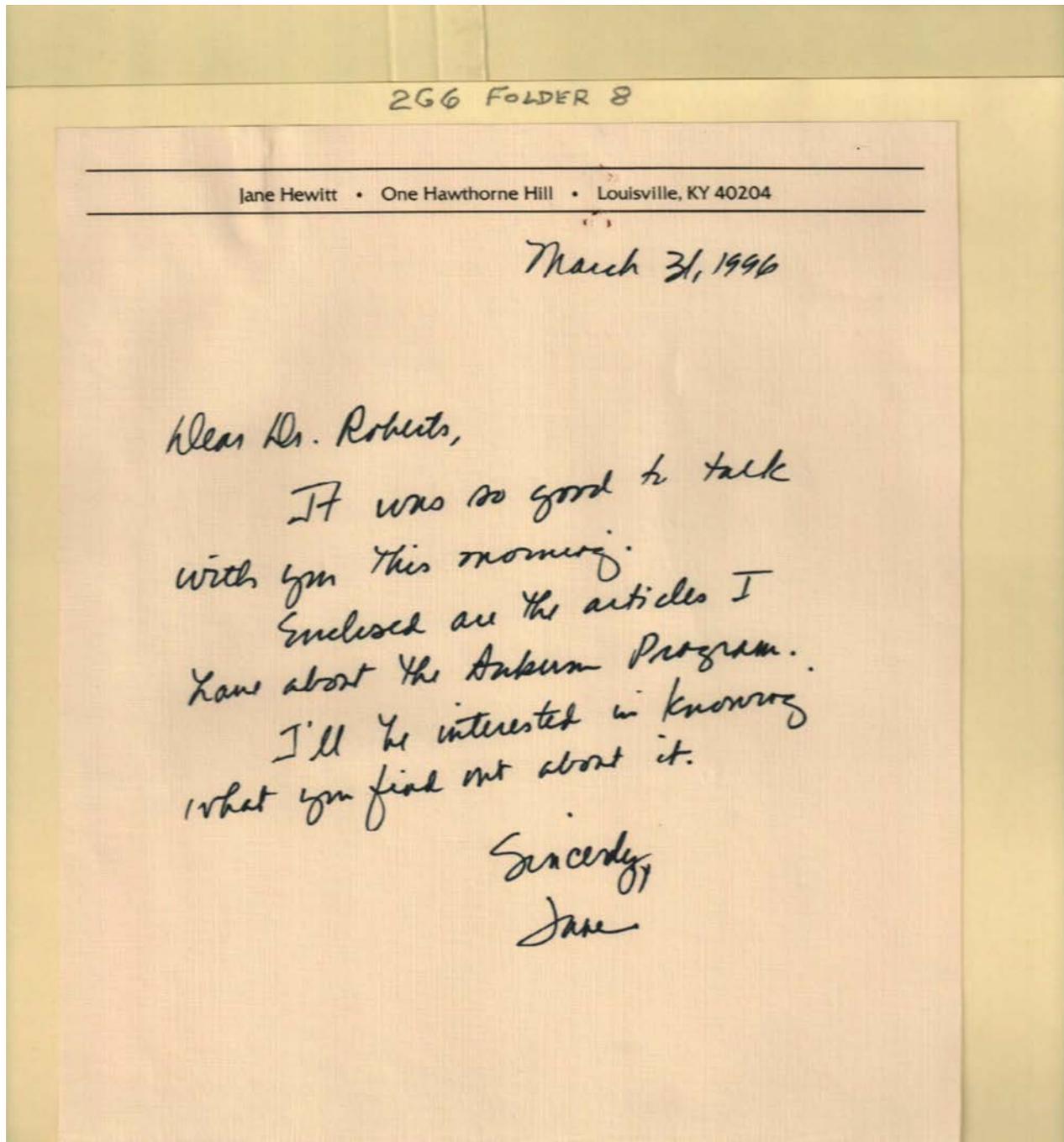
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Dec 20, 1994



Names:

Hewitt, Jane

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Louisville, KY

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Mar 31, 1996

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GOOD WORKS

House raising in the Black Belt

An architecture professor and his students build for rural families in need

BY MIMI READ



Hale County stands locked in time teeming with old ironies. This swath of south-central Alabama known as the Black Belt for its dark, fecund soil still looks much the way it did in 1936—the year James Agee and Walker Evans spent a summer photographing and interviewing its shockingly poor sharecropper families for their classic book, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*.

But one thing is new. These days Hale County has architect Samuel Mockbee and his students among its residents. Mockbee is a professor of architecture at Auburn University. Every quarter, sixteen design students abandon the Auburn campus and join Mockbee at the school's Remote Rural Studio in the heart of the Black Belt. There they design and build housing for low-income people.

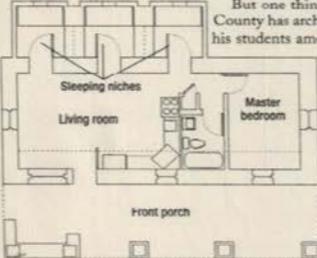
One recent challenge Mockbee and the students built an 850-square-foot house for Alberta and Shephard Bryant, a couple who had lived for forty years at the end of a dirt road in a shack with leaking roof, scant walls, and no running water.

"When it rained we had to put our furniture in a corner," says Shephard Bryant, who fishes, hunts, and grows vegetables. The couple's priorities were a bedroom, a bathroom, sleeping niches with desks for three grandchildren who live with them, and a living area with a kitchen. A front porch was another request. Shephard Bryant also asked for a smokehouse.

Working with a \$15,000 budget from the Alabama Power Foundation, students designed a house that is innovative and low-tech. Hay bales are the substructure for walls. A shed roof of corrugated acrylic keeps off rain but lets in light.

For the Bryants, the house was an unexpected gift. "I love it," Alberta Bryant grins. "It couldn't be any better."

For the students it was a chance to "plug into the mud responsibly," says Samuel Mockbee. "We try to build something with spirit. I tell my students it's got to be warm, dignified, and noble." ■



The house was built from hay bales covered with metal lath and stucco. The dramatic roof (top) is corrugated acrylic. CENTER LEFT: A wood stove heats the living room. The barrel-like sleeping niches (see plan, CENTER RIGHT, and photograph, BOTTOM) protrude from the rear facade; their shapes evoke hay bales common in local fields.

78

House Beautiful June 1995

House Beautiful magazine

Names:

Read, Mimi

House Raising in the
Black Belt

Places:

Hale Co., AL

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

June, 1995

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Postcards From The Edge

Samuel Mockbee is part architect, part country doctor. The maladies he treats are of the housing variety and though no cure-all is imminent, strides are shown on these pages. In recent years, Mockbee has transformed his teaching post at Auburn University in Auburn, Alabama, into his own traveling rehabilitation center, and his students, participants in the school's five-year architectural program, are interns—trained for duty and on round-the-clock call.

In 1989, at the behest of a Madison County, Mississippi nun, Mockbee started doing small projects for families living below the poverty level near Canton, where he lives. Mockbee already had a successful firm of his own (in 1983 he began collaborating with Coleman Coker and the duo formed Mockbee Coker in 1986). Though Mockbee Coker had captured attention in architectural circles for its work—mostly single-family residences that imbue rural vernacular forms with an otherworldly elegance (RECORD, April 1992, pages 132-139)—both principals supplemented their practice with teaching stints at a variety of Southern schools.

Five years ago, on one of his frequent interstate drives between Canton and Auburn, Mockbee conceived the Rural Studio: an architectural clinic *in situ*. Along with his department head, D.K. Ruth, Mockbee appealed to Alabama Power for financial support and was granted some \$300,000, partly in matching-gift grants, over a five-year period. They chose as their base the cotton "black-belt" town of Greensboro, Alabama, (population 3,000), where the local nursing home donated an abandoned antebellum mansion as a live/work space: "redneck Taliesin South," Mockbee calls it. He turned to the

Hale County Department of Human Resources for guidance in selecting clients.

They found Shepard Bryant and his family (photos below). Before the project began, the Bryant family was living in a shack lacking heat, plumbing, weatherproofing, and structural integrity. The design of the new Bryant house was completed during a design charrette. One group of students researched inexpensive materials, and another group did construction work the following academic quarter. Walls are hay bales coated in stucco. The floor is a concrete slab topped with brick. An acrylic awning screens the front porch—stylishly practical. Another student built an adjacent smokehouse of stone with glass-bottle portholes and a metal roof made of old road signs. "We'd have died without them [Mockbee and the students]," says Bryant.

"What I look for are projects that have a moral sense. Architects can have a profound effect on a community and vice versa," says Mockbee of the Rural Studio's goals. "It's not about the architect's passion, but the architect's compassion." Another house is underway. Meanwhile, Mockbee maintains his practice with a virtual studio; Coker, now at the American Academy in Rome as a 1995-'96 Rome Prize recipient, normally lives across state lines from Mockbee in Memphis.

While Mockbee is quick to credit his students for each project, his presence is felt. "He's papa," says former student Ruard Voltzman, who stayed on in Greensboro to build a community chapel as his thesis project (opposite). "Whether we like it or not, he's always there to remind us of what we need to do." *Karen D. Stein*



The Bryant house in Hale County, the first Rural Studio project. Mockbee and students at their Greensboro base (bottom left).

74 Architectural Record March 1996

Architectural Record magazine

Names:

Mockbee, Samuel
Rural Studio project

Postcards From the
Edge

Places:

Greensboro, AL

Hale Co., AL

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

March, 1996



Architectural Record magazine

Names:

Yancey Chapel

Places:

Hale Co., AL

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

March, 1996



Architectural Record magazine

Names:

Yancey Chapel

Places:

Hale Co., AL

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

March, 1996

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Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Architectural Record magazine

Names:

Yancey Chapel

Places:

Hale Co., AL

Types:

magazine photograph

Dates:

March, 1996

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Memo
from the desk of

Louise Heidish

Here's the article I
mentioned to you last
Sunday - I know you'll
find it interesting reading
See you at AAUW's
Jan - 27 Sat. luncheon
Happy Holidays!
Louise Heidish

Names:

Heidish, Louise

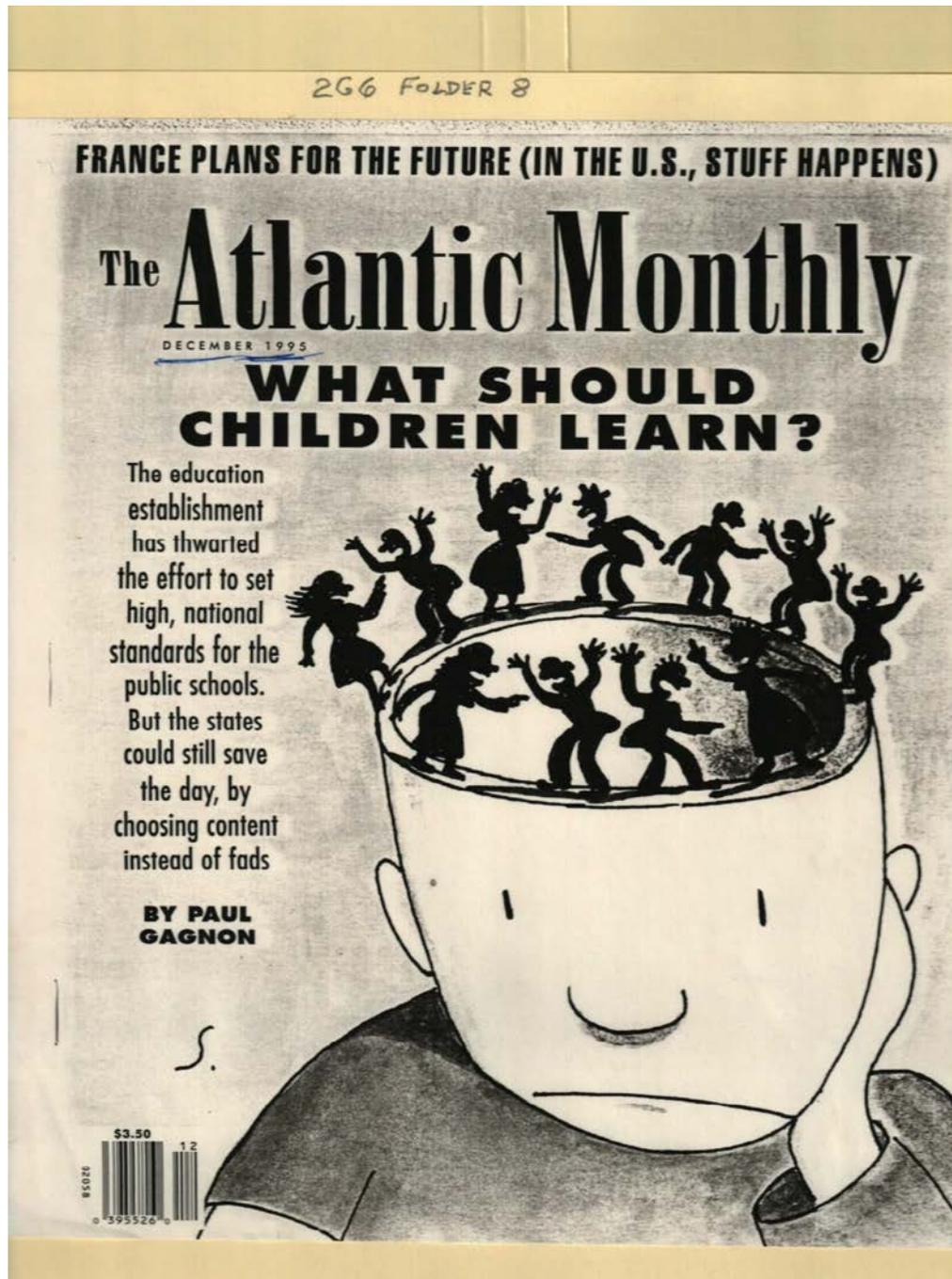
Types:

memo

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Atlantic Monthly magazine

Names:

Gagnon, Paul

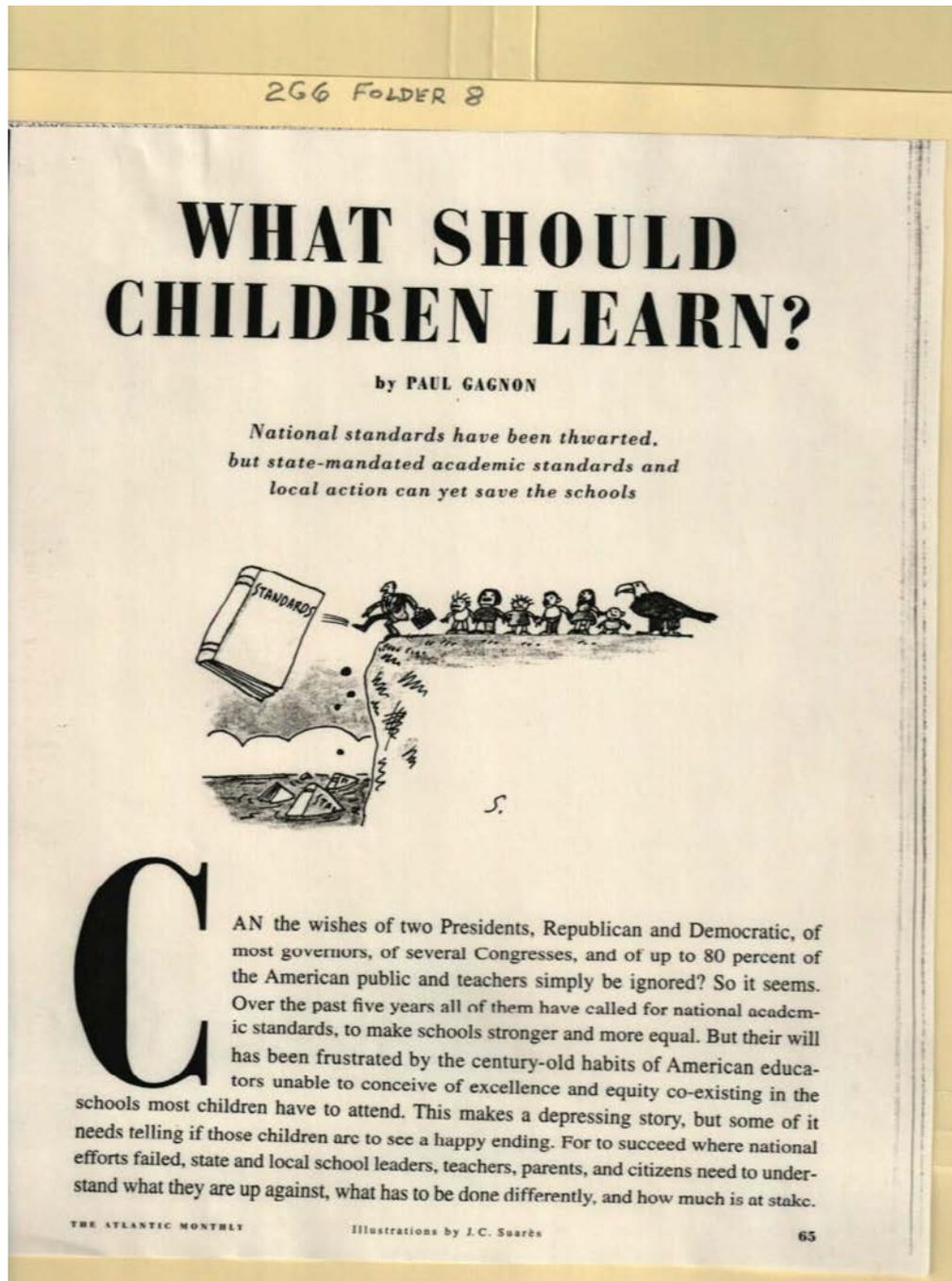
What Should
Children Learn

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

December, 1995



Atlantic Monthly magazine

Names:

Gagnon, Paul

What Should
Children Learn

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

December, 1995



p. 2

Names:

What Should
Children Learn

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

December, 1995



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Comparing curricula makes us look bad enough, but what is behind the course titles on student transcripts? Are American courses as substantial as those abroad? To make them so, President George Bush and the nation's governors launched a movement to set national standards for course content at meetings in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1989. Goal Three of their statement insisted that course content be academically "challenging," comparable to that in the best schools here and overseas, and—for equity—that all students be offered such content and be expected to master it. Polls showed overwhelming public support, even for a national curriculum.

Shortly after, Congress set up a National Council on Education Standards and Testing, to "advise on the desirability and feasibility of national standards and tests." In its report of January, 1992, the council recommended both. National content standards, it said, ought to "define what students should know and be able to do" in English, geography, history, mathematics, and science, "with other subjects to follow." A core of common content was needed to "promote educational equity, to preserve democracy and enhance the civic culture, and to improve economic competitiveness." It should set high expectations, not minimal competencies; it should provide focus and direction, not a national curriculum.

The ball was handed off to the U.S. Department of Education, which in turn funded privately based consortia of scholars and teachers to decide what was most worth learning in each major subject. The stage was set to open equal opportunities for learning, to temper the curricular chaos of 15,000 school districts, so that children would no longer be entirely at the mercy of where or to whom they were born. Some of us in the Department of Education were sure it could be done. We were wrong. The department itself never decided how the standards strategy ought to work, or how to explain it to others. Last year four of the national projects it had commissioned—in the arts, civics, geography, and history—issued their documents. (Science and foreign-language projects are still under way. A math project had been separately completed



Had we looked overseas after midcentury, we could have learned from both our allies and our enemies in the Second World War. But we did not and still do not. Those most reluctant to look abroad are the promoters of giddy educational fixes that no foreign country would take seriously, from subjecting schools to the "free market" all the way to killing off academic disciplines in favor of "issue-based inquiry."

in 1991.) After spending more than \$900,000, the English project had been defunded for nonperformance, its professional associations unable to do for our language and literature what other nations have done for theirs. (One subcommittee solemnly voted that the phrase "standard English" be replaced by "privileged dialect.") Only the civics document earned countrywide respect. The others met with disbelief and complaint over their length and extravagant demands. The American-history standards set off an ideological conflict that is still boiling, an issue for presidential candidates at campaign stops. (For an examination of the disappointing standards for world history, see page 74.)

A year after the standards projects reported, the national version of standards-based reform is dead of multiple wounds, some self-inflicted, others from our culture wars, still others from congressional antipathy to any federal initiative, and most from American educators who have long resisted establishing a common core of academic learning. Recovery now depends on the states' choosing their own standards. But where a well-funded nationwide effort collapsed, how can states step in and do it right? Are we as a people ready to apply the standards of our very best schools, public and private, to all the others, and reform a system that is generally mediocre and shamefully unequal? A century of avoidance says no.

THE TEN AND THE NINE

THE idea that democratic education requires a rigorously academic core for every student is not new. The report of the illustrious Committee of Ten, published in 1894, forcefully articulated it, calling for an established academic curriculum for all high school students, *whether or not they were going to college*. Italics are needed, for the committee was falsely accused in its time of caring only for the college-bound, and thus of being elitist and anti-democratic. This line is still taken by educators who have not read the report.

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The story of the Ten's defeat and the triumph of progressive education's dumbed-down version of John Dewey's ideas, which reads eerily like the failure of the national-standards movement today, is best told in Richard Hofstadter's *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1964. Chaired by Charles William Eliot, the president of Harvard, the Committee of Ten was made up of six university scholars (several had taught in secondary schools), three high school principals, including the head of the Girls' High School in Boston, and William T. Harris, the U.S. Commissioner of Education. The common core they advocated required four years of foreign language and English language and literature, three to four years of math and science, and two to four years of history. Young Americans taking on the profession of citizen, they said, needed a demanding curriculum, not the "feeble and scrappy" courses offered in too many high schools. This was doubly important for "school children who have no expectation of going to college," so that they might have at maturity "a salutary influence" upon the affairs of the country.

The report could have been written today. It anticipated the progressive pedagogical agenda and our latest "innovations" as well. It decried the "dry and lifeless system of instruction by text-book." Facts alone were repellent; schooling was for "the invaluable mental power which we call the judgment." It deplored mere coverage. To reach a common core of essentials, less was more: "select the paramount." The committee argued for active inquiry in original sources, studies in depth, individual and group projects, seminars, debates and re-enactments, field trips, museum work, mock legislatures and conventions. All possible teaching aids should be used: engravings, photographs, maps, globes, and the "magic lantern." To make time, school hours needed to be longer and more flexible.

For the new curriculum the Ten urged that history, civil government, and geography be taught as one. They wanted history and English "intimately connected," with constant cross-referencing to other countries and eras, to literature and art. They wanted more time for foreign languages, starting in the elementary grades. The continuing education of teachers needed more rigor—courses during the school year, taught by university scholars, for teachers who needed "the spirit or the apparatus to carry their classes outside . . . [the] narrow limits" of textbooks. Educators today reinvent these century-old ideas and declare them "exciting," as though nobody before—least of all academicians—could have thought such things.

The Ten's marriage of common substance and varied methods—exactly the object of today's standards strategy—was broken by the advent of a new corps of nonacademic educators who argued that common requirements would force a multitude of students to drop out. In 1911 a Committee of Nine on the Articulation of High School and College turned the Ten on their heads. The Nine, primarily public school administrators, insisted that school "holding power" depended

on meeting interests that "each boy and girl has at the time." To focus on academics was to enslave the high school to the college, and lead students away from "pursuits for which they are adapted" toward those "for which they are not adapted and in which they are not needed." Schools should focus on industrial arts, agriculture, and "household science."

The influence of what Hofstadter called an "anti-intellectualist movement" also stood out in *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, issued in 1918 by the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, and nationally distributed by the U.S. Office of Education. Again made up of administrators, the commission included no academic subjects in its list of seven things high schools ought to teach: health, command of fundamental processes (the three Rs), "worthy" home membership, "worthy" use of leisure, vocation, citizenship, and ethical character. This report, too, could have been written today, by the promoters of content-free brands of "outcomes-based education," which they celebrate as new and "transformational."

MASS TRIAGE

FROM the 1920s on, vast numbers of children were locked into curricular tracks and "ability groups" on the basis of surface differences—race, ethnicity, language, social class, sex, "deportment," and intelligence as categorized by inane notions of testing—that had nothing to do with their potential. At the low point of this mass triage, leaders of the "Life Adjustment" movement of the 1940s consigned up to 80 percent of all American children and adolescents to the nonacademic heap. Hofstadter called it the most anti-democratic moment in the history of schooling. In the next decade James Bryant Conant's influential book *The American High School Today* (1959) still sought no common academic core and considered no more than 20 percent of students as "academically talented." The rest, Conant said, should "follow vocational goals and . . . develop general interests." And in *The Education of American Teachers* (1963), Conant added that at the university level "a prescription of general education is impossible unless one knows, at least approximately, the vocational aspirations of the group in question."

Thus spoke mainstream American educators, habitually failing to recall the three distinct purposes of schooling—for work, for public affairs, for private culture—and ever unable to imagine what free people could be as citizens or private personalities outside their daily work. From the report of the Nine to the present, educators (including those at many universities) have put socializing the masses and job training ahead of intellect. At different times socializing takes on various looks from group to group, left to right. But its common root is distrust of ordinary people's minds and spirit. Unable to think and seek the good, ordinary people must be socially

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engineered to amuse themselves and to behave. We boast of escaping the old world's class system, but cherish our own brand of social privilege. Academic standards, educators have said for a century, are not for everyone—as though most people do not deserve or need a liberal education, as though we want them not as equals but only to work and to buy, Beta-minuses out of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. To feel better, we tell one another the story that schools can be "different but equal," a swindle still outliving its twin, "separate but equal."

In contrast, the cataclysms of depression and war brought educators in Europe to other views by the 1950s: it was time to democratize their schools, by leveling upward. As European secondary schools were opened to all, the political parties of the left resolved that the children of workers and the poor should gain whatever personal and political power they could from the same academic curriculum formerly reserved to the few.

A generation earlier America had leveled downward, accepting a dual, unequal school system sold to trusting citizens with warm words of solicitude by expert-specialists. In fact those specialists were perpetuating elitism by denouncing liberal education as elitist. Europeans were not so trusting as we, either of experts or of one another. Out of revolution and class conflict they had raised wariness to a high art, looking behind words for consequences. In Europe the schools had been battlegrounds for ideas about human nature, religion, history, national honor, and democracy itself. European democrats who had suffered Nazi occupation were not about to accept the notion that schools could be different but equal.

Had we looked overseas after midcentury, we could have learned from both our allies and our enemies in the Second World War. But we did not and still do not. Those most reluctant to look abroad are the promoters of giddy educational fixes that no foreign country would take seriously, from subjecting schools to the "free market" all the way to killing off academic disciplines in favor of "issue-based inquiry." Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, puts it squarely, as usual: Americans tolerate a "marked inequality of opportunity in comparison with Ger-



Starting school reform by first deciding what every child should learn strikes most people as only common sense. But to many American educators, it spells revolutionary change. This strategy would give subject-matter teachers, and the educated public, unprecedented power to spur genuine change—change far deeper than questions of school choice, methods, or management.

many, France, or Japan." Why do students work harder in those countries, with the same TV and pop culture to distract them? Because their educators have decided what all students should know by the end of high school, Shanker says, and they have "worked back from these goals to figure out what children should learn by the time they are ages fourteen and nine." Standards are universal and known by everyone, so "fewer students are lost—and fewer teachers are lost."

CONTENT-BASED REFORM

GRANTED, the U.S. Department of Education's own ambivalence did not help the standards strategy's reception. What could easily have been explained as a necessarily slow four-step process—in which most important decisions would be left to states, local districts, schools, and teachers—remained in confusion. And when expensive standards projects refused to discipline themselves and lugged forth great tomes that looked like

national curricula, the department gave up trying. It let go the idea of a national core of essential learning and decided to say that setting standards was now up to the states.

Having fifty sets of standards need not mean disaster. But the Committee of Ten was right: something close to national agreement on a vital common core is indispensable to educational equity, to dislodge and replace the empty, undemanding programs that leave so many children untaught and disadvantaged. Without some such agreement, the much-heralded devolution of reform leadership to the states could make things worse.

The four steps essential to content-based school reform are no mystery. But conventional educators will object to them, for they focus on subject matter and must be carried out by subject-matter teachers and scholars, not by curriculum specialists unlearned in academic disciplines. In step one, teachers and scholars work together under public review to write the content standards—brief, scrupulously selected lists of what is most worth knowing in each academic subject. These have but one function: to lay before students, parents, teachers, and the university teachers of teachers the

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essential core of learning that all students in a modern democracy have the right not to be allowed to avoid. "Core" means what it says: teaching it should take no more than two thirds of the time given to each subject, the rest being left to local school and teacher choice.

This step is the most critical but most often misunderstood. What is a subject-matter essential, or "standard," and what is not? It is specific, not abstract, but it does not descend to detail. In history a typical standard asks students to understand the causes of the First World War, with an eye to the technological, economic, social, and political forces at work, together with the roles of individuals, of accident, and of ordinary confusion. It does not ask students to "master the concept of conflict in world history." Nor does it ask them to memorize the names of the twenty central characters in the tragedy of the summer of 1914.

As they select each standard, scholars and teachers must consider whether they can explain its importance when students ask "So what?" The First World War is an easy example. What it did to Americans was to shape their lives and deaths for the rest of the twentieth century—from the Depression and the Second World War to the end of the Cold War, from our hubris of 1945 to our present fantasy that we have spent ourselves too poor even to keep our parks clean or our libraries open. If a standard cannot be explained to the young, or to an educated public, it is either too general or too detailed. In a hurry, some states have issued "common cores of learning" that are lists of healthy attitudes and abstract "learning outcomes." Others have copied detail directly out of the overstuffed national standards documents. Neither is a help to teachers or curriculum makers.

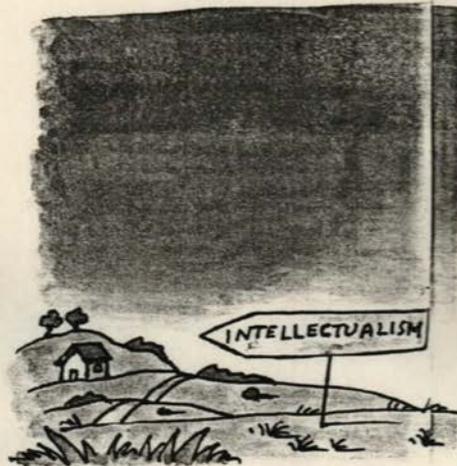
Step two was never "national" business: writing a state curriculum framework, saying in which grades the essentials should be taught. Its function is to end the plague of gaps and repetitions that only American educators seem resigned to accept as normal. Articulating subject matter across the elementary and secondary years also requires a collaboration of equals—teachers, scholars, and learning specialists—each of whom has things to say that the others need to hear. The word "framework," too, means what it says; it leaves the third step—course design and pedagogy—to the school and the teacher. They must have the authority to make the choices most important to them and to their students: the topics and questions by which to teach the essentials, the day-to-day content of instruction, the materials and methods best suited to their students and to their own strengths.

Step four, writing performance standards and tests of achievement, can sensibly follow only when the others have been taken. But some states are hurrying to award expensive contracts to outside testing firms before anyone has thought about, much less decided, what is worth testing. To leave this to experts and let the rush to "accountability"—which

now has a potent assessment lobby behind it—drive standards and course content will kill all chances for school improvement. Not everything precious can be measured, and not everything measurable is worth teaching; pap is pap, a drop or a gallon. So once more it is teachers and scholars who must decide what to assess.

Content-based reform will not always be easy even for teachers and scholars. All who teach, from the grades to graduate school, will have to be differently educated than they now are and teach differently than they now teach. For example, the history learned at any level depends on the prior education of both student and teacher. And the decision about what history to teach must anticipate what is to be learned at higher levels. But this is not how American schools and universities work. Teachers and academicians habitually shape each course as an island entire to itself, as though what they teach, or do not teach, matters to nobody but themselves—as if others had no right to notice, and none to intervene. That must change.

Schoolteachers and university scholars will have to accept each other as equals, because aligning subject matter demands seamless, collaborative work from pre-school through Ph.D. They rarely do so now. Nor do elementary and high school teachers confer, or teachers in the same building. Apart from ego, insecurity, and worries over turf, collaboration takes time, which schools and universities rarely provide, and personal commitment, which they rarely reward. Moreover, to choose essentials and to design frameworks



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and assessments, educators will have to debate priorities. What is truly most worth knowing? What must be left out? Academicians avoid such questions at all cost; witness their chaotic college curricula. University faculties will have to alter their major programs, giving up pet courses for others that better prepare the next generation of teachers and help those already teaching. They will have to battle colleagues into coherent general-education requirements for underclassmen. To do all this, academicians will need to be broadly educated, and be differently rewarded by administrative and trustee policies.

States whose educators accept this degree of change will accomplish standards-based reform. Where change is rejected, they will fail. The hard fact is that anchoring school reform in academic learning—and putting teachers and scholars in charge—is foreign in all senses. It would redirect the mainstream of American education as the twentieth-century parade of much-hyped fashions never has. Life Adjustment, "greening," the open classroom, "back to basics," career education, "futures learning," global consciousness, "doing-a-value," critical and creative thinking, and "outcomes-based" education (are there other kinds?)—not one of these has ruffled the establishment or gotten beneath the surface to substantial subject matter, and so not one has improved the schools of most American children. Indeed, by leaving weary teachers awash in the debris from successive tides of obsession and indifference, they have made things worse.

OBSTACLES AND PROSPECTS

OF the obstacles reformers confront, the toughest may be our mad utilitarianism. Consider the three aims of schooling—preparing the worker, the citizen, and the cultivated individual. We put the worker ahead of the other two, as if they had no effect on the nation's economy or the quality of work done. Turning to citizenship, we bypass the substance of history, politics, letters, and ideas and peddle ready-made attitudes. Thus American educators have never had to think consistently about the moral, aesthetic, or intellectual content of public schooling for the masses—the gifts that academic subjects open for everyone.

Since academics have been for the few, it follows that our teacher corps is academically undereducated, ill prepared to offer challenging content to all its charges. Teachers are not to blame. Since so little is expected from most students, the university teachers of teachers—whether in content or pedagogy—see no reason to ask much of *them*. The time it will take to re-prepare teachers is itself an obstacle. There are no shortcuts to content-based reform, which makes it vulnerable to hawkers of new fashions from an education industry whose planned obsolescence leaves *haute couture* in the dust.

States will discover that the changes required by academic school reform will call down showers of objection. "Standards alone will not solve our problems"—as if anyone



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thought they could. "Standards will oppress minorities and the poor"—as if the absence of standards does not leave educators free to offer unequal schooling and tax cutters free to slash school spending. "Standards will stifle innovation"—as though clear and equal standards were not the best friends of innovators. Parents have seen far too many passing fads that skew or empty the curriculum. Settled aims will make it easier to experiment with school structure, school size, and all the ways that schools have to be different from one another to meet different circumstances.

States will find friends in teachers and citizens who, not overspecialized, have no ideology to press, and who understand that the three purposes of education—for work, for citizenship, and for private life—are by their nature distinct, many-sided, requiring different, sometimes opposite, modes of teaching aimed at different, sometimes opposite, results. Schooling for work is a "conservative" function, demanding disciplined mastery of tasks from the world of work as it is, not as we wish it to be, and objective testing of student competence. Schooling for citizenship, in contrast, is a "radical" activity, egalitarian and skeptical in style, mixing the hard study of history and ideas with free-swinging exchange on public issues. The school nurtures both teamwork and thorny individualism, at once the readiness to serve and the readiness to resist, for nobody knows ahead of time which the good citizen may have to do. To educate the private person, the school must detach itself much of the time from the clamor of popular culture. It must be conservative in requiring students to confront the range of arts, letters, and right behavior conceived in the past, toward the liberal end that their choices be informed and thereby free.

People well know that to work at these three purposes, schools must serve both society and the individual, must be close to daily life at some moments and wholly insulated at others. They know that different things are learned best in different ways, from drill to brainstorming, and that schools have to be both disciplined and easygoing, hierarchical and egalitarian, at different times for different subjects at different levels—mixing pleasure and pain, each often following upon the other.

In sum, they can understand why Theodore Sizer is not indulging in paradox when he says that only "a loose system that has rigor" can correct what he describes in *Horace's School* (1992) as "the inattention of American culture to serious learning." We need, he says, "generous localism" applied with high and common academic expectations. For a century we have resisted this, treating the majority of our children as though they were learning-disabled. We say that knowledge is power, but we have kept knowledge from millions of children, adolescents, and even college students. Our chance to make this long-delayed turn to democratic education is now in the hands of the states and local schools.

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Botched Standards

Which is more important for young people to study—Magna Carta or the Mongol empire? The latest answer may surprise you

THE world-history document issued by the National Center for History in the Schools, at UCLA, and funded by the U.S. Department of Education and the National Endowment for the Humanities, is worth a close look, as a cautionary tale for reformers who may assume that scholars see the role of standards more clearly than others do. Given its 314 pages, and the limited time schools allot to world history, it is not helpful even for picking and choosing, because it has no continuing questions to help readers focus on essentials, as better textbooks do. To avoid the battles among specialists that selection would have set off, its authors, careful to offend no vocal constituency, acted on the dubious principle that all societies and all eras back to prehistory deserve equal space in the education of young Americans. By so doing they buried essentials under mounds of undifferentiated matter, much of it academic exotica and antiquarianism.

The document's failure is surprising, because its opening pages are eloquent on why citizens must study history. No reason, it argues, is "more important to a democratic society than this: *Knowledge of history is the precondition of political intelligence.*" It adds, "Without history, a society shares no common memory of where it has been, what its core values are, or what decisions of the past account for present circumstances." Also in italics is Etienne Gilson's remark "*History is the only laboratory we have in which to test the consequences of thought.*" But between the promise and the execution we find a chasm. The volume is weakest on thought and the consequences of ideas, on core values and common memories, not only the West's but any civilization's. It is thin on political turning points and institutions, and thereby on the drama of human choice and its effects. For all its length and pretentious demands, it scants the artistic, literary, and philosophical legacies of world cultures, and it shortchanges the past 250 years, which saw so many of the decisions that "account for present circumstances."

Its treatment of world history has thirty-nine main standards, 108 subheads, and 526 sub-subheads, all of them called standards. None of the main standards or subheads is devoted to ideas, whether philosophical, religious, ethical, or moral, social, economic, or political. One must descend to the 526 sub-subheads, or to fragments of them. Neither the

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Judaic nor the Christian principles that are the sources of Western values, morals, and views of justice and of ideas of the individual's dignity and responsibility—even for unreligious or anti-religious thinkers—are given more than one half of a sub-subhead, less than a thousandth of the document's substance. The ideas of Islam and of Protestant reformers fare no better. However, the topic "mastery of horse-riding on the steppes" gets twice that space, the Scythians and the Xiongnu fill two full sub-subheads, and the Olmecs get a main standard all to themselves.

On the secular side, there is nothing of medieval thought about just rules of law, war, economic life, or social responsibility. Later we find nothing of Renaissance or Reformation theory concerning society, economics, or politics. Enlightenment thought and its impact on Church and State are relegated to a single sub-subhead. French revolutionary ideas "on social equality, democracy, human rights, constitutionalism, and nationalism" get one sub-subhead out of ninety-four for the years 1750–1914. For the twentieth century a single sub-subhead asks students to explain the "leading ideas of liberalism, social reformism, conservatism, and socialism as competing ideologies in 20th century Europe." Leninist and Fascist-Nazi ideologies are each assigned half of a sub-subhead, so that only two sub-subheads must do for the political ideas and ideology of the entire twentieth-century world.

In squeezing European civilization, the document is also meager on the political history that makes sophisticated citizens. There is nothing on the failure of Athenian democracy to overcome the forces of pride and demagoguery. The vast questions about Rome's decline that so preoccupied the American Founders are compressed into part of a subhead, less than half the space given the Gupta empire in India. As to politics in the years 1000–1500, a single sub-subhead is

devoted to "analyzing how European monarchies expanded their power at the expense of feudal lords and assessing the growth and limitations of representative institutions in these monarchies." So, buried and unnamed in half of that sub-subhead are Magna Carta and the Model Parliament, along with the prime political lesson that true constitutions require a balance of power in society. In the same era entire standards take up the Mongol empire and sub-Saharan Africa.

The seventeenth-century English Revolution gets a single sub-subhead (out of eighty-four for the era 1450–1770)—no more than "evaluating the interplay of indigenous Indian, Persian, and European influences in Mughal artistic, architectural, literary, and scientific achievements." The authors find nothing special about English constitutional history that American citizens should know, in keeping with today's fashion of decrying "Whig history," as though the worldwide struggle for political freedom, and all of its sacrifices, setbacks, and advances, were only a myth to hoodwink the innocent young. All but absent, too, is the history of labor. In the section covering the twentieth century there is no mention of trade unions, their battles and importance to democracy and social justice, and why totalitarians make them their first victims. Even the vast twentieth-century struggle of liberal democracies to overcome Nazism and Soviet communism fades into pale generalities.

Some of the weaknesses in the world-history document are but the reverse side of American virtues: hopefulness and generosity; our eagerness to embrace diversity, to be self-critical, to shun "ethnocentrism." In what other country do people cringe at that word and are students required to study other cultures but not their own? The standards also reflect our impatience with politics, our reluctance to admit that only politics can turn aspirations into reality, and our impa-



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tience with the gloomier views of human nature that accept the presence of evil in the world, and the tragedy and imperfection of the human condition.

The fact remains, however, that in deference to current styles in the history profession, the authors played down the Western sources of their own American consciences, and failed to do the work of selecting what would best serve the education of American students, or of society at large. Fortunately, their introduction makes clear why state and local teacher-scholar teams must do better. Nothing less is at stake than our political competence as a people.

Taking the solidity of democratic institutions for granted, educators have worried too little about the hard things they require citizens to understand. Now, in the mid-1990s, we have reasons to pay more attention. For one thing, it takes a perverse effort of will to deny that the effects of technology

NIGHT TERRORS

Whose voice is it in mine when the child cries,
terrified in sleep, and half asleep myself I'm there
beside him saying, shh, now easy, shh,

whose voice?—too intimate with all the ways
of solace to be merely mine; so prodigal
in desiring to give, yet so exact in giving

that even before I reach the little bed,
before I touch him, as I do anyway,
already he is breathing quietly again.

Is it my mother's voice in mine, the memory
no memory at all but just the vocal trace,
sheer bodily sensation on the lips and tongue,

of what I may have heard once in the pre-
remembering of infancy, heard once and then
forgot entirely till it was wakened by the cry,

brought back, as if from exile, by the child's cry—
here to the father's voice, where the son again
can ask the mother, and the mother, too, the son:

why has it taken you so long to come?

—ALAN SHAPIRO

and economics, demography and nature, make our problems and the world's more complicated than ever. Or to deny that nostrums peddled by the loudest voices in politics and talk TV and radio are more simplistic than ever. Or that blaming "government" for every ill and anxiety—while not yet so virulent as under the Weimar Republic—betrays a flaming ignorance of history and human nature.

WHAT HISTORY TEACHES

WITH respect to world history, what should Americans know and teach? What is the main story? It is not the parade of military, technological, and economic "interactions," or the endless comparisons among often incomparable centers of great power, that global studies dwell upon—although these must, of course, be taken into account. The big story is not the push to modernize but the struggle to civilize, to curb the bestial side of human nature. What students can grasp very well is that this is a common struggle, in which all peoples and races are equal—equal in our natures, equal in the historical guilt of forebears who pursued war, slavery, and oppression. Black Africans, Anglo-Americans, Europeans, Native Americans, North African and Middle Eastern peoples, Mongols, Chinese, and Japanese—all have pursued these things when they have had the power to, afflicting one another and weaker neighbors.

For our time, the first lesson to be learned from world history, the most compelling story, is the age-old struggle of people within each culture to limit aggression and greed, to nourish the better side of human nature, to apply morality and law, to keep the peace and render justice. Students can see the glory and agony of this struggle, and how often it has been lost. Because human evil exists, good intent has never been enough. It has taken brains, courage, self-sacrifice, patience, love, and—always with tragic consequences—war itself to contain the beast. Against the twin temptations of wishfulness and cynicism, history says that evil and tragedy are real, that civilization has a high price but that it, too, is real, and has been won from time to time. In history we find the ideas, the conditions, and the famous and ordinary men and women making it possible.

All peoples have taken part in the struggle to civilize. An honest look at the past reveals a common human mixture of altruism, malevolence, and indifference, and reasons for all of us to feel both pride and shame. Starting from any other point of view is historically false, and blind to human nature. Historians—and standard setters—have a special obligation to be candid. But many popular textbooks are unfailingly pious about other cultures and ultra-critical of our own, preaching a new-style ignorance in reaction against, but just as pernicious as, our older textbook pieties about ourselves and disdain for others. Both are pernicious because both say the will to civilize. People who are taught to feel specially

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guilty, or specially victimized, or naturally superior, will not reach out to others as equals; they will not pay the costs in toil, tears, and taxes always imposed by that struggle.

This is not a "conservative" or "liberal" issue but one of trusting children, adolescents, and adults to work with historical truth, however inconvenient or impolite it may seem. History reinforces the rough notion of equality that we learn on the playground and in the street: there are like proportions of admirable and avoidable people in every imaginable human grouping—by age, class, race, sex, religion, or cultural taste. Individuals are not equal in talent or virtue, and certainly not equally deserving of respect. To teach otherwise is to invite ridicule and resentment. Instead what must repeatedly be taught, because it is not quickly learned—but is quickly forgotten in hard times—is that in civilized society it is every person's *rights* that are equally deserving of respect: rights to free expression, equal protection under law, fair judgment, rigorous education, honest work and pay, an equal chance to pursue the good.

This hard truth we accept, and remember, only with the help of historical insight, which is indispensable in forging a democratic conscience—that inner feeling that we ought to do the right thing even if only out of prudence. For we see again and again that societies failing to accord a good measure of liberty, equality, and justice have hastened their own decay, particularly over the past two centuries, since the American and French revolutions told the world that these three were the proper aims of human life and politics, and that it was right and possible to bring them to reality—by force if necessary.

Student-citizens need to be acutely sensitive to the central political drama of world history since the 1770s—what Sigmond Neumann called the "triple revolution" aimed at national unity and independence, at political democracy and civil rights, and at economic and social justice. This, too, is not a liberal or conservative matter. Whether we approve or deplore these ends, or the means to them, does not lessen their force or our need to deal with them, at home and abroad. Modern history tells us that whenever any one of them is frustrated for long, masses of people will sink to envy, self-pity, fury, and a search for scapegoats, *führers*, and quick, violent solutions.

Good history is not always fun to learn, any more than is chemistry or mathematics, and we should not pretend that it is. The job of citizen is no easier to prepare for than that of doctor or bridge builder. Nor is good history always popular. It denies us the comforts of optimism or pessimism. It gives the lie to nostalgia, whether for left-wing or right-wing or feel-good politics. Its lessons offer no cure for today's problems, only warnings we are silly to ignore. As they select the essentials of U.S. and world history, state and local standard setters and curriculum makers can look for the particulars that teach such lessons best—memorable events, ideas, and people whose stories need telling, but always in the context of longer narrative history.

For example, an American-history standard should require

the ability not only to recall points in the Constitution and Bill of Rights but also to understand the ideas and events behind them, back to Greek and Roman thought and institutions, to Judeo-Christian views of human nature and responsibility, to Magna Carta and the English Revolution, to Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu, Burke, Paine, the Federalists and the anti-Federalists. These essentials are not grasped by playacting a few quarrels from hot Philadelphia afternoons of 1787—though playacting can make a good start if the script is based on original sources.

Moreover, the lesson of the Constitution is not nearly complete without learning the harrowing consequences of a cheap answer to labor shortages that American planters were sure they had found in the early 1600s—slaves from Africa. A tortured Constitution, belying the Declaration's promise, was only one, early payment. The Civil War followed, and even 620,000 dead did not purchase the free and equal Union for which Lincoln prayed in his Second Inaugural. New chains of bondage were forged, and another century of repression and humiliation followed, before the civil-rights movement of the 1960s restarted a process of liberation whose grinding slowness continues to divide and embitter us.

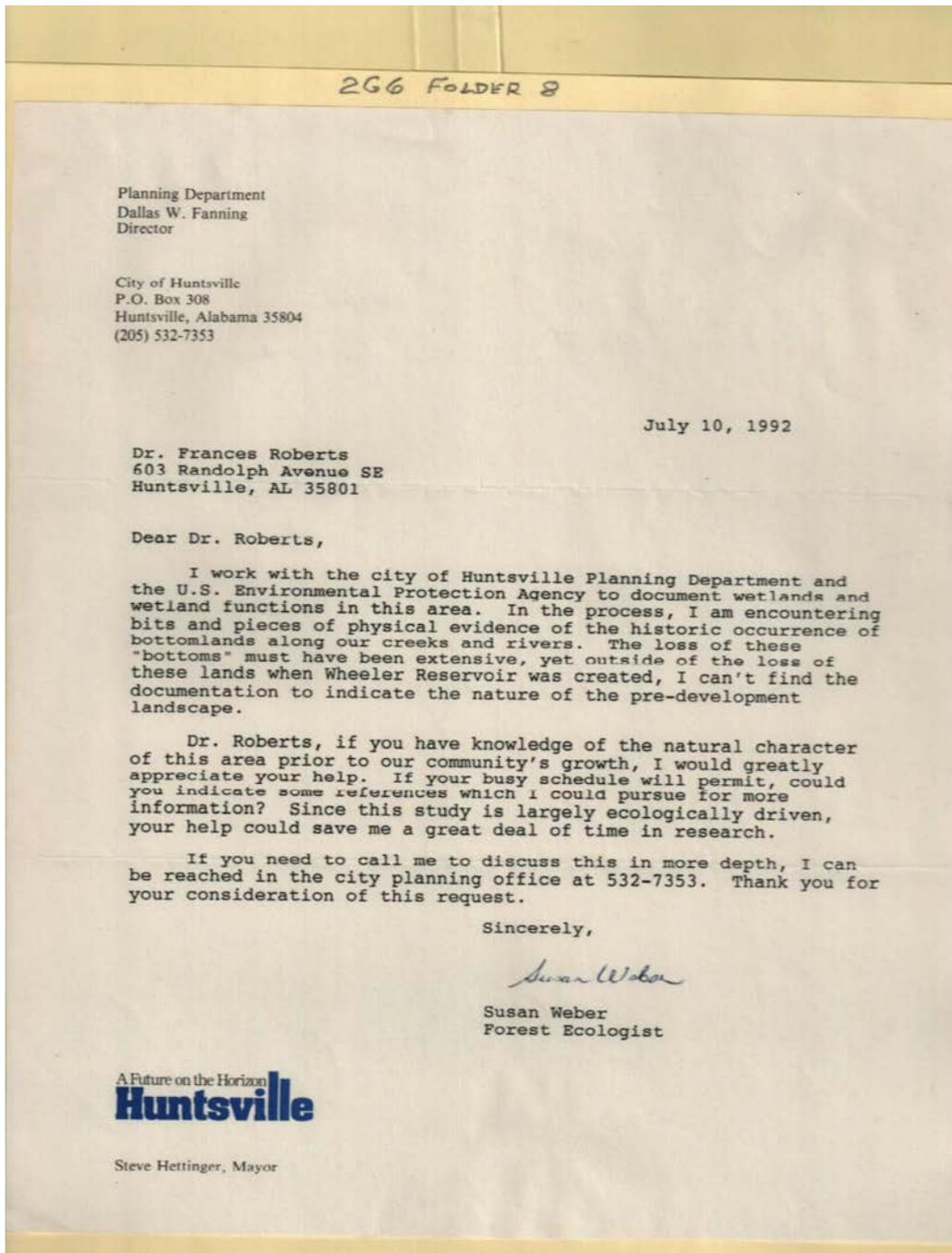
Likewise, a world-history standard on the Second World War teaches little unless that war is seen as a consequence of the outbreak of the First World War and of the murderous incompetence with which it was fought, of the Bolshevik Revolution, of world depression, of the furies and civic ineptitude that destroyed the Weimar Republic, of Hitler's rise on the shoulders of private armies, and of the liberal democracies' wishful rejection of the costs of collective security, from the Paris Conference of 1919 through the Spanish Civil War to the Nazi occupation of Prague in 1939. Nor can it teach nearly enough without examining the Holocaust, the ultimate horror, itself a consequence of all these things and more since the Middle Ages.

The fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War brought back the war's satanic nature, from Rotterdam to Dresden, Nanking and Bataan to Hiroshima. The debates over guilt revealed widespread avoidance of history's warnings. Some seemed to doubt that evil exists and has to be dealt with, even by making war. Others seemed to deny that any war, launched for whatever cause, will carry frightful human consequences, will be as hellish as weapons permit. And 1945 was not the end. The Cold War followed from the effects of both world wars. Draining lives and resources, fouling our politics, skewing economic life, it divided us against one another, from the Red scares of the 1940s and 1950s through the bloody Korean and Vietnam wars. Its legacy clouds our view of a changing world and its needs, not least our own need to distinguish between force that is necessary and force that is not. All these afflictions are consequences of human choices back to 1914 and earlier, many of them in pursuit of cheap, quick answers in defiance of history's lessons and the imperatives of civilized life. ☪

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Weber, Susan

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

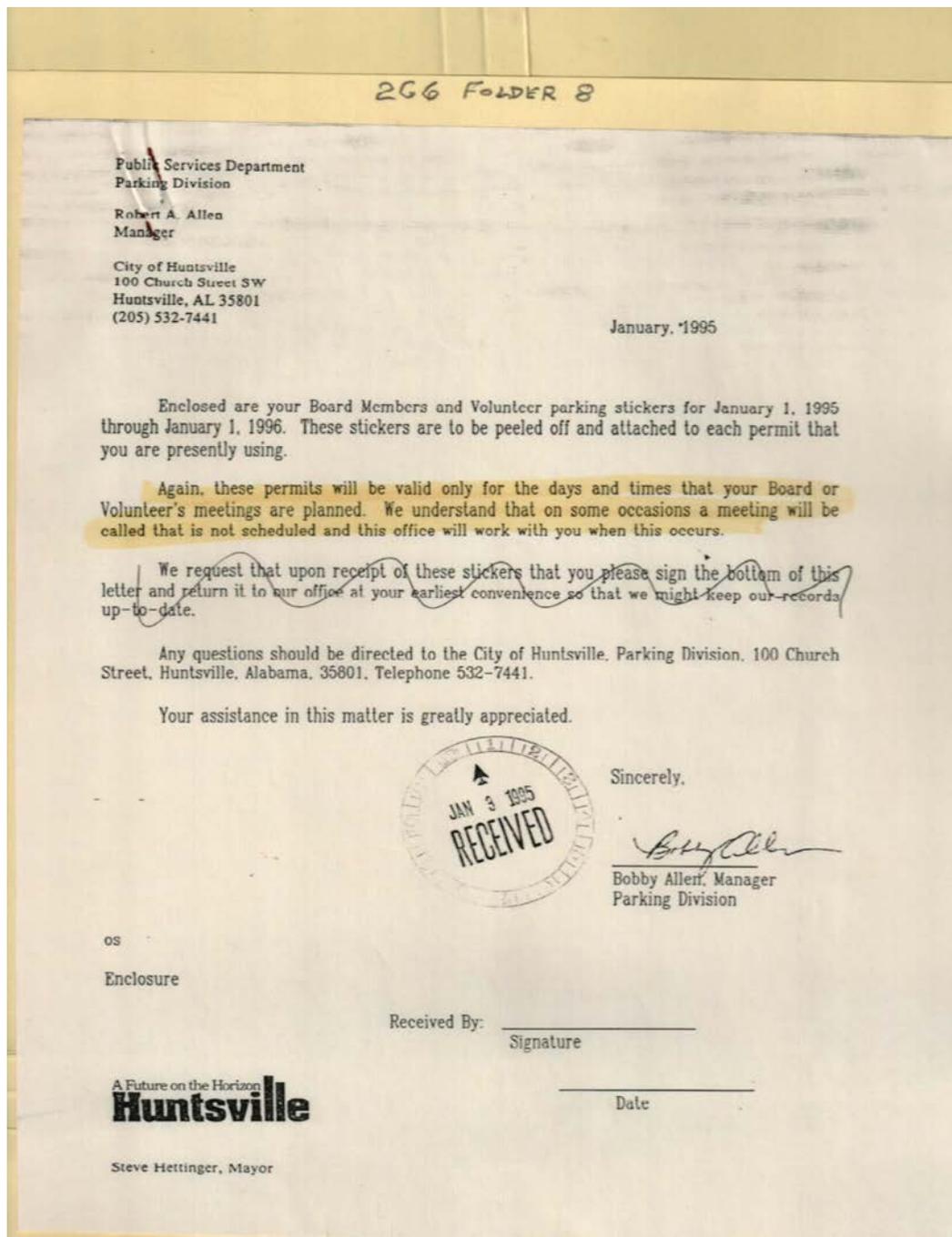
Dates:

July 10, 1992

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 58 r02g06-08-000-0058 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Allen, Robert A.
(Bobby)

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

document

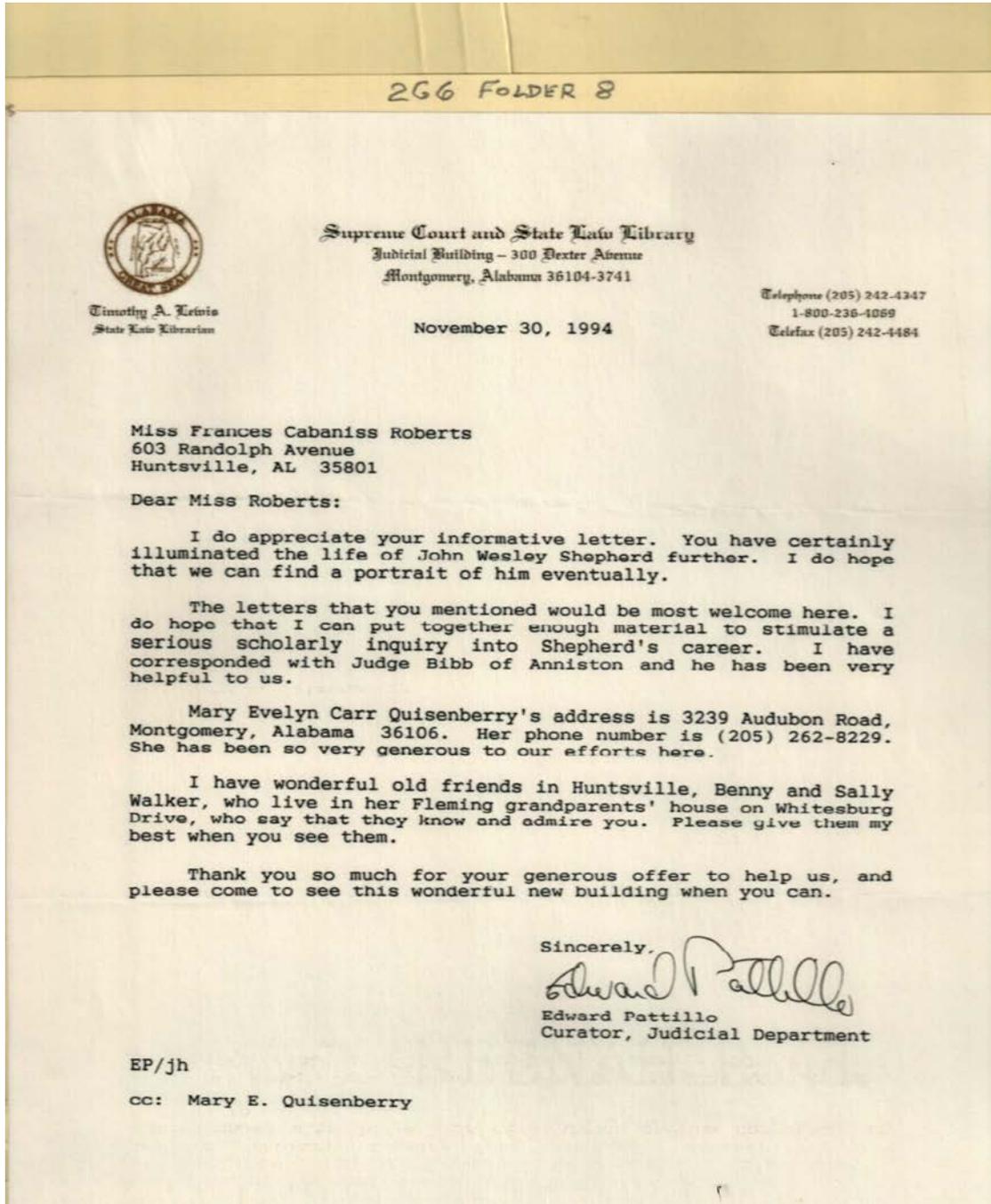
Dates:

January, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Bibb, Judge
Pattillo, Edward
Quisenberry, Mary
Evelyn Carr

Roberts, Frances
Cabaniss
Shepherd, John
Wesley

Walker, Benny &
Sally

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Montgomery, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Nov 30, 1994

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William R. Lucas
6805 Criner Road
Huntsville, Alabama 35802

December 7, 1995

Dr. Frances C. Roberts
603 Randolph Avenue
Huntsville, Alabama 35801

Dear Dr. Roberts:

As I promised you several weeks ago, I am sending the 1996 nomination form for the Alabama Women's Hall of Fame which I received just today. With the quality of nomination that I'm confident you will write and the fact that others on the board are somewhat aware of Ms. Weeden, I am optimistic about the chance of Ms. Weeden to be selected even in the first year of nomination.

Please call me (881-1577) if I can provide other information.

Sincerely,

Bill Lucas

William R. Lucas

Names:

Lucas, William R.

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Weeden, Howard,
Miss

Places:

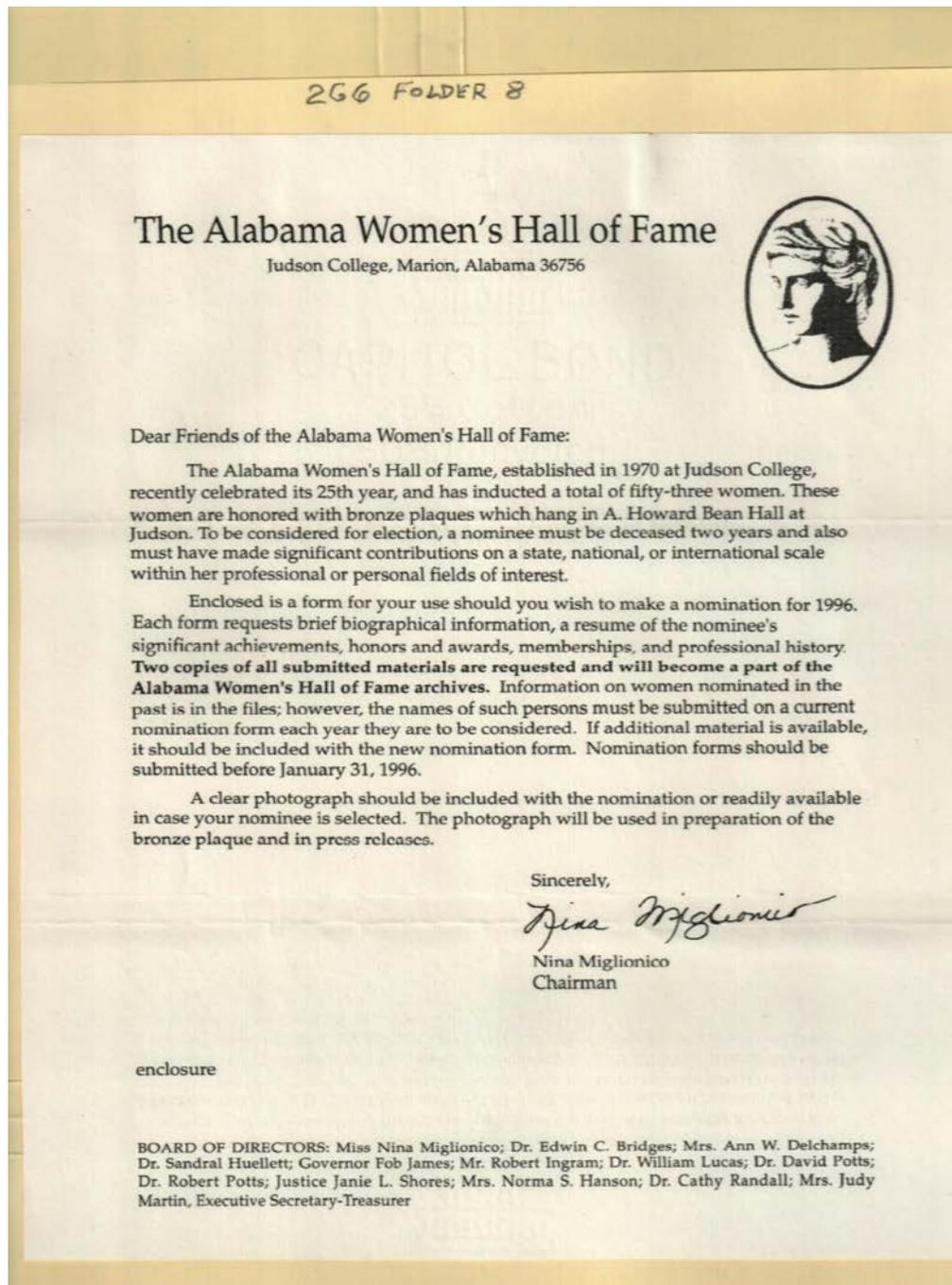
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Dec 7, 1995



Names:

Alabama Women's
Hall of Fame

Miglionico, Nina

Places:

Marion, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

1995

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11-20-95

Dr. Roberts

Enclosed please find the prices for the front doors
for Clark Chapel United Methodist Church in Gainesville.
We were a long time in finding a company that
carried the size that we need.

Thank you for everything.

Sweet

Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Sweet,

Places:

Gainesville, AL

Types:

memo

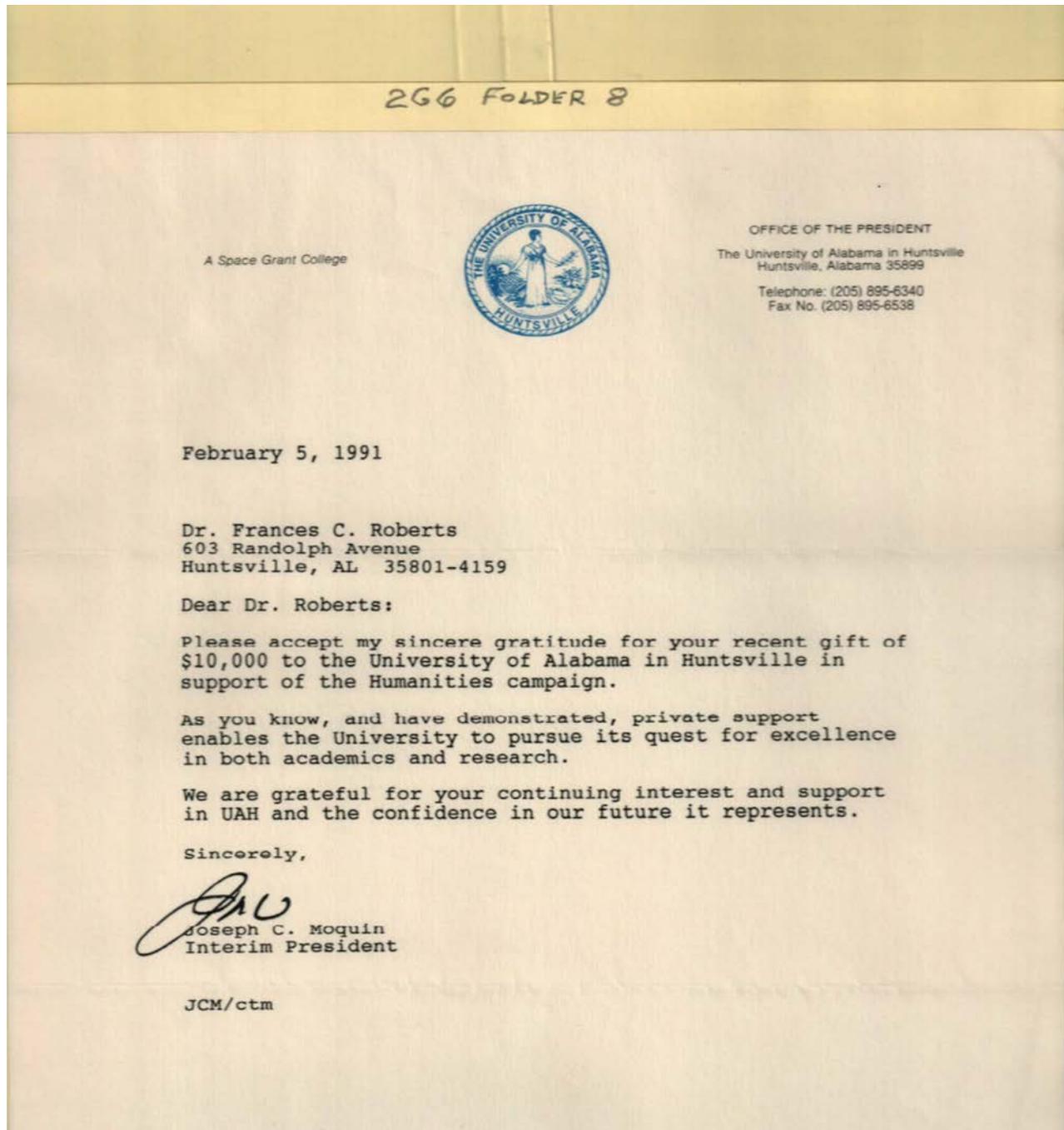
Dates:

Nov 20, 1995

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Moquin, Joseph C.

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

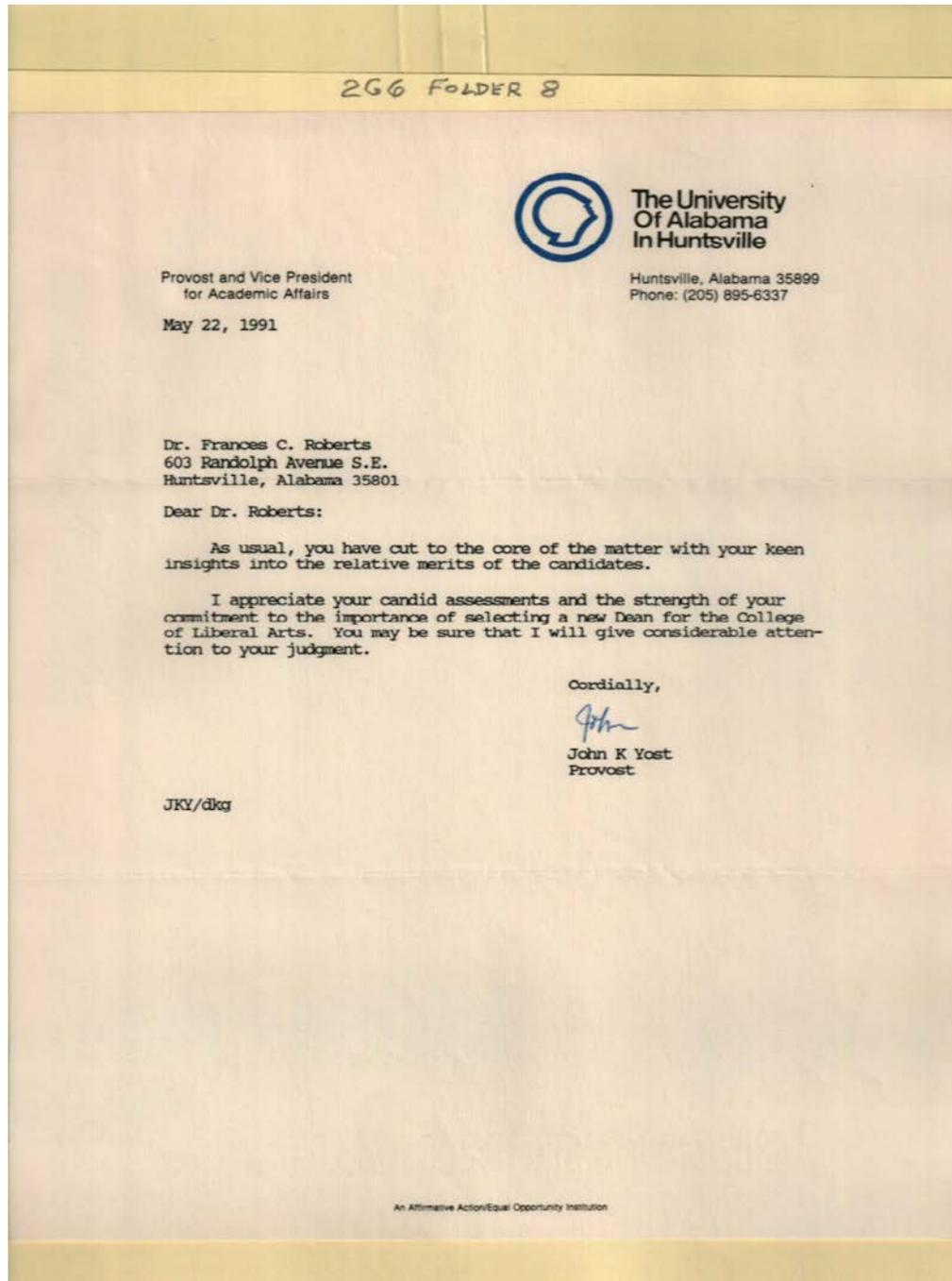
Dates:

Feb 5, 1991

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Yost, John K.

Places:

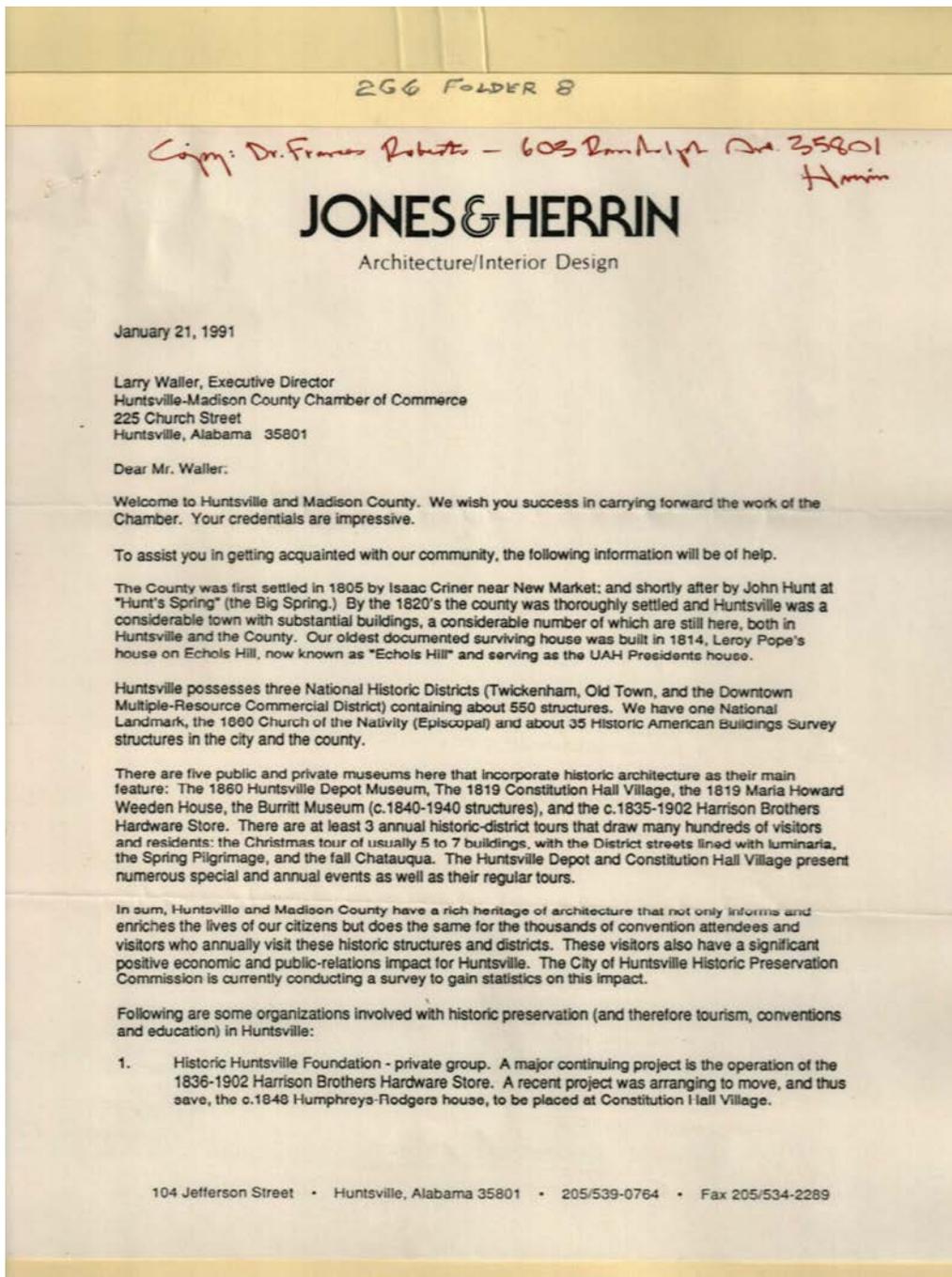
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

May 22, 1991



Names:

Criner, Isaac

Hunt, John

Pope, Leroy

Waller, Larry

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Jan 21, 1991

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Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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2. Twickenham Historic Preservation District Association. Neighborhood association who looks after all civic concerns of the Twickenham Historic Preservation District, and also operates for the City the 1819 Maria Howard Weeden House Museum and conducts the annual Christmas historic house tour and luminaria display.
3. Old Town District Association - similar aims to the Twickenham Historic Preservation District Association.
4. Huntsville Madison County Historical Association. More concerned with written history, but were heavily involved in the creation of the Twickenham Historic Preservation District.
5. East Clinton School PTA - Annually sponsors a fall Chataqua street-fair including a tour of historic houses.
6. City of Huntsville Historic Preservation Commission
Architectural Review Board for any proposed new construction, alterations or demolition in the Old Town or Twickenham Historic Preservation District. Appointed by the Mayor and Council.
7. Burritt Museum "Arches" Association - aids the Burritt Museum in projects and fund-raising.
8. Constitution Hall Village also has two support groups for funds and programming.
- 9, 10, and 11: The towns of Gurley, New Market and Madison also have historical associations. They have occasional tours and publications.
12. The Huntsville Museum of Art has had several exhibits and programs on local historic architecture.
13. American Association of University Women - have for several decades published and updated the booklet "Glimpses into Ante-Bellum Homes of Huntsville, Alabama."
14. Madison County Tourism Board - have for about 10 years published "A Walking Tour of Huntsville, Alabama" (copy attached).
15. Huntsville Convention and Visitors Bureau - publishes "Twickenham and Old Town Historic Districts Tour" (copy attached).

This is but a brief and incomplete outline of the importance of historic architecture in Huntsville and Madison County. We are far more than just rockets and computers. I think it is fitting that a computer played an important role in the restoration of the 1860 Huntsville Depot. A circa 1880's photo was enhanced by a computer technique developed under NASA auspices to show up more detail of lost building elements than could be discerned by ordinary enlargements. The technique was originally developed for the enhancement of Martian landscape photos. Huntsville is a happy blending of the very old and the very new. That is how any civilized place should be.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Jan 21, 1991

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

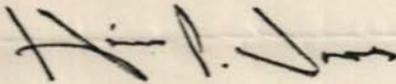
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I'm pleased that our Chamber of Commerce saw fit to present its most prestigious award to an eminent educator and historian, Dr. Frances Roberts. I believe this indicates the caliber of the community, that the Chamber of Commerce recognizes that there is more to the value of a community than just dollars.

Please call if I can furnish further information. Welcome to Huntsville and Madison County.

Respectfully,



Harvie P. Jones, FAIA
HPJ/am

cc: Mrs. Henry Fail, Historic Huntsville Foundation
Mr. Will Lewis, Huntsville Historical Preservation Commission
HJ

Names:

Fail, Henry, Mrs.

Jones, Harvie P.

Lewis, Will

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

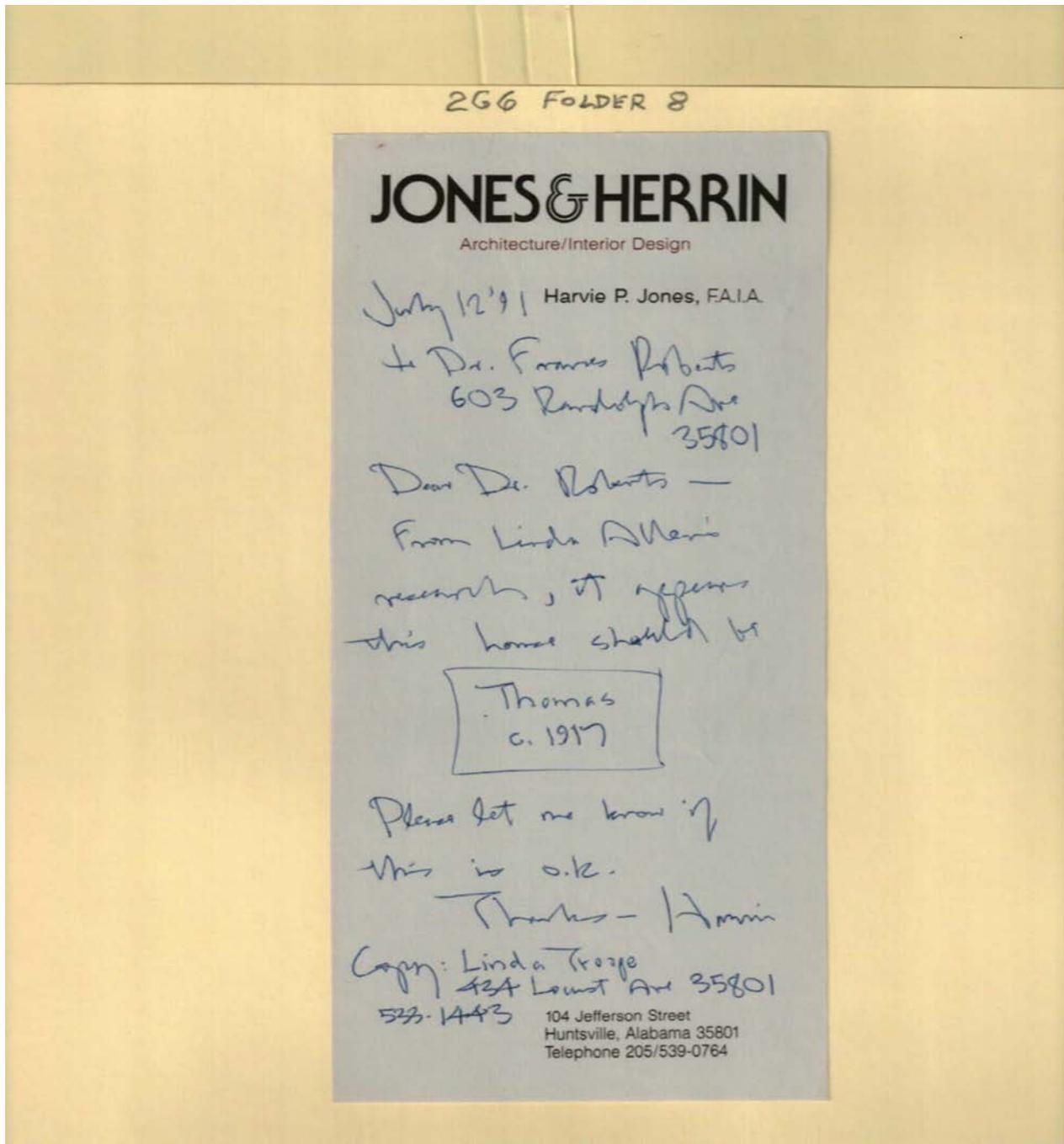
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Jan 21, 1991



Names:

Allen, Linda

Jones, Harvie

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Trope, Linda

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

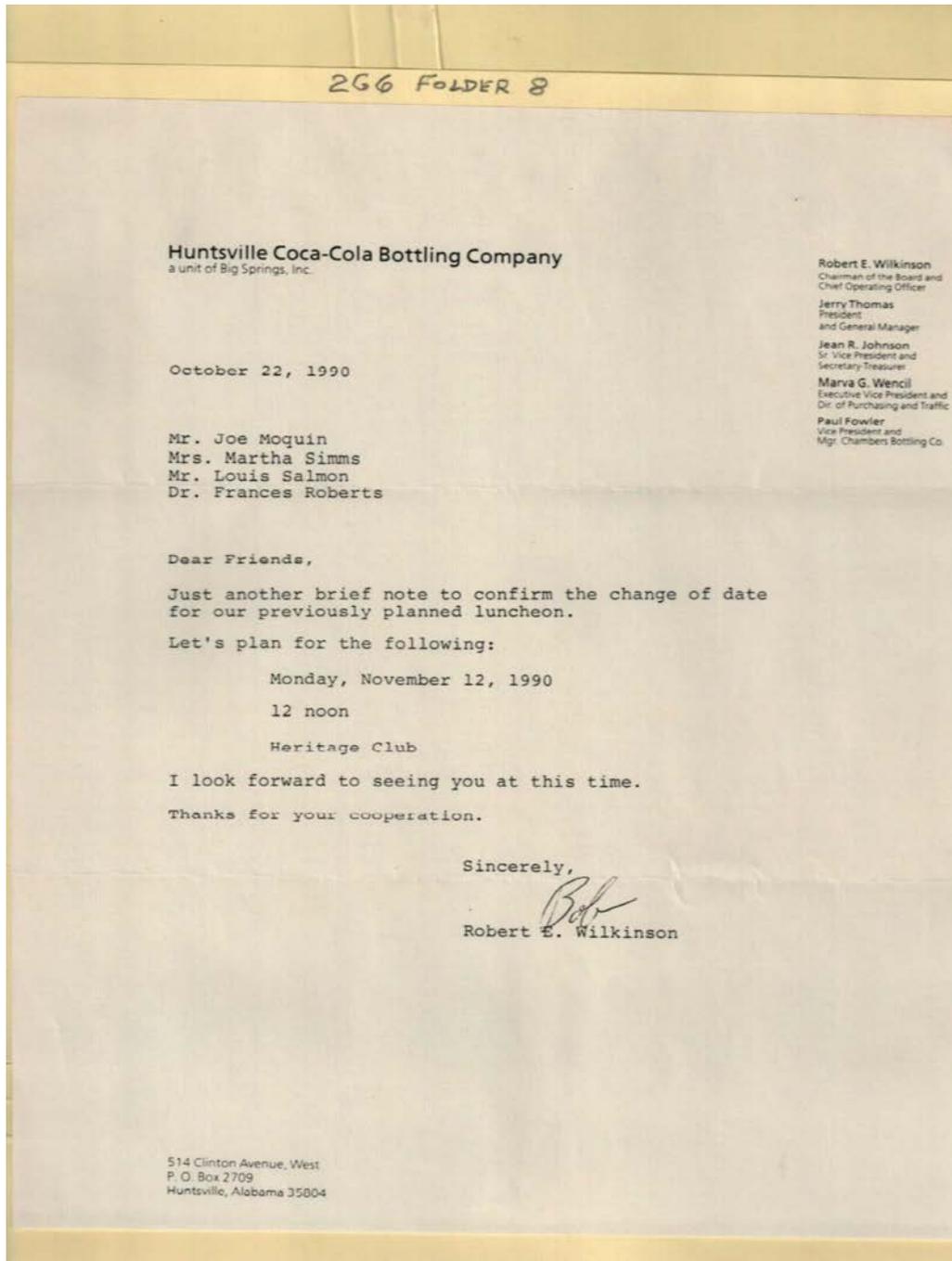
Dates:

July 12, 1991

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Names:

Moquin, Joe
Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Salmon, Louis
Simms, Martha, Mrs.

Wilkinson, Robert E.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

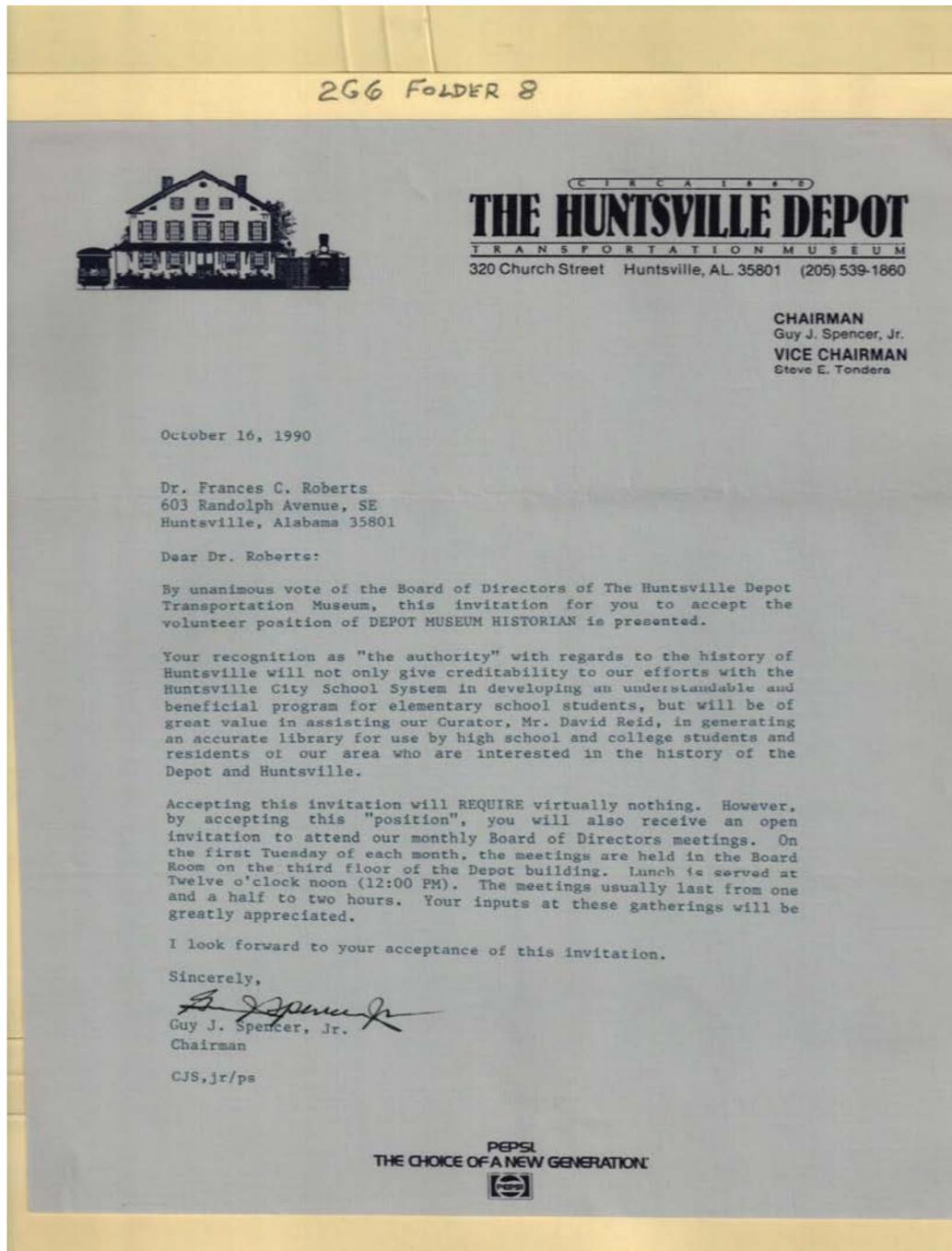
Dates:

Oct 22, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 70 r02g06-08-000-0070 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Huntsville Depot
Transportation

Museum
Reid, David

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Spencer, Guy J., Jr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

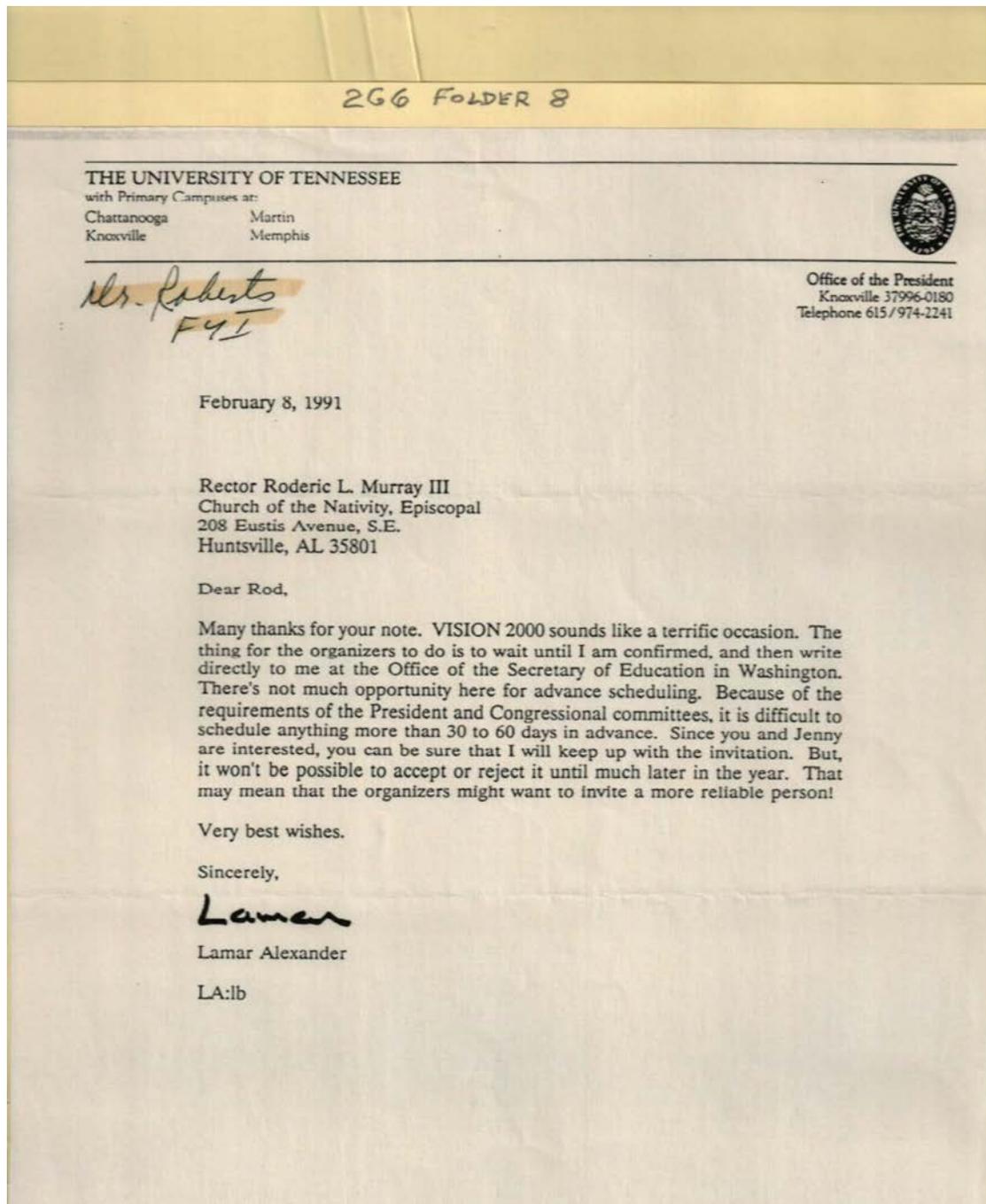
Dates:

Oct 16, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 71 r02g06-08-000-0071 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Alexander, Lamar

Murray, Roderic L.,
III, Rector

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Knoxville, TN

Types:

correspondence

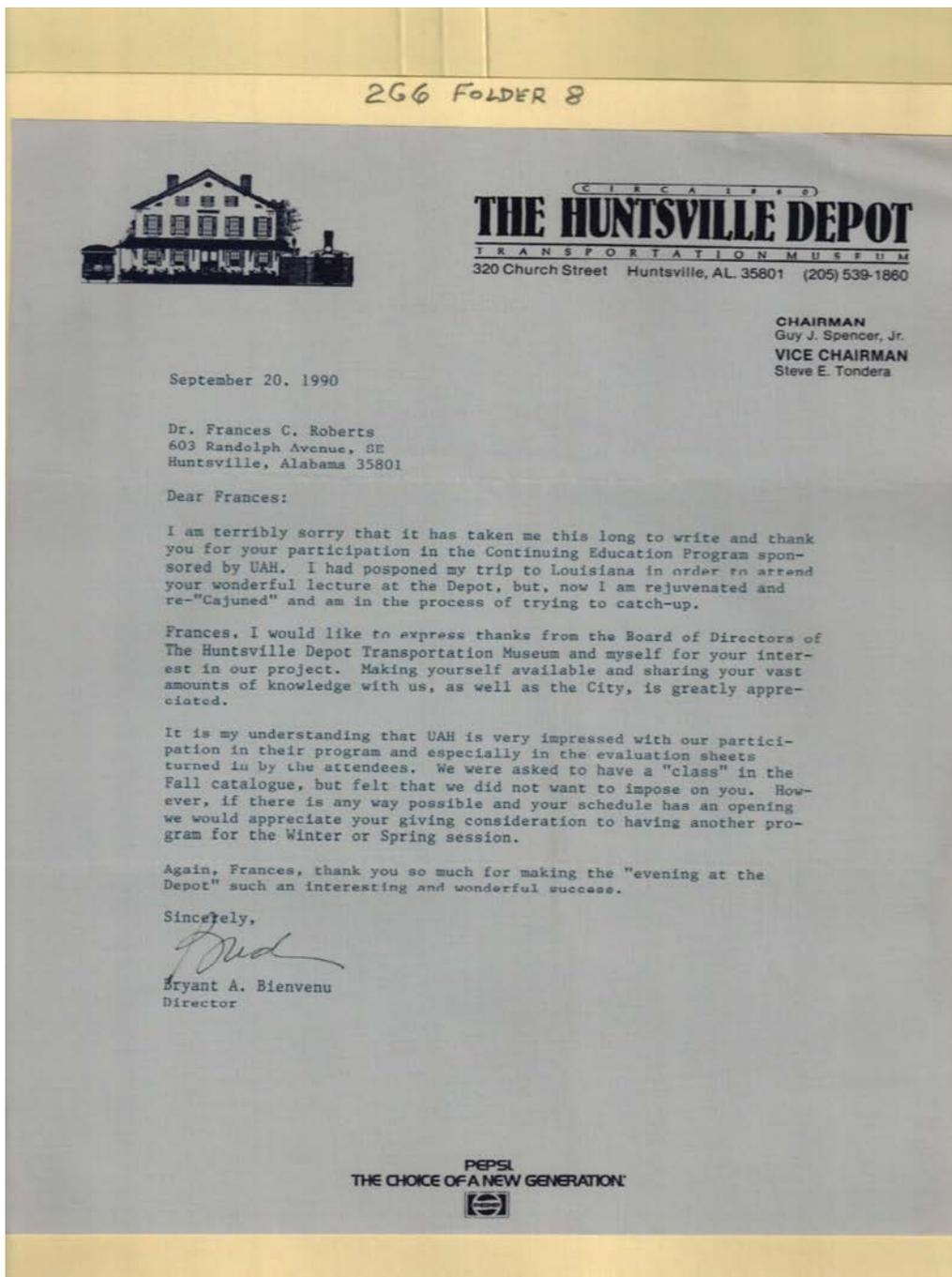
Dates:

Feb 8, 1991

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 72 r02g06-08-000-0072 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Bienvenu, Bryant A.

Huntsville Depot
Transportation

Museum

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

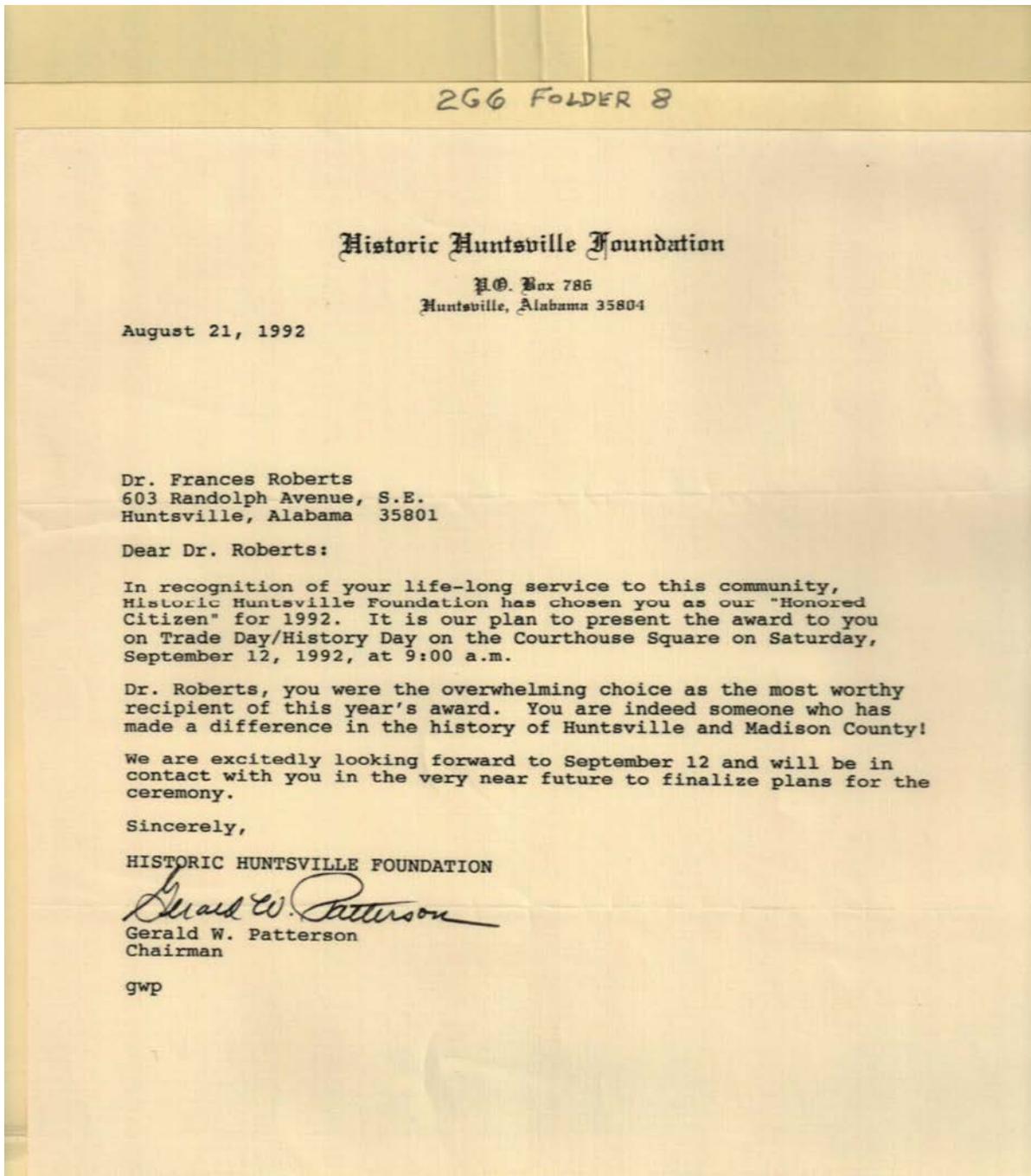
Dates:

Sept 20, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 73 r02g06-08-000-0073 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Historic Huntsville
Foundation

Patterson, Gerald W.
Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

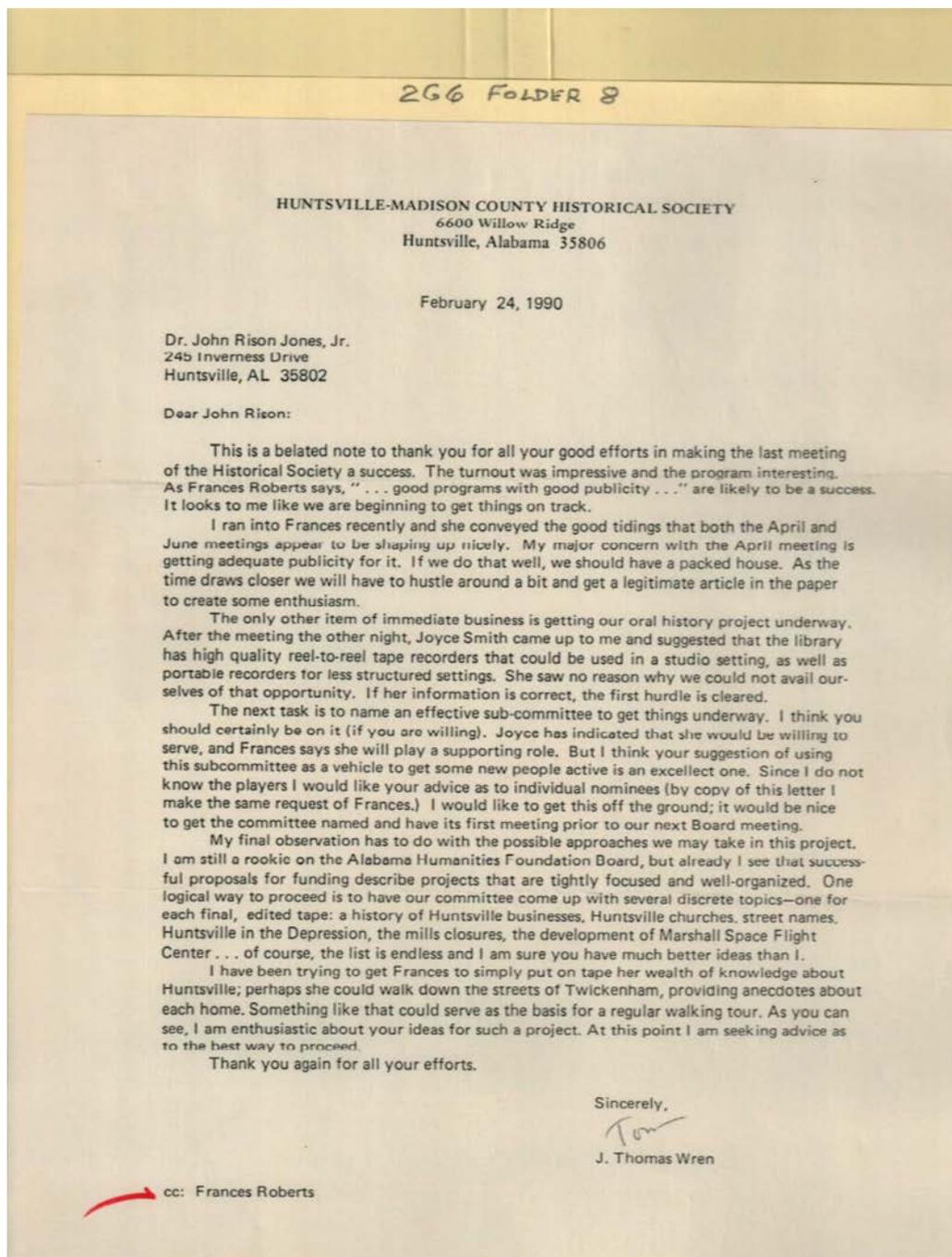
Dates:

Aug 21, 1992

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 74 r02g06-08-000-0074 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Jones, John Rison, Jr.

Roberts, Frances

Smith, Joyce

Wren, J. Thomas

Places:

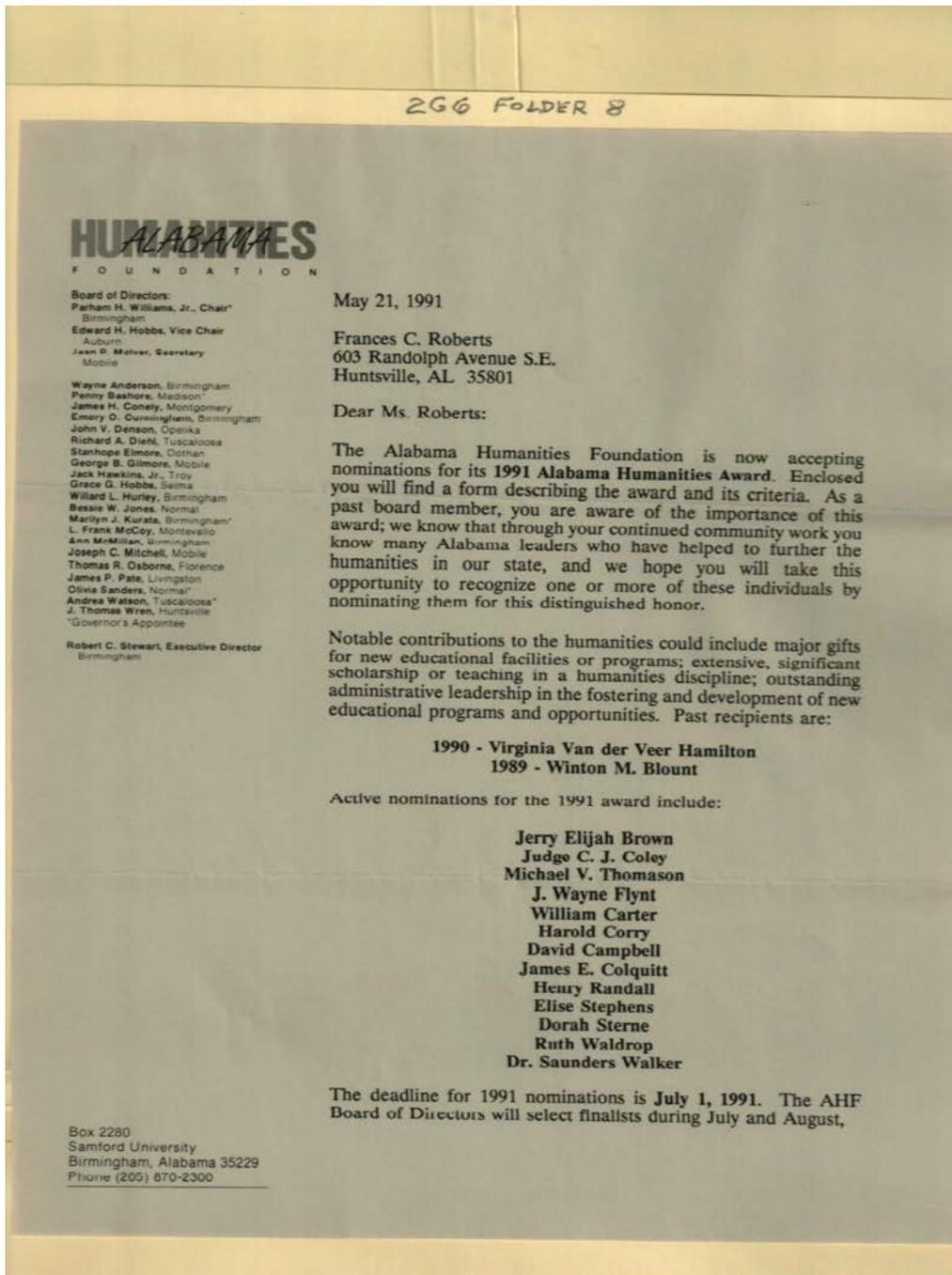
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Feb 24, 1990



Names:

Alabama Humanities
Foundation
Blount, Winton M.
Brown, Jerry Elijah
Campbell, David

Carter, William
Coley, C. J., Judge
Colquitt, James E.
Corry, Harold
Flynt, J. Wayne

Hamilton, Virginia
Van der Veer
Randall, Henry
Roberts, Frances C.
Stephens, Elise

Sterne, Dorah
Thomason, Michael
V.
Waldrop, Ruth
Walker, Saunders, Dr.

Places:

Birmingham, AL

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

May 21, 1991

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and the winner will be announced and honored at our annual award event in the fall.

Thank you for your interest and participation in this nomination process. This award is indeed a high honor, and lauds the importance of often unrecognized work - work that makes such a major contribution to the quality of life for us all. Should you have any questions, please contact the AHF office at 205-870-2300.

Sincerely,



Robert C. Stewart
Executive Director

Names:

Stewart, Robert C.

Places:

Birmingham, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

May 21, 1991

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DR FRANCES ROBERTS
603 RANDOLPH AVENUE
HUNTSVILLE, ALA 35801

717 RANDOLPH AVENUE
HUNTSVILLE, ALA, 35801
JULY 18, 1991

DEAR FRANCES

PER YOUR REQUEST, MY RECOLLECTION OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE FOUNDING OF UACF IS AS FOLLOWS:

ACTING ON THE REQUEST OF THE MADISON COUNTY COMMISSION AND HUNTSVILLE CITY COUNCIL COORDINATOR LOUIS B. LEE, SR. MYSELF AND DR. I. R. MORTON WORKED OUT THE FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS TO BEGIN WITH. OTHER PERSONS I RECALL AS HAVING BEEN INVOLVED IN ITS BEGINNINGS WERE ROY W. STONE, JOE W. DAVIS, PAT RICHARDSON, RALPH HUNTER FORD, A. W. McALLISTER, JOHN BROADWAY, JIMMY WALKER, C. D. HOWARD, SR. GEORGE CAMPBELL, VERA MINOR, MASON AND GLENN H. HEARN, AND OVERNER VAN BRACK.

I HOPE THIS IS OF SOME HELP.

TRULY
Yours,
James S. Record

Names:

Broadway, John
Campbell, George
Davis, Joe W.
Ford, Ralph Hunter

Hearn, Glenn H.
Howard, C. D., Sr.
Lee, Louis B., Sr.
Mason, Minor

McAllister, A. W.
Morton, I. R., Dr.
Record, James
Richardson, Pat

Roberts, Frances, Dr.
Stone, Roy L.
Walker, Jimmy

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

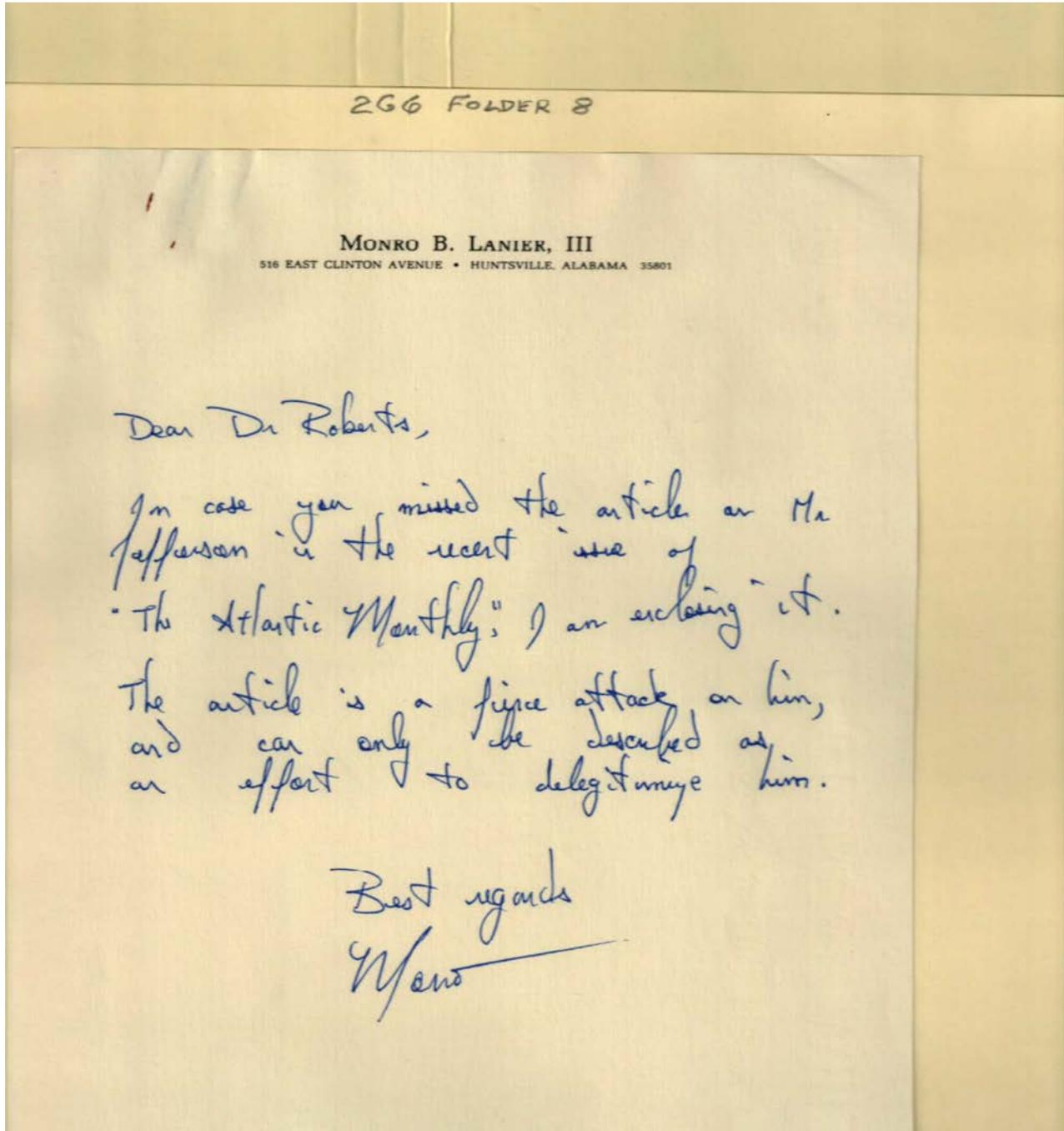
Dates:

July 18, 1991

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 78 r02g06-08-000-0078 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Lanier, Monro B., III

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

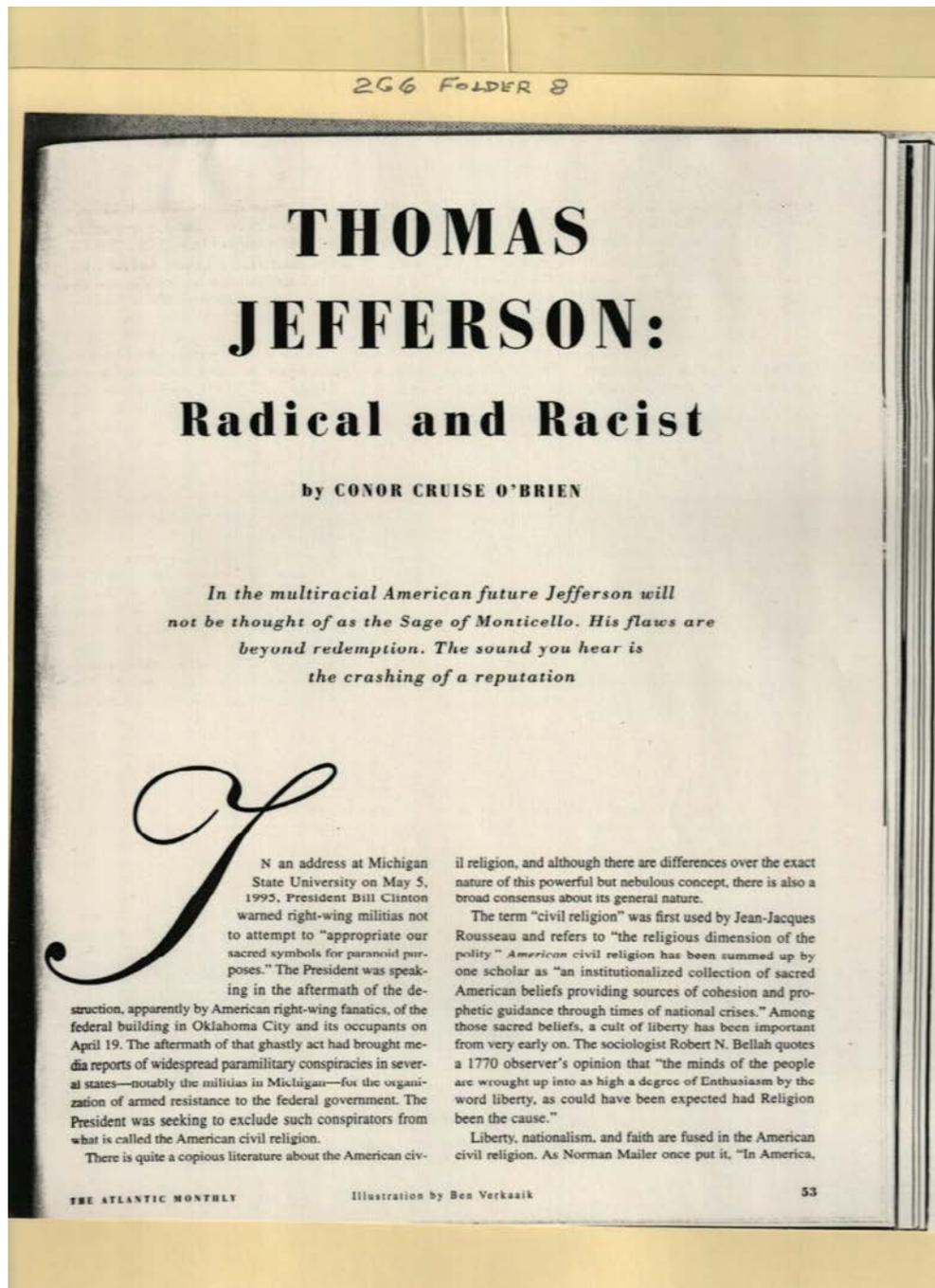
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

1996



Names:

O'Brien, Conor
Cruise

Thomas Jefferson:
Radical and Racist

Types:

magazine article

Dates:

October, 1996

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the country was the religion. And all the religions of the land were fed from that first religion. . . ."

Central to the American civil religion are two eighteenth-century documents: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Around these documents, and linked with them in the religion, are a limited number of historical figures—for all Americans, the Founding Fathers; for most Americans, also Abraham Lincoln. In the pantheon of the American civil religion, however, two holy personages stand out with unusually large halos. As Richard Pierard and Robert Linder, the authors of *Civil Religion & the Presidency* (1988), write,

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and later, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address became the sacred scriptures of the new public faith. Just as the colonists saw their own church covenants as vehicles of God's participation in history, so these public documents became the covenants which bound the people of the nation together in a political and religious union. . . . A leadership imagery developed that paralleled the biblical account of Israel and led to the Founding Fathers mythology. . . . Before long Washington had become the Moses-liberator figure, Jefferson the prophet.

THE POPE OF LIBERTY

THERE is no difficulty in seeing Jefferson as the prophet of the American civil religion if one thinks of him as the author of its most sacred document, the Declaration of Independence, and leaves it at that. But there is great difficulty in fitting the historical Jefferson, with all we know of him, into the civil religion of modern America (as it is generally and semi-officially expounded) at all, let alone in seeing him as its prophet.

Thomas Jefferson was in his day a prophet of American civil religion. Indeed, if his original draft of the Declaration of Independence had been accepted, the Declaration would have been more explicitly linked to the American civil religion than it is in its present form. Whereas the second paragraph of the Declaration opens with the words "We hold these truths to be self-evident . . .," Jefferson's original draft had "We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable . . ." The drafting of the Declaration had been entrusted by the Second Continental Congress to a committee of five, of which the leading members were Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. Although Rousseau's phrase "civil religion" does not seem to have been in circulation in America at this time (when it would have been suspect in the eyes of churchmen), Jefferson—whether through Rousseau or not—was a "civil religion" person in his habitual use of language. Adams objected strongly to the mixing of politics and religion. Franklin was more consistently secular than Jefferson in his style. The historian Carl Lotus Becker writes, on the change in the manuscript to "self-evident," "It is not clear that this change was made by Jefferson.

The hand-writing of 'self-evident' resembles Franklin's." The change was an improvement, functionally speaking, for a revolutionary manifesto. Anyone who rejects a "self-evident truth" must be either a fool or a knave. And that is precisely what the Founders wanted to say about anyone who opposed the Declaration. Jefferson himself appreciated the polemical force of this word, and often used it later.

Thomas Jefferson served as the American Minister to France from 1785 to late in 1789, and thus witnessed the last crisis of the ancien régime. He was in Paris for the opening of the Estates General (May 5, 1789) and for the fall of the Bastille (July 14). In letters to divers correspondents he evinced growing and confident enthusiasm for the burgeoning revolution. To James Madison: "The revolution of France has gone on with the most unexampled success hitherto. . . ." To Thomas Paine: "The National Assembly [showed] a coolness, wisdom, and resolution to set fire the four corners of the kingdom and to perish with it themselves rather than to relinquish an iota from their plan of total change. . . ." To Paine again: "The king, queen and national assembly are removed to Paris. The mobs and murders under which [the revolutionaries] dress this fact are like the rags in which religion robes the true god." No mere observer of the revolution, Jefferson is believed to have played a part in formulating the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, adopted by the National Assembly, the revolutionary heir to the Estates General, on August 26, 1789.

He thus became the symbol of a proposition of which he came to be a fervent apologist: that the French Revolution was the continuation and fulfillment of the American one, both being manifestations of one and the same spirit of liberty. Within a few years that proposition was to become bitterly divisive, both among the American people and among the Founding Fathers themselves. The question of policy toward France was to range Jefferson and Madison, supported by James Monroe, against Hamilton and Adams. Washington first tried to hold the balance but ultimately threw his tremendous weight decisively against the Jeffersonian theory of the continuity and kinship of the two revolutions.

The Jefferson of the early 1790s, the champion of the French Revolution, was an ardent believer in, and prophet of, civil religion in the sense adumbrated by Rousseau. That is, he sought to animate an apparently secular and political idea—that of liberty, "the true god"—by breathing into it the kinds of emotions and dispositions with which religion had been invested in the Age of Faith. Of this religion Thomas Jefferson was more than a prophet—he was a pope. As the author of the Declaration of Independence, he possessed the magisterium of liberty. He could define heresy and excommunicate heretics. To fail to acknowledge, for example, that the French Revolution was an integral part of the holy cause of liberty, along with the American Revolution, was heresy, and the heretic had to be driven from public life.

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Thomas Jefferson ardently preached and energetically practiced his own version of civil religion. But is that civil religion compatible with the American civil religion as we know it today? In investigating that question we have to begin by asking another question: What kind of American was Thomas Jefferson?

He was a good American in the general sense; he held America and Americans to be vastly superior to Europe and Europeans, morally and socially speaking. But he was not an American nationalist, politically speaking. He was not an "America firster." He was a "Virginia firster." He continued to speak of Virginia as "my country" even when he was representing the United States abroad. Nor was this an isolated trick of speech. The United States was not an object that engaged his emotions; Virginia was. The Declaration of Independence was for him a sacred document, part of the civil religion of liberty. The Constitution of the United States was not; it was a political document, just about acceptable, and no more, for pragmatic reasons, and remaining acceptable only as long as the federal government respected what Virginians regarded as the limits of its authority. Federal institutions, including the presidency, were workaday things, not invested with the spiritual aura of the civil religion. Virginia remained the holy land of liberty.

In his epitaph Jefferson did not mention the fact that he had twice been President of the United States as among the significant events of his career. He did mention—along with his authorship of the Declaration of Independence—his foundation of the University of Virginia. In terms of that old dialogue between head and heart, the heart was always with Virginia, and only the head with the United States.

In political life, as in his personal emotional life, Jefferson's head usually prevailed over his heart. But this was not always the case. When, in 1798, under President John Adams, Virginia appeared to be threatened by an excess of federal government, Jefferson encouraged Virginians to resist. Virginians and other southerners of later generations, in challenging what they perceived as the excessive claims of the federal government, were to that extent in the Jefferson tradition.

In the 1830s John C. Calhoun, the great propagator of states'-rights ideology in the antebellum South, claimed Jefferson's authority for his "Nullification" doctrine: that states

could treat as null and void federal laws they regarded as intruding on the proper sphere of the states. Calhoun invoked as precedents the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions rejecting the Alien and Sedition Laws passed by Congress in 1798. Calhoun observed that the Kentucky resolutions were "now known to have emanated from the pen of Mr. Jefferson."

Jefferson's authority was important to the leaders of the South in the 1830s as validating the philosophy of Nullification: a philosophy that had within it the germ of the eventual secession. But by the 1840s Nullification had come to be regarded by southerners as axiomatic ("self-evident" truths, indeed), so Jefferson's validation was now surplus to re-

quirements. And Jefferson was by this time becoming deeply unpopular with the more ardent defenders of southern institutions. The reason was that from the 1830s on, the hated abolitionist press had been making copious use of Jefferson's "antislavery" writings, mainly from *Notes on the State of Virginia*. For example,

There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. . . . The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.

Back in the late eighteenth century the Virginia slaveowners who were Jefferson's contemporaries hadn't taken this Jeffersonian antislavery seriously. They knew Jefferson personally, and knew he meant no harm. And many of them were in the habit of saying the same sorts of things themselves, in appropriate company.

By the mid nineteenth century, however, southerners had to take Jefferson's antislavery writings seriously, because *northerners* were taking them seriously, and using them against the South. Taking the Declaration of Independence in conjunction with Jefferson's antislavery utterances (well publicized



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in the North for more than two decades), northerners were able on the eve of the Civil War to read antislavery intentions into the Declaration of Independence itself, and thus to enlist both the Declaration and its author on their side in the coming war. In a letter of April, 1859, Lincoln wrote,

All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document, an abstract truth, and so to embalm it there, that today, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the very harbingers of re-appearing tyranny and oppression.

This letter was really a campaign manifesto, the Jefferson scholar Merrill D. Peterson writes.

Lincoln's letter circulated freely during the presidential campaign of 1860. It was a masterpiece, the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* declared, "the most pointed and most forcible political letter ever written . . . a platform in itself."

After the Civil War that accolade from the martyred President secured a continuing place for Jefferson in the pantheon of the American civil religion. The Jeffersonian vessel had survived the rapids of the Civil War and remained holy in the eyes of large numbers of Americans, among both the victors and the vanquished. In his posthumous reputation, as in his political career, luck was on Jefferson's side.

Still, there were always some begrudgers, and there were many more in the North than in the South. In the North after the Civil War, Hamilton, not Jefferson, was at the center of the civil religion. In the South it was Jefferson—more firmly than before the Civil War—who was at the center. That is to say, sectional and regional alignments were again for a time essentially what they had been in the late eighteenth century.

In the first half of the twentieth century the most important occurrence affecting the posthumous reputation and civil-religion status of Thomas Jefferson was the New Deal. Peterson depicts the Roosevelt Administration as building a great national temple to Jefferson's memory. The temple is the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, dedicated by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on the two hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth, April 13, 1943. According to an official brochure, "Inscriptions at the memorial were selected by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission and were taken from a wide variety of his writings on freedom, slavery, education and government." The section of the inscriptions that deals with freedom and slavery runs as follows:

God who gave us life gave us liberty. Can the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed a conviction

that these liberties are the gift of God? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever. Commerce between master and slave is despotism. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free.

All of this passage except for the last sentence is taken from *Notes on the State of Virginia*. The last sentence is taken from Jefferson's *Autobiography*. That sentence, as isolated in the memorial inscription, deceives the public as to Jefferson's meaning. For the original passage in the *Autobiography* continues, "Nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion has drawn indelible lines of distinction between them." (Emphasis added.)

In short, these people are to be free, and then deported. Jefferson's teaching on that matter is quite clear and often repeated.

Those who edited that inscription on behalf of the memorial commission must have known what they were doing when they wrenched that resounding sentence from the *Autobiography* out of the context that so drastically qualifies its meaning. The distortion by suppression has to be deliberate.

In that inscription on the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., the liberal-Jeffersonian lie about Jefferson's position on liberty and slavery assumes literally monumental proportions.

The quarter century following the dedication of the memorial saw Jefferson's reputation, especially as a liberal, at its height. John F. Kennedy and his liberal-intellectual entourage strongly contributed to the general and almost universal acceptance of the Jefferson Memorial. By the mid-1960s Jefferson's towering position within the American civil religion appeared assured for all time.

Peterson's invaluable work *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* was published in 1960. By now a successor volume, covering the last decades of the twentieth century, is badly needed. In particular, a detailed study needs to be made of the impact on Jefferson's image of the civil-rights movement and ensuing changes. In default of such source material I propose to "cut to the chase," as the filmmakers say, and consider factors affecting the place of Thomas Jefferson in the American civil religion as these appear to me today. The two major factors, in my opinion, are challenges to the authority of the federal government and the race issue. These factors have been linked in earlier momentous phases of American history: in 1798, when Virginia and Kentucky were threatening revolt against federal authority; in the periods before and after the Civil War; and in the civil-rights crisis of the 1960s. They are still linked today, and they raise serious questions about the place of Thomas Jefferson in the civil religion of modern America. Let me begin with the challenge to the authority of the federal government.

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WILD GAS

THE President's full name—William Jefferson Clinton—attests to his family's allegiance to a Jeffersonian tradition, probably through Franklin D. Roosevelt. As President-elect, Clinton affirmed his personal commitment to that tradition by a symbolic gesture: in the week of his inauguration he retraced the trip that Jefferson made as President-elect from Monticello to Washington. And Clinton's staff underlined the significance of this gesture by noting that the President-elect at this solemn moment in his life was reading a new biography of Thomas Jefferson.

We may assume, therefore, that when Clinton warned the right-wing militias not to attempt to "appropriate our sacred symbols for paranoid purposes," the heritage of Thomas Jefferson was associated in his mind with the defense of the sacred symbols. But Jefferson is an unreliable ally in this matter. In his middle years—and even before the French Revolution—Jefferson was in the grip of a fanatical cult of liberty, which was seen as an absolute to which it would be blasphemous to assign limits. In this period—roughly 1787 to 1793—Jefferson was intoxicated with what Edmund Burke called "the wild gas" of liberty. That phrase occurs in Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, with the confutation of which Jefferson, as Secretary of State, managed to associate himself publicly in April of 1791, greatly to his own political advantage. The passage from which the phrase comes is worth quoting here.

When I see the spirit of liberty in action, I see a strong principle at work, and this, for a while, is all I can possibly know of it. The wild gas, the fixed air is plainly broke loose: but we ought to suspend our judgement until the first effervescence is a little subsided, till the liquor is cleared, and until we see something deeper than the agitation of a troubled and frothy surface. I must be tolerably sure, before I venture publicly to congratulate men upon a blessing, that they have really received one. Flattery corrupts both the receiver and the giver; and adulation is not of more service to the people than to kings. I should therefore suspend my congratulations on the new liberty of France, until I was informed how it had been combined with government: with public force; with the discipline and obedience of armies; with the collection of an effective and well-distributed revenue; with morality and religion; with the solidity of property; with peace and order; with civil and social manners. All these (in their way) are good things too; and, without them, liberty is not a benefit whilst it lasts, and is not likely to continue long. The effect of liberty to individuals is, that they may do what they please: We ought to see what it will please them to do, before we risque congratulations, which may be soon turned into complaints.

In America the holy cause of liberty became "combined with government" through the enactment and acceptance of the Constitution. Washington, Adams, and Hamilton were



all spiritually Burkeans; so was Madison, while he worked with Hamilton on the *Federalist* papers and before he fell under the Jeffersonian spell, from 1790 on. These Founders were Burkeans not in that they got their ideas from Burke but in that the principles on which they worked were identical with those enunciated by Burke in the passage above.

In resisting the enterprise of the right-wing militias, who are also libertarian extremists, President Clinton has most of the Founders, and the Constitution itself, on his side. But Jefferson is different. The liberty that Jefferson adored is not a liberty "combined" with all those tedious Burkean things, as in the Constitution, but a wild liberty, absolute, untrammelled, universal, the liberty of a great revolutionary manifesto: the Declaration of Independence. The other Founders saw the Declaration as embodying generalities that would at a later stage need to be combined with and confined by practical considerations. But Jefferson saw the principles of the Declaration as

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transcendent truths of which he himself, as author of the Declaration, was also the destined and authoritative interpreter.

Even before the French Revolution—and even before the American Constitution—Jefferson had approved keeping the spirit of armed rebellion alive in America and elsewhere. In the context of Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1787, Jefferson wrote, "God forbid we should ever be 20 years without such a rebellion. . . . The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."

That is something very like a Jeffersonian charter for the most militant segment of the modern American militias, is it not? If President Clinton is relying on the authority of Thomas Jefferson to keep those sacred symbols out of the clutches of paranoid militias, the President can be refuted out of the mouth of the very authority he invokes.

Jefferson's enthusiasm for what later came to be called

permanent revolution antedates the French Revolution. But the advent of the French Revolution fortified and exalted that enthusiasm. In propagating the cause of the French Revolution in America, and incorporating it with the American Revolution into a single holy cause of freedom, one of the things Jefferson was doing was emancipating the cause of freedom from the limits set on it in America by the Constitution. The holy cause was now universal, and transcended the limits of any merely local legislation. The French Revolution couldn't be told that it was in breach of the American Constitution, so the cult of the French Revolution clipped the Constitution's wings. There were indeed *no* limits that could be assigned to the holy cause of freedom—neither geographic boundaries nor conventional ideas of morality and compassion.

In his well-known "Adam and Eve" letter to William Short, the American chargé d'affaires in Paris, the Secretary of State instructed that squeamish diplomatist (and defector from the

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ideals of his patron Jefferson) to stop complaining about French revolutionary atrocities: "My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs of this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam and Eve, left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it now is." Short should accept that there was no limit (except the sparing of two persons per nation) to the slaughter that might legitimately be perpetrated in the holy cause of freedom. And the letter to Short is not—as Jefferson apologists like to imply—an isolated flash of hyperbole. It is a follow-up to *Notes of a Conversation With George Washington on French Affairs*, in which Jefferson recorded that faith in the French Revolution was his "polar star," and that he believed Washington to be a belated convert to that faith. Jefferson set out in his letter to Short the merciless and almost limitless exigencies of polar faith.

Those in the culture of the modern American militias who see themselves as at war, or on the verge of war, with the federal government are fanatical believers in liberty, as Jefferson was. Jefferson condoned French revolutionary atrocities on a far greater scale, numerically, than the 1995 massacre in Oklahoma City. The Adam and Eve letter was written after the news had reached America of the murder of more than a thousand helpless people by the Paris mobs in the September massacres of 1792. After September, as before, the French Revolution remained Jefferson's polar star. Philip Freneau, Jefferson's protégé, an employe at the Department of State, explicitly defended the execution of Louis XVI in the *National Gazette*—at that date the principal organ of Jefferson's Republican Party, and under Jefferson's direct and active patronage in Philadelphia.

It is true that Jefferson later condemned "the atrocities of Robespierre." But that was in 1795, and Robespierre (who did not order the September massacres) was not only dead but anathema to the new masters of the French Revolution. While Robespierre was alive and the Terror was actually raging, Jefferson had no comment to offer on French revolutionary atrocities. When Madison informed Jefferson, in a letter, of the massacre of the Brissotins (Girondins) in October of 1793, Jefferson, in a longish reply, made no reference to that transaction. Presumably all such matters were still covered by the Adam and Eve doctrine of six months earlier.

THE LESSON OF SAINT-DOMINGUE

TRUE, there was a pragmatist in Jefferson as well as a visionary fanatic, and the pragmatist acquired the upper hand over the visionary in the late 1790s. Of this phenomenon Robert Bellah, the leading authority on the American civil religion, writes, somewhat misleadingly,

Early in the history of the new nation there had been a deep revulsion against the excesses of the French Revolution and a tendency to contrast it with the moderate and humane character of the American Revolution. Such a contrast was stated most vigorously by the early Federalists but was in some form or other accepted by Jeffersonian Democrats as well.

In reality the deep revulsion against the excesses of the French Revolution (while they were happening) was exclusively a Federalist affair. The Republicans, headed by Jefferson himself, stoutly defended the French Revolution throughout the period when reports of the excesses were reaching America. If possible, anything horrible in the reports from Paris was ascribed by Republicans to the manipulation of the news by the British. In private the esoteric doctrine of the Republican leaders—as revealed by Jefferson to William Short—was that what the Federalists called excesses were really taking place but were entirely justifiable, however drastic, because they were undertaken in the cause of liberty.

The Republicans began to detach themselves from the cause of the French Revolution after 1793, and especially from 1795 on. But this was not because Jefferson and the rest of them were belatedly experiencing some form of revulsion against excesses that they had systematically condoned (often by denying their existence) at the time of their perpetration. The detachment was, rather, the result of a growing perception in 1794–1795 that enthusiasm among the American people for the French Revolution was cooling—not only because of those excesses, which were at their worst during the period when Americans other than Federalists were most enthusiastic about the French Revolution, but also because of developments in the United States itself and in a neighboring territory, Saint-Domingue, or Haiti, and because of Washington's influence. Those developments included the victory of the black

Thomas Jefferson approved keeping the spirit of armed rebellion alive in America and elsewhere—refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.

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slaves in Haiti and the ensuing carnage and dispersion of the whites. The exact nature of the connection between the black insurrection and the French Revolution remains open to argument. But it would have been hard for slaveowners to remain enthusiastic about the French Revolution after February of 1794, when the French National Convention, then dominated by Robespierre, decreed the emancipation of all slaves in the dominions of the French Republic.

The emancipating act was probably not the least of "the atrocities of Robespierre" in the eyes of Virginia slaveowners, including Thomas Jefferson.

After these events Jefferson and his colleagues realized that the cause of the French Revolution, formerly a major political asset to them in the United States, had become a liability. So they cut their losses. They never repudiated the French Revolution, still cherished by many of their rank and file, but it was as if this part of their political stock in trade had been removed from the front window.

By the time Jefferson became President, the pragmatist had prevailed over the visionary, head over heart, in this matter. Yet when we are talking about the American civil religion and its sacred symbols, the visionary in Jefferson, the champion of the French Revolution, remains disturbingly—and subversively—alive and relevant. Jefferson does not fit into the modern American civil religion as *officially and semi-officially expounded*. The official version involves, as James Smylie has put it, "divine sanction in the use of power and in the support of civil authority." That is not what the *Jeffersonian* civil religion is about. But other versions of the civil religion are extant in modern America—even if official America, and the textbooks written for it, take no cognizance of their existence.

Some people seem to feel that since the militia rebels are right-wing, they cannot be Jeffersonians. But the tree of liberty is a mystical, abstract, absolute entity knowing nothing of mundane political distinctions. It accepts its natural manure, the blood of patriots and tyrants. Which are the patriots and which the tyrants makes no difference to the quality of the manure or the health of the bloodthirsty organism that feeds on it.

It is now known that three of the initial suspects in the Oklahoma City bombing claim Jeffersonian inspiration. In an article about the second man charged with the bombing, Terry Lynn Nichols, Serge F. Kovaleski wrote in *The Washington Post* last year, "[Nichols] read the works of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine and was particularly inspired by Jefferson's maxim 'The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.'"

CNN, on January 31 of this year, broadcast a news item about Timothy McVeigh that was accompanied by the teaser "McVeigh's Shirt Expected to Be Key Evidence." In the course of a discussion of the shirt, the following remarks were made:

Susan Candiotti (CNN correspondent): "Sources tell CNN when Tim McVeigh was arrested driving away from

Oklahoma City on the day of the bombing, he was wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with words of rebellion and bloodshed. McVeigh's shirt bore this quotation—"The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." The words were written by Thomas Jefferson shortly after the American Revolution, when some people felt threatened by their new federal government." (The words were actually written in November of 1787, before the federal government came into existence, and they were about a rebellion against the State of Massachusetts.)

Dr. Steven Hochman (identified as a Jefferson scholar): "What Jefferson is saying is that it is a fact that in order to preserve freedom, you're going to have a situation where there is violence—as a wake-up call, you might say, to the leaders."

Susan Candiotti: "At the jail in Perry, Oklahoma, where McVeigh was first taken, the FBI asked for the clothing he was wearing but described the T-shirt in a way that kept the wording secret until now. CNN has been told the words are visible in McVeigh's mug shot taken at the jail. The FBI seized the only copy of that photo and will not release it. McVeigh's lawyer brushed aside any concern over the T-shirt slogan when we asked him, How incriminating is this?"

Stephen Jones (McVeigh's lawyer): "Well, if Thomas Jefferson said it, I shouldn't think it would be incriminating at all."

SLAVERY

AMONG revisionist scholarly threats to Jefferson's place in the American pantheon is the work of William Cohen. His 1969 article "Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Slavery" is valuable principally for its analysis of Jefferson's position on free Negroes and escaped slaves and of the solution Jefferson proposed—"colonization"—but especially for Cohen's final summation of the contradictions in Jefferson's position on race and slavery.

Cohen considers some 1776 legislative proposals of Jefferson's, of which the most significant were those that introduced new restrictions and penalties applying to free Negroes and to "miscegenation" involving white women. He writes,

In November 1776, Jefferson was chosen as a member of a committee whose task was to revise, modernize, and codify the statutes of Virginia. Among his assignments was the job of drawing up the legislation dealing with slaves. He later described this bill, which he completed in 1778, as a "mere digest" of the existing legislation on the subject, and to a certain extent this was true. . . .

Nevertheless, the bill was more than a digest of earlier codes and it contained some significant additions which were designed to prevent the increase of the state's free Negro population. It was to be illegal for free Negroes to come into Virginia of their own accord or to remain there for more than one year after they were emancipated. A

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white woman having a child by a Negro would be required to leave the state within a year. The individual who violated these regulations would be placed "out of the protection of the laws." This would have left them subject to re-enslavement or even to murder at the whim of their neighbors and was, therefore, a most severe punishment.

As eventually passed by the Virginia legislature, in 1785, the revising act did not contain Jefferson's "significant additions." It would seem that Jefferson's abhorrence of the presence of free Negroes, and of white women who gave birth to children of mixed race, was stronger than was normal among contemporaries of his own class. Jefferson probably treated his slaves somewhat better than other slaveowners did, but he seems to have been at least as harsh as other landowners in his treatment of slaves who escaped and were recaptured. Cohen writes,

When he dealt with runaways, sales of slaves, breeding, flogging, and manumissions, his behavior did not differ appreciably from that of other enlightened slaveholders who deplored needless cruelty, but would use whatever means they felt necessary to protect their peculiar form of property.

During Jefferson's adult lifetime, more than forty of his Negroes attempted to escape. . . .

In early September 1805, James Hubbard, a stout Negro who worked in the plantation nail factory, ran away, but was soon apprehended and returned. About five years later he escaped again. A year passed before Jefferson learned that Hubbard was living in the area of Lexington and dispatched Isham Chisolm to retrieve the bondsman. It was too late, however; Hubbard had departed only a few days earlier for parts unknown. When Chisolm returned empty-handed, Jefferson offered him a bonus of twenty-five dollars to go after the man a second time. This time Hubbard was caught and brought back in irons, and Jefferson reported: "I had him severely flogged in the presence of his old companions. . . ." He then added that he was convinced that Hubbard "will never again serve any man as a slave, the moment he is out of jail and his irons off he will be off himself." Before Jefferson could implement plans to have him sold out of the state, Hubbard disappeared again.

In theory Jefferson's "solution" to slavery consisted in "colonization": the deportation of all the freed blacks from the United States, preferably back to Africa. Cohen:

The entire body of Jefferson's writings shows that he never seriously considered the possibility of any form of racial coexistence on the basis of equality and that, from at least 1778 until his death, he saw colonization as the only alternative to slavery.

Late in his life, however, Jefferson began to admit the impracticability of this solution, at least in its widest sense, while reiterating his faith in an attenuated form of it. Cohen writes,

In 1824 Jefferson argued that there were a million and a half slaves in the nation and that no one conceived it to be "practicable for us, or expedient for them" to send all the blacks away at once. He then went on to calculate:

Their estimated value as property, in the first place, (for actual property has been lawfully vested in that form, and who can lawfully take it from the possessors?) at an average of two hundred dollars each . . . would amount to six hundred millions of dollars which must be paid or lost by somebody. To this add the cost of their transportation by land and sea to Mesurado [the west coast of Liberia], a year's provision of food and clothes, implements of husbandry and of their trades, which will amount to three hundred millions more . . . and it is impossible to look at the question a second time.

Since African colonization seemed an impossibility, Jefferson suggested a plan which entailed "emancipating the afterborn, leaving them, on due compensation, with their mothers, until their services are worth their maintenance, and putting them to industrious occupations until a proper age for deportation." The individuals who would be "freed" immediately after their birth would eventually be sent to Santo Domingo which, according to the newspapers, had recently offered to open its doors to such persons. In effect, Jefferson was proposing that the federal government buy all newborn slaves from their owners (at twelve dollars and fifty cents each) and that it pay for their "nurture with the mother [for] a few years." Beyond this, the plan would not cost the government anything, for the young blacks would then work for their maintenance until deported. Santo Domingo had offered to bear the cost of passage.

Jefferson noted that a majority of Americans then living would live to see the black population reach six million

The Jeffersonian vision of the future America — after the hypothetical abolition of slavery by the slaveowners themselves — was a lily-white one.

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and warned that "a million and a half are within their control; but six millions, . . . and one million of these fighting men, will say, 'we will not go.'" The Virginia statesman concluded his proposal by urging that neither constitutional problems nor human sentiment ought to be allowed to stand in its way:

I am aware that this subject involves some constitutional scruples. But a liberal construction, justified by the object, may go far, and an amendment of the constitution, the whole length necessary. The separation of infants from their mothers, too, would produce some scruples of humanity. But this would be straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel.

Thus, only two and a half years before his death, Jefferson reiterated his long held belief that emancipation was imperative for the sake of the nation, but that it must be accompanied by colonization. Even here, however, his theory differed from his practice; and in this case his inconsistency would follow him beyond the grave for he did not offer to free his slaves on the condition that they leave the country. On the contrary, in his will he requested the Virginia legislature to grant special permission to the five slaves he manumitted to continue to live in the state.

In his conclusion Cohan provides a succinct summation of the contradictions in Jefferson's position with regard to slavery and free Negroes. He writes,

Jefferson was a man of many dimensions, and any explanation of his behavior must contain a myriad of seeming contradictions. He was a sincere and dedicated foe of the slave trade who bought and sold men whenever he found it personally necessary. He believed that all men were entitled to life and liberty regardless of their abilities, yet he tracked down those slaves who had the courage to take their rights by running away. He believed that slavery was morally and politically wrong, but still he wrote a slave code for his state and opposed a national attempt in 1819 to limit the further expansion of the institution. He believed that one hour of slavery was worse than ages of British oppression, yet he was able to discuss the matter of slave breeding in much the same terms that one would use when speaking of the propagation of dogs and horses.

THE EVIDENCE ON RACE

MODERN America is, and has been for more than a quarter of a century, a post-racist society, juridically and institutionally and in the ethos of all its establishments: political, social, financial, academic, scientific, and—not least significant—athletic. The American civil religion, if it is to be a bonding force through the coming century, must be unequivocally multiracial. I am not sure that it is yet. The civil religion has been implicitly or ex-

PLICITLY a religion of white people for most of its history. I am not sure whether it has by now lived down that past. But obviously it must do so in the coming century if it is to remain a civil religion for the American people as a whole. There are—as in other Western countries—powerful racist undercurrents still around. But for both reasons, because this is officially a post-racist society and because the racist undercurrents are still there, Thomas Jefferson is becoming a most unsuitable and embarrassing figure in the pantheon of the modern American civil religion. For Thomas Jefferson was demonstrably a racist, and a particularly aggressive and vindictive one at that.

I don't mean that Jefferson was a racist because he owned slaves. A person might own slaves in the conditions of the eighteenth century without being a racist. The person might simply have inherited slaves, and not quite know what to do about it. I believe that Washington, who manumitted all his slaves by his will, was in that category. (Jefferson manumitted only the five young Hemingses, who were probably his own children, and two others.) I am not aware of any utterances of Washington's that could reasonably be classed as racist. Washington did not, as Jefferson did (in Query XIV of *Notes on the State of Virginia*), go on about such topics as the supposed preference of black males for white women, as compared with the supposed preference of orangutans for black women. Nor did Washington display, as Jefferson did (most obsessively in Query XIV), the classic racist itch to identify black characteristics that might be interpreted as indicative of genetic inferiority.

It is precisely Jefferson's status as the oracle of liberty within the American civil religion that is becoming unsustainable in a post-racist America. Consider the implications of the story of Jame Hubbard, Hubbard's sole offense was to claim liberty for himself and try to win it. For that offense Jefferson had him "severely flogged in the presence of his old companions." For many Americans today (I would hope for most Americans, and most other people), the hero of liberty in that story is *not* the famous Thomas Jefferson but the otherwise unknown Jame Hubbard. And that perception has ominous implications for the future status of Thomas Jefferson in the civil religion of a post-racist and increasingly multiracial America.

The factor, however, that is bound eventually to eliminate a personal cult of Thomas Jefferson from America's civil religion is not his record in relation to slaves and slavery but the policy laid down by him in relation to "free Negroes." Jefferson's vision of the future America—after the hypothetical abolition of slavery by the slaveowners themselves—was a lily-white one. All the ex-slaves were to be deported to Africa. In the meantime, free blacks had to be eliminated from Virginia. Jefferson's proposals for their elimination were too draconian to be stomachable even by his fellow slaveowners. His proposed (and rejected) amendments to the Virginia legal code included

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a recommendation for penalizing what Virginia slaveowners called miscegenation, by which they always meant sexual intercourse between black men and white women, never between white men and black women—an event of frequent but unmentionable occurrence. Jefferson made provision for the case of a white woman who might bear a mulatto child. Both the mother and her child were to leave Virginia within a year of the birth. In the event of their failure to do so, mother and child were declared to be “out of the protection of the laws.” In the circumstances that proposition was a license for lynching—for the physical destruction of mother and child by any Virginian who might care to do the job. Volunteers would not be lacking.

Jefferson’s white contemporaries refused to accept that sinister recommendation. But later generations of southerners were to act in its spirit. It is no coincidence that Jefferson was much more popular in the South after the Civil War than he had been before. Before the war the issue had been slavery, and Jefferson was a bit unsound on that by the standards prevailing in the South in the immediate antebellum period. After the war, however, the question of the hour for white southerners was the status of free blacks. And on that Thomas Jefferson was absolutely sound.

It is true that after the war white southerners were in no position to achieve Jefferson’s ideal solution: the deportation of all emancipated blacks. But they could and did act in the spirit of Jefferson’s major premise in this matter: they could ensure that there would be no free blacks in the southern states. Any black who attempted to achieve real freedom was at best treated as Jefferson had treated Jame Hubbard. Penalties more drastic than flogging, however, were available against persons perceived as guilty of serious racial misconduct. Such people were “out of the protection of the laws.” That is, they could be lynched with perfect impunity. And they were, regularly and in large numbers, after the end of Reconstruction and through the first two decades of the twentieth century.

For all this the enforcers of white supremacy claimed, and with justice, a mandate in Thomas Jefferson’s well-known doctrine that there was no place for free blacks in American society. If blacks were emancipated and yet remained in America and in the South, then they had to be brought under restraint.

Perhaps the most vocal of the southern white supremacists in the late nineteenth century was the Populist leader Tom Watson, of Georgia. Watson’s magazine *The Jeffersonian* propagated, according to Merrill Peterson, “sectional and racial hatred of the most vicious sort.” The relation of *The Jeffersonian* to Jefferson’s thought was similar to the relation of the Republican press in Jefferson’s own time to Jefferson’s thought. *The Jeffersonian*, like the Republican press, propagated in crude emotive forms ideas to which the master had given discreet and overtly unemotional expression. And in the southern states in the years after the Civil War the whites who most practiced what *The Jeffersonian* was preaching were members of the Ku Klux Klan.

LIBERAL JEFFERSONIANS

LIBERAL Jeffersonians will no doubt be outraged at my suggestion that the Ku Klux Klan was ideologically descended from Thomas Jefferson. I hope liberal Jeffersonians are outraged, and I propose to go on outraging them. I intend, if possible, to outrage them out of existence: not out of physical existence, of course, but out of existence as the confused and confusing school of thought they actually constitute. For “liberal Jeffersonian” is a contradiction in terms—at least it is if you think that “liberal racist” is a contradiction in terms. And modern American liberals can hardly contest that last point.

In the 1970s and 1980s American liberals were greatly exercised about apartheid in South Africa, and were

busy tracking down any person who might conceivably have given any kind of aid or comfort to that iniquitous system. In that connection, how about Thomas Jefferson? The Jeffersonian doctrine of no free blacks in America was a doctrine of apartheid for America.

Someone should write a thesis on “The Influence of Thomas Jefferson on Hendrik Verwoerd.”

What is surprising about Jeffersonian liberalism is that it has managed (so far) to survive both the comprehensive discrediting of racism among the educated and in official America in the second half of the twentieth century and the scholarly work that demonstrates that Jefferson was a racist. Thus as late as 1984 we find Richard Matthews writing in *The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson: A Revisionist View*, “Jefferson . . . not only presents a radical critique of



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American market society but also provides an image for—if not a road-map to—a consciously made, legitimately democratic American future.” A legitimately democratic American future without any blacks in it.

I believe that in the next century, as blacks and Hispanics and Asians acquire increasing influence in American society, the Jeffersonian liberal tradition, which is already intellectually untenable, will become socially and politically untenable as well. I also believe that the American civil religion, official version—let me call it ACROV—will have to be reformed in a manner that will downgrade and eventually exclude Thomas Jefferson. Finally, I believe that Jefferson will nonetheless continue to be a power in America in the area where the mystical side of Jefferson really belongs: among the radical, violent, anti-federal libertarian fanatics—the very same paranoid conspirators against whose grasp President Clinton is rightly resolved to defend our sacred symbols.

THE IMPENDING SCHISM

AS the twenty-first century advances, there will be changes within the American civil religion to correspond to great changes in the society itself. The multiracial character of the society will be increasingly realized, as significant numbers of blacks, Hispanics, and Asians move up the economic ladder. Women of all races will also be moving up, in many cases even faster and higher than the general rate of ascent of nonwhite people.

In these circumstances ACROV will be needed more than ever, as a bonding force for a more and more visibly diverse society and polity. But within ACROV the cult of the Founding Fathers will be affected. The present campus assaults on the authority, in every field, of “dead white males” are often absurd, but they have their implications for the future, and in particular for the cult of the Founding Fathers.

In the new circumstances the emphasis is likely to be increasingly on documents, rather than personalities, as the core of ACROV. Of the two main documents, the Constitution presents no problems for the new societal coalition, in which women and nonwhite people exercise increasing authority. The Constitution as it now stands is the work not just of Founding Fathers but of many kinds of people, over many generations. Both abolitionists and feminists—overlapping categories in the nineteenth century—played their part in bringing the Constitution into the shape in which we have it today. The Constitution will be amended—an Equal Rights Amendment would appear to be inevitable, if present trends continue—during the first half of the coming century. The Constitution—amended and amendable—will be at the center of ACROV.

The Declaration of Independence is another matter. ACROV without the Declaration is unthinkable. The Declaration is the primary assertion of American nationalism, and

the primary function of the American civil religion is to invest American nationalism with the aura of the sacred. Without the Declaration, then, there is no American civil religion.

Yet there are problems about the Declaration, in its relation to a society no longer exclusively dominated by whites. There are problems about the wording, and problems about the authorship. It is accepted that the words “all men are created equal” do not in their literal meaning apply to women, and were not intended by the Founding Fathers (collectively) to apply to slaves. Yet it is also accepted that the expectations aroused by this formula have been a force that eventually changed the meaning of the formula to include women and people of all races.

The wording in itself offers no basic difficulty. The trouble is in the relation of the wording to the perceived authorship. In ACROV as we know it in the twentieth century, Jefferson has sacred status as the author of the most sacred document: the Declaration of Independence. And nothing is more certain than that Thomas Jefferson did not intend that black people should be free in America. Freedom and blackness were incompatible in America: free blacks were to be banished.

For many years Jefferson’s real views concerning the future of blacks in America were hidden by soothing obfuscation best exemplified by the relevant inscription in the Jefferson Memorial. People were told that Thomas Jefferson was against slavery, and his words to that effect were quoted frequently. But people were *not* told that for Jefferson, black people had no future in America at all *except as slaves*. Once they ceased to be slaves, they were to be sent packing. Nor would other nonwhites be welcome (the American Indian excepted, whom Jefferson was at pains to “whiten”). Jefferson’s bright vision of the future of America was a monoracial one: whites only.

It follows that there can be no room for a cult of Thomas Jefferson in the civil religion of an effectively multiracial America—that is, an America in which nonwhite Americans have a significant and increasing say. Once the facts are known, Jefferson is of necessity abhorrent to people who would not be in America at all if he could have had his way.

Those people don’t need Jefferson. But they do need the Declaration. The words “all men are created equal” are an important part of their American title deeds. Racists hold that blacks are genetically *inferior*—that is, that they were *not* created equal. Against that doctrine it is important to be able to invoke the most sacred of American documents.

In these circumstances, in which the Declaration is needed and Jefferson is not, I would expect to see a change in the perceived relation between Jefferson and the Declaration. There is an element of exaggeration in the present official perception of that relation, and that exaggeration will come under attack in the increasingly multiracial climate of the coming century.

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The crucial question is, Was Thomas Jefferson the author of the Declaration of Independence?

Many Americans will answer that question with an indignant "Of course he was!" Yet there is really no "of course" about it. The Declaration was certainly not the unaided work of Thomas Jefferson. The document did not spring fully formed from his head, like Athena from the forehead of Zeus. The work of preparing the Declaration—to justify the independence that the Second Continental Congress had actually proclaimed two days before—was entrusted by Congress not to Jefferson alone but to a committee that included John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, figures of no less status in the America of 1776. Adams and Franklin would probably have had considerable input into discussions preceding the actual drafting of the document. Jefferson's draft was reviewed and corrected by the committee prior to being laid before the Congress, whose consensus it was designed to reflect. And the Congress made further changes in the draft. Carl Lotus Becker writes in *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas*,

Congress discussed his draft for three successive days. What uncomplimentary remarks the members may have made is not known; but it is known that in the end certain paragraphs were greatly changed and others omitted altogether. These "deprecations"—so he speaks of them—Jefferson did not enjoy; but we may easily console ourselves for his discomfiture since it moved the humane Franklin to tell him a story. Writing in 1818, Jefferson says: "I was sitting by Dr. Franklin, who perceived that I was not insensible to these mutilations. I have made it a rule, said he, whenever in my power, to avoid becoming the draughtsman of papers to be reviewed by a public body."

Franklin's story follows, and though it is amusing, it is not relevant here. What is relevant is the word "draughtsman," and it is evident that it was in that role, and not the more exalted role of "author," that Jefferson's colleagues envisaged him, in relation to the collective elaboration of the Declaration of Independence.

In ACROV as it evolves under the conditions of the coming century, the Declaration will increasingly be seen as a collective document. The Founding Fathers will have declined in importance in comparison with the sacred documents, but their *collective* authority will still be found to be vastly more acceptable than the idea of the personal authorship of Thomas Jefferson.

With the Declaration increasingly perceived as a collective document, Jefferson may increasingly be cast in the prosaic and subordinate role of draftsman. Jefferson's demotion from the sacred status of author of the Declaration of Independence would effectively put an end to the official cult of Jefferson within the American civil religion. Jefferson should be out of ACROV, I would guess, before the middle of the coming century.

Jefferson should be out of ACROV. But he is likely to be at the center of an alternative, and powerful, version of American civil religion.

It is safe to predict that the liberal-Jeffersonian tradition will become extinct fairly early in the coming century. The huge contradiction within that tradition with regard to race renders it unfit to survive in a multiracial society. But the inevitable rejection of Jefferson by liberals in a multiracial America will draw increasingly favorable attention to Jefferson on the far right. The very reasons for which liberals will have to reject him will compel the far right to adopt him. Or rather *re-adopt* him, for he was a hero to southern white supremacists.

Doctrinally, Jefferson is a patron saint far more suitable to white supremacists than to modern American liberals. The themes of states' rights and no free blacks in America fit the positions of the far-right militia movement like a glove. Tom Watson's old title *The Jeffersonian* could well be revived in the next century, and with the same racist content.

Rhetorically and emotionally also, the mystical Jefferson—the Jefferson of the tree of liberty and of the French Revolution—meets the needs of the modern far right. Jefferson's liberty, a powerfully emotive concept, unanalyzed and without intellectual content, is the kind of liberty the militias love: Burke's "wild gas" of liberty.

The Jefferson who admired Shays's rebels and hoped they would find imitators in later generations, and who inspired the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, is providing those who now resist the federal government with clear warrant for their cause, and for the use of armed force should the incursions of the federal government make that necessary.

Finally, the Jefferson who made a cult of the French Revolution provides aid and comfort not just to the far right in government but to the most ferocious militant extremists. In the paroxysms of his enthusiasm for the French Revolution, in January of 1793, Jefferson laid down the principle that there are (virtually) no limits to the slaughter that may legitimately be perpetrated in the name of liberty—so that anyone in modern America who is planning any act of mass destruction may invoke the sanction of "the author of the Declaration of Independence," provided only that the act is deemed to be perpetrated in the holy cause of liberty.

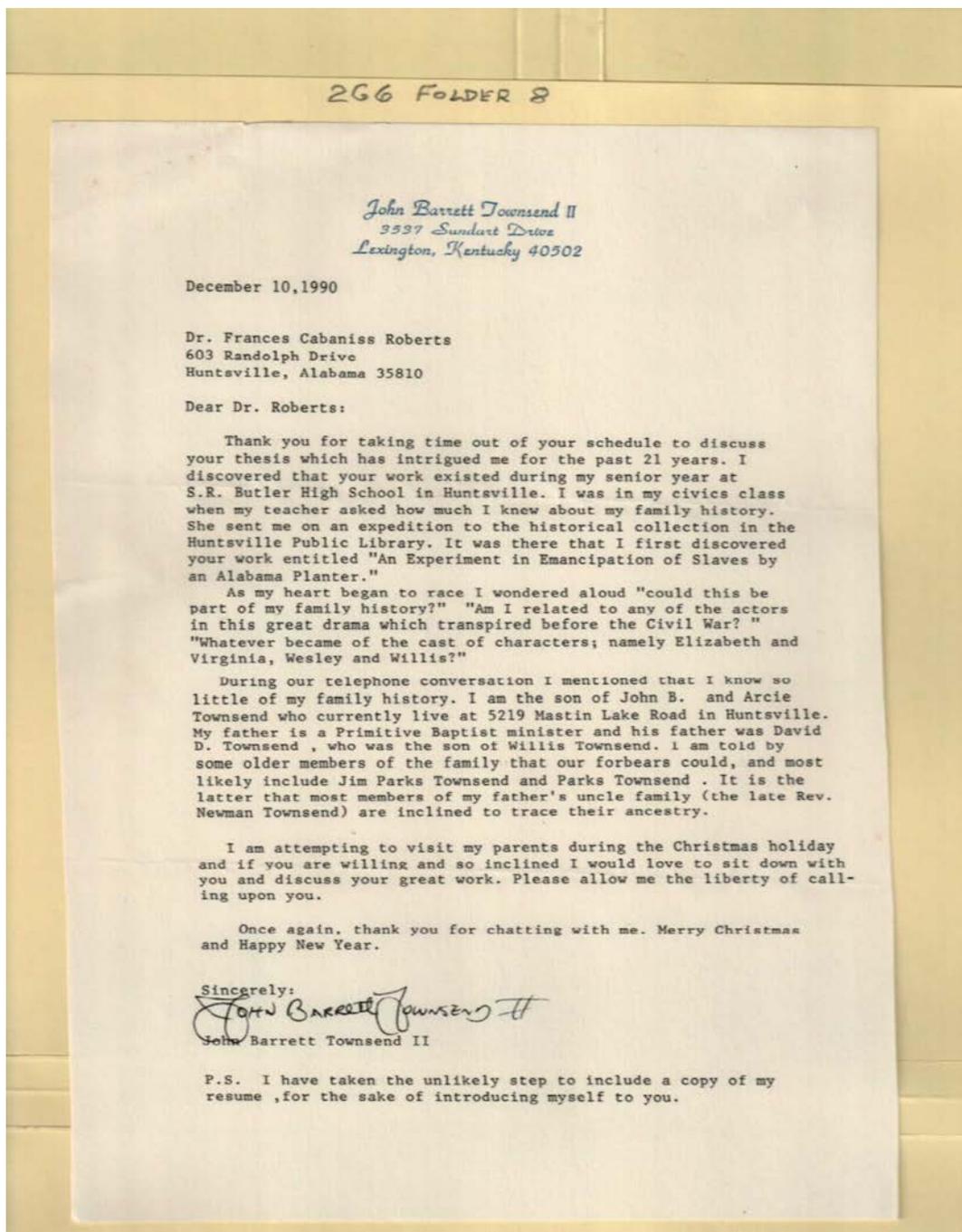
For these and other reasons I believe that at some time in the coming century the cult of Jefferson may, as it were, split off from its present home in ACROV and find a new home on the wilder shores of American freedom.

I believe that the orthodox multiracial version of the American civil religion must eventually prevail—at whatever cost—against the neo-Jeffersonian racist schism. That the orthodox version should prevail is vital not only for America but also for the future of nonracial democracy, and of Enlightenment values generally, in those parts of the world where these are now dominant or where people are struggling to bring them into effective being. ☉

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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John Barrett Townsend II
2327 Sundart Drive
Lexington, Kentucky 40502

December 10, 1990

Dr. Frances Cabaniss Roberts
603 Randolph Drive
Huntsville, Alabama 35810

Dear Dr. Roberts:

Thank you for taking time out of your schedule to discuss your thesis which has intrigued me for the past 21 years. I discovered that your work existed during my senior year at S.R. Butler High School in Huntsville. I was in my civics class when my teacher asked how much I knew about my family history. She sent me on an expedition to the historical collection in the Huntsville Public Library. It was there that I first discovered your work entitled "An Experiment in Emancipation of Slaves by an Alabama Planter."

As my heart began to race I wondered aloud "could this be part of my family history?" "Am I related to any of the actors in this great drama which transpired before the Civil War?" "Whatever became of the cast of characters; namely Elizabeth and Virginia, Wesley and Willis?"

During our telephone conversation I mentioned that I know so little of my family history. I am the son of John B. and Arcie Townsend who currently live at 5219 Mastin Lake Road in Huntsville. My father is a Primitive Baptist minister and his father was David D. Townsend, who was the son of Willis Townsend. I am told by some older members of the family that our forbears could, and most likely include Jim Parks Townsend and Parks Townsend. It is the latter that most members of my father's uncle family (the late Rev. Newman Townsend) are inclined to trace their ancestry.

I am attempting to visit my parents during the Christmas holiday and if you are willing and so inclined I would love to sit down with you and discuss your great work. Please allow me the liberty of calling upon you.

Once again, thank you for chatting with me. Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Sincerely:

John Barrett Townsend II
John Barrett Townsend II

P.S. I have taken the unlikely step to include a copy of my resume, for the sake of introducing myself to you.

Names:

Roberts, Frances
Cabaniss, Dr.
Townsend, Arcie
Townsend, David D.
Townsend, Elizabeth

Townsend, Jim Parks
Townsend, John B.,
Rev.
Townsend, John
Barrett, II

Townsend, Newman,
Rev.
Townsend, Parks
Townsend, Virginia
Townsend, Wesley

Townsend, Willie
Townsend, Willis

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Lexington, KY

Types:

correspondence

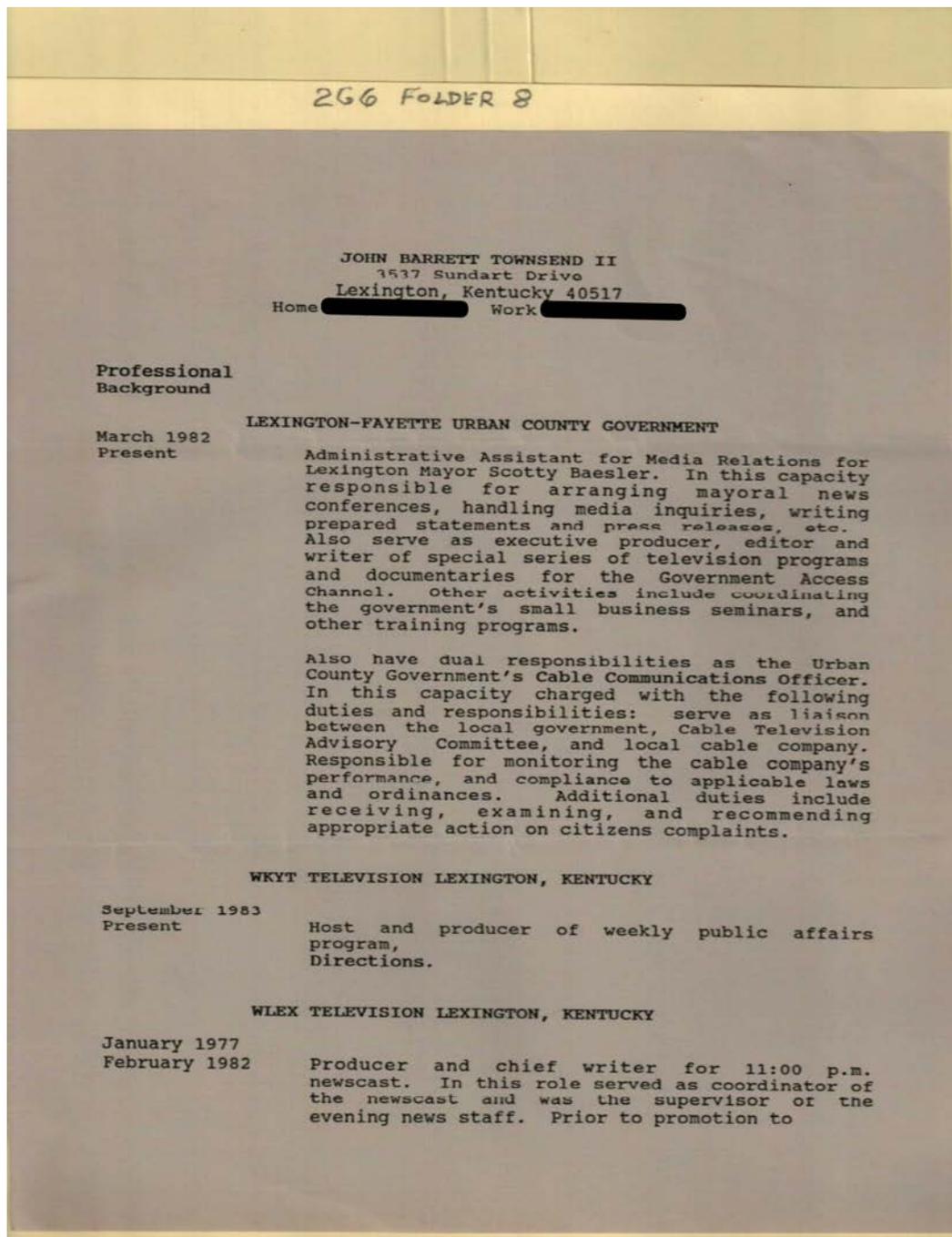
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Names:

Townsend, John
Barrett, II

Places:

Lexington, KY

Types:

resume

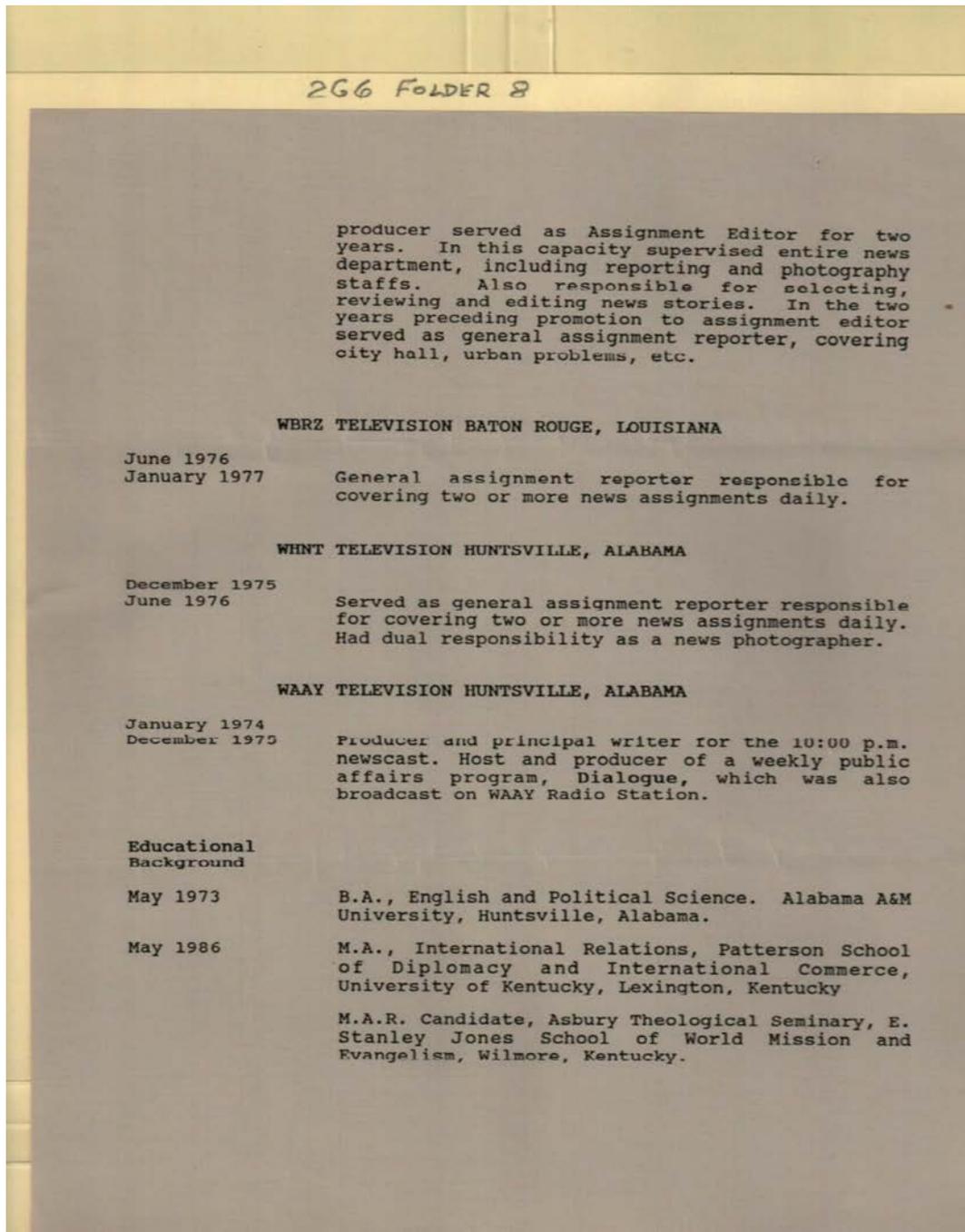
Dates:

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Names:

Townsend, John
Barrett, II

Places:

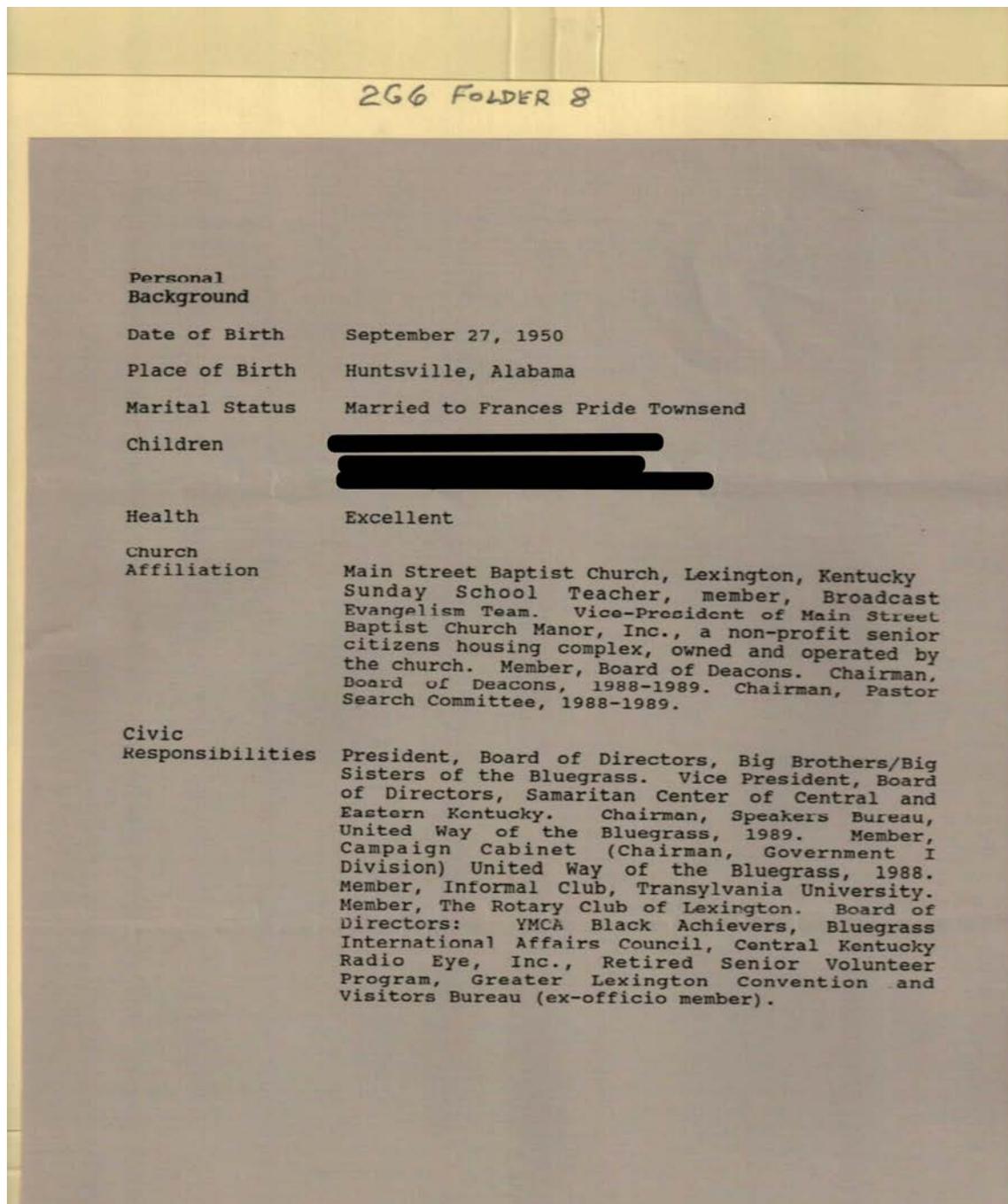
Lexington, KY

Types:

resume

Dates:

Dec 10, 1990



Names:

Townsend, Frances
Pride

Townsend, John
Barrett, II

Places:

Lexington, KY

Types:

resume

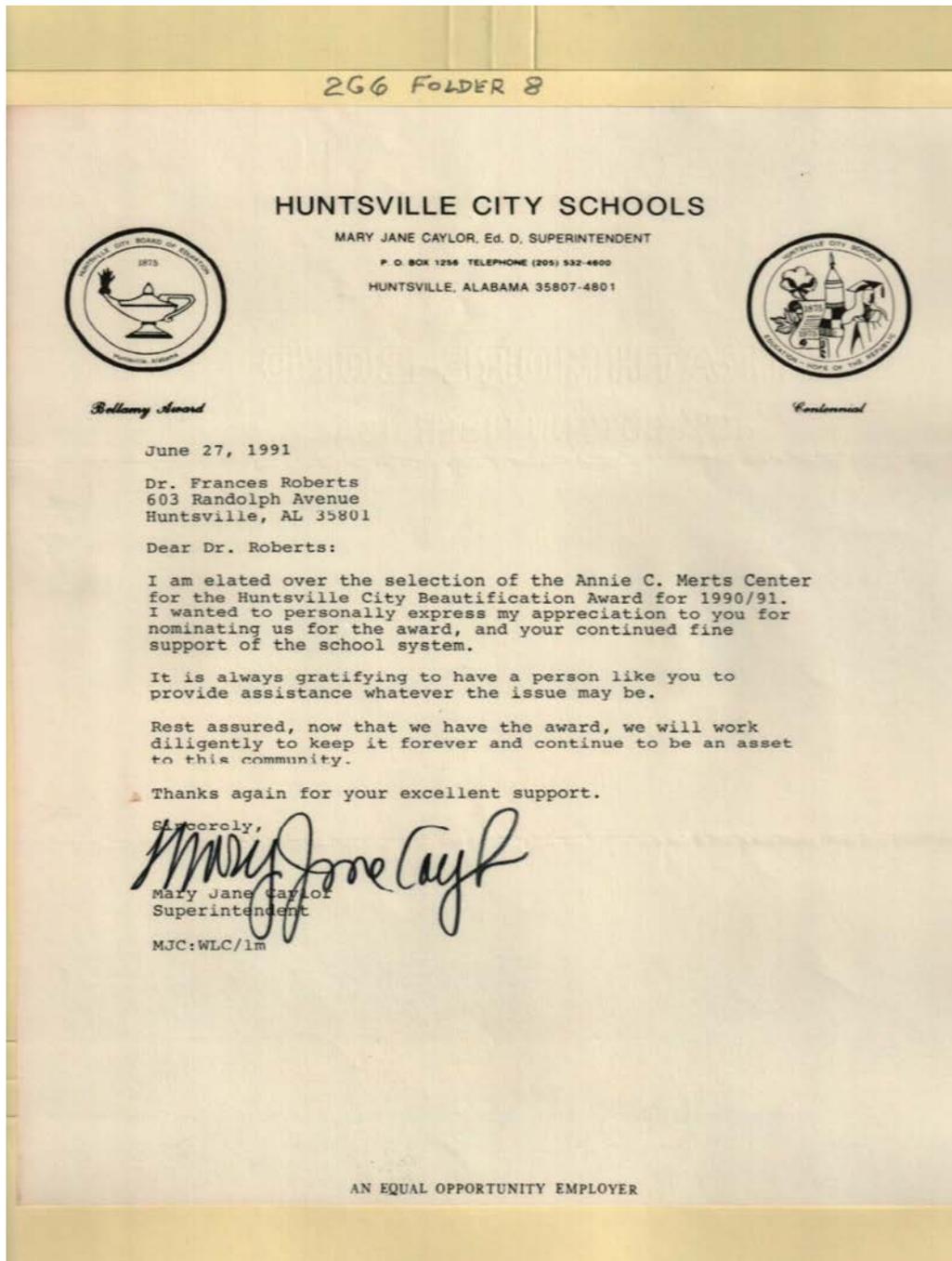
Dates:

Dec 10, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 97 r02g06-08-000-0097 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Annie C. Merts
Center

Caylor, Mary Jane
Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

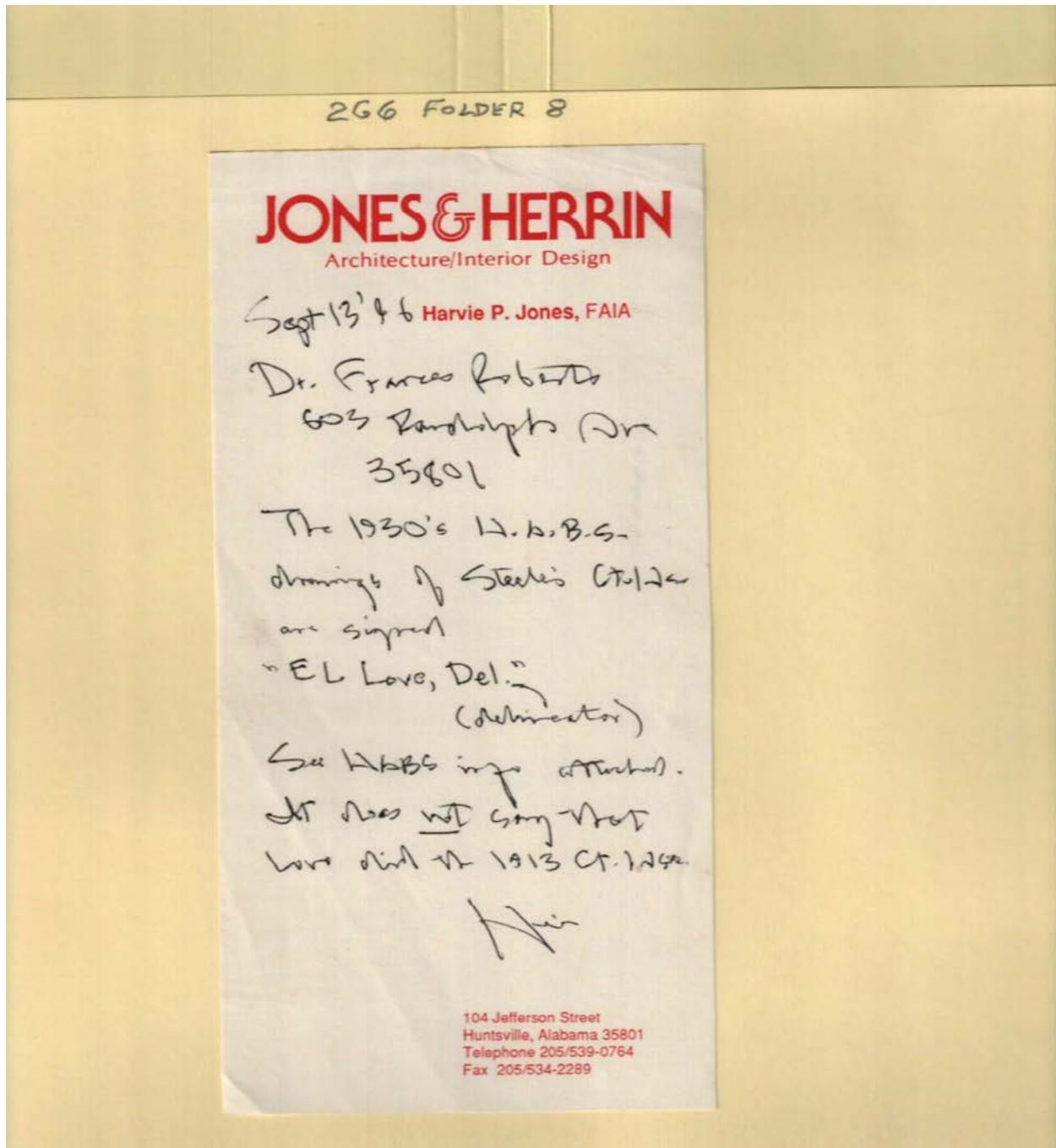
Dates:

June 27, 1991

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 98 r02g06-08-000-0098 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Jones, Harvie

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

memo

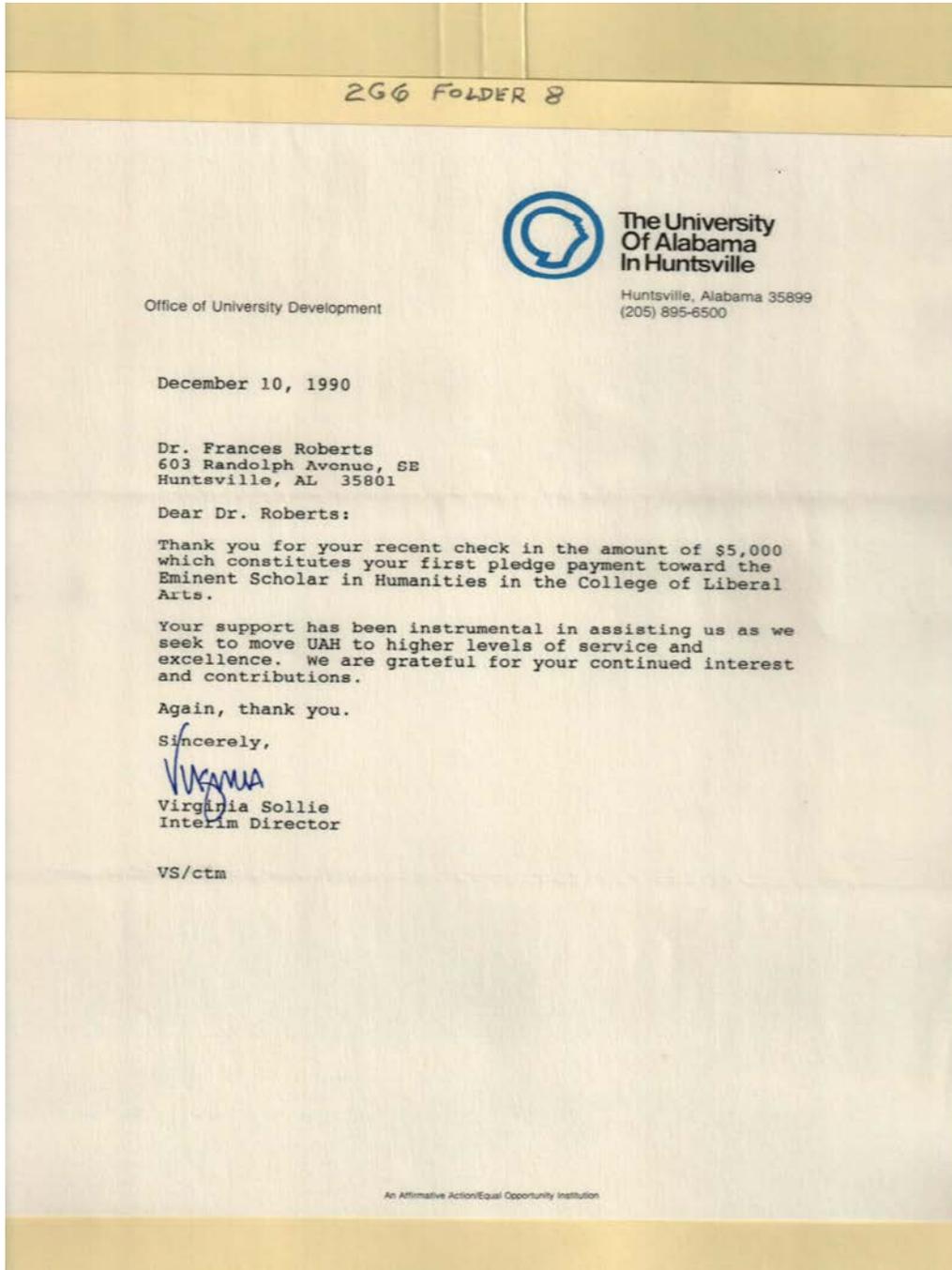
Dates:

Sept 13, 1996

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 99 r02g06-08-000-0099 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



UAH donation

Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Sollie, Virginia

Places:

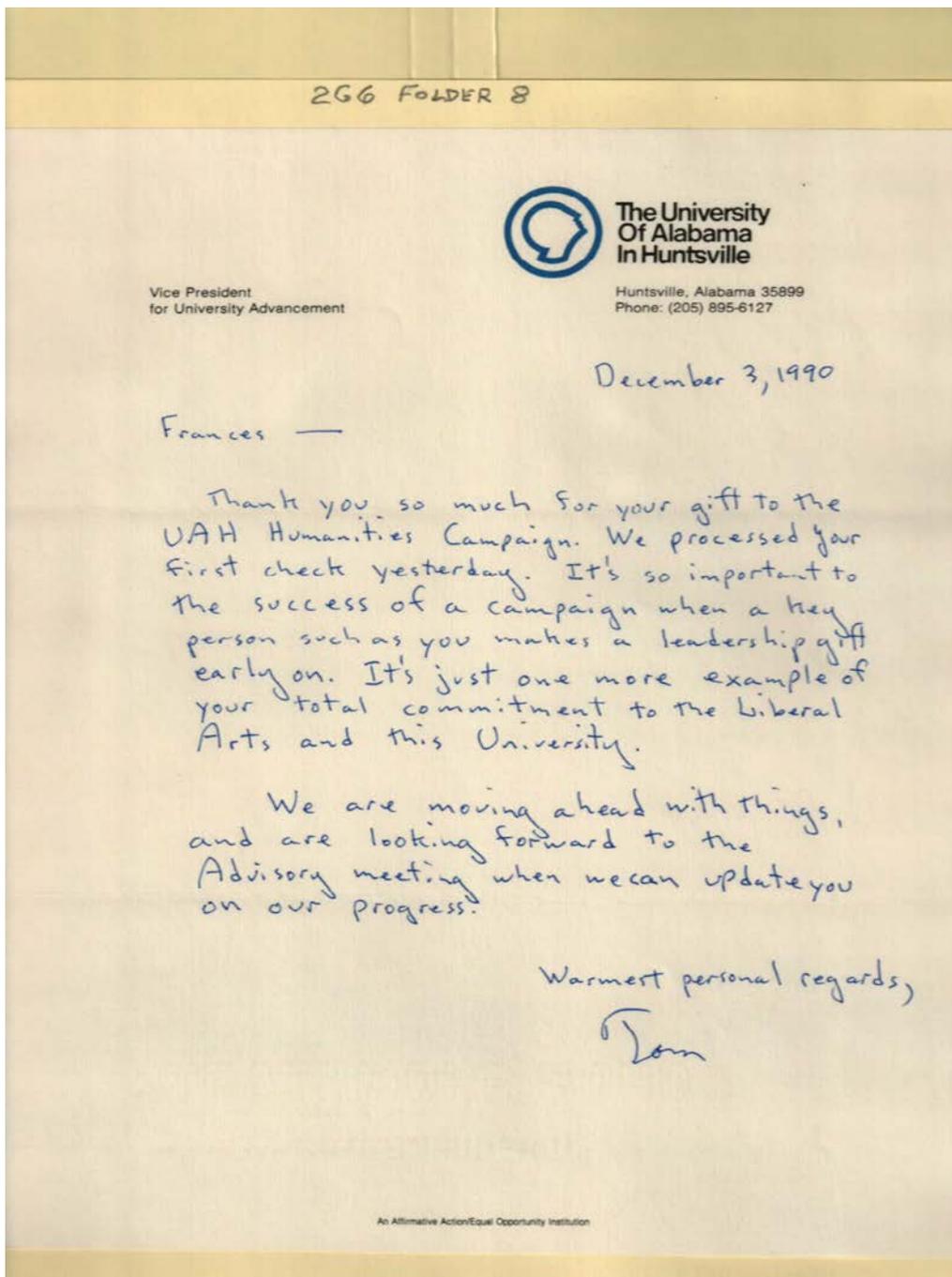
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Dec 10, 1990



Tom

Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

UAH Vice President

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

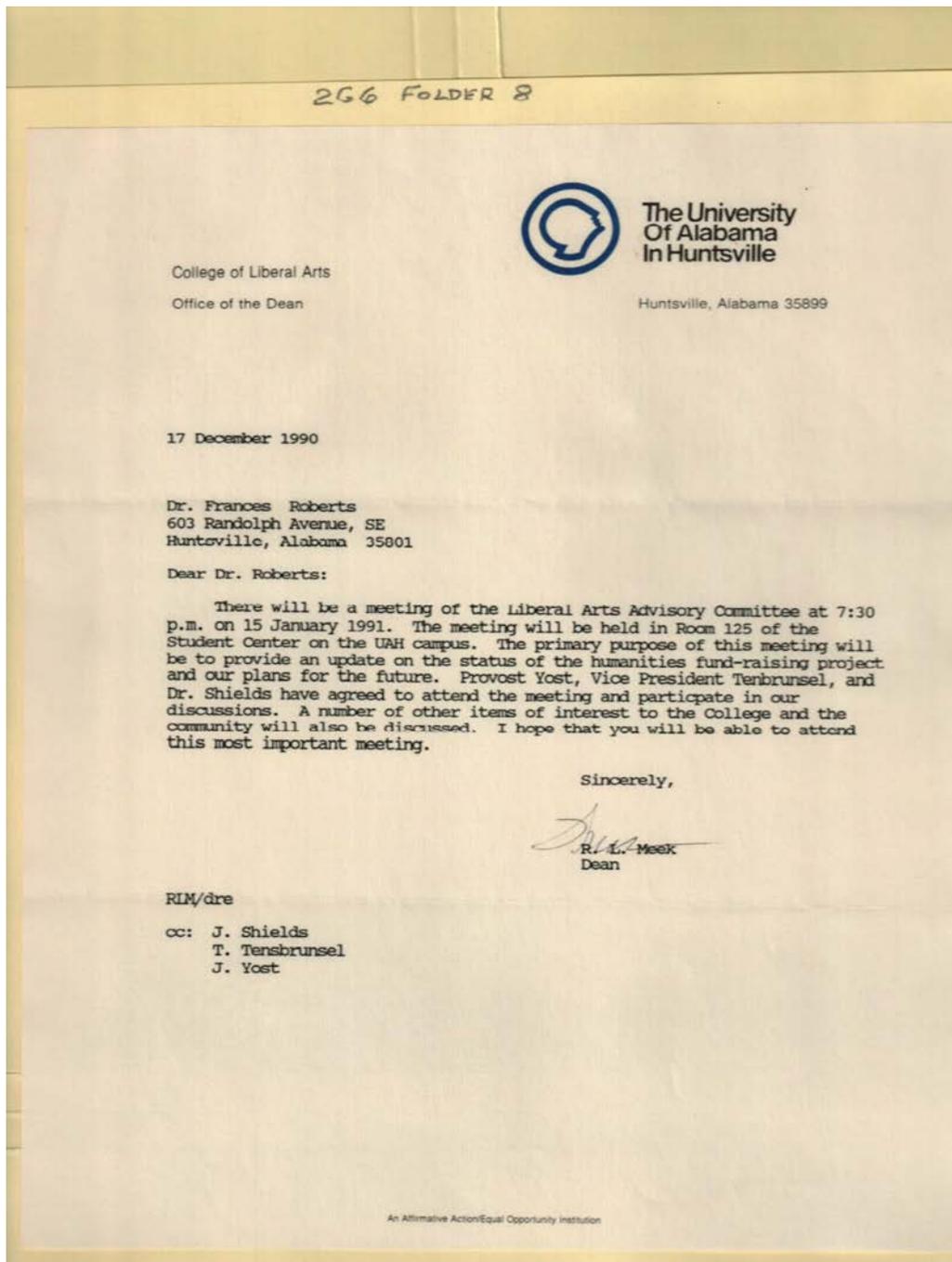
Dates:

Dec 3, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 101 r02g06-08-000-0101 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Meek, R. L., Dean
Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Shields, Johanna, Dr.
Tensbrunsel, T.

Yost, J.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

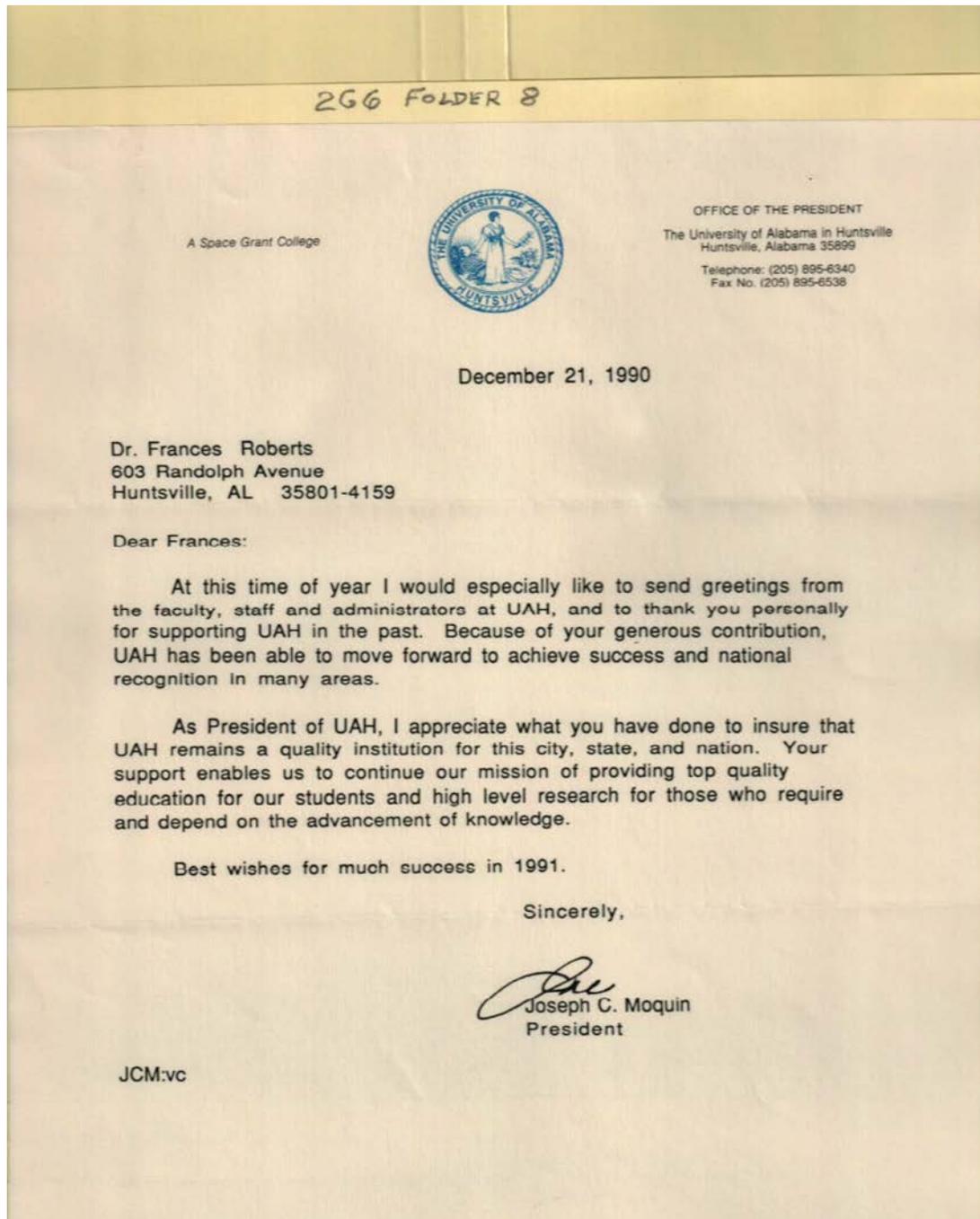
Dates:

Dec 17, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 102 r02g06-08-000-0102 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Moquin, Joseph C.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

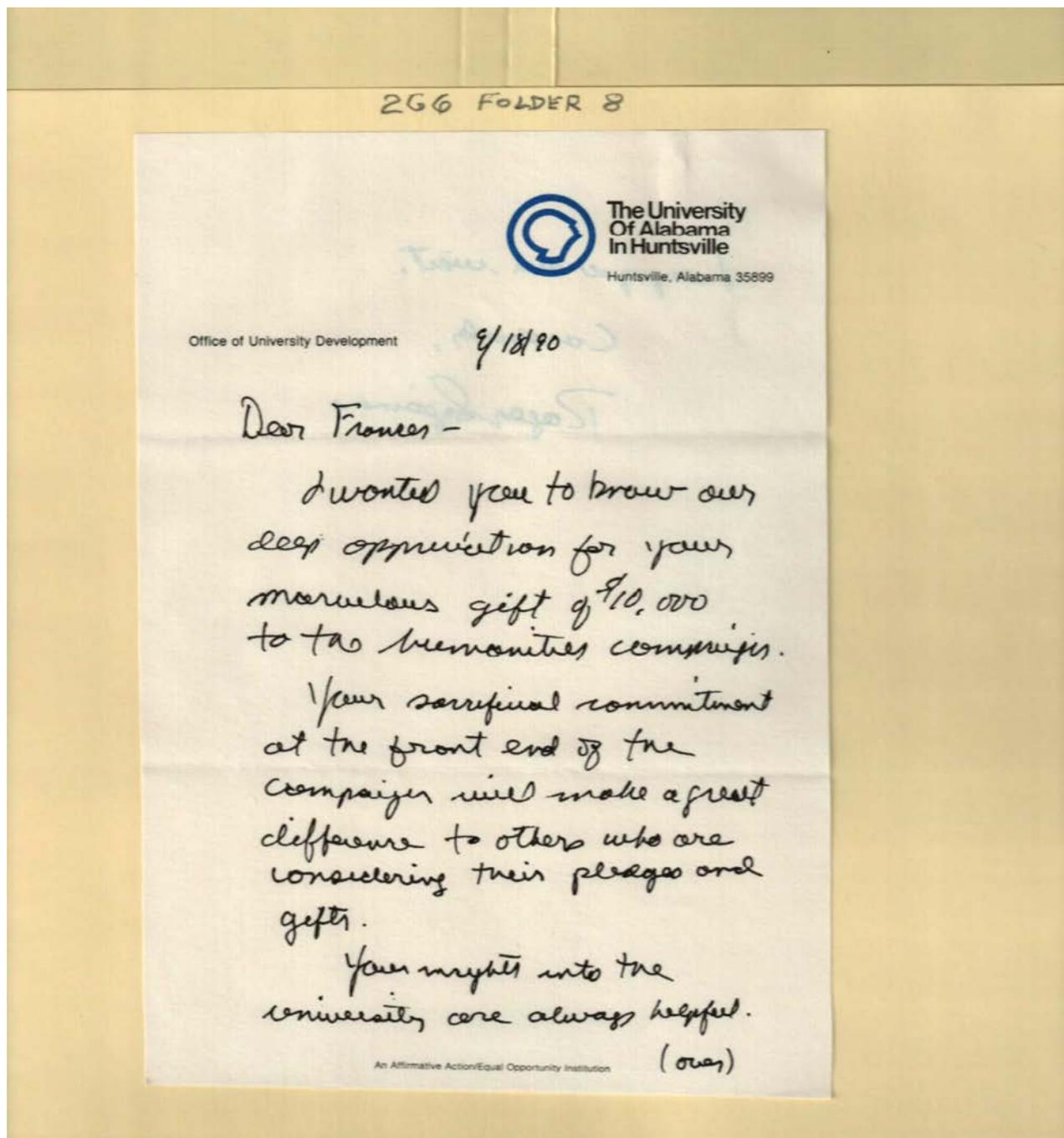
Dates:

Dec 21, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 103 r02g06-08-000-0103 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Roberts, Frances

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

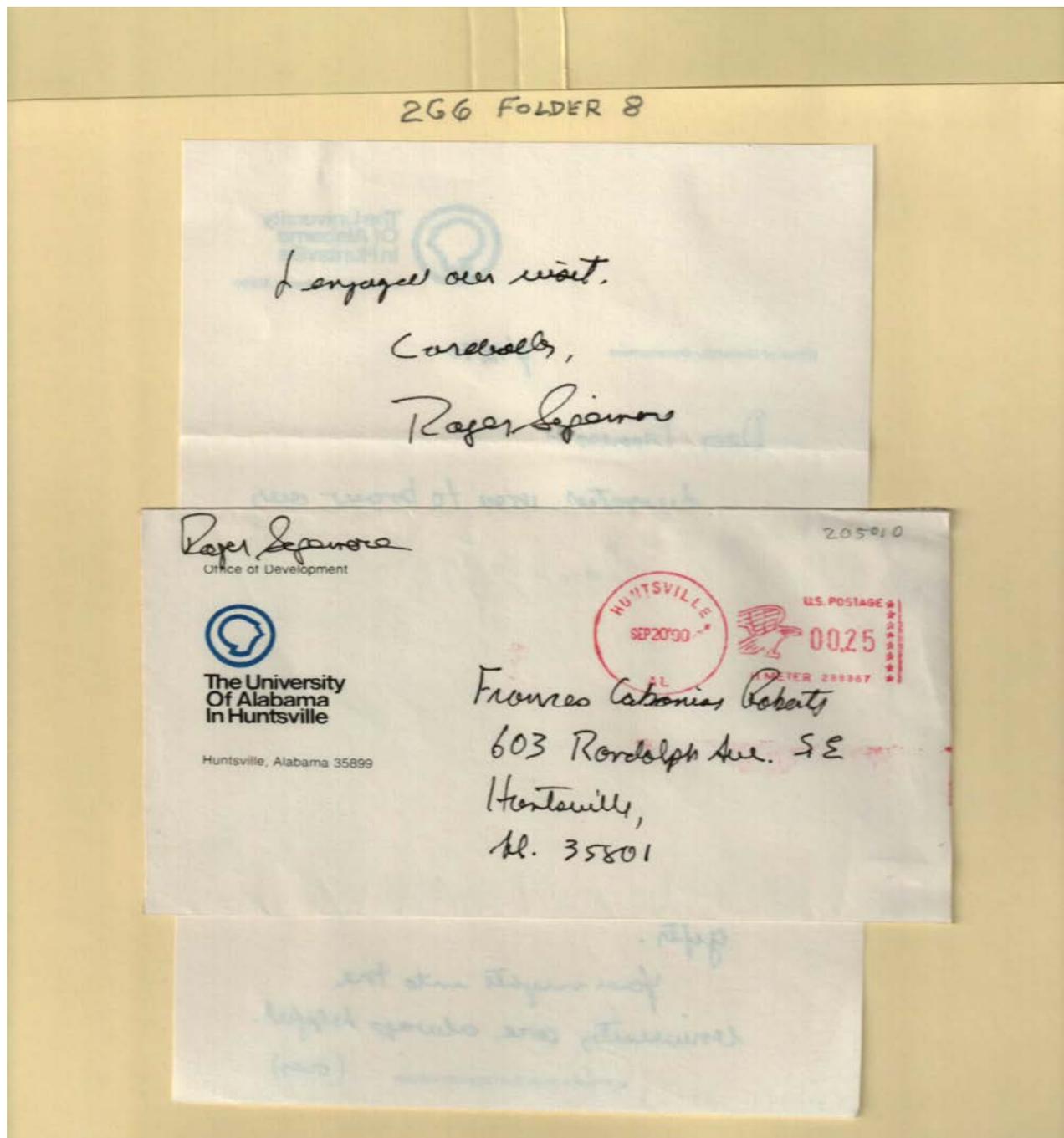
Dates:

Sept 18, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 104 r02g06-08-000-0104 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



UAH Office of Development

Names:

Sepinore, Roger

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

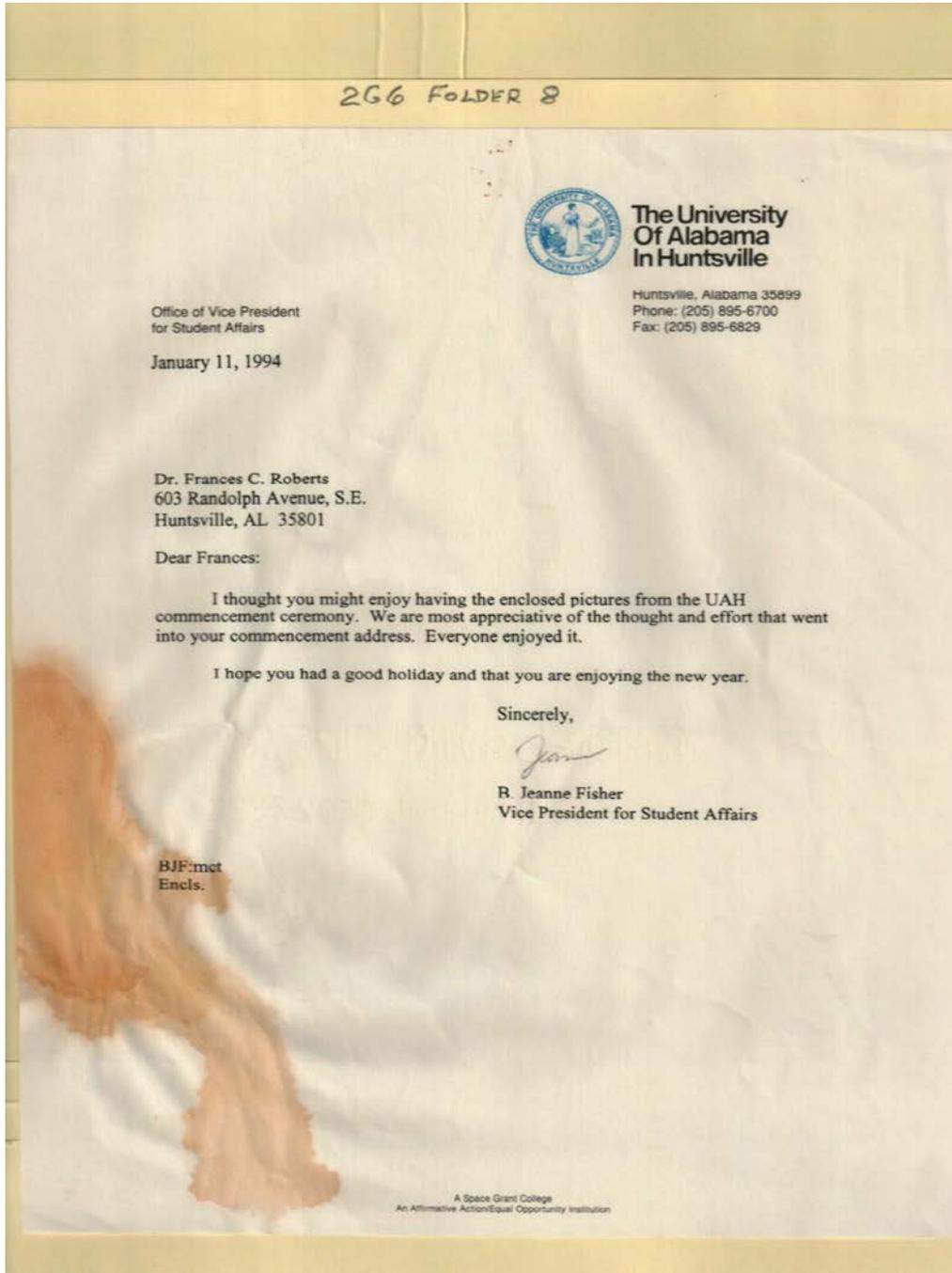
Dates:

Sept 18, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 105 r02g06-08-000-0105 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Fisher, B. Jeanne

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

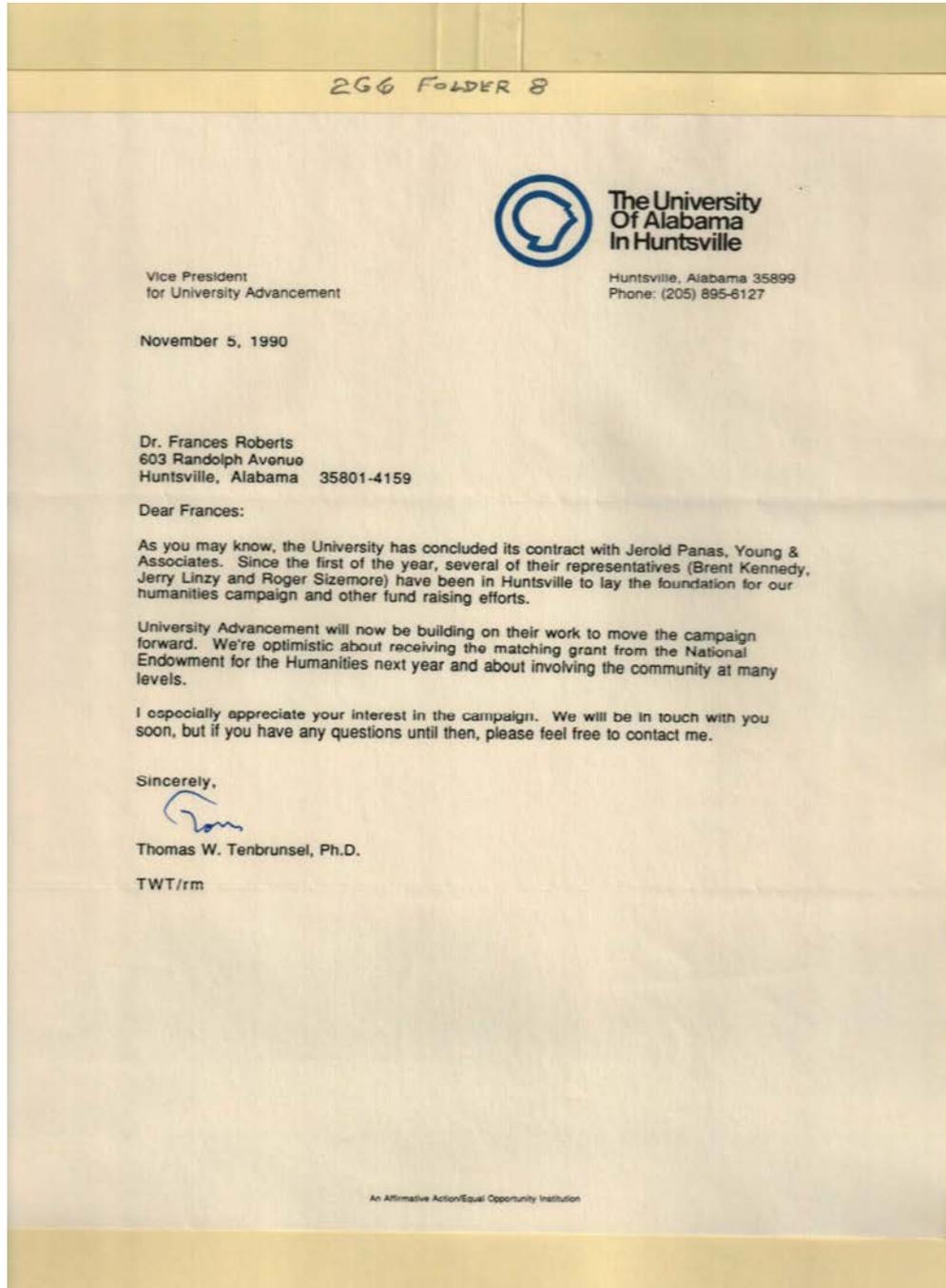
Dates:

Jan 11, 1994

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 106 r02g06-08-000-0106 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Kennedy, Brent
Linzy, Jerry

Panas, Jerold
Roberts, Frances

Sizemore, Roger

Tenbrunsel, Thomas
W.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

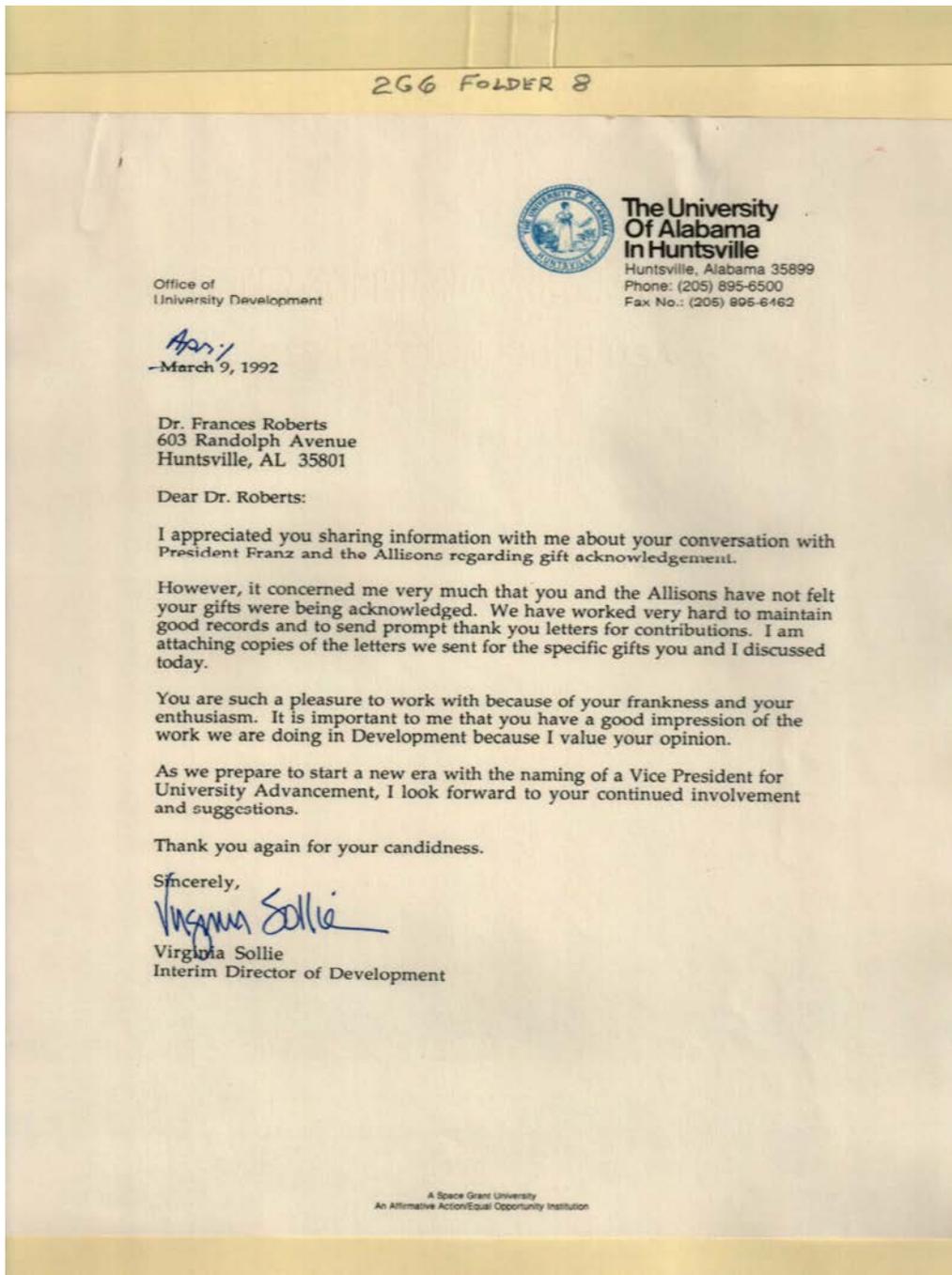
Dates:

Nov 5, 1990

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 107 r02g06-08-000-0107 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Franz, Frank A.,
President

Roberts, Frances, Dr.
Sollie, Virginia

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

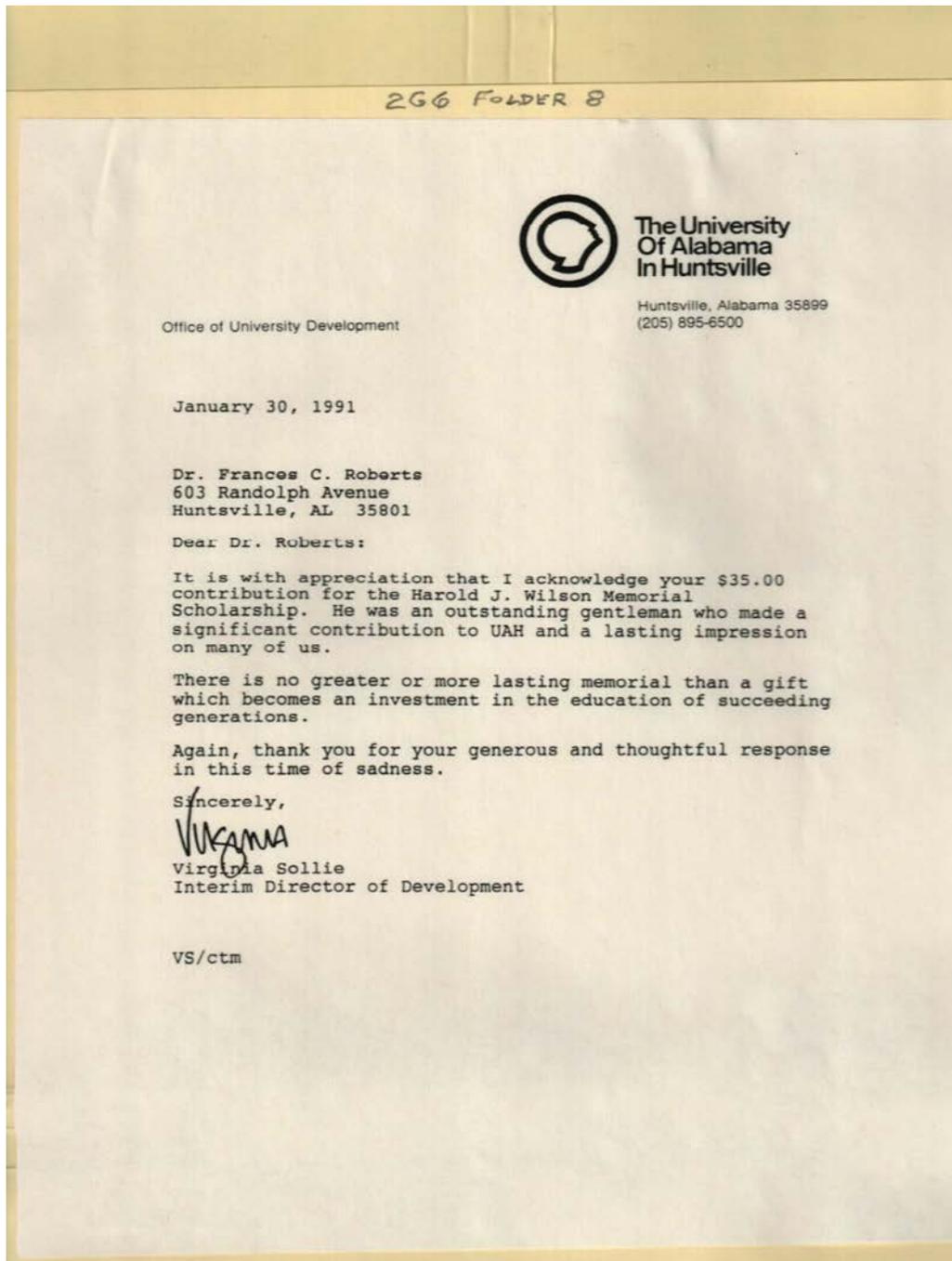
Dates:

May 9, 1992

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 108 r02g06-08-000-0108 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Sollie, Virginia

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

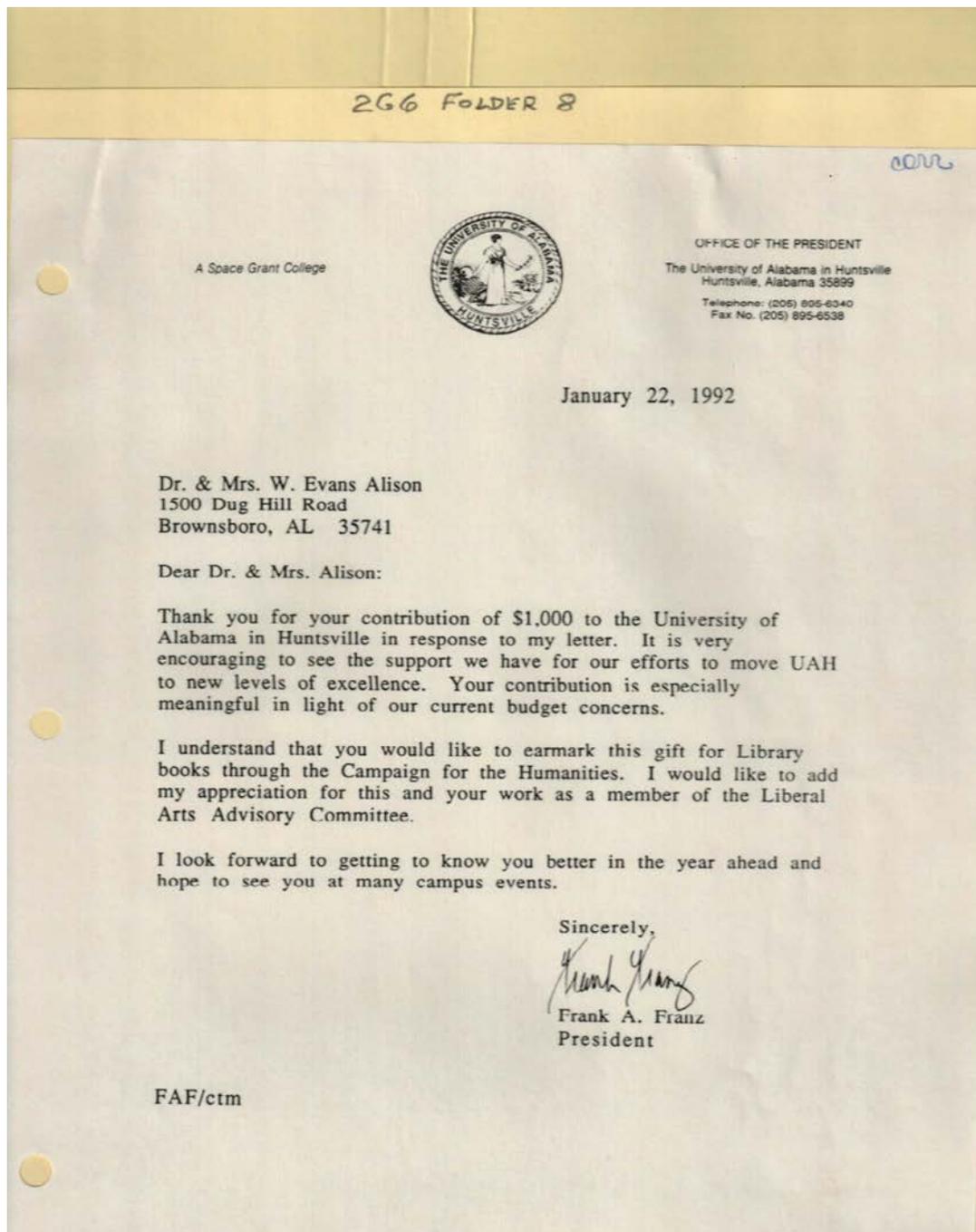
Dates:

Jan 30, 1991

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 109 r02g06-08-000-0109 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Alison, W. Evans, Dr.
& Mrs.

Franz, Frank A.,
President

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

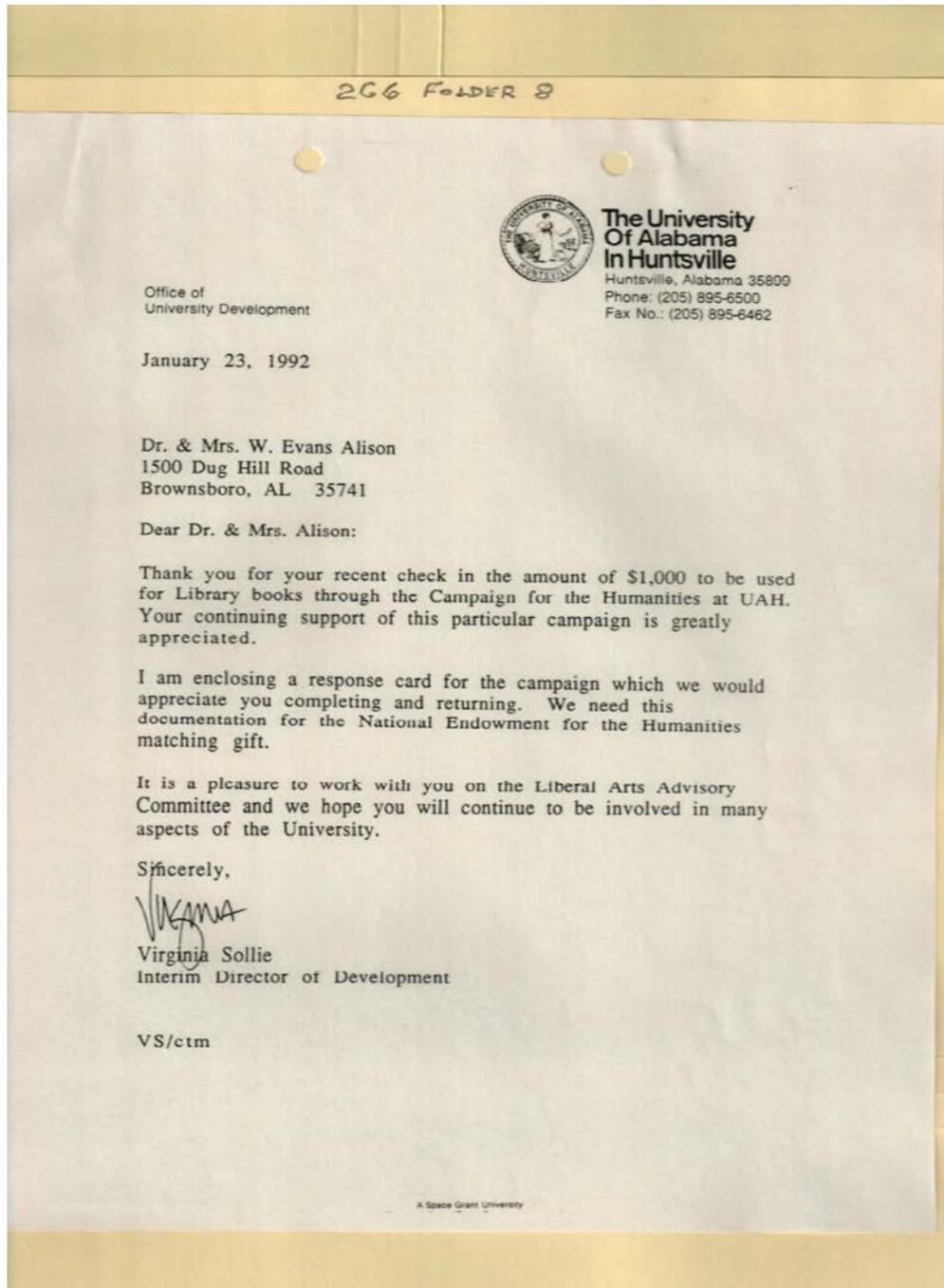
Dates:

Jan 22, 1992

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 110 r02g06-08-000-0110 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Alison, W. Evans, Dr.
& Mrs.

Sollie, Virginia

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

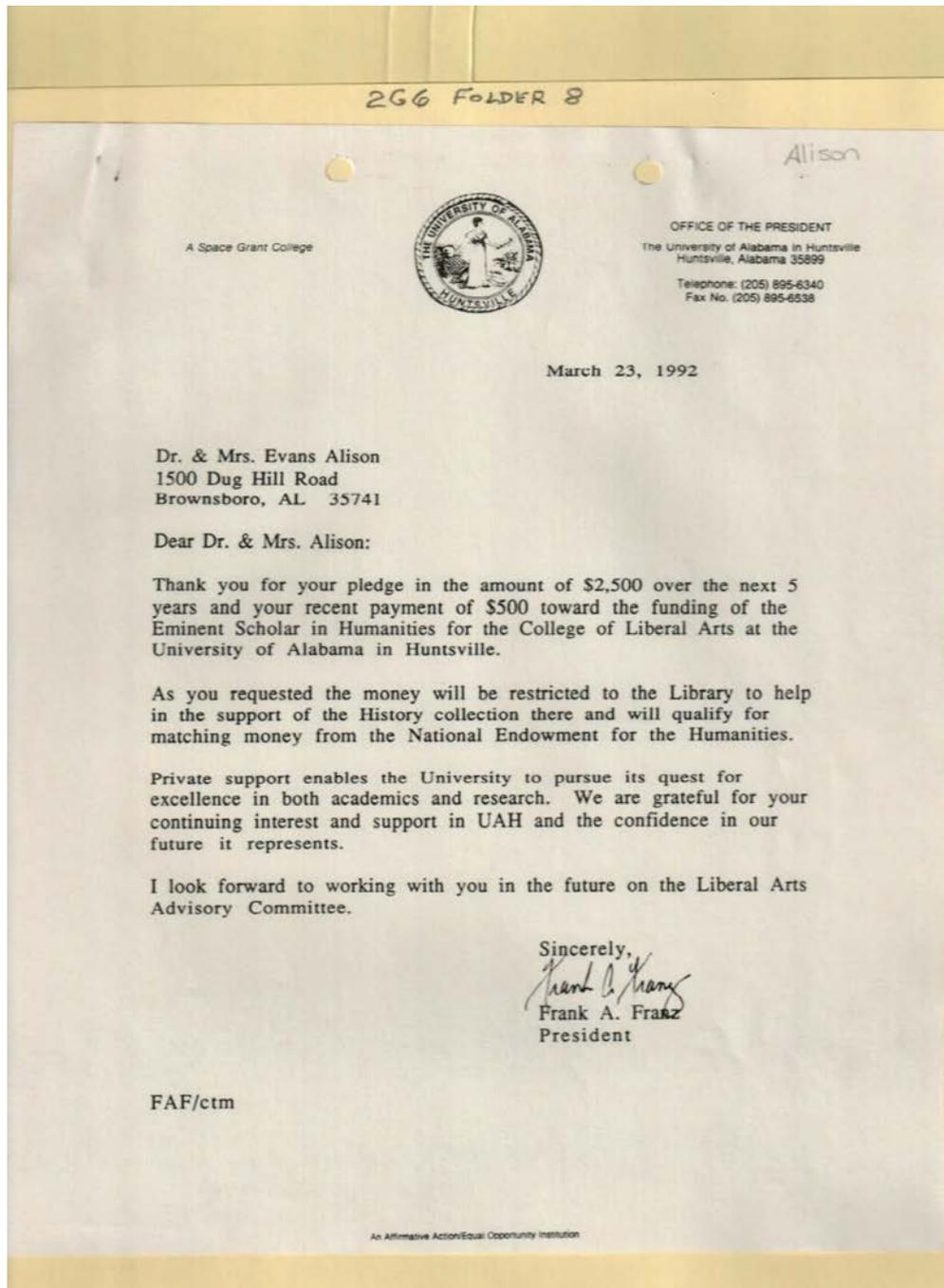
Dates:

Jan 23, 1992

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 111 r02g06-08-000-0111 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Alison, W. Evans, Dr.
& Mrs.

Franz, Frank A.,
President

Places:

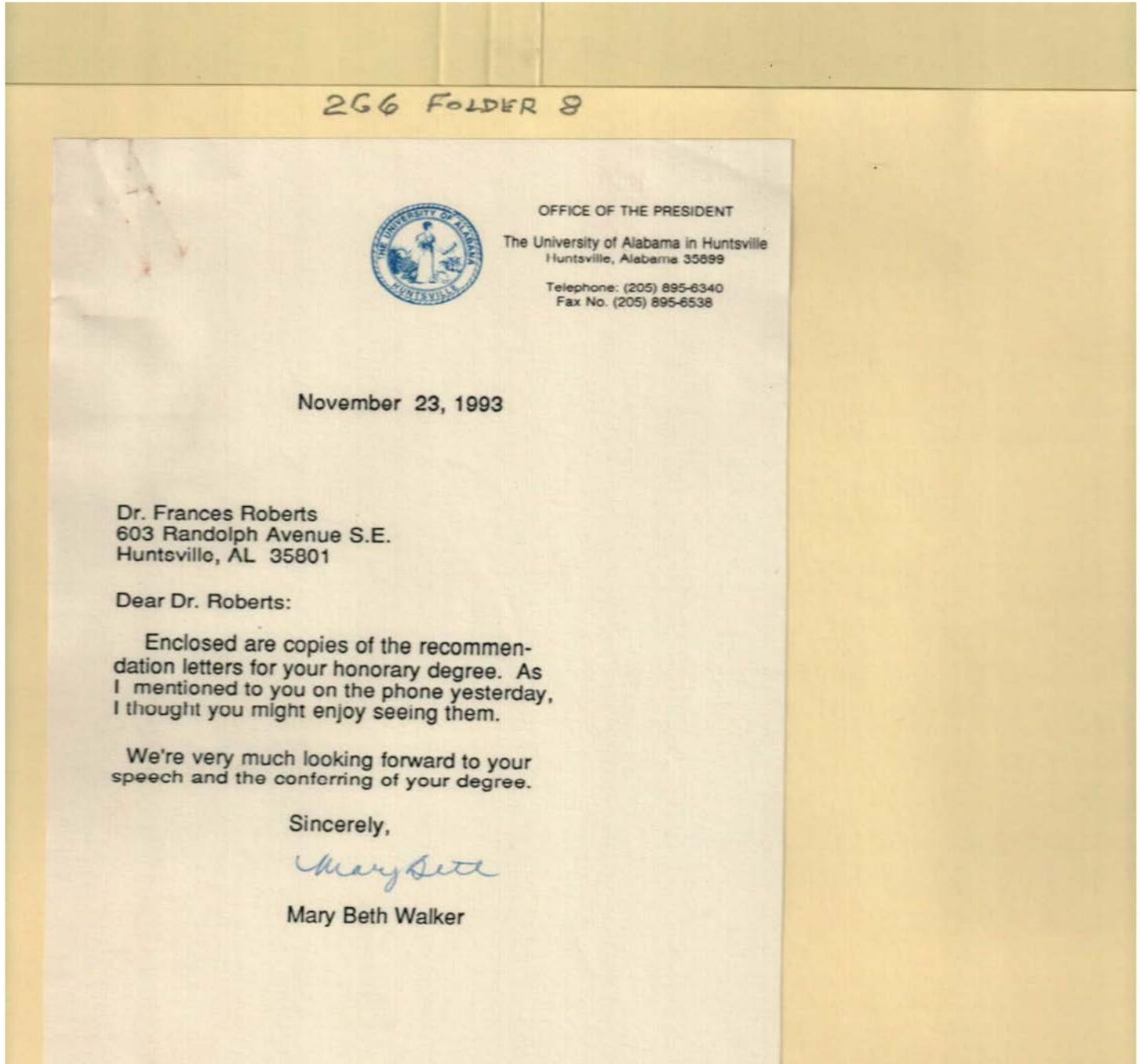
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Mar 23, 1992



Honorary degree letter

Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Walker, Mary Beth

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

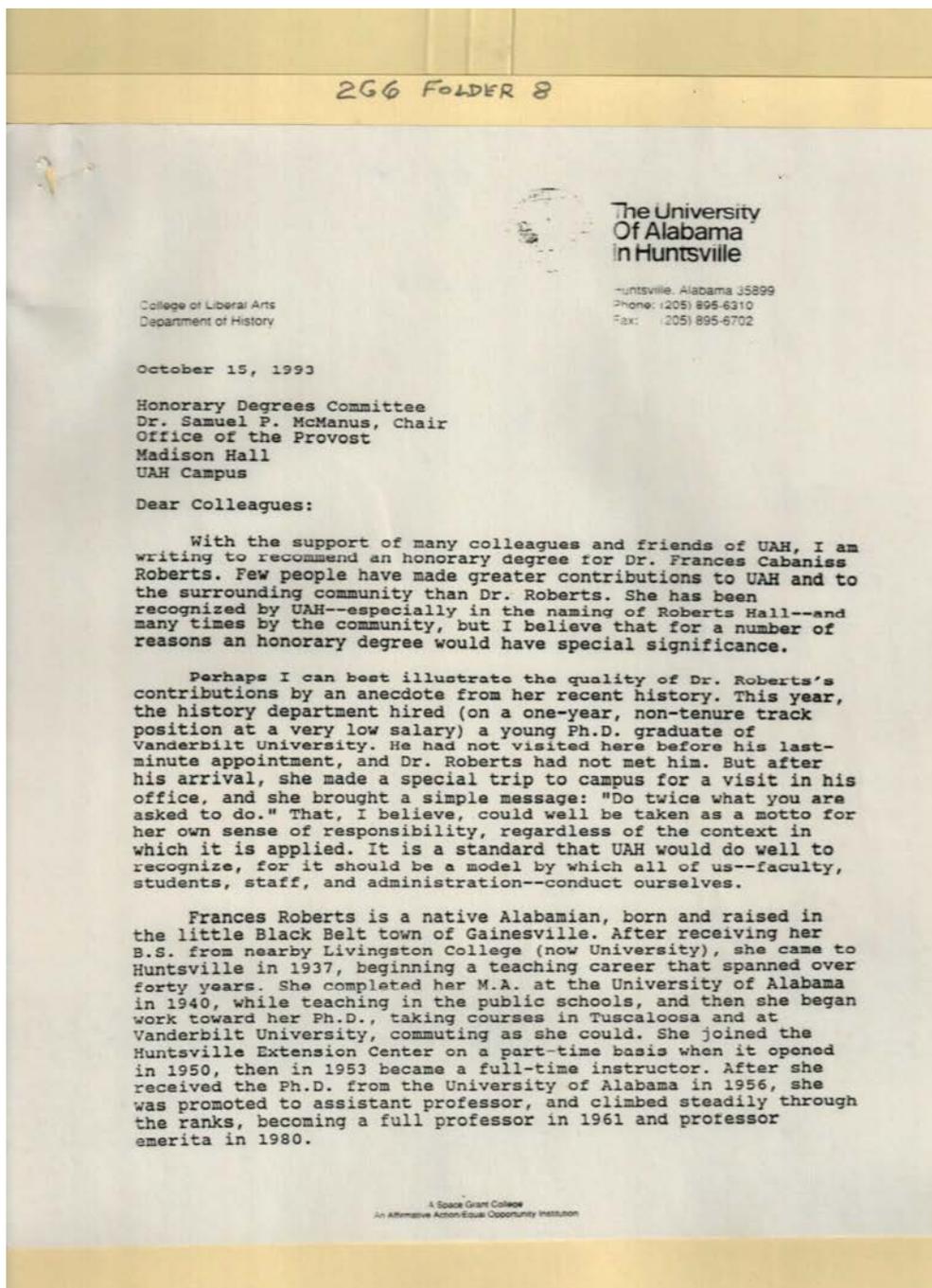
Dates:

Nov 23, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 113 r02g06-08-000-0113 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances
Cabaniss, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Oct 15, 1993

266 FOLDER 8

Dr. Roberts's earliest contributions to UAH were made before most people now associated with the institution were in Huntsville, in fact, before many had graduated from high school. While we were still a Center, she worked on committees to raise money for buildings and build the nucleus of the present campus and to create the undergraduate curriculum; she edited the Faculty Handbook; and long before there was an interstate highway she regularly travelled to Tuscaloosa to coordinate the administration of the Center with the "main campus." These contributions were made as "service," for not until 1964 did she hold an administrative position as Chair of the Department of History (Acting Chair from 1964-66; Chair from 1966-70).

As her vita indicates, throughout her career at UAH, Dr. Roberts was involved in matters of general university interest. She brought the perspective of a historian to her everything she did because she deeply believes in the value of understanding history, but her concerns were for the overall development of the institution and its students. Indeed, she learned from history the importance of education in a state that had neglected it; she worked from the beginning to see a balanced university develop in this region, and she knew it could help the entire state. During the first two decades of her career, the organizational structure of the institution changed rapidly--from Center to dependent branch to full university--and new programs were established, groupings of programs became departments, and groupings of departments became divisions, then schools, and finally colleges. The continuity Dr. Roberts brought to the developing institution was a key ingredient in our ability to maintain the integrity of academic programs and the quality of the education we offered students. Among other accomplishments, her efforts resulted in the establishment of the Academic Advisement Center, which directed the entire university's basic student counselling until other units had developed complementary offices. She served as Director of the Center from 1972 to 1980, when she retired from the University.

Throughout her career at UAH, Dr. Roberts has strengthened relationships between the institution and the community. Many of her efforts have involved taking her professional knowledge into the community. She has served on boards of many local organizations that promote interest in history (and tourism as well), and she has provided leadership for most of them as an officer. Similarly, she has always spoken before civic groups with an astounding frequency; today, at seventy-six, she continues this pattern, speaking for over a half-dozen groups in any typical year. On top of that, she has always "taught" for such people as citizen-candidates, senior citizens, and community interest groups like the supporters of the Huntsville Depot. She has rarely been paid for her work. Her most recent community service was co-chairing (with Jack Lee) the Mayor's Education 2000 committee, a substantial commitment of time and energy that assessed the status of education and created priorities for the

Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

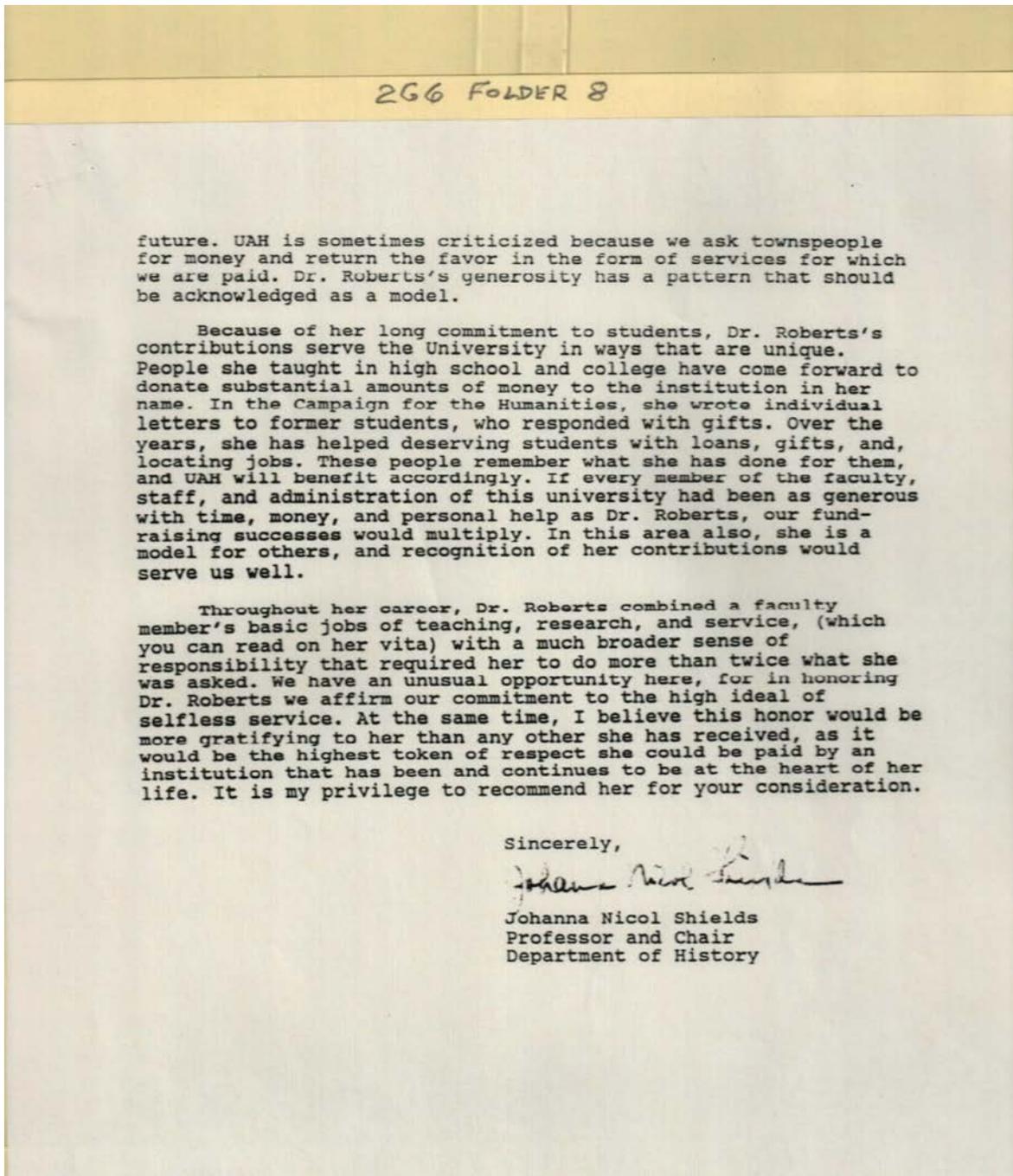
Dates:

Oct 15, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 115 r02g06-08-000-0115 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Names:

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Shields, Johanna
Nicol

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

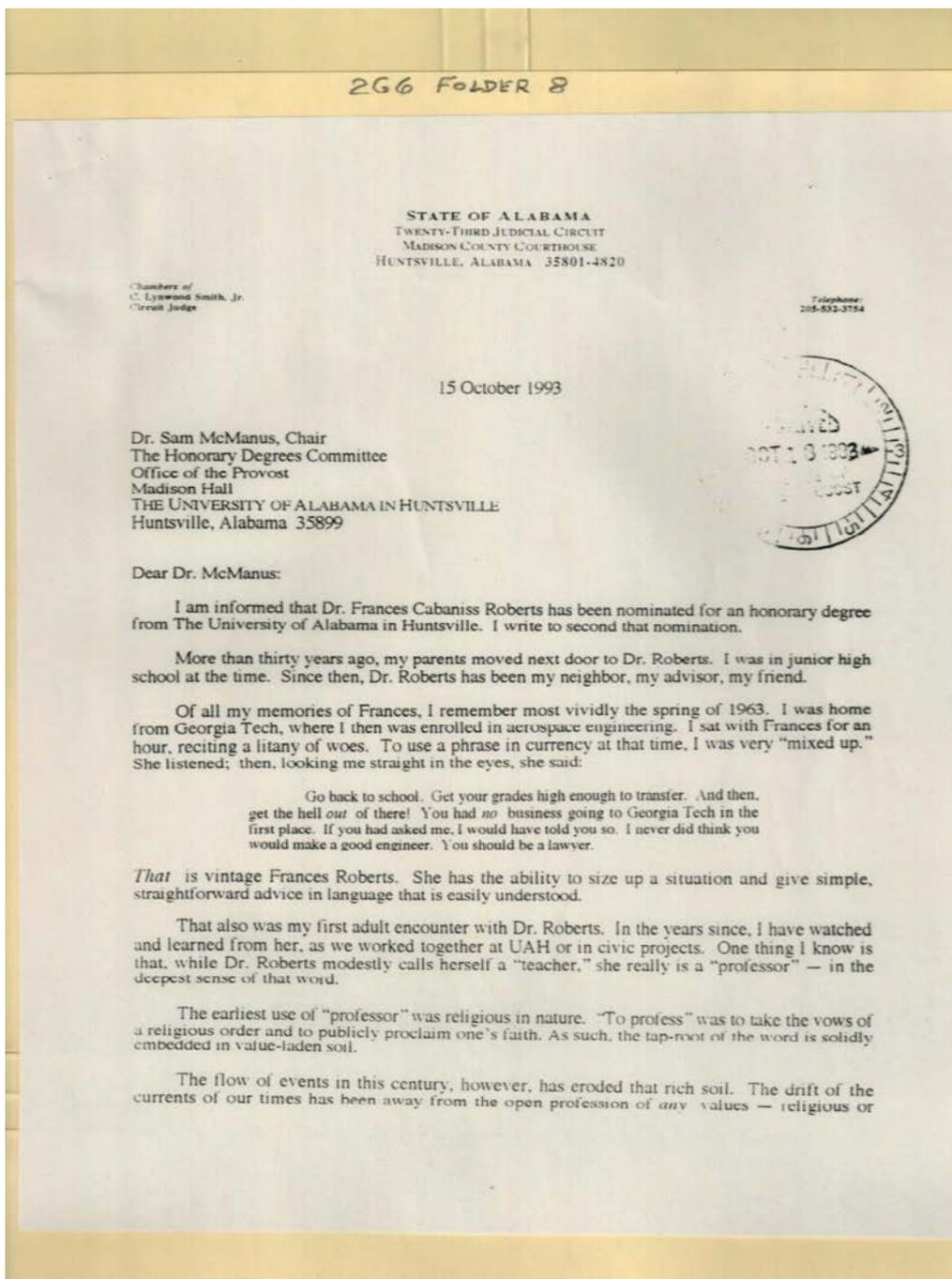
Dates:

Oct 15, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 116 r02g06-08-000-0116 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances
Cabaniss, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Oct 15, 1993

266 FOLDER 8

2

otherwise. As we push the limits of scientific knowledge to the edges of the known universe, we leave historical truths behind. We view them as, somehow, outmoded and suspect.

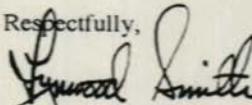
In the process of secularizing and "modernizing" laws and institutions, we have become increasingly pluralistic. Multiple points of view about values and meanings are, at least officially, accorded equal weight. But such pluralism breeds uncertainty, vacillation, lack of commitment. Worse, we lose sight of substance and chase things that glitter, that flash, that fade into nothingness. Too often people who govern, who preach, and who teach sound like T. S. Eliot's "Hollow Men":

[Their] dried voices, when
[they] whisper together,
are quiet and meaningless
as wind in dry grass
or rats' feet over broken glass....

Dr. Roberts is *not* one of them. In every aspect of her life, she has dared to profess a faith, to openly proclaim a sense of values, and to question the merit of faddish proposals. And she inspires others to do so. Even while challenging students to try on new ideas to see how they fit, Dr. Roberts still taught ethical norms by which the worth of various policies might be measured.

Frances Roberts understands that, if students leave a university with no sense of values and no appreciation for the meaning of our civilization, they are doomed to forever wander in their pilgrimage of life, neither positive enough to be good nor negative enough to be evil — or, worse, not even aware of the difference.

For that, I enthusiastically second the nomination of *Professor* Frances Cabaniss Roberts for an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree.

Respectfully,

C. Lynwood Smith, Jr.,
Circuit Judge

Names:

Smith, C. Lynwood,
Jr., Judge

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

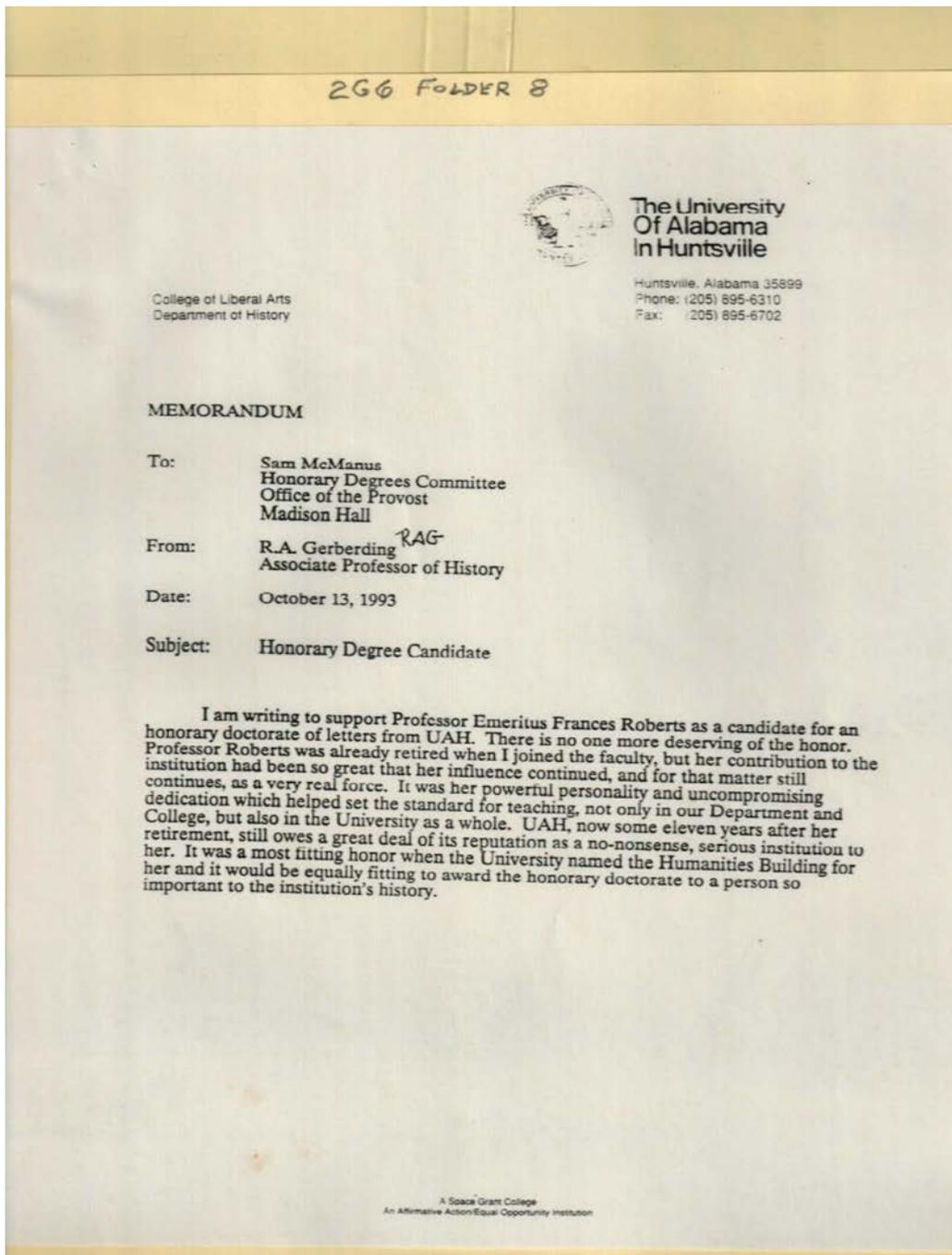
Dates:

Oct 15, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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The University
Of Alabama
In Huntsville

Huntsville, Alabama 35899
Phone: (205) 895-6310
Fax: (205) 895-6702

College of Liberal Arts
Department of History

MEMORANDUM

To: Sam McManus
Honorary Degrees Committee
Office of the Provost
Madison Hall

From: R.A. Gerberding ^{RAG}
Associate Professor of History

Date: October 13, 1993

Subject: Honorary Degree Candidate

I am writing to support Professor Emeritus Frances Roberts as a candidate for an honorary doctorate of letters from UAH. There is no one more deserving of the honor. Professor Roberts was already retired when I joined the faculty, but her contribution to the institution had been so great that her influence continued, and for that matter still continues, as a very real force. It was her powerful personality and uncompromising dedication which helped set the standard for teaching, not only in our Department and College, but also in the University as a whole. UAH, now some eleven years after her retirement, still owes a great deal of its reputation as a no-nonsense, serious institution to her. It was a most fitting honor when the University named the Humanities Building for her and it would be equally fitting to award the honorary doctorate to a person so important to the institution's history.

A Space Grant College
An Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

Honorary degree letter

Names:

Gerberding, R. A.,
Prof.

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

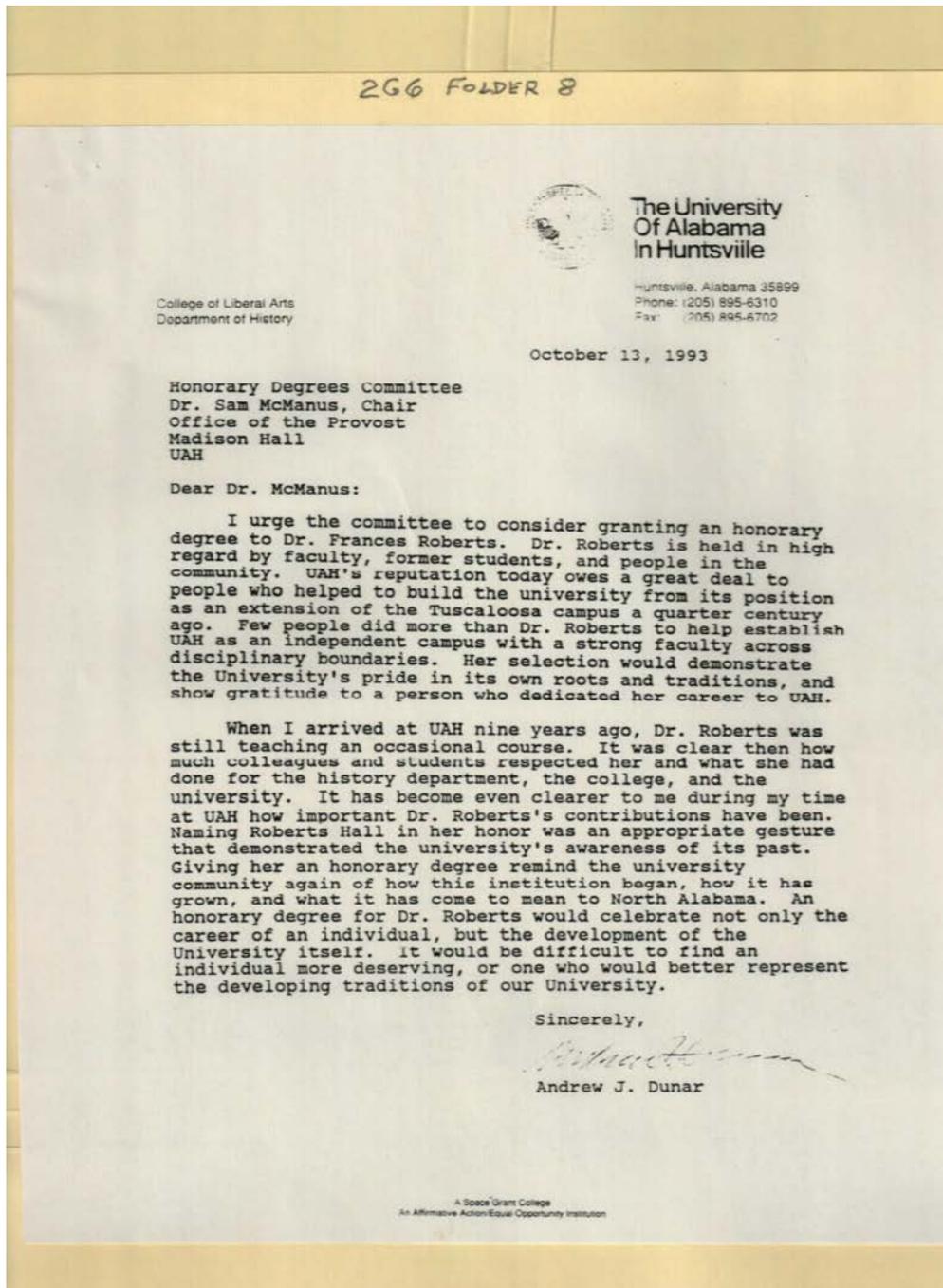
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Oct 13, 1993



Honorary degree letter

Names:

Dunar, Andrew J.

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

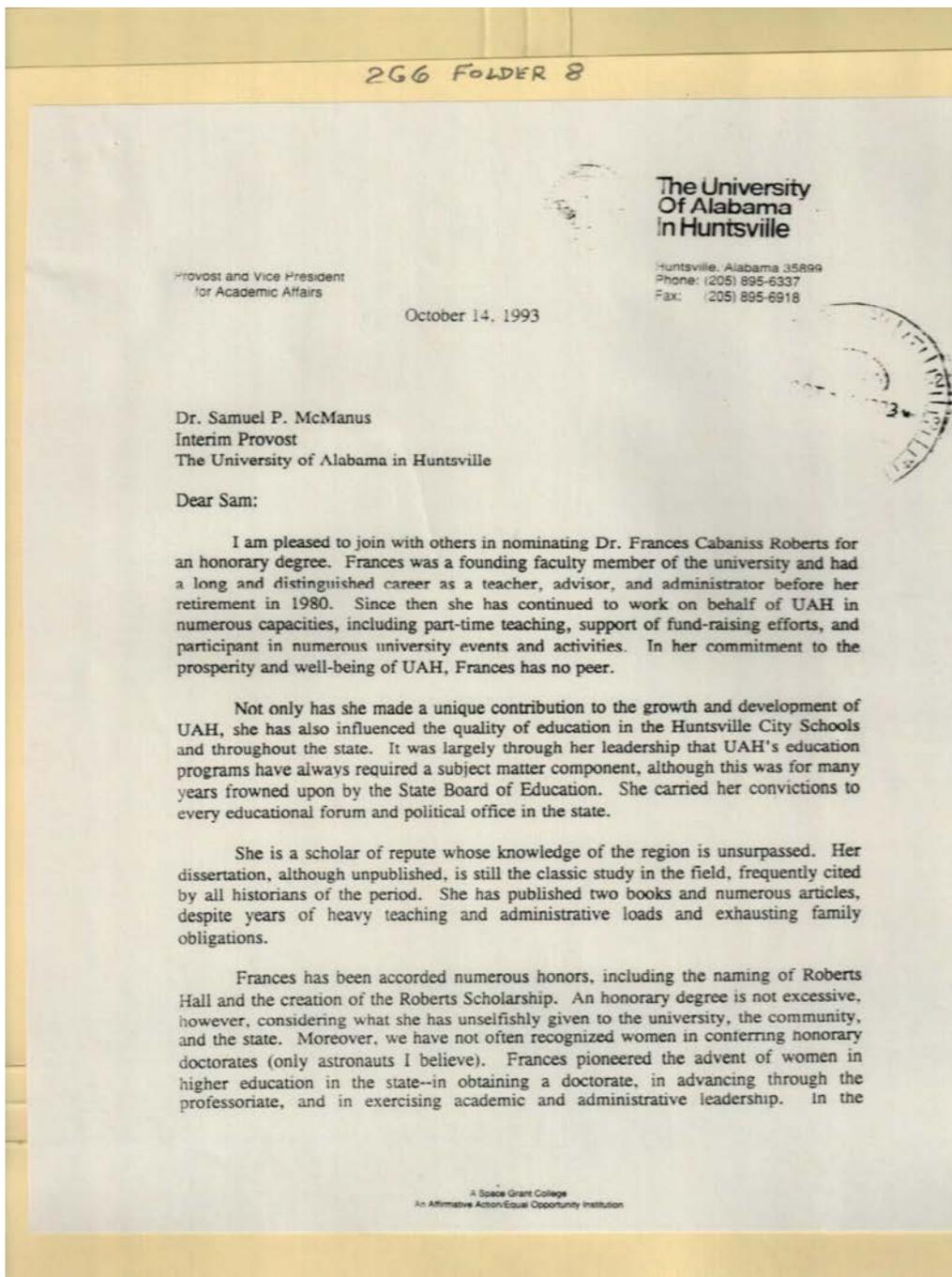
Dates:

Oct 13, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 120 r02g06-08-000-0120 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances
Cabaniss, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Oct 14, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 121 r02g06-08-000-0121 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)

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procession of white male honorees, it would be gratifying to observe a woman who is truly one of the pillars of the institution.

Sincerely,

Carolyn

Carolyn W. White

CWW/ce

ROBERTS

Names:

White, Carolyn W.

Places:

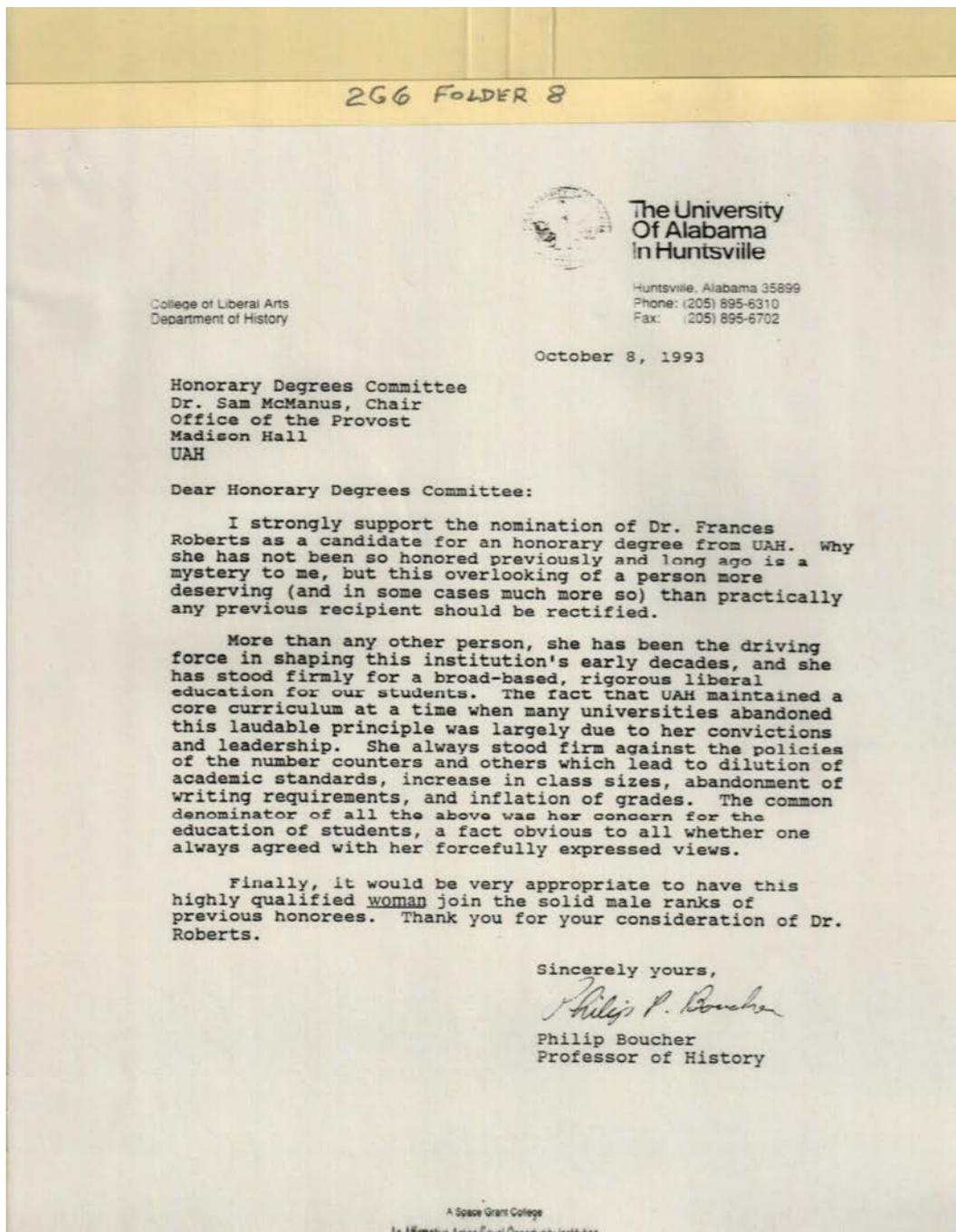
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Oct 14, 1993



Honorary degree letter

Names:

Boucher, Philip, Prof.

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

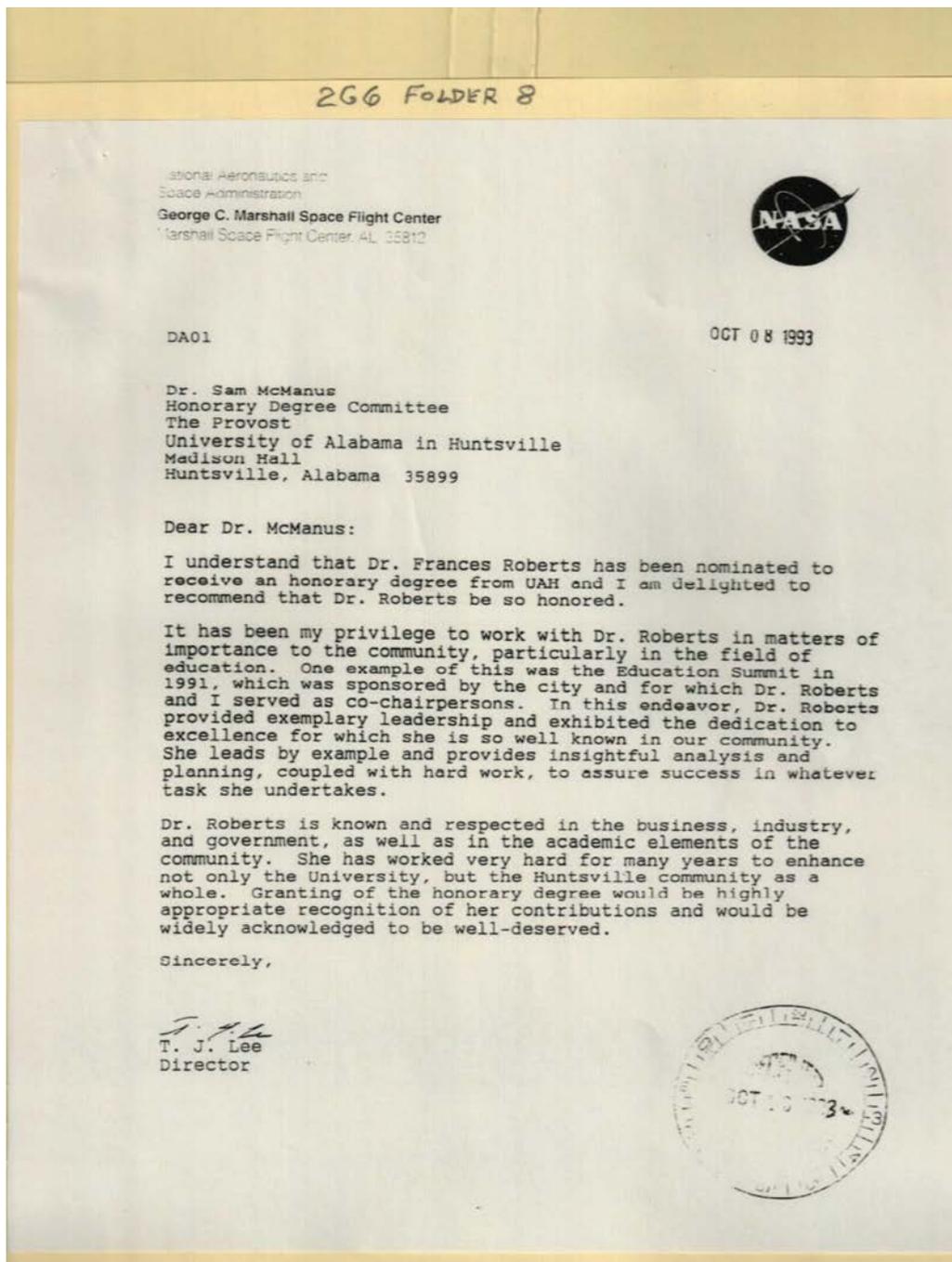
Dates:

Oct 8, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 123 r02g06-08-000-0123 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Topics:

Honorary degree
letter

MSFC Director

Names:

Lee, T. J.

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

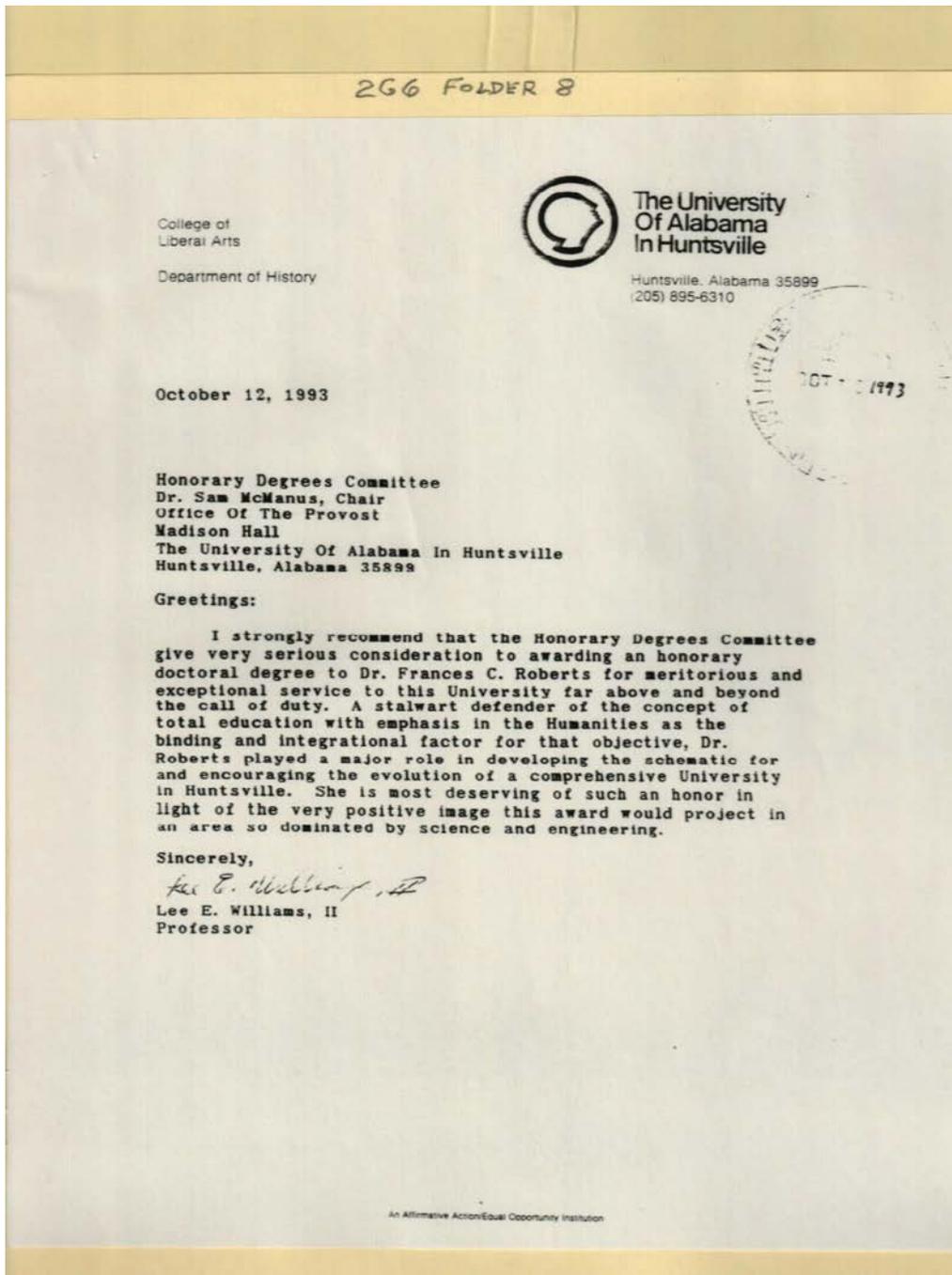
Dates:

Oct 8, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 124 r02g06-08-000-0124 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances C.,
Dr.

Williams, Lee E., II,
Prof.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

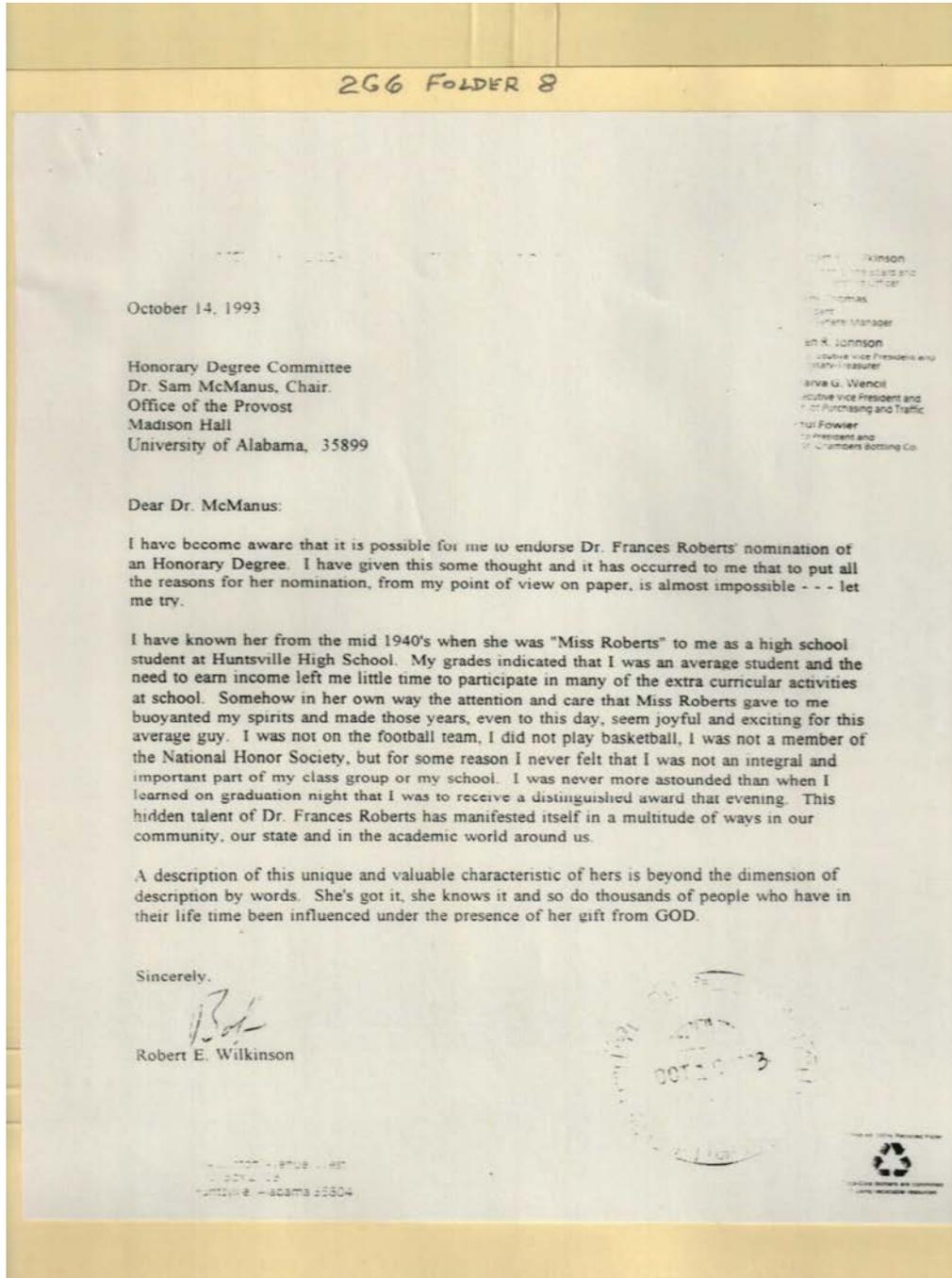
Dates:

Oct 12, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 125 r02g06-08-000-0125 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.
Wilkinson, Robert E.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

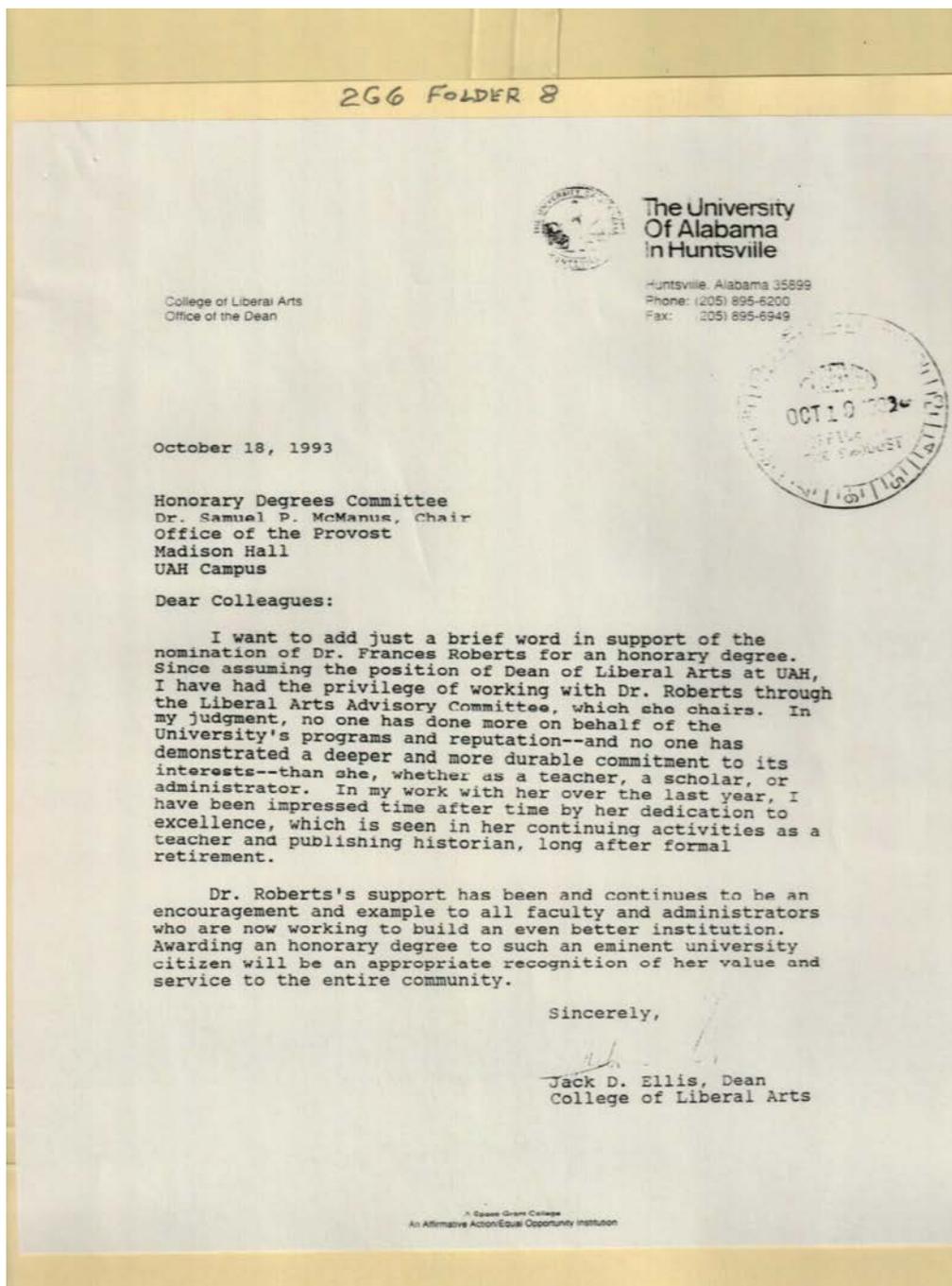
Dates:

Oct 14, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 126 r02g06-08-000-0126 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

Ellis, Jack D., Dean

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

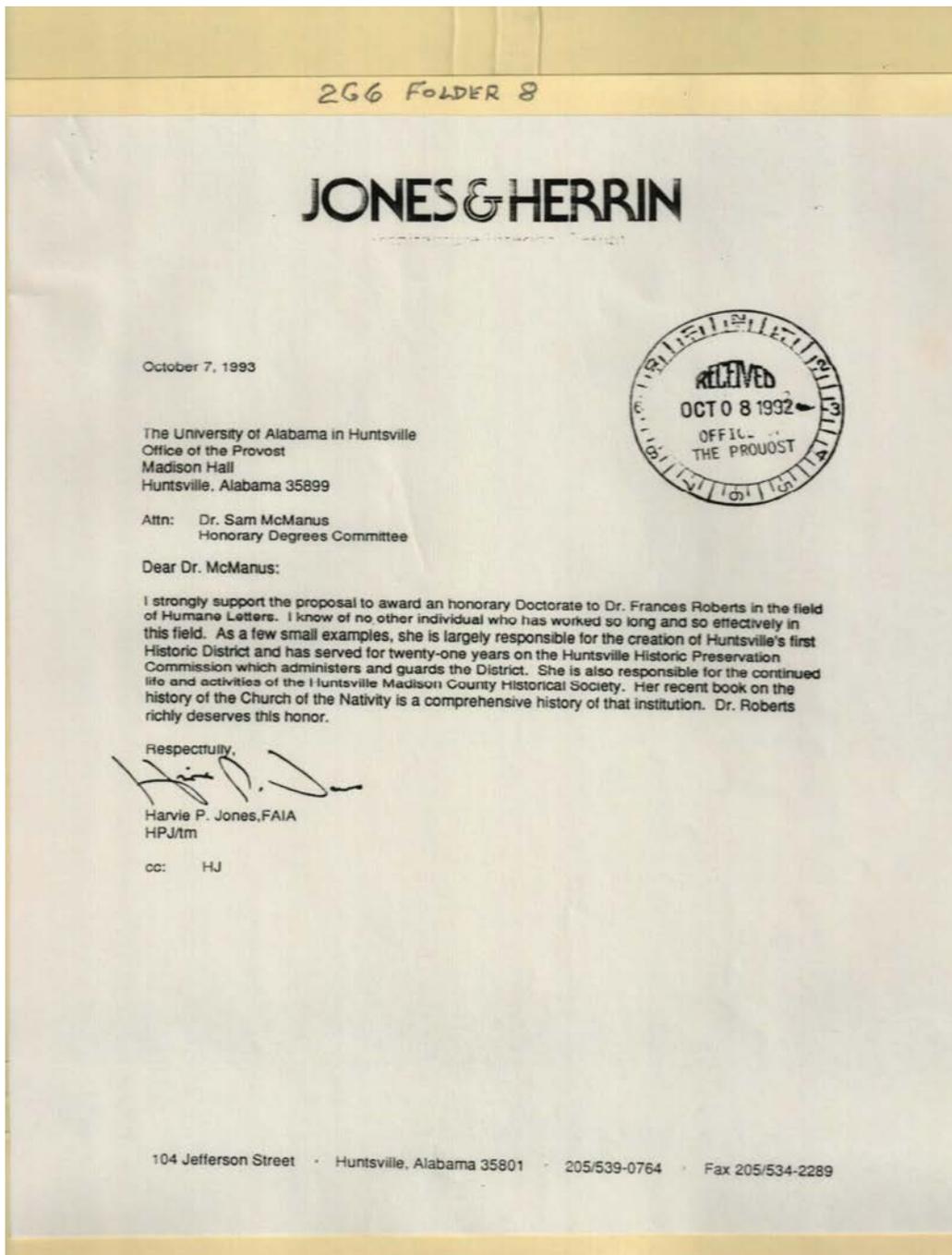
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Oct 18, 1993



Honorary degree letter

Names:

Jones, Harvie P.

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

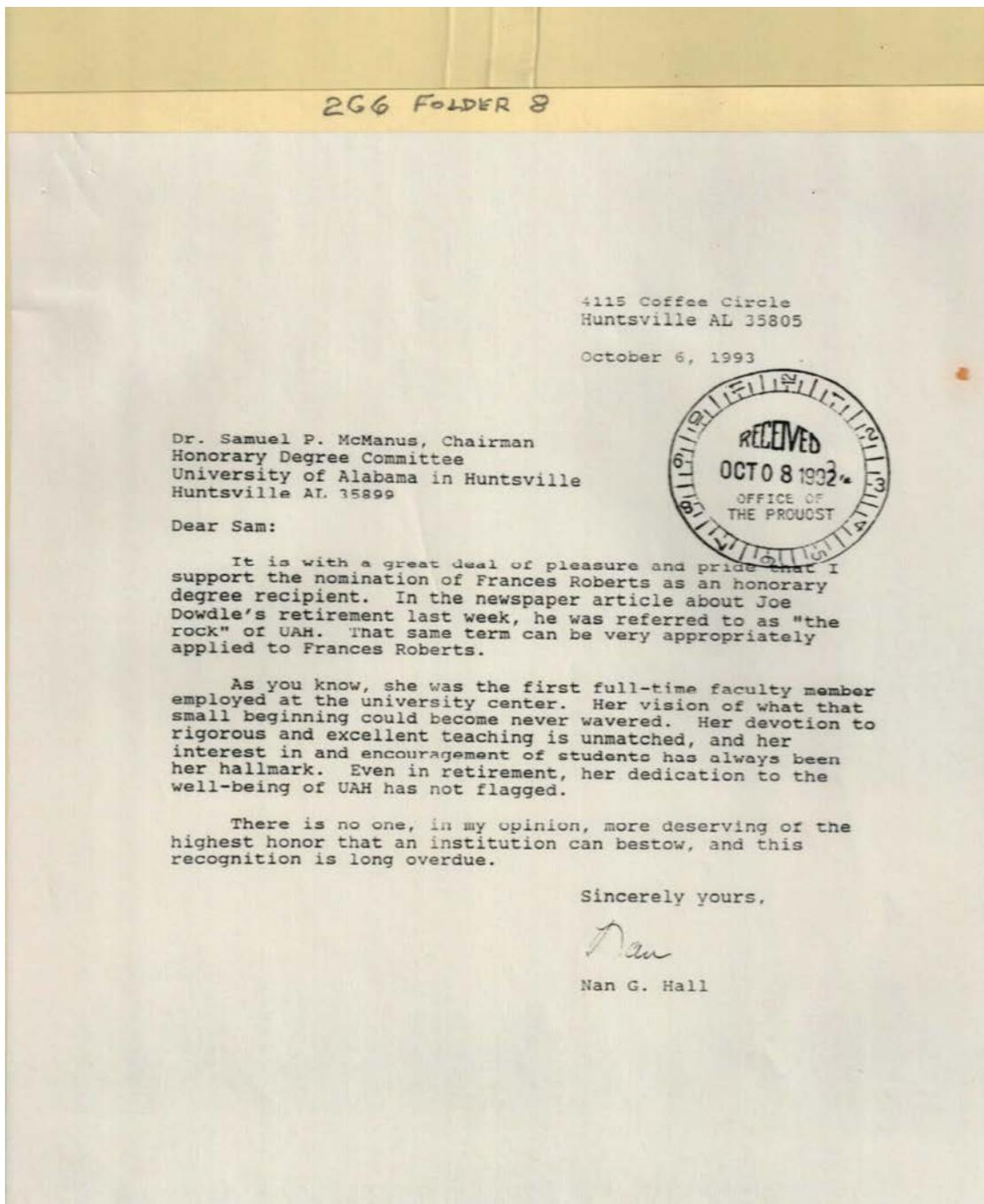
Dates:

Oct 7, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 128 r02g06-08-000-0128 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

Dowdle, Joe
Hall, Nan G.

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

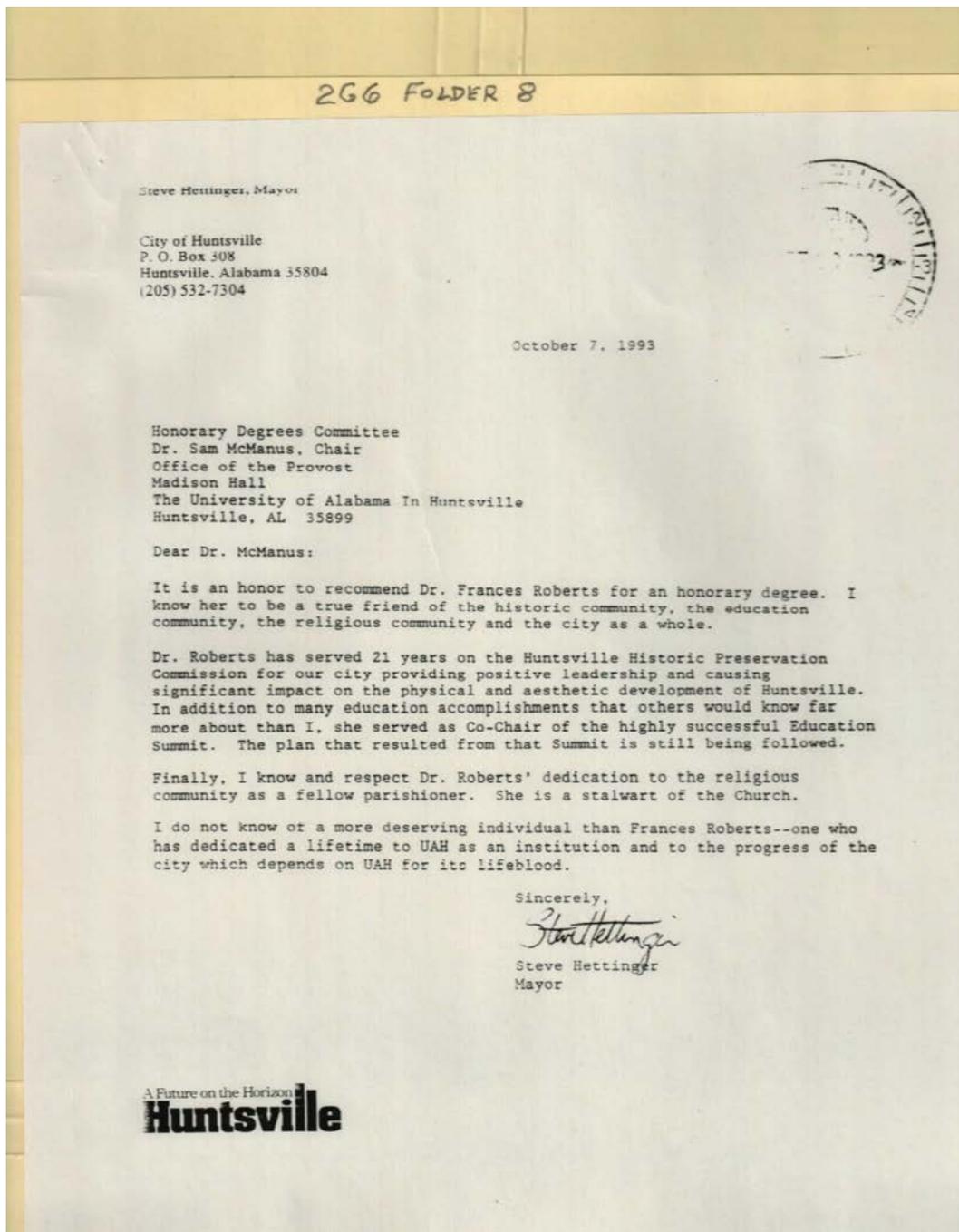
Dates:

Oct 6, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

Image 129 r02g06-08-000-0129 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)



Honorary degree letter

Names:

Hettinger, Steve,
Mayor

McManus, Samuel P.,
Dr.

Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Places:

Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Oct 7, 1993

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 2, Subseries G, Box 6, Folder 8

Frances C. Roberts Correspondence, 1990s

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Jan. 28, 1997

Dear Dr. Roberts,

I'd like to call you soon to schedule a full interview for my not-so-little Milton Cummings book project. Our talk a few months back was very helpful. Your suggestion about taking a thematic approach to the organization of chapters, rather than a purely or largely chronological approach, was right on the mark. It solidified some rather loose thinking I'd already done on the several different, major facets or aspects of his life that must be dealt with in such a biography. FYI (and for any comment you might have). I'm enclosing copies of an MKC thematic blurb I originally drafted back in 1989 or so (after I began this effort in early '89), and a new revision.

I've picked up the pace of research lately, having interviewed about a half-dozen folks in just the last 4 weeks (M.H. "Pete" Lanier; Robert Davis, Sr. and wife Zoe (spelling?), Virgil Uptain & his present wife, Virginia, and Hugh Merrill, ex-Hsv. Times writer -- and currently a communications PROFESSOR at U. of West Fla. -- who did the only extensive Times interview/profile feature piece on Cummings during my tenure here, and who was something of a young drinking buddy, or at least an observer, of Mr. C in his final years at the Elks' Club). The death of Jimmy Record spurred me to get on with it. He was HIGH on my original list of sources, but I hadn't gotten around to contacting him. There are just too many of MKC's contemporaries slipping away after all these years since his own death... I'm limited, though, to working on this mostly in the evenings and on weekends, since I'm still full-time with The Times.

I may earlier have given you my growing list of past and potential future interviewees, but here's the latest version, if you wouldn't mind looking it over and suggesting any additions that may occur to you.

I hope this finds you well. I look forward to sitting down with you again soon. Barbara sends love.

Best,
Bob Ward

Names:

Cummings, Milton
Davis, Robert, Sr.

Lanier, M. H. (Pete)
Merrill, Hugh

Record, James
Roberts, Frances, Dr.

Uptain, Virgil
Ward, Bob

Places:

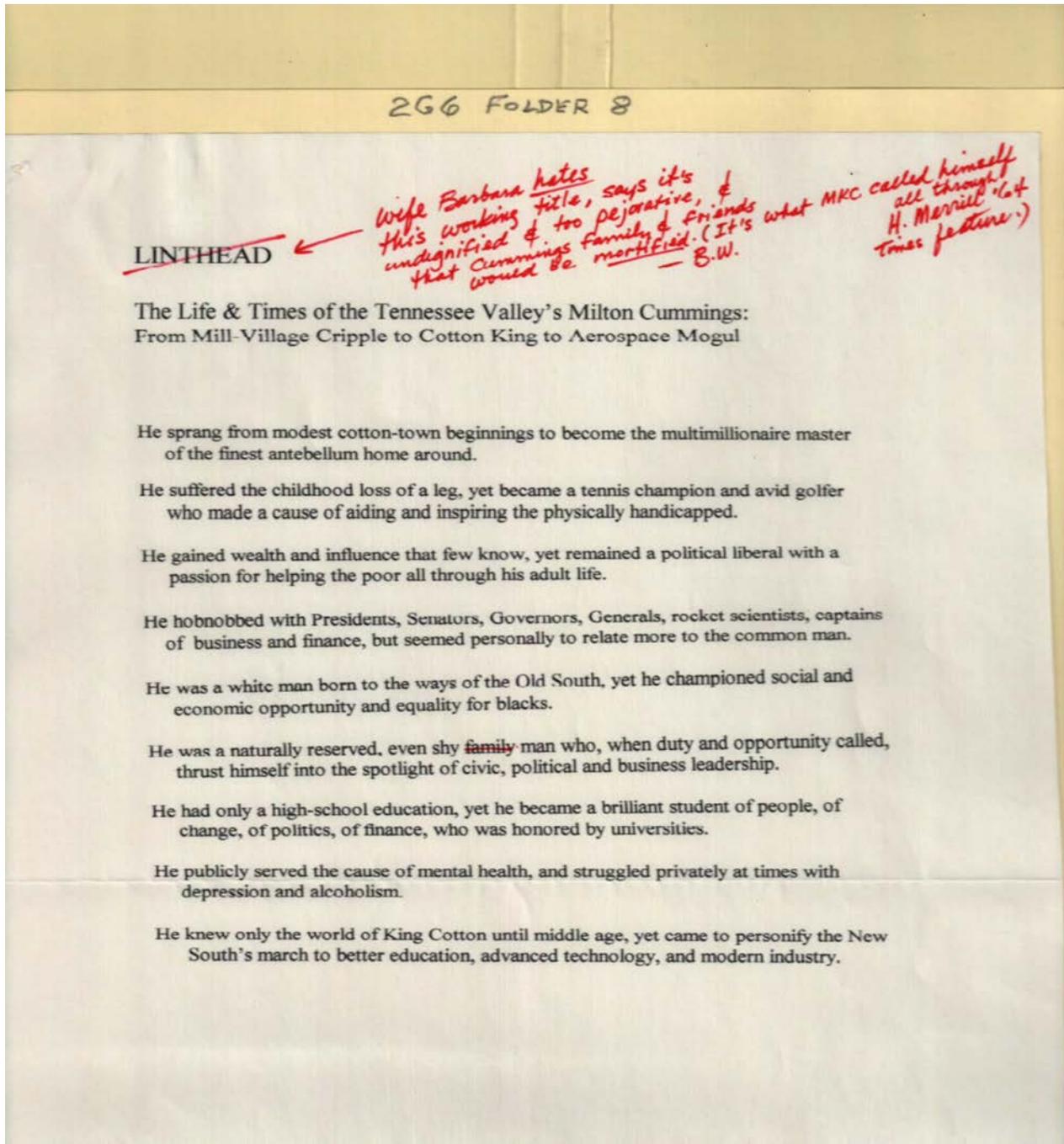
Huntsville, AL

Types:

correspondence

Dates:

Jan 28, 1997



LINTHEAD

The Life & Times of the Tennessee Valley's Milton Cummings:
From Mill-Village Cripple to Cotton King to Aerospace Mogul

He sprang from modest cotton-town beginnings to become the multimillionaire master of the finest antebellum home around.

He suffered the childhood loss of a leg, yet became a tennis champion and avid golfer who made a cause of aiding and inspiring the physically handicapped.

He gained wealth and influence that few know, yet remained a political liberal with a passion for helping the poor all through his adult life.

He hobnobbed with Presidents, Senators, Governors, Generals, rocket scientists, captains of business and finance, but seemed personally to relate more to the common man.

He was a white man born to the ways of the Old South, yet he championed social and economic opportunity and equality for blacks.

He was a naturally reserved, even shy family man who, when duty and opportunity called, thrust himself into the spotlight of civic, political and business leadership.

He had only a high-school education, yet he became a brilliant student of people, of change, of politics, of finance, who was honored by universities.

He publicly served the cause of mental health, and struggled privately at times with depression and alcoholism.

He knew only the world of King Cotton until middle age, yet came to personify the New South's march to better education, advanced technology, and modern industry.

Names:

Cummings, Milton

Types:

draft notes

Dates:

1990

266 FOLDER 8

rewrite

MILTON K. CUMMINGS *drafted
(1989 or '90)*

~~LINTHEAD~~ -- The Life Story of Milton K. Cummings: From 'Mr. Cotton'
to Aerospace Mogul.

He sprang from humble ~~beginnings to a mill-village~~ ^{mill-village} beginnings to become
~~the~~ master of the finest antebellum home around.

~~He overcame the loss of a leg in childhood to become a champion
tennis player and excellent golfer who worked to inspire the handicapped.~~

He suffered the childhood loss of a leg, yet became a champion tennis
player and excellent golfer who ^{worked} ~~worked~~ to inspire the ~~handicapped~~ handicapped.
He gained ^{and power} ~~wealth~~ that most only dream of, yet ^{remained a political liberal who} ~~devoted~~ himself to
helping the poor, the disadvantaged.

He hobnobbed with Presidents, Senators, ~~and~~ ^{but} captains of
business and finance, ~~but~~ always identified more with the common man.

He was a white man ^{he} (born and bred) to the ways of the Old South,
yet ~~he~~ ^{he} championed the causes of social and economic equality for blacks.

write He knew only the world of King Cotton from birth to middle-age, yet
came to embody the New South's march to education, advanced technology,
sophisticated industry.

He public^{ly} served the cause of mental health, ^{and} ~~and~~ struggled
privately with depression and alcoholism.

more

*even shy
quiet, reserved, man, who...*

Names:

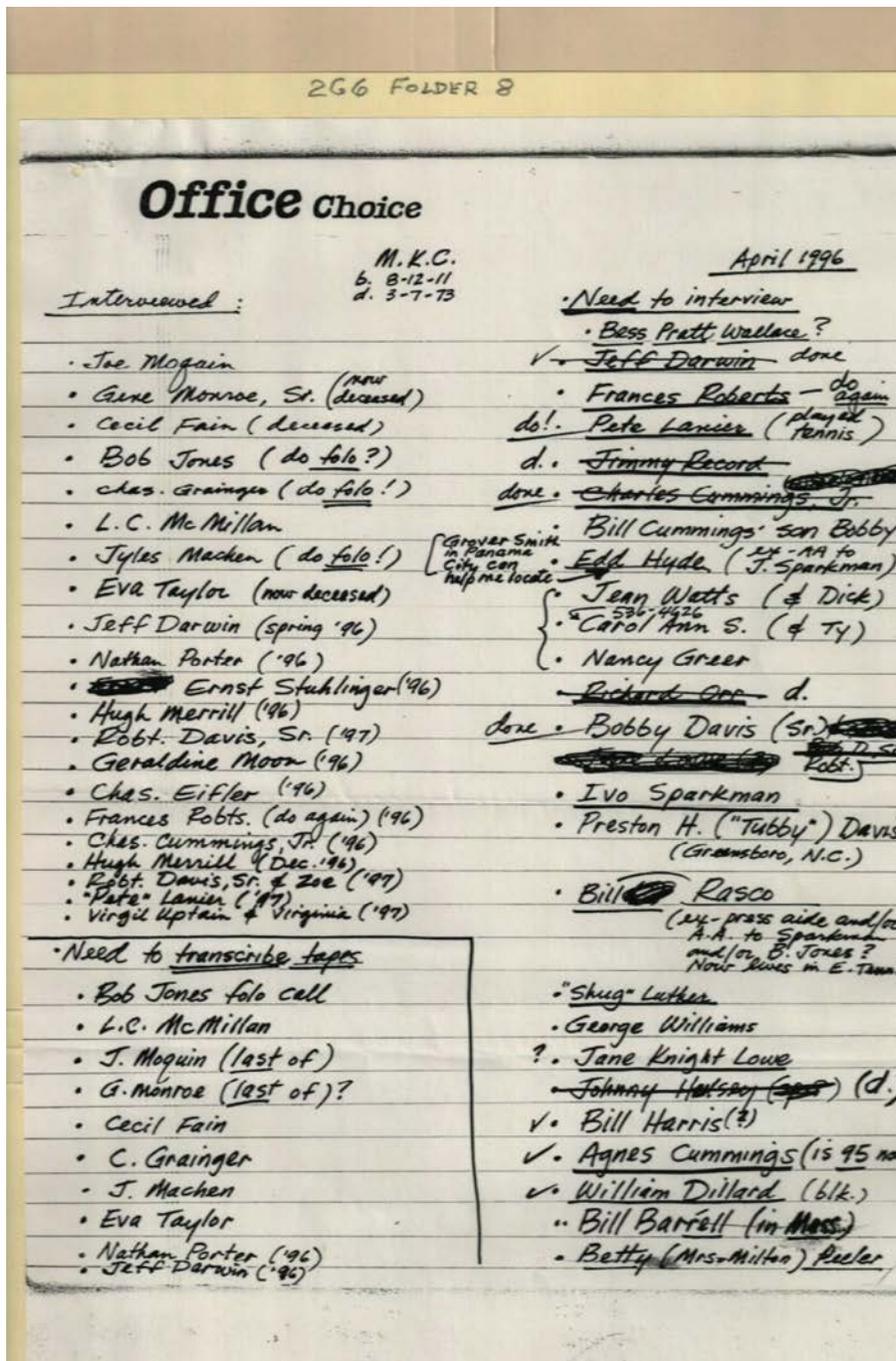
Cummings, Milton K.

Types:

draft notes

Dates:

1990



interview list

Names:

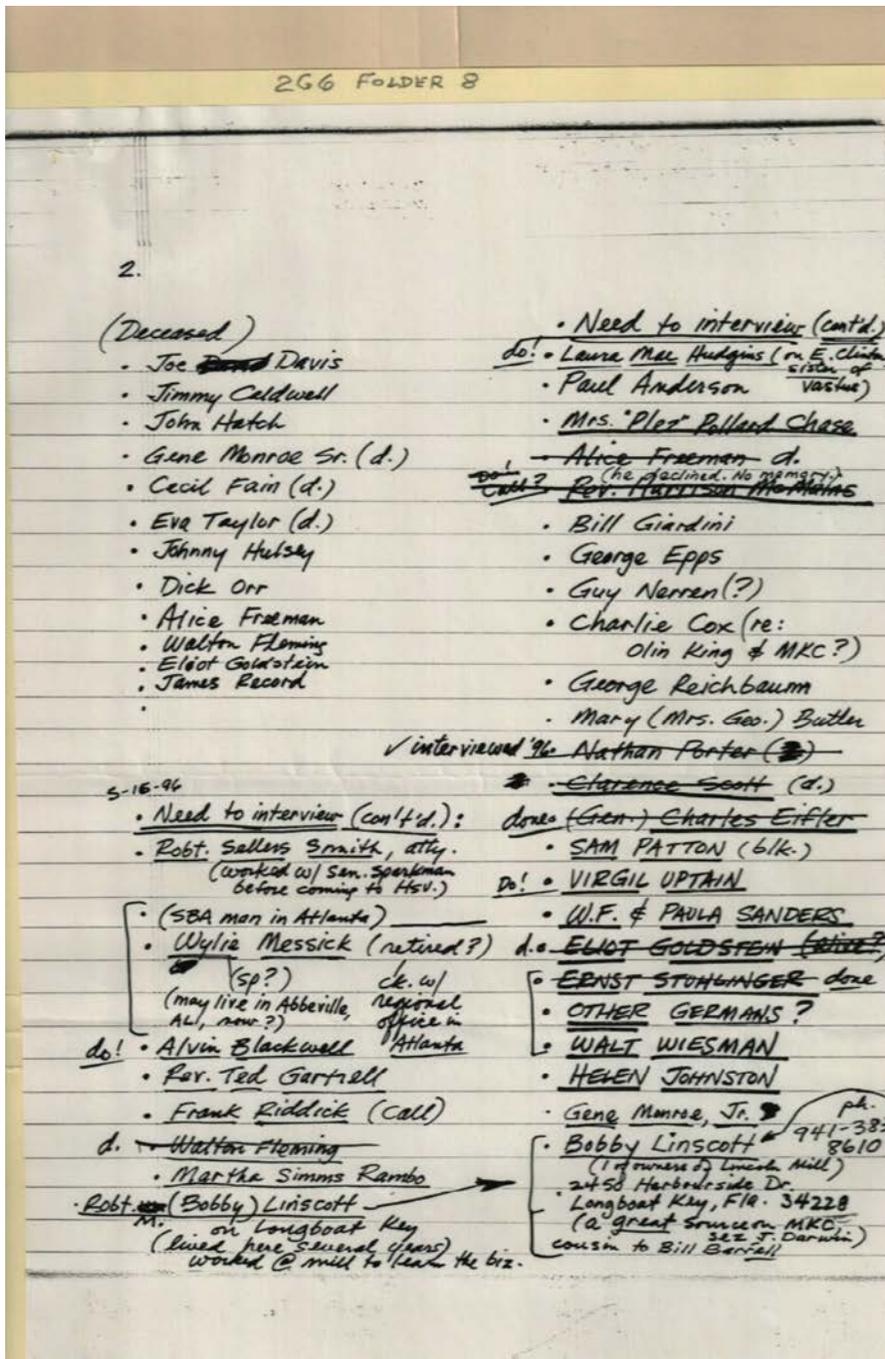
Cummings, Milton K.

Types:

notes

Dates:

1996



interview list

Names:

Cummings, Milton K.

Types:

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Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection

Preferred Citation: Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection, Archives and Special Collections, M. Louis Salmon Library, University of Alabama in Huntsville, Huntsville, AL.

Collection Scope and Content: The Collection of 114 Linear ft. includes a total of 156 Archival Boxes. The Frances Cabaniss Roberts collection covers the historical records of the Cabaniss Roberts family. This collection contains extensive correspondence records of the Cabaniss Roberts family circa 1830 to 1930.

Archives/Special Collections Access Restrictions: None

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