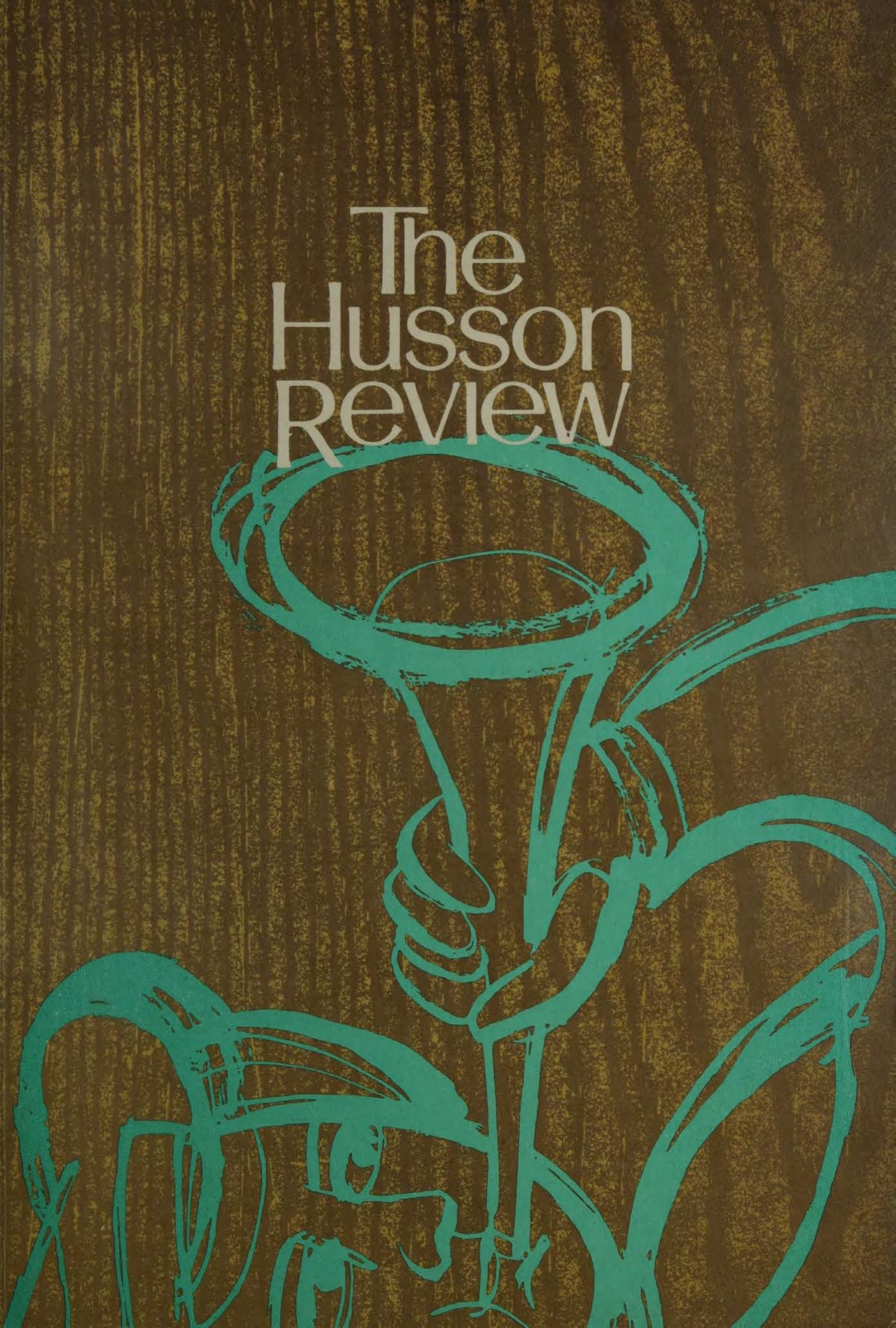
The Husson Review



The Husson Review

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THE EVOLUTION OF HENRY VIII

WILLIAM W. MACDONALD

Probably no other English king looms so large in the popular imagination as Henry VIII, and his reign is the happy hunting-ground of the novelist, the playwright, the film-producer and innumerable cartoonists and journalists. By courtesy of Holbein the Younger, the bloated Henry of middle-age is familiar to millions, tight-mouthed and pig-eyed, so fat that it required machinery to haul him upstairs. In *A Man for All Seasons,* Robert Shaw gave the world the young Henry VIII, a boisterous, backslapping lockerroom bore, and a bad man to cross. In *The Many Wives of Henry VIII,* Charles Laughton portrayed a noisy prodigal, a licentious and bedeviled Falstaff who strode across the pages of Tudor history with a bottle of wine in one hand and a blonde in the other. In one memorable scene, Laughton sits in an enormous banquet hall, ravenously eating chickens and throwing the bones over his shoulder with gluttonous glee. He has assembled his cowed courtiers around him with the purpose of inducing them to persuade him to marry Katherine Howard, and, after outrageous badgering by the king, they acquiesce. Laughton then turns to the camera and with a lecherous grin declares, "Ah, the things I do for England." Ah, the things the movies have done to Henry VIII.

Scenarists might have misread history but they have not failed to read it at all, for the film versions of Henry VIII have solid support in fact—"Junker Heintz," observed Martin Luther, "will be God and does whatever he lusts." The king was, indeed, a willful egotist, a cold, coarse man who subjected his daughter Mary to frequent snubs and humiliations, bullied her with threats of physical violence, and forced her to live several years in an atmosphere choking with petty malice and secret danger. Henry began his rule with the ruthless and cynical murders of Empson and Dudley, his father's able ministers, and ended it with the execution of the Earl of Surrey. The political executions of Bishop John Fisher and Sir Thomas More and of the delinquent wives, Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard, are prominently featured in every martyrology of Henry's reign, but the fact that these others were unattractive and were not beheaded for religion's sake has obscured the fact that they were unusually innocent of the charges preferred. Even more depressing was the king's steady annihilation of all the nobility who stood at all near the crown: the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Montague, and Sir Edward Neville in 1538, Lady Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, in 1541, while hired assassins roamed the European continent in search of the elusive Cardinal Reginald Pole. To many of his subjects the judgment of Henry was simple: he was a "beast and worse than a beast," an unscrupulous tyrant "more cruel than Nero." To most Tudor historians, however, Henry VIII has remained an enigmatic king: an often grasping, greedy and trivial man whose thirty-seven year rule was, paradoxically, the most significant reign in English history.

The standard interpretation of Henry VIII was established by James Anthony Froude, whose massive *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the*

Defeat of the Spanish Armada (12 vols., London, 1856-70) is still appraised by modern authorities as a masterpiece of historical literature, the most complete, classic narrative of the period 1529-1588. Froude was a Victorian Liberal and an enthusiastic nationalist who saw the key to England's economic and political greatness in her break with the Roman Church and Henry VIII as the paladin who achieved that emancipation. He interpreted the English Reformation in its larger setting, reading into it a life and death struggle between freedom and authority, and visualizing the death of a medieval age which had preached one church, one faith, and one world. Catholic Spain represented the Old Cause Decadent, while robust Protestant England symbolized the future world. "Singing its own dirge," wrote Froude, "the doomed Armada went upon its way, to encounter the arms and the genius of the new era, unequally matched with unbelievers."

Froude grasped Henry's Reformation policy clearly. The king and his counsellors, considering national interests, attempted to establish the Tudor succession and thereby prevent the debilitating ravages of civil war. Emphasis which earlier historians had placed upon the validity of Henry's marriage to Katherine of Aragon, he believed, was a fundamental misinterpretation of the English Reformation, for the essential question of the entire movement was not a matter of ecclesiastical law but of domestic tranquillity and national statecraft. In this respect, Froude has the support of several modern historians, particularly Kenneth Pickthorn in *Early Tudor Government: Henry VIII* (Cambridge, Eng., 1934), and F. M. Powicke in *The Reformation in England* (London, 1941), who interpret the English Reformation as an act of state.

It was in his delineation of the character of Henry VIII, however, that Froude deviated most widely from the accepted opinion of his day. Basing his analyses upon the chroniclers Hall and Thomas and upon his anti-Roman and English patriotic biases, he saw Henry as statesman *par excellence,* judiciously planning for the commonweal irrespective of personal concerns or the sexual twinges of a compassionate nature. Henry had an "open English understanding" and, in spite of certain exasperating traits of arrogance and insatiable vanity, he and he alone rescued the nation from the greatest crisis in England's past and laid the foundation for the expansion of Britain and the colonizing of three continents. Despite pointed attacks on his interpretation by Edward Freeman, Bishop Stubbs and Goldwin Smith, Froude's vigorous judgments, depth of scholarship, and brilliant style (his "froudacity," some called it) carried all before it. Henry VIII entered the twentieth century as a great national leader, one of the most remarkable men who ever sat on the English throne.

A. F. Pollard effectively cemented the traditional portrait of Henry VIII as the determined intelligence directing the English Reformation with the publication of an enormously influential biography (London, 1905). Pollard added very little to the interpretation formulated by Froude, but he provided his mentor's insights with a mass of additional documentation. He viewed Henry as the greatest king who ever ruled the English realm, a man whose understanding of

English mentality and European politics was profound, a "universal genius," in the words of Erasmus, whose bluff and hearty appearance concealed an intellect as "subtle as Machiavelli" and as lithe as a panther's body. Pollard asserted that the desire to see England great and prosperous had a large share in determining the king's actions at every great crisis of his reign, and that Henry always shaped his personal goals so that they coincided with what was best for the nation as a whole. Henry's greatest act of statesmanship, Pollard found, however, was his invitation to Parliament to share his work and strengthen his government. Pollard visualized Henry VIII feeling the national pulse, discerning possibilities which were not yet explicit, and seeing in Parliament the means of effecting his own particular objects. The king clearly understood that only a national representative legislature could effect the breach with Rome, eradicate foreign jurisdiction, and make England the exclusive and common property of Englishmen. Henry became therefore, in Pollard's view, the architect of modern English constitutional government by enhancing Parliament's power and extending its sphere of authority and by giving it and its acts a prestige it had never possessed before.

Pollard conceded that Henry's actions often resembled the policies of dictators, that his immense egotism accepted no dissent, and that he was a pitiless *etatiste* who ruled "in a ruthless age with a ruthless hand." But he dismissed these liabilities under the cloak of national interests and concluded that Henry VIII was the right man for the "peace and comfort" of England "in her hour of need." Despite the fact that Pollard failed to explain adequately just what great crisis was not begun by Henry himself, despite the fact that he failed to elaborate just how the king contributed to England's peace and comfort by exposing England to armed invasion and by disposing of the lives and property of many of his subjects, despite the fact that his study was essentially an extended essay on political history rather than the study of a personality—despite it all, his brilliant biography dominated Henry VIII historiography for over fifty years.

R. W. Chambers challenged the standard Froude-Pollard interpretation of Henry VIII in a distinguished study of Sir Thomas More. His biography (New York, 1935), a powerful and eloquent memorial to the Humanist scholar, is still honored as the pre-eminent interpretation of More. Although Chambers wrote that Pollard was the "greatest living student of the period," his book was a direct assault upon Pollard's interpretation of the king, consigning Henry to the uttermost hell. Chambers accused Henry of extinguishing "more things of beauty and more things of promise than any other man in European history" and of destroying the early success of the English Renaissance by driving away Erasmus, imprisoning Vives, and executing More and Surrey. He attacked Henry for dissipating the enormous wealth of Henry VII, for failing to pursue the promising navigational exploits of his father, for making wars for his own pleasure, for taxing his subjects inordinately, for levying forced loans, for pillaging the churches and monasteries, and for debasing the English currency. He concluded that Henry VIII "killed laughter" throughout England and that his reign "marked a distinct set-back" in practically every department of English life. Chambers'

crticisms of the king's character and actions, however, had very little influence upon the customary portrait of Henry, for his cursory censure was neither a penetrating analysis of the king's personality nor a scholarly examination of his policies.

A more important and more effective assault upon the traditional Froude-Pollard interpretation of Henry VIII was formulated by G. R. Elton, the greatest living historian of Tudor England. In countless essays and books, notably *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (London, 1953), "King or Minister? The Man Behind the Henrican Reformation" (*History,* XXXIX, 1954), and *Henry VIII: An Essay in Revision* (London, 1962), the gifted Elton, emphasizing the personal nature of early Tudor government, consistently questioned the king's motives and abilities, concluding that in the clear light of reason Henry's achievement was so stupendous, his character so petty, that his responsibility for that achievement must be reappraised. Henry VIII "was no statesman," writes Elton, "and inasmuch as qualities of statesmanship can be discerned in his reign, they must be looked for elsewhere." He finds those qualities in Thomas Cromwell, the English minister who, Elton believes, not only initiated and guided the policies that underlay the Henrican Reformation but also effected a Tudor revolution in government.

Elton equates the "Tudor Revolution in Government" with the growth of a bureaucratic administration separate from the personality of the sovereign and with a life and independence of its own—in other words, a national as opposed to a royal government. This "revolution" is associated with the breach with Rome, for under Cromwell's leadership England ceased to be a medieval state and for the first time became a sovereign national state of the modern type. Rejecting all outside authority, Cromwell led Henry VIII to claim and exercise for England absolute authority in all areas, civil and ecclesiastical. This absolute sovereignty, vested in the concept of the King-in-Parliament, was established through the great changes of the Henrican Reformation which were carried out by parliamentary statute. The modern omnipotence of Parliament and the birth of modern English constitutional government thus, according to Elton, originated under Thomas Cromwell's leadership.

Elton's heroic portrait of Cromwell as the real architect of the national parliamentary state has been received with general skepticism, for his interpretation leaves little room for the older conception of Cromwell as the prototype of fascist totalitarian dictators. Several contemporary historians, particularly L. B. Smith in "English Treason Trials and Confessions in the Sixteenth Century" (*Journal of the History of Ideas,* XV, 1954), and Lawrence Stone in "The Political Programme of Thomas Cromwell" (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* XXIV, 1951), continue to emphasize some of the less pleasant tyrannical features of the 1530's, such as the use of private informers and early attempts at "thought control" through domination of the clergy. Stone also suggests that both the common law and Parliament were in persistent danger of being destroyed by "the armed autocracy of the efficient despot." On the other hand, El-

ton's concept of a "Tudor Revolution in Government" is steadily winning converts to a new historical evaluation of the early sixteenth century Tudor constitution; indeed, so powerful has been his reputation that *Past and Present* (XXV, 1963), dedicated an entire issue to a critical discussion of his assessments on Cromwell and Henry VIII.

Professor J. J. Scarisbrick has judiciously re-evaluated recent scholarship and produced a major revisionist biography of the king. His book, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley, 1968), has been received by historians with enthusiasm and lavish praise. Unlike Pollard, who was absorbed in a vision of the early Tudor period as the seedtime of the secular nation-state and who, therefore, tended to interpret Henry VIII as an instrument of larger, impersonal, historical forces, Scarisbrick begins with the man, Henry Tudor, and works out to the wider ranges of his historical environment. The king who emerges in Scarisbrick's pages is a fallible man of enormous intelligence and vigor but of uncertain concentration and capacity for work, a prince who had the will to insist upon a continuous policy but not the political art to maintain it. Henry is portrayed as indifferent to the Humanist community of Erasmus and More that made so much of him, yet intellectually responsive to their impetus in his religious ideas. He is seen as the unfortunate victim of a well-concealed lack of confidence, which was most obvious in his relations with women.

Scarisbrick takes issue with Elton by pointing out a fact which is scarcely debatable but often ignored, that Henry VIII was "the true source of the really important events of his reign—the wars, the divorce, the breach with Rome." He finds that the attempt by numerous historians to apportion responsibility for English policies between Henry and his ministers is essentially irrelevant, for the choice of servants is always one of the most crucial tests of executive ability. Henry VIII displayed unusual talent in selecting and magnifying the authority and prestige of the minor cleric Thomas Wolsey in 1512, the scholar Thomas More in 1529, and the obscure bureaucrat Thomas Cromwell in 1531. Scarisbrick indicates that Henry's responsibility for royal policy was considerable but often spasmodic. The king was

> Now glad to release all into his minister's hands, now interrupting suddenly and decisively into affairs both big and small, now in enthusiastic partnership with his servant, now, equally unpredictably, lapsing into lazy indifference to public affairs. Now he was hot, now he was cold. Now he was masterful, now docile; now wax, now steel, now honey. He was neither *roi faineant* nor working monarch, but each in turn, erractically.

Both Wolsey and Cromwell, under Scarisbrick's pen, therefore shrink into agents of the king rather than initiators. Wolsey loses much of the glamor and stature Pollard assigned to him in the formation of policy, but the Cardinal becomes a more moderate, humane, and statesmanlike figure than in Pollard's portrait of the power-hungry cleric, while Scarisbrick gives Cromwell merely equal credit with Henry for the revolutionary dogma of the Royal Supremacy.

Scarisbrick is critical of Henry VIII in his younger years, interpreting him as a man incapable of rising beyond the most conventional impulses and the highly personal goals of a late medieval dynast. He brushes aside the theological and dynastic excuses Henry offered for the divorce by revealing that Henry's remarriage could not produce the needed son before 1533, and it therefore almost certainly doomed England to the succession of a minor and the ascendancy of the English aristocracy. It would have been better, in most respects, to have left the Tudor succession to his eldest child, Mary, who was thirty-one when he died and who most certainly could have been married to a man agreeable to her father. He disagrees with R. B. Wernham's recent study, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485-1588* (London, 1966), which portrays Henry as an intelligent director of a grand foreign policy reorientation. Scarisbrick criticizes Henry's wars as both irresponsible and wasteful and his foreign policy as little more than an absurd revival of Lancastrian dreams of European conquest, designed primarily to win Henry chivalric fame on the battlefield. Similarly, he challenges L. B. Smith's recent defense of Henry's Catholic orthodoxy, "Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph" (*American Historical Review,* LXXI, 1966), by signifying that the king's theological opinions were distinctly his own, the ideas of a man who fully grasped the whole Erasmian conception of the state and the whole Erasmian conception of religion at the very beginning of his assault upon the papacy. The frustrating negotiations from 1529 to 1533 with Pope Clement VII resulted not from Henry's religious uncertainties but from the necessity of persuading a reluctant aristocracy and a hostile clergy to accept radical religious changes upon which the king had already decided.

Scarisbrick's Henry VIII is neither Froude-Pollard's flawless ruler nor Elton's dupe for ambitious ministers. He is a man endowed with intelligence and vigor, a king who is capable of enormous energy when aroused to the effort but incapable of sustaining interest in any one subject for any length of time. His most impressive feature was his aggressive regality; he was always a king and even in his most despicable action he always behaved like one. Scarisbrick believes that Henry was probably the most atrocious tyrant who ever sat on the English throne, writing that "it is difficult to think of any truly generous or selfless action performed by him." Yet despite everything, Scarisbrick concludes that Henry VIII

> was indisputably revered, indeed, in some strange way, loved. He had raised monarchy to near-idolatry. He had become the quintessence of Englishry and the focus of swelling national pride. Nothing would ever be quite the same after he had gone.

Lamar State College of Technology

A LOOK AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ACCOUNTING PRINCIPLES

RUTH HOPKINS

As we look at accounting in its present level of development, we find that it is a profession still engaged in the formation of basic concepts and principles for the guidance of its members. This progress toward the development of adequate professional guidelines can be legitimately credited to an evolutionary process whereby the various professional accounting organizations are endeavoring to refine and upgrade the state of the art. However, it must also be recognized that to a considerable extent, the profession is reacting to the tremendous demands brought about by the accelerated rate of development in the business world. Accounting practice had for years followed the double-entry, historical cost system without much thought of present-day complexities. Fundamental concepts were not given proper consideration, and it was not until recent complexities caused accounting to expand its influence that accountants began recognizing problem areas and to face up to the challenge of today. Government agencies, investors, and business itself have all brought pressures on the accountant to develop his profession to the point where it would meet their needs. From this has come an effort to inventory present concepts and to develop new concepts. "Generally accepted accounting principles" have never been satisfactorily defined. There have been confusion and misunderstanding within the profession as well as outside.[1] The profession must determine accounting objectives and formulate a basic foundation on which to build a framework of principles and procedures. This, of course, means a departure from the comfort and security of known procedures.[2]

The point has been reached where past experience will no longer solve problems in a satisfactory manner. Experience is limited to what has been previously known and done. Although experience can provide a workable solution to some problems, major new problems are arising because of the increasing complexity of business operations and broadening of accounting services to individual firms and to the whole economy. We can build onto experience by drawing inferences on the experience to provide a basis from which problems may be solved that are beyond anyone's experience to date.

> Every science, methodology, or other body of knowledge is oriented to some conceptual structure—a pattern of ideas brought together to form a consistent whole or a frame of reference to which is related operational content of that field. Without some such integrating structure, procedures are but senseless rituals without reason or substance; progress is but a fortunate combination of circumstances; research is but fumbling in the dark; and the dissemination of knowledge is a cumbersome process if, indeed, there is any 'knowledge' to convey.[3]

The A.I.C.P.A. recognized the need for accounting research as a constructive approach toward resolving today's complex problems. In 1959 the Accounting Principles Board, the Accounting Research Division, and a project advisory committee were organized. The Research Division would be responsible for conduct-

ing research assigned to it by the Principles Board. The findings and conclusions would be published by the Research Division. The advisory committees were to act in an advisory capacity only.[4] The first five years were spent in organizing and preparing. Long-range basic questions were considered during the first three years. Two studies, "The Basic Postulates of Accounting" and "A Tentative Set of Broad Accounting Principles for Business Enterprises" were published during this time.

These studies were meant to be informative but not conclusive. They were to serve as a vehicle for stimulating constructive criticism for consideration by the Research Division.[5]

Postulates are "the basic assumptions on which principles rest." These assumptions are developed from the economic and political environment of the business community. The interpretation and understanding of these should be made clear so that a firm foundation may be laid for the formulation and application of principles.[6] The following quotation from Susanne K. Langeis' "Introduction to Symbolic Logic" indicates the function of a postulate:

> All we ask of a postulate is: (1) that it shall belong to the system . . .; (2) that it shall imply further propositions of the system; (3) that it shall not contradict any other accepted postulate, or any proposition implied by such another postulate; and (4) it shall not itself be implied by other accepted postulates, jointly or singularly taken.[7]

The Research Division developed the following postulates:

The analysis of the environment of accounting gave rise to five postulates.

Postulate A-1 Quantification. Quantitative data are helpful in making rational economic decisions.

Postulate A-2 Most goods and services that are produced are distributed through exchange.

Postulate A-3 Entities. Economic activity is carried on through specific units or entities.

Postulate A-4 Time Period. Economic activity is carried on during specifiable periods of time.

Postulate A-5 Unit of Measure. Money is the common denominator in terms of which goods and services are measured.

The discussion of those aspects of accounting itself which appear to be valid in every circumstance led to the four additional postulates.

Postulate B-1 Financial statements. The results of the accounting process are expressed in a set of fundamentally related financial statements.

Postulate B-2 Market prices. Accounting data are based on prices generated by past, present, or future exchanges which have actually taken place or are expected to.

Postulate B-3 Entities. The results of the accounting process are expressed in terms of specific units or entities.

Postulate B-4 Tentativeness. The results of operations for relatively short periods of time are tentative whenever allocations between past, present, and future periods are required.

The "imperatives" are expressed in the following postulates.

Postulate C-1 Continuity. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the entity should be viewed as remaining in operation indefinitely.

Postulate C-2 Objectivity. All transactions should be measured in objective terms.

Postulate C-3 Consistency. Procedures used in measurement of position should be followed consistently from period to period.

Postulate C-4 Stable unit. Accounting reports should be measured on a stable measuring unit.

Postulate C-5 Disclosure. Accounting reports should disclose that which is necessary to make them not misleading.[8]

Fifty-two letters were received after the publication of the "Postulates." Five expressed full endorsement, four disapproved, thirteen had various areas of disapproval, and thirty made specific comments. More educators endorsed the work than did practitioners. The teachers viewed the work from a theoretical viewpoint and gave little thought to the problems that would be encountered during implementation. Practitioners emphasized the departures from current practices. The "A" group of postulates were very well received, the main criticism being that these were "obvious" and "trivial." The "B" group of postulates were likewise generally accepted. The main objection of the "C" postulates was that 3, 4, and 5 were standards for reporting and not postulates.[9]

Myron Gordon, in his criticism of ARS #1, stated that principles should be independently established before postulates come into play—the choice of accounting principles should be analogous to the choosing of criterion used by social scientists in solving their problems—what interest do accountants have in financial statements? Management's objective is the maximization of the present value of the firm's future receipts. The accountant is commissioned by the owners to prepare financial statements. The principles adapted in the development of these statements will influence the future receipts of the company. The accountant's professional responsibility to society is the development of principle under the maximization postulate subject to appropriate legal and other restraints.[10]

Research Study #3, "A Tentative Set of Broad Accounting Principles for Business Enterprises" was developed to correlate with the "Basic Postulates." The committee formulated recommendations that they felt could actually be reduced to practice with our present level of knowledge about economic and business affairs.[11]

The study indicates that all assets and liabilities should be recognized, and any changes affecting these assets and liabilities that can be objectively determined should also be recognized. In addition to changes brought about by actual business transactions, the study recommends that price-level, replacement costs,

or any other deviation from former values should be recognized providing they are objectively obtained.

The principles developed would be primarily relevant to formal financial statements presented to third parties. A summary of the principles in this study follows:

A. Profit is attributable to the whole process of business activity.

B. Changes in resources are attributable to:
   1. Price-level changes
   2. Changes in replacement costs above or below price level.
   3. Transfer or recognition of net realizable value which result in gain or loss.
   4. Other causes: accretion - discovery

C. All assets should be recorded.

D. Assets are valued as a discounted future service.
   1. Does future service exist?
   2. Quantity of services?
   3. Method for measuring quantity
      a. Cost
      b. Replacement Cost
      c. Anticipated Sales Price
   4. Proper Valuation
      a. Forms of money or claims to money at discounted present value.
      b. Inventories at net realized value (related revenue taken up at same time).
      c. Plant and equipment at cost with price-level modifications shown.
         1. Amortized over service life
      d. Intangibles at cost with price-level modifications shown.

E. Liabilities recorded at discounted value of future payments.

F. Liabilities calling for goods and services are recorded at agreed selling price.

G. Invested capital should be recorded by source.

H. Retained earnings are accumulated earnings—minus losses, dividends, and any transfer to invested capital.

I. Results from Operations
   1. Revenue—exchange value of goods and services
   2. Cost—product costs or period costs attributable to revenue.
   3. Gains and Losses
      a. Holding gains or losses
      b. Sale of assets above or below book value

c. Settlement of liability at below or above book value
d. Liabilities through lawsuit[12]

One of the advisory committee's comments on the study was from Spacek's statement that as yet the accounting objectives have not been defined. He says that reasoning is missing as a foundation for many of our present principles; and that a principle, so unsupported, is little more than an arbitrary rule which does not have to be understood or explained.[13]

The Board feels that these studies are a valuable contribution to accounting thinking but that they are too radically different from our present generally accepted principles to be accepted at this time. Practice should be compatible with sound logic and reasoning and theory must stand the acid test of practice.[14]

Philip Defliese says that the practitioner cannot deviate too far from the concepts which are now understood and accepted by the business community. He believes, however, that income should be determined in relation to current value instead of historical cost. This type of presentation would be an improvement and could bring about the acceptance of price-level changes. LIFO inventory prices leaves us in the position of current costs in the income statement but at the same time reflects "vintage" costs on the balance sheet.[15]

After the publishing of these studies the Research Division shifted their efforts to the solving of specific problems. Studies were developed on "Cash Flow Analysis and the Funds Statement," "A Critical Study of Accounting for Business Combination," and "Reporting the Financial Effects of Price-Level Changes."

In October, 1964, the Council of the A.I.C.P.A. unanimously adopted recommendations that members should insist that any departures from the opinions of the Accounting Principles Board be disclosed in footnotes of financial statements or in the audit reports of members in their capacity as independent auditor.

In Research Studies #1 and #3 it was believed that a fresh start was the best approach toward building an ideal framework for accounting. In 1965, Research Study #7, "Inventory of Generally Accepted Accounting Principles for Business Enterprises," a different approach was used. The purposes of this study were to:

1. To discuss the basic concepts to which accepted accounting principles are oriented.
2. To establish a list or summary of the accounting principles or practices now regarded essential.
3. To present the opinions of the Accounting Principles Board and its predecessor committee and other authoritative accounting pronouncements now in effect, analyzed in a manner related to this summary.
4. To supply the explanatory and connecting language needed to create a practical codification.[16]

It was felt that after this listing of accepted principles of today, an effort should be made to develop a consensus on problems which have not been resolved, the intent being that although complete unanimity could not be expected next month, next year, or the year after, a calm appraisal would point up the diverse points of view and thereby determine the specific points of inconsistency where modification or improvement would be needed.

While Research Studies #1 and #3 are largely deductive, #7 is a pragmatic approach founded on current practices.

The "Inventory" is not a rule book as such. Nor is it a vehicle for advancing new principles. Its function is: (a) to encourage discussion of the basic concepts to which we now relate our accounting principles, and (b) to establish a list of accounting principles that are now regarded essential in the fiduciary accountabilities of an enterprise to all persons having some form of interest in the financial position and operating results of that enterprise, and (c) to develop a means of practical accounting codification. The summary is made up of thirty-two principles, grouped under five objectives which have reached acceptance in the United States among business executives, professional accountants, and government officials.[17]

The budget of the Accounting Principles Board and Research Division for 1965, was in excess of $260,000. The work of the Research Division was to look for specific points of weakness or inconsistency where modification or improvement was needed by reviewing the Accounting Research bulletins of the former committee.[18] By focusing on points to which there is disagreement and on practices which have accepted alternatives, the Board should be stimulated to narrow differences and inconsistencies in practices.

A. C. Littleton, one of our foremost academicians, believes that the "Inventory" may be valuable in developing accounting theory. Littleton said:

> The four statements of purpose provide a good approach to a structural idealogy—one which will have body and bulk enough to be usefully educational in the broadest sense of the term. That aspect of this research will no doubt prove more directly effective than would overly compact verbalization of specific 'principles.'[19]

The "Inventory" as developed should serve as a very useful tool in the review of research studies. Some of the specific areas to be studied are: income taxes, intercorporate investments, materiality, foreign operations, goodwill and business combinations, industrial product research and development expenditures, and operations peculiar to extractive industries.

Accounting Research studies developed after #7 are #8 "Accounting for the Cost of Pension Plans," and #9 "Reporting Results of Operations," and in the works is an opinion about restatement of prior year's financial data following pooling of interests, merger, or acquisition.

"Accounting for Cost of Pension Plans" involves many different points of view because of various divergent interests: employees, employers, accountants,

actuaries, insurers, educators, government officials, analysts, and others. The conclusions of this study, if followed by business enterprises, would narrow the areas of differences and inconsistencies which have been brought about by these different interests.

Accounting Research study #9 "Reporting Results of Operations" discusses the nature of events and transactions which might be considered exraordinary. It is the opinion that all items should be reflected in net income, the extraordinary items being separated from the ordinary operations. The only exception is extraordinary items from a prior period which should be reflected as adjustments to the opening balance of Retained Earnings. Qualifications in the acceptance were: (1) The Board is establishing arbitrary rules to discourage or prohibit prior period adjustments other than determining appropriate principles to be followed and (2) changes should be left to the judgment of management which is primarily responsible to stockholders. The authority of an opinion depends upon its acceptability. Those who adopt other practices should, however, justify these departures from Board opinions.

The latest steps taken in A.I.C.P.A. Research Studies which state that extra gains and losses should be itemized in financial reports and included in net income for periods in which they occurred, the reporting of equity in total net earnings of an unconsolidated but majority-owned domestic subsidiary, and the assumption that a corporation should not use changes in actuarial assumptions or gains on pension-fund securities as justification for omitting pension charges against earnings in a single year have been endorsed by the Securities Exchange Commission, the New York Stock Exchange, and the American Stock Exchange.

After there is agreement on accounting principles by the Board, there is still much to be done before users can examine published statements without wondering if the accounting data may have been influenced to some extent on the selection of accounting methods.[20]

Like common law, the development of accounting principles will never end. The question is whether this evolutionary process in the development of generally accepted principles which will narrow the areas of difference in corporate reporting can be accelerated. The assumption that there is something radically wrong with present reporting practices is a serious mistake. Investors in the United States receive more and better financial information than investors anywhere in the world. The past thirty years have shown vast improvements. Full disclosure, comparison, and explanations which did not exist in the 1920's are now commonplace. However, there is still room for improvement. Accounting principles must be developed by logic based on the assumed end purposes to be served. Top management of corporations should take a more active part than it has up to this time. Financial statements are a joint responsibility of corporate management and the independent auditor. The responsibility for the development of underlying accounting principles should also be a joint effort. Companies have resisted the opinions of the Institute because of immediate adverse

effects that might occur on their own financial reports. This is short-sightedness. Indifference and resistance on the part of management will only slow down the profession's efforts to develop a means of reporting that can stand examination.

Abraham Briloff in a 1964 article has suggested theoretical research should be instituted by an independent unit such as the Securities Exchange Commission, Internal Revenue, or foundation grants to universities. An Accounting Principles Commission should include the Accounting Principles Board plus representatives from banking, labor, investment, and governmental areas of our society. The Commission would review current developments and research and determine what should be "generally accepted accounting principles." Any divergence should require an explicit statement of the circumstances involved and an affirmation from an accountant.[21]

Predictions are that, with our present information explosion, accounting will wither and die. The authors are stating that accounting as we know it today will be insignificant in the future. But accounting does change in the developing and transmitting of account data.

A committee in the American Accounting Association has concluded that multiple valuations will be used to a greater extent in the future than in the past (historical cost vs current cost). Non-deterministic measures, expressed in probabilistic terms when possible, will be needed. Several alternative valuations will be needed in the conception of proper accounting reporting in the future. Each valuation will be measured as a range or average supported by a statement of standard deviation from the average or some other measure of dispersion. Multi-dimensional reporting will also exist in the future. A goal of high employee morale may require different measurements than will the income maximization goal. The accounting objective will be to "measure and communicate data on past, present, and prospective activities of all types in order to control methods and decision making at all levels.[22]

In conclusion the accountant is rising to the challenge with better defined reporting methods to meet the needs of others dependent upon him for information. As additional studies are completed, the areas of confusion and disagreement will continue to narrow. There are those who feel accountants should tackle the problem of credibility more from the point of developing an overall philosophy than by tackling specific problems. However, the problems are there and they must be met today if the accountant is to serve the useful role in which he has been cast. Otherwise, additional government controls will come about and the accountant's position will be defined for him with the result being a restriction of the opportunity which he now has to satisfy the needs of those dependent upon him, no doubt to the detriment of all concerned. As can be seen, research and development in accounting have been accelerated tremendously during the past decade but so have the demands of those relying on the product. Further acceleration by accountants and a greater effort to reach agreement on conflicting issues is essential if the accountant is to meet his challenge in the professional manner essential to his survival.

Husson College

NOTES

[1] Carl A. Tietjen, "Accounting Principles, Practices and Methods," p. 65.
[2] Horace R. Givens, "Basic Accounting Postulates," p. 458.
[3] Maurice Moonitz, "Why Do We Need 'Postulates' and 'Principles'?", p. 43.
[4] John W. Queenan, "Postulates: Their Place in Accounting Research," p. 29.
[5] Moonitz, "Why Do We Need 'Postulates'," p. 43.
[6] Queenan, p. 30.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Maurice Moonitz, "The Basic Postulates of Accounting," pp. 51-53.
[9] "Comments on the 'Basic Postulates of Accounting'," p. 44.
[10] Myron J. Gordon, "Postulates, Principles, and Research in Accounting," pp. 251--256.
[11] Robert T. Sprouse, et al, "A Tentative Set of Broad Accounting Principles for Business Enterprises," p. X.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-59.
[13] Leonard Spacek, "Postulates, Principles, and Research in Accounting," p. 275.
[14] Queenan, p. 31.
[15] Philip L. DeFliese, "A Practitioner's View of the Realization Concept," pp. 519-521.
[16] Clifford W. Heimbucher, "Current Developments in the Accounting Principles Board," p. 47.
[17] "Accounting Research Study #7," p. IX.
[18] Heimbucher, p. 48.
[19] "Accounting Research Study #7," p. X.
[20] Herbert Miller, "Accounting Theory: After there is Agreement on Broad Accounting Principles—What Then?"
[21] Abraham J. Briloff, "Needed: A Revolution in the Determination and Application of Accounting Principles," p. 15.
[22] Norton M. Bedford, "The Nature of Future Accounting Theory."

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Howells' American Families - An Economic Mosaic

ALMA J. PAYNE

Few men seem farther removed from Walt Whitman's American Poet than the modest, non-unique figure of William Dean Howells—yet Howells joined Whitman in "absorbing" his nation and rendering back America as he experienced it. Howells was quite aware of the differing economic levels in American society and was equally sensitive to differences in the economic function of the various members of the family according to geographical location, the extent of urbanization, and the social level. In keeping with his stress on the commonplace, he portrayed neither the extremes of poverty nor the extremes of wealth, especially since such extremes did not lie within the horizons of Howells' own life. He wrote best about what he knew best; it is understandable why his fictional families living in or coming from the Midwest or rural New England display traits reflecting the economic pattern of Howells' childhood home, while those living in Boston, New York, and Europe bear similarities to the economic patterns encountered in Howells' maturity.

In the nostalgic novel of his last years, *The Leatherwood God,* Howells most closely portrayed the economy of the frontier, the kind of economic self-sufficiency which he had known during the time he spent in the log cabin near Xenia, Ohio, while his father and the family were experimenting with communal living. Among the residents of Leatherwood Bottom there are definite divisions on matters of religion, but few on matters of degree of wealth. True, some families are more successful than others, some are more intellectual than others, but there is little social differentiation on a monetary basis. Life in general is simple. The women do their own housework and tend their home garden plots; the men engage in farming or milling. This division of labor is quite evident in the home of Squire Braile, who holds a respected position as Justice of the Peace in the community. His home is a double log cabin with stone chimneys at each end and a covered porch-way, but it is still a log cabin.[1] It is whitewashed inside, and unlike the cabin of his shiftless neighbor, Abel Reverdy, it has squared logs plastered so as to make it weather tight. There is a loft over both rooms, reached by the same type of ladder which led the youthful Howells to the long hours of reading by candlelight in the loft of the log cabin near Xenia. The furniture is utilitarian and the only pretenses to decoration are "the chimbly-piece with that plaster of Paris Samuel prayin' in it,"[2] and a mantel clock. The sparkling cleanliness of the scrubbed puncheon floor gives a hint of the character of Mrs. Braile, even without Howell's description of her, a description highly reminiscent of his own paternal grandmother:

> She was neatly dressed in a home-woven linsy-woolsey gown, with a blue check apron reaching to its hem in front, and a white cloth passed round her neck and crossed over her breast; she had a cap on her iron gray hair.[3]

Mrs. Braile does all of her own housework and cooking; she does not contribute to the family income in a monetary way, but her dress is home-woven and her preserves are homemade. The only way in which she feels that she has failed

to fulfill her function as a wife is that she has not given the Squire another child to take the place of the little boy whose death has served to tie the husband and wife closely with the same bond of mutual grief which Howells and his wife had experienced. Here is no unequal partnership, for Mrs. Braile is the Squire's trusted partner in all decisions affecting the home and family life. Within her own house she is dominant, ordering the Squire about in a good-humored way and countermanding his decisions whenever they violate her code of hospitality. It is she who invites the shiftless Abel and Sally Reverdy to stay for breakfast, contrary to her husband's wish, for he indignantly insists that Dylks, hiding from the community which he has betrayed, be sheltered in the bedroom, not in the loft made odorous by the pet coon which Joey Billings has given to the Squire.

The glimpses which the reader obtains of other homes in Leatherwood Bottom reveal the same utilitarian simplicity and the same self-sufficiency. Most of the homes have only one room, and they are more likely to have a rifle as a mantel piece than a clock. In each, the women have certain tasks—milking, cooking, cleaning, caring for the children—while the men are mostly engaged in clearing the land upon which corn grows so luxuriantly that it almost hides their cabins.[4] They produce their own food, and even their own luxuries, such as the Squire's yellow tobacco, which he raises and cures himself.

Despite the religious split caused in the community by Dylks, there is a sense of close neighborliness. No family goes hungry, no child goes without care; even the shiftless are protected. When the Reverdy cabin falls down "in the tail-end of a tornado," the Brailes set the family up in a new cabin behind theirs, as the Squire says, "to take care of them, and let them take care of us,"[5] but in no sense as servants.

Here, in truth, is a picture of the rural family, self-sufficient, self-contained, living simply and making its own entertainment, performing a definite religious function, but also drawn to its neighbors who face the same problems and hardships. Howells' own experience in this type of family, revealed in the autobiographical *New Leaf Mills,* furnished the color of realism.

A second Ohio family, the Kentons, represents the Midwestern village. No longer is the emphasis agrarian, although the family knows nothing of crowded urban life. Mr. Kenton, a highly successful lawyer, has retired, and his son has succeeded him, much as Joseph Howells followed in his father's footsteps as editor. The family knows only content with their life in Tuskingum. They admire their large, square, brick house, surrounded by four acres of lawn and gardens, which they planned together. Like Howells, Judge Kenton believes Tuskingum to be the best place on earth in which to live, and he and his wife have "mellowed more and more in their comfortable home until they hated to leave it even for short outings."[6]

In this family there is no question of economic security. It is no longer necessary for the women of the family to participate in actual physical labor, as in

The Leatherwood God; there is less family self-sufficiency and more dependence upon a money economy. The family is not tied to a plot of land upon which all depend for their livelihood, although the Judge is an avid gardener, and the whole family feels a strong sentimental attachment to their home and their town. They can easily afford to live six months in a New York hotel apartment and spend the rest of the year in European travel.

Although the members of the family are supported by the father and so are not vital economically to each other, there remains an inter-dependence, an equality, the direct heritage of the earlier frontier. All decisions are made on a family basis. Although the children quarrel among themselves, there are strong bonds of affection; they feel a sense of responsibility for the good name of the family; and, with the exception of the youngest daughter, Lottie, they have deep respect for their parents, who, in turn, trust their children as individuals. The Kentons thus represent a kind of transitional family. The economic change has been made from agrarian self-sufficiency to a money economy, but the self-contained unity of the family has not been dissipated, continuing in the face of the challenges presented by New York and Europe. Howells bridges the gap between the environment of his childhood and of his maturity and indicates quite clearly that here is an ideal family relationship.

Among the novels set in New England, there are families in all gradations of urbanization and of wealth. One of the poorest families to be found in Howells' novels is the Durgin family as it first appears in *The Landlord at Lion's Head.* The Ohio frontier could be no more wild than the first glimpse the reader obtains of the Durgin farm, reached by a stony mountain road and "pushed back on a narrow shelf of land, with a meagre acreage of field and pasture broken out of the woods that clothed all the neighboring steeps."[7] The growls of the bears and the screams of the catamounts are less fearful than the spectre of the tuberculosis which has claimed six of the children and has left the father and eldest son to drag themselves around the farm, too vitiated to gain a living from the stony acres.

In this family it is the mother who assumes the economic lead. She is only forty, but she shows her age early because "she had lived long in the deaths of her children she had lost."[8] From the moment she appears, with "a massive beauty of figure and a heavily moulded regularity of features that impressed such as had eyes to see her grandeur among the summer folks,"[9] the reader feels her strength. It is she who takes advantage of the fact that the farm affords the best view of the rock formation, Lion's Head, and who sells milk at five cents a glass and black maple sugar at three cents a cake to the tourists who make their way there. She is a good business-woman, quick to learn, as when she follows a tourist's suggestion that she stamp the sugar cakes with an image of Lion's Head. The price goes up to five cents a cake.

Faced by the seeming necessity of selling the farm because of crop failures and her husband's physical weakness, she gambles on the suggestion of a visiting

painter that she take summer boarders, offering "the best of farm-board, with plenty of milk and eggs, berries and fruit, for five dollars a week. . . ."[10] After the death of her husband, she assumes even more firm control, channeling her own efforts and those of the two sons remaining at home into the endeavors which turn Lions' Head Farm into a successful summer resort.

The success is so great that she is able to realize her dream of sending her youngest son, Jeff, to Harvard, although his real satisfaction would lie in becoming the landlord at Lion's Head, his eventual destiny. Although the core of the novel is not the economic struggle of the Durgin family toward the success which they achieve, the account serves to indicate Howells' denial of the uselessness of women in the handling of economic affairs and his recognition of their value as managers, a value which they took care to hide in the day of their supposed inferiority in practical matters.

In several other novels set in New England, Howells indicated the economic importance of the wife and children of families on farms where poor soil and high taxes made self-sufficiency virtually impossible. In *Ragged Lady,* Mrs. Claxon does sewing in her home, while her husband tries a little of everything to augment the poor return from their rocky farm.[11] The daughter, Clementina, works at the hotel as a helper to the housekeeper, under carefully drawn conditions which keep her from being regarded as a servant. Howells knew from personal experience that the self-respect of the native rural families forbade anything that smacked of classification as domestic servants.[12] In similar fashion, Lizzie Camp in *A Traveler from Autruria* adds to the family income by her work as a seamstress and thus aids her brother in his battle to maintain possession of the family farm.

When her husband, a minister, died, Mrs. Woodward in the novel, *Mrs. Farrell,* gladly leaves behind the hated charity of the parish congregation to support her family by taking summer boarders, thus becoming one of what Howells pictured as an army of New England women who, in the face of almost sterile farms and lack of enterprise on the part of discouraged husbands,[13] keep their families solvent. Again, as in the *Landlord at Lion's Head,* this is a family endeavor, with a maintenance of self-respect on the part of the Woodwards, which one of the guests calls "a great ideal picture of America."[14] Although spoken by another, the words are an expression of the opinion of the author.

The geographical setting is different, but Howells found in the rural families of New England many of the same traits, economically speaking, with which he endowed his Midwestern families. Both can be traced directly to the economic pattern of the families which he knew in his childhood. There is no shame in labor, as long as it is for one's own family and does not involve subservience to others; the family is to a large extent self-sufficient, with each member entrusted with certain duties; there is a unity of purpose and of interest, but the individual receives status from this importance to the family as a whole.

In *A Modern Instance,* a study of a family living in a small farming town, a step removed from the agrarian level, Howells questioned whether economic

security was enough to hold a family together. The town is Equity, Maine, set in the midst of a fertile plain and surrounded by mountains. On the surface, the Gaylord family seems a counterpart of the Kentons from Ohio. They live in a square white mansion, which dominates the town, just as the Squire's wealth and influence dominate its people. Although theirs is the wealthiest family in Equity, there is little outward show of wealth. The squire dresses in rusty black, "the cassimere pantaloons, the satin vest, and the dress-coat which old-fashioned country lawyers . . . wore. . . ."[15] The daughter, Marcia, has spent two years away at school, yet joins willingly in the cooking and housework, which she and her mother perform. They do not mingle in village society, although their house is richly furnished, "according to the local taste of the time; the parlor had a Brussels carpet, and heavy chairs of mahogany and haircloth,"[16] and Marcia's piano would seem to provide a focal point for the young people of the town, as it had when Howells was active in Columbus society. The whole family seems happiest in the kitchen, Marcia because she was there so much as a child, the parents because they used to sit there when they were young.[17] Mrs. Gaylord enjoys the "sitting-room," with its sheet-iron wood-stove, braided rug, rocker with a feather cushion, and geraniums in the sunny window.

The materials are all present for another congenial family portrait. There is economic security; all of the members of the family contribute to its comfort; there are the luxuries which might add grace to life here. Yet a vital cement is missing—the cement of mutual respect, understanding, and affection. This is a home in which the mother is completely dominated by her husband and in which the daughter receives no education in either religious or social standards. The result is chaos—a chaos which bears directly upon the failure of the daughter's marriage. Howells indicated quite well that in this family almost all stabilizing functions are absent, except the economic, and this is not enough to assure the proper rearing of a daughter.

The next step toward the completely urban setting is found in a novel placed against the background of a New England industrial town, *The Son of Royal Langbrith*. The Langbrith family is wealthy and influential, so there is no problem of economic security. The entire novel hinges on an economic-moral question, the way in which the wealth was attained. Although the son, James Langbrith, reveres the memory of his successful father, the fortune which has built an elegantly tasteful home has been accumulated as the result of ruthless scheming and treachery. The financially successful paper mills would have been impossible without the patents which Royal Langbrith had stolen from his partner, Hawberk, who had become an opium addict as a result of the tragedy.

The mills, the public library, the beautiful home are to the son, James, all symbols of the greatness of his dead father's character, which he commemorates with the bronze tablet upon the facade of the library which his father had endowed. James does not have even the responsibility of running the mills. He goes to college and his uncle assumes the killing task of management. It is only when the uncle's patience and digestion give under the strain that James learns

the truth about his father's character. Only with the revelation of the truth does a normal atmosphere between mother and son become possible, resulting in an amicable relationship between Mrs. Langbrith and James's new wife, Hope Hawberk, who is willing slowly to assume her position as mistress of the house, gradually taking over the direction of the servants, but permitting the illusion of the elder woman's control to remain. At long last, the Langbrith family assumes the matriarchal character, which Howells indicated as the typical American pattern, insofar as the management of a home is concerned.

In this novel, Howells moved the economic function entirely from the family under study. None of them faces the necessity of work for survival. Servants take over the domestic labor, although the women of the family continue to direct it. This is a family of the true leisure class in which the economic question becomes one of morality rather than of necessity. There still remains the close-knit loyalty and understanding between Hope and her father, between James and his mother after the marriage of Hope and James, for they share a community of interests in a setting not yet urban enough to foster de-centralization of the family.

In any study of the economic function of families in an urban setting, both social level and the length of time the family has been in the urban environment must be considered. In *A Modern Instance,* Bartley Hubbard takes his new wife, the former Marcia Gaylord, from the security of Squire Gaylord's home in Equity, Maine, to the economic uncertainty of Boston. They arrive with a total of one hundred and seventy-five dollars, and they encounter the difficulties which Howells had observed among young married couples in the city. Marcia is shocked at the idea of paying seven dollars a day at the hotel, a rate which seems exorbitant to her village mind, and she insists upon an immedite search for less expensive quarters. Despite Bartley's more extravagant tastes, Marcia perseveres until they settle for a single room at four dollars a week, in which they can prepare their own breakfast and tea, going out for their dinners to "an eatin'-house," where, according to their new landlady, they can eat well by ordering different dishes and dividing them.

Bartley's ingenuity in writing about his own experiences in a way to interest the reading public gains him a journalistic foothold. In these early days, Marcia eagerly helps him, entering "into his affairs with the keen half-intelligence which characterizes a woman's participation in business. . . ."[18] She accompanies him on his missions, just as Elinor Howells had accompanied her husband in Venice. She helps him with his notes, she writes up what he dictates, and she even furnishes him with details when he writes of the spring openings of milliners and dry-goods firms.[19] However, Marcia has received no home training in the handling of money, and the uncertainty of Bartley's income is her despair. At times he earns fifty dollars a week, at other times his free-lancing brings in nothing. In the latter situation, Marcia becomes desperate:

> . . . her frugality became a mania, and they had quarrels about what she called his extravagance. She embittered his daily bread by blaming him for what he spent on it; she wore her oldest dresses, and would have had

> him go shabby in token of their adversity. Her economics were frantic child's play,—methodless, inexperienced, fitful; and they were apt to be followed by remorse in which she abetted him in some wanton excess.[20]

After a hot, discouraging Boston summer, Bartley finally achieves the dreamed-of permanent position as assistant managing-editor on the *Events,* at thirty dollars a week. They find a small house with a view of the Back Bay, which, since they had had seven months in one room, seems "absurdly large,"[21] and they enjoy the luxury of a single servant. After the birth of their baby, Bartley's salary is raised to fifty dollars, and economic security seems assured. But Bartley's nature precludes such assurance. His outlays are always more than he has anticipated. He borrows money secretly, for Marcia "would have starved herself to pay the debt, what was worse, she would have wished him to starve with her."[22] He controls the finances and he keeps the accounts; he is master in his house. In this lack of partnership, Howells found a source of the failure of this particular marriage.

Marcia tries to help by giving up new clothes, but Bartley refuses to deny himself anything. To pay for a sacque for Marcia and a sealskin cap for himself, he unscrupulously uses material which a friend had planned to use for himself. In order to purchase stock in the *Events,* he borrows $1,500 from Ben Halleck, a college friend who secretly has fallen in love with Marcia. As a result of the questionable ethics of the first action, Bartley loses his position; the large sum of money is stolen as he prepares to return to Marcia after a bitter quarrel has driven him away. There is no longer a chance to save the marriage, which ends in the tempestuous tragedy of the law court.

The novel makes clear that more than economic considerations cause the ruin of a marriage. Bartley lacks a core of ethics, in fact is ruthlessly selfish; Marcia holds too tightly and too passionately to her husband; and the reader wonders if these traits would have been so tragically disastrous if the couple had remained in Equity. Howells recognized the pressures of an increasingly materialistic urban environment, where money gave status as well as security, an environment which Marcia was not prepared to meet, despite her good intentions, and which Bartley could only meet at the cost of all personal integrity.

Howells portrayed the impact of the city on other families who left an agrarian or village environment to come to New York or Boston. The Leightons, in *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* find New York full of difficulties as they try to support themselves and provide art training for Alma, the daughter. Both women contribute actively, Mrs. Leighton by keeping boarders, and Alma by sketching for the magazine *Every Other Week.*

The keeping of a boarder eases the economic situation of another family, the Baysleys, in *Letters Home.* They have moved from Timber Creek, Iowa, to New York where the husband has an insignificant position under the Cheese and Churn Trust at an annual salary of $2,500.[23] They have found that what seemed a fortune in Timber Creek is very little in New York. Abner Baysley's pathetic

letters to his brother, the Reverend William Baysley, reveal not only the family's social dislocation, the parents' homesickness, the daughters' loneliness, but the very real struggle for existence. Business in New York has no sentiment, no consideration for age; a trust has no bowels."[24] In place of their home farm, they have a six-room flat, graphically described by the hero of the novel, Wallace Ardith, a friend from Iowa whom Baysley meets by accident and invites home to "supper":[25]

> . . . six little boxes of rooms, counting the parlor and the girls' bedroom portiered off it as two. The whole place was furnished with their poor old Timber Creek things citified up, and their home carpets cut into rugs.[26]

When the Baysleys hint that they really have too much room, Ardith offers to rent a room and they quickly accept, glad to have the extra three dollars a week.[27] Ardith becomes quite involved in the family affairs, helping to nurse them through illness and using his influence with Ralson, the head of the Cheese Trust, to keep Baysley's position during his illness. An increase in salary to $3,000 seems to assure the family's economic future, although Essie Baysely's mistaken belief that Ardith loves her, while in reality he is engaged to America Ralson, complicates the lives of all concerned. The misunderstanding is finally resolved to provide happiness for all.

The epistolary nature of the novel introduces another character seeking economic security in New York. Frances Denman comes from the village of Lake Ridge, New York, to earn money to help support her widowed mother and her younger sister. She is hired as America Ralson's secretary at $1,200 a year, and in her capacity serves as companion to the elder, newly-rich Ralsons, who are homesick for Wottoma, Iowa, and as a restraining influence upon America. Her wonder at the ease with which the newly-rich family spend money, her conservative reaction to America's free behavior and new friends, and her sincere appreciation of the generosity of the family do much to round out the inter-related picture of several families, on several economic levels, all facing New York for the first time. She also provides the only exception to the urban pattern in which the husband of the family has the primary financial responsibility, with wife and daughters sharing his problems in the lower income group, but not contributing directly to the monetary income. In many ways, this pattern closely resembles that of Howells' own family in the days when he and Elinor, with the baby Winifred, lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In *The World of Chance,* P.B.S. Ray, a young journalist on an upstate New York paper, comes to New York City to sell his novel, *A Modern Romeo.* In his efforts, he meets many people, among them Percy Brandreth, now a publisher, who had sponsored the production of *Romeo and Juliet* to help establish the "Social Union," Annie Kilburn's answer to the problem of capital and labor.[28] Among Mr. Brandreth's authors is Mr. Kane, who takes Ray to meet David Hughes, a life-long altruist, who has just left his last attempt at communal living, a unit called the Family, resembling the Shakers in all but celibacy. At sixty-nine he is encountering at first hand the materialism of New York.

Although Hughes' "hope and good-will are as athletic as ever,"[29] in a fashion reminiscent of Howells' own father, the remainder of his family are faced with earning a living, a problem which they did not have to face while in the Family. While Hughes is busy condemning the level to which the art of literature has fallen,[30] his daughter Peace finds employment with the firm of Chapley and Brandreth, the firm considering Ray's book. The other daughter is married to Mr. Denton, an idealist who finds it difficult to adjust to the monetary-mindedness of life outside the Family, where money received no thought at all.[31] He is terribly homesick for the country life which he knew on the "Family place," but finds some comfort in taking his twins to Central Park. Denton is a wood-engraver, brought up among Shakers, who had fallen sick while visiting the Family, had been cared for, and had married Hughes' daughter upon his recovery—the wrong daughter, Mr. Kane says, for Mrs. Denton is too much of this world to be "the guide, philosopher, and friend of such a man."[32] Ansel Denton's pity for humanity takes such a form as paying the rent for an evicted family, although it means salt and potatoes for his family's meal. He does not think in terms of Hughes' milennium but is sensitive to the suffering immediately around him. He would escape to the Family again, if it still existed.[33]

Denton's tortured conscience is asked to bear one burden too many. He has always been concerned because new inventions in engraving make better pictures but make life worse by throwing many men out of work. As Peace explains, "he means that art must be free before it can be true, and that there can be no freedom where there is the fear of want."[34] His wife's desires for material things drive him to perfect a new art process which would cost the jobs of many men. No sooner is it finished than he destroys it in obedience to what Hughes calls "a notion of expiation, of sacrifice, which is perhaps a survival of his ancestral Puritanism."[35] Denton's perilous mental equilibrium is destroyed when he exposes his children to scarlet fever and they die. Rather than being drawn together by the tragedy, the Dentons are alienated. He gives up his position so that another man may have his place; he attempts to kill Peace in answer to the command of his inner Voice; and when Ray intervenes, he commits suicide, swallowing prussic acid.

The suicide of Denton is shortly followed by the death of David Hughes, comforted by Ray's sympathetic falsehood that Brandreth will publish Hughes' Utopian novel, *World Revisited.*[36] Although Ray offers to sacrifice his own book for the sake of Hughes' book, Brandreth refuses to take the chance. Ironically, *A Modern Romeo* succeeds because a substitute for the regular reviewer on the *Metropolis* mistakes Ray's book for that of another, reads it, then writes a glowing tribute, which is reprinted in other papers. Ray adjusts easily to success and returns in triumph to the small town from which he had come.

Although weakly contructed, *The World of Chance* reveals the particular competitive business world with which Howells was most familiar. It points up the practical side of Howells' nature, that business sense which he had developed in his childhood home, the practicality which balanced his own father's idealism.

However one might deplore the crudities of the business world, one did not withdraw into some Utopian dream, but worked in the world for the betterment of society as it existed.

Howells was more comfortable when portraying those families which were without financial worries. In *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* the Marches come to New York for financial betterment and find it without too much struggle. It is taken for granted that the economic function rests with Basil, although Isabel helps him in making the difficult decision to defy Dryfoos' ultimatum to discharge Lindau. In fact, Basil is freed of almost every other responsibility except that of bread-winning. Tom, the son, follows in his father's business, carrying on the economic function. The same division of labor is evident in the other families in the novel, ranging upward to the fabulously wealthy but tragically unhappy Dryfoos family.

Two novels, *A Modern Instance* and *The Rise of Silas Lapham,* present three Boston families which may be classed as wealthy. Probably the wealthiest of the three is the Lapham family. Silas Lapham is proud of his position as a self-made man. The interview which he grants to Bartley Hubbard at the beginning of the novel and the unfortunate scene at the Corey dinner clearly reveal his pride and confidence in himself as a businessman, if not in his social poise. By the time the Laphams reach Boston, financial matters are almost entirely confined to Lapham's office, but this has not always been the case. When Silas married his school-teacher wife, it was a step up in life, but he did not long remain in awe of her superior social position. Her strength and good sense were invaluable; "she encouraged and helped him from the first, and bore her full share of the common burden. . . she had sense and principle, and in their simple lot she did what was wise and right."[37] Here was no helpless social butterfly. During the Civil War she carried on the business; upon his return she continued to furnish "the spring of his enterprise."[38]

In only one instance, the affair of the partnership, did she fail to act as Lapham's conscience. When he forced Rogers out of the partnership, even though Rogers took away more than he had put in, Lapham violated what she considered right, for he "had been dependent at one time on his partner's capital,"[39] and she felt that Rogers should have shared fully in the profits. She did not let him forget the moral problem involved and his knowledge of her opinion plays a large part in Lapham's final refusal to recoup his fortunes by another unethical deal.

As the Lapham fortune grows, Persis has little contact with the business except to spend the profit on her daughters and her home, in the manner which pleased them, until they come into contact with the social world of the Coreys. Neither Persis nor the girls belittle the world of business. Persis senses that for Silas his business is not mundane:

> . . . She vaguely perceived that his paint was something more than business to him; it was a sentiment, almost a passion. . . . It was the poetry of that nature, otherwise so intensely prosaic; and she understood this, and for the most part forebore.[40]

Here is no Babbitt, but rather a man who takes immense pride in making his paint the best of its kind, a more important consideration than the amount of money which its excellence brings in, although his drunken bragging at the Corey dinner makes clear that his yardstick of success is a monetary one.

When ruin comes, it comes because he exchanges the ruthlessness of the business world for that moral code which he had violated to begin his financial rise; then the "rise" of Silas Lapham is complete. Persis once again becomes an active partner in the business of which she had lost track through the successful years. She realizes that:

> . . . the simple, rude soul to which her heart clove in her youth, but which she had put to such cruel proof, with her unsparing conscience and her unsparing tongue, had been equal to its ordeals, and had come out unscathed and unstained. He was able in his talk to make so little of them; he hardly seemed to see what they were; he was apparently not proud of them, and certainly not glad; if they were victories of any sort, he bore them with the patience of defeat.[41]

The Laphams return to the hills of Vermont, giving up the house in Nankeen Square and all else that can be sold to satisfy the creditors. Silas tries to renew his life, working with the special Persis Brand of paint that remains in his possession, but complete return is not possible for "he was more broken than he knew. . . it did not kill, as it often does, but it weakened the spring once so strong and elastic."[42] Howells presented in the study of Silas Lapham a man who came from the country to Boston, found first financial success, then financial defeat, but emerges with a moral victory more shining than any monetary triumph—a clear reflection of Howells' own standards.

The second wealthy family which Howells presented in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* may be classified as passively wealthy as contrasted with the vitality of Lapham's financial ascent. Theirs is a second generation wealth, no more aristocratic in origin than that of the Laphams. Bromfield Corey's fortune was amassed by his father, who prospered as a merchant in the China and India trade. Unwilling to follow the sea or any trade, Bromfield studied, painted, and made gracious living his prime objective. Silas Lapham regards the Corey name "as a symbol of splendour, which, unless she should live to see at least three generations of his descendants gilded with mineral paint, he could not hope to realize in his own."[43]

Bromfield Corey has never "done anything." He might have made a reputation as a painter, but even after he married, he had plenty of money. "It was absurd for him to paint portraits for pay, and ridiculous to paint them for nothing, so he did not paint them at all."[44] Although he is a dilettante in art, his taste is reflected in the simple beauty of his home, built in the classic style, with a restraint in furnishing which makes it seem bare to the Laphams when they come to dine.[45] Both Corey and his wife maintain their well defined places in Boston society, although Mrs. Corey is more active and aggressive, especially in

protecting the position of her two daughters in that same society. It is this consideration, not a snobbery based on money, which causes her opposition to the Laphams.

Tom Corey, on the other hand, represents a new generation which Howells seemed happy to present. Not only has Tom inherited the Corey Roman nose, which had skipped his father's generation, but the energy of his grandfather as well. He has not inherited his father's suavity and sensitivity; he lacks his father's wit; but provides a sympathetic audience for the wit of others. "The clear mind which produced nothing but practical results reflected everything with charming lucidity. . . ."[46] This very practicality and common-sense, which he inherited from his rather angularly correct mother, makes possible his entrance into Lapham's business, the solving of the romantic triangle involving the Lapham daughters, and his success in the paint business in the Southwest with its equalitarian opportunities.

Through the Corey family, Howell was able to present two portraits a generation apart. Bromfield Corey, despite his personal sweetness and humility, is definitely of the Brahmin caste. He lives upon the wealth of the past; he does not contribute economically; he is more interested in living life aesthetically well. His son, Tom, while accepting his status in Boston society, realizes the need for constructive action; he sees that the fountain of inherited wealth will run dry eventually; and he attacks the problem honestly and energetically, judging men and situations on their intrinsic merits, not according to an externally imposed system.

A third Boston family represents another type of wealth. In *A Modern Instance,* the Hallecks appear as a simple, gracious family. The elder Halleck has accumulated his fortune in the leather processing business, but there is nothing of the newly-rich crudeness of the Laphams evident in the Halleck family. When Bartley Hubbard visits them as the guest of his college mate, Ben Halleck, he finds them to be devout, benevolent, and wealthy enough to have a coachman and an inside man,[47] but not fashionable. Their house, "richly furnished with cushioned seats, dense carpets, and heavy curtains,"[48] is a meeting place for people of their own religious inclination, and "of a like abundance."[49] They approve of lectures, concerts, and operas, although they draw the line at play-going. At the time, they represent Bartley's concept of civilized culture.

Years later, as a reporter for the *Events,* Bartley interviews Mr. Halleck for his "Solid Men Series." He finds that Ben has finally achieved his dream of studying law at Harvard, having decided against going into his father's business. Mr. Halleck reveals that they live in the same house on Rumford Street, which had been one of the most fashionable sections in the days before society moved to the Back Bay. As he says, they are plain people and dislike change.[50] They do not mind being unfashionable, keeping the old hours for dinner, for "their ways of life had been fixed in other times."[51] They like everything about their house; the high-walled garden full of old-fashioned flowers in box-bordered beds, the tasteless furnishings in which "crude colors, lumpish and meaningless forms, abounded in a rich and horrible discord."[52]

Their older daughters revere the home, but Ben and his youngest sister, Olive, laugh at it all, yet with "a sort of filial tenderness."[53] Ben blames his failure to be in the popular set upon not going to Harvard, for after he came home from the denominational college of his parents' preference, he was unable to resume his associations, but it does not matter too much. Olive, on the other hand, has kept out of society by choice; it is too much trouble to be fashionable. The reader feels that this is the ideal way of life, in Howells' opinion, the kind of life he would have enjoyed in that permanent home, long sought, but never found. Here there is no striving, either frantically to maintain a social position or frantically to obtain such a position. There is security, plenty, compatibility, mutual respect, and a deep affection. Theirs is not a sterile wealth but is used to give help where it is most needed, not because it is the fashionable thing to do, but because of their interest in fellow human beings.

Brief mention must be given to the economic function of the families whom Howells observed in Europe. In general, they can be classified as belonging to the wealthy class, for whom the making of a living is not a question. Of such a type are the Triscoes in *Their Silver Wedding Journey;* in fact, the Marches themselves represent the group for which the economic struggle is at an end. In the novel, *Indian Summer,* both Mrs. Bowen and Colville are financially secure and their return to Florence smacks of a sentimental journey in search of the romance of youth. The expatriate group which Lydia Blood of *The Lady of the Aroostook* encounters during her visit to her aunt in Venice would certainly deserve the title, "the idle rich."[54]

One does encounter those who are still engaged in the struggle for economic security. Professor and Mrs. Elmore in *A Fearful Responsibility* work closely together in sorting and limiting the material which he gathers in his research,[55] in a fashion reminiscent of the newly married Howells and his wife, when he was working on *Venetian Life.* Howells is also recognizable in Mr. Ferris, the consul of *A Foregone Conclusion,* who carries out the duties of his office faithfully, but whose heart is in painting, as Howells' heart was in writing. The position provides an adequate income, but more importantly it enriches his background for the work which he loves. The same can be said of young Burnamy, who sails with the Marches on *Their Silver Wedding Journey.* His journalistic experiences abroad are in no sense a part of a permanent economic pattern; his dearest wish is realized in becoming editor of a small American newspaper.

As Howells observed his fellow countrymen abroad, he found little of the variety which he observed in the American cities of Boston and New York. The majority of these people were non-contributing in an economic sense; retired businessmen, sons of wealthy families, wives and mothers, whose husbands remained in the United States to earn the money for such travel, wealthy widows, with their nieces or daughters as companions, all depending upon money which had been or was being made by others.

Thus, in almost geographical progression, the economic functions of Howells' fictional families change. The rural family, in Ohio or New England, calls

upon all its members to contribute to its self-sufficiency, as had been true in Howells' own Ohio childhood. As urbanization increases, the economic responsibility shifts more and more to the husband and father, with the family becoming less dependent upon its own efforts to produce the necessities of life. Within the urban groups, the pattern varies according to the poverty or wealth of the family. When Howells studies the American family in Europe, there is less variety, with the majority being financially secure, having little concern for the source of the money or the amount spent. Although not definitely stated, the impression grows that Howells' respect was reserved for those who have made a definite contribution toward the economic welfare of the family group to which they belong, for he was steeped in the democratic American respect for the individual whose success could be traced directly to his own efforts.

Bowling Greeen State University

NOTES

[1] W. D. Howells, *The Leatherwood God.* (New York: The Century Co., 1916), p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 13.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 12.
[4] Howells, *The Leatherwood God, op. cit.,* p. 5.
[5] Howells, *The Leatherwood God, op. cit.,* p. 228.
[6] W. D. Howells, *The Kentons* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902), p. 1.
[7] W. D. Howells, *The Landlord at Lion's Head* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1900), pp. 3-4.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 8.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Howells, *The Landlord at Lion's Head, op. cit.,* p. 43.
[11] W. D. Howells, *Ragged Lady* (New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1908), pp. 33-40.
[12] W. D. Howells, "Confessions of a Summer Colonist," *Literature and Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902), p. 51.
[13] W. D. Howells, *Mrs. Farrell* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921), p. 4.
[14] *Ibid.,* p. 109.
[15] W. D. Howells, *A Modern Instance* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1927), p. 16.
[16] *Ibid.,* p. 56.
[17] Howells, *A Modern Instance, op. cit.,* p. 56.
[18] Howells, *A Modern Instance, op. cit.,* p. 20.
[19] Howells, *A Modern Instance, op. cit.,* p. 20.
[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 206-207.
[21] *Ibid.,* p. 245.
[22] *Ibid.,* p. 357.
[23] W. D. Howells, *Letters Home* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1903), p. 18.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 20.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 47.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 48.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] W. D. Howells, *The World of Chance* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), pp. 54-55.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[32] Howells, *The World of Chance, op. cit.*, p. 131.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[36] Howells, *The World of Chance, op. cit.*, p. 325.
[37] W. D. Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937), pp. 48-49.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[39] Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham, op. cit.*, p. 49.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham, op. cit.*, p. 366.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[43] Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham, op. cit.*, p. 93.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[47] Howells, *A Modern Instance, op. cit.*, p. 29.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] Howells, *A Modern Instance, op. cit.*, p. 231.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] W. D. Howells, *The Lady of the Aroostook* (Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1907), pp. 240-274.
[55] W. D. Howells, *A Fearful Responsibility and Other Stories* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1881), p. 11.

THE McLEAN STORY*

JOHN BRUCE CONSTANTINE

This McLean cache of Civil War ephemeral letters was offered as lot 464A in the New York, April 24, 1969, philatelic auction of John A. Fox. On purchasing this jumble it was discovered that the various letters depicted a very poignant and touching aspect of the less-known life of the Confederate soldier and therefore would probably tell a nostalgic story if properly collated, interpreted, and interlocked.

Fortunately, it was not too hard a task to do this for the McLean family apparently came from a "plantations"-owning, upper class, slave-holding, well-educated and literate group, a fact which is readily reflected, on the whole, in the clear and concise (allowing for the usual number of misspellings and colloquialisms so common in that era) handwriting and grammar of its members.

From what can be gathered, the principal McLean family members were Grandmother McLean (mentioned but once in an extra-family letter), mother C. C. McLean (apparently either a widow or divorcee, most probably the former, as there is never any mention of Mr. McLean, the husband), the soldier sons, in chronological order of their entering the service (and probably their ages—as these are never given except in the case of boy-Kenneth where the interpreter is left to surmise that he was below the legal drafting age of 18 when he was taken) John E., Richard J., and Kenneth T., the daughters Kate, Mary, and Cynthia (again in the probable chronological order from eldest to youngest), and lastly, the kindly Uncle Donald who is frequently mentioned but from whom there are no letters here.

As only two members of this family spelled their names MacLean (John and Kate) while the others Mother C. C., Richard and Kenneth spelled it McLean, whereas the problem of sisters Mary's and Cynthia's handling of their last names is undecided (as their solely remaining letters bear but their given names) one must, by the preponderance of available evidence, assume that the correct spelling of this name was therefore McLean, thereby pointing to an Irish rather than a Scottish ancestry—but in that case how would the problem of the strong Scottish name Malcolm, occurring several times in the correspondence, be solved? And then Uncle Donald has a strong Scottish smack to it. All this polemic "in a bottle" is of passing genealogical interest because many of the McLean friends had Mc or Mac prefixes to their names (McDonalds, McKinnons, etc.) depending upon who was writing about them; and the correct settlement of this question would enable the curious to establish the nationality and origin of this group of people whose forebears had settled in the vicinity of Thomasville, Thomas County, Georgia.

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*This is Part I of the presentation of the McLean Correspondence. The spelling and punctuation are that of the original letters. Part II will appear in the May, 1970, issue.

[ ] indicates original text.

The McLeans seem very attached to one another (note the younger Kenneth's marked lonesomeness for home), and reading between the lines of their letters shows this (note Mrs. McLean's enigmatic but forceful letter to her son—which probably gave her many later pangs of conscience when she subsequently discovered that he had received her scolding just before his death. In the scolding, she warns him in no uncertain terms against falling into the arms and trap of a certain female harpy). Added proof is Uncle Donald's constant solicitation for the family (which makes the reader feel he was honor-bound to protect the interests of his bereft sister, Mrs. C. C. McLean) especially demonstrated by his repatriating the remains of his nephew, Richard, from the battlefield near Fredericksburg, Virginia, to Thomasville, Georgia, no easy task for those times.

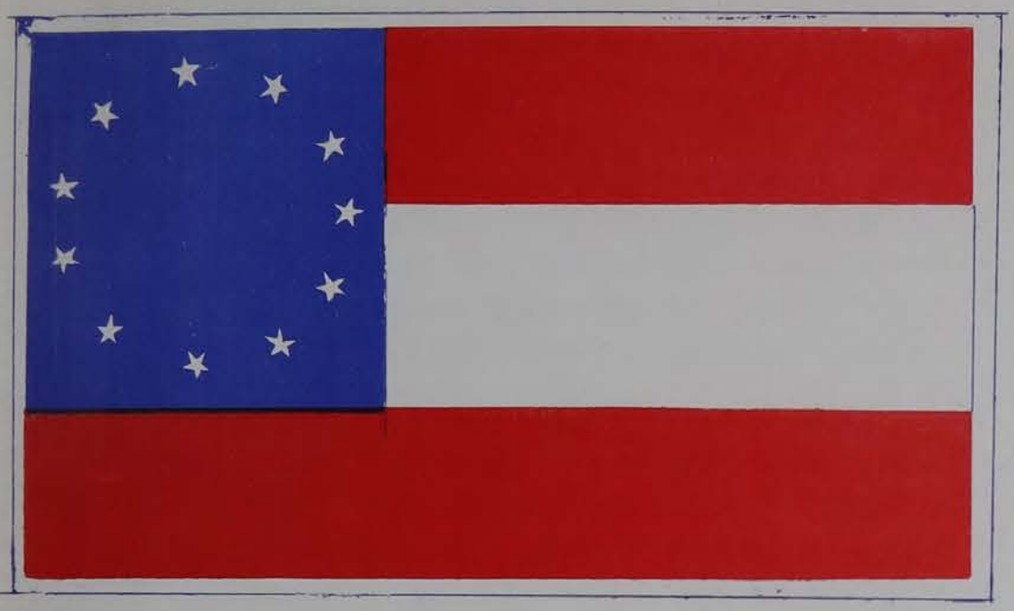
Unfortunately, many interesting letters have been lost and in only a few cases their directive envelopes preserved. (However, since almost without fail these were delivered "per manu" by someone furloughed home or going there on business, there remains no great philatelic loss in markings or adhesive stamps). The letters from home to the soldiers on the field were, to our great misfortune, uniformly lost or destroyed in the vicissitudes of camp life when often only bare necessities could be carried on the many long, sudden, and painful marches (John's letter 18, written from Vernon, Mississippi, informs that "one blanket is all we carry" while his subsequent letter 19, states "all our luggage but one blanket being taken from us since").

The careful reader cannot help but notice that often the language and expressions used in their letters home are markedly similar in the cases of all three brother-soldiers. John entered the service first and Richard not long after. Although Richard shows some absorption of John's phraseology from the latter's letters which he most certainly must have read while still a civilian in Thomasville, Georgia, the more marked similarity is between the youngest brother Kenneth's writing idioms and John's; for Kenneth had a much longer time at home to absorb John's style and was still in the very impressionable school age.

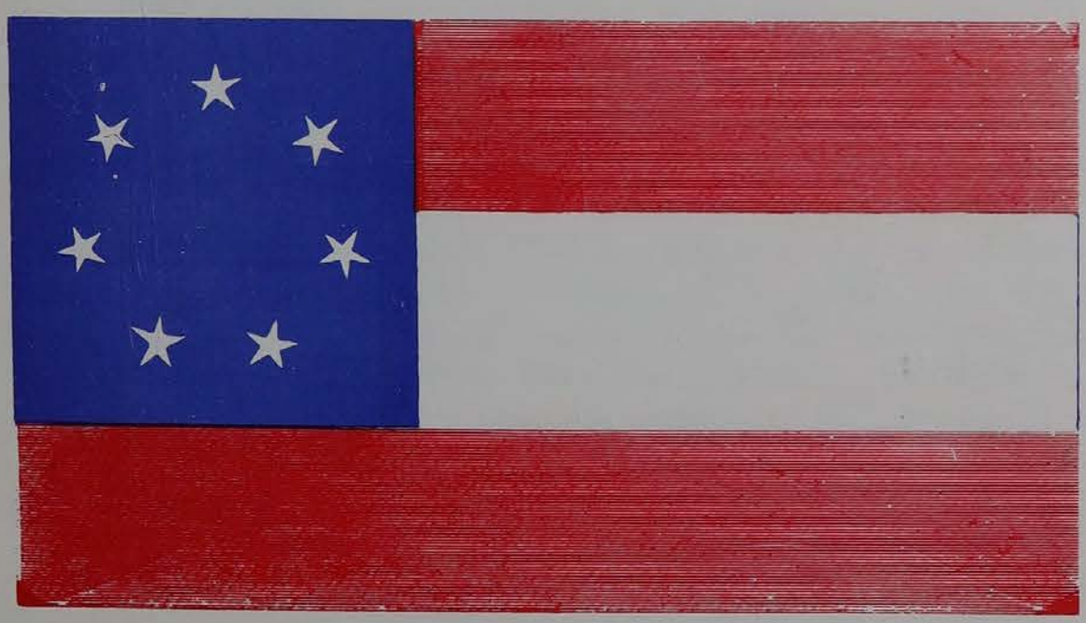
It is very difficult to attribute these letters at their desination end (especially since most of the envelopes are missing that bore the addresses) because frequently nicknames and apparently middle given-names are used. Besides, they are all addressed to "Sister" or "Sis," which is no help at all; therefore the investigator is forced to use collateral evidence (furnished by those one or two cases when the other siblings were named in the same letter) to separate, identify, and attribute not only the letters to the proper recipient but also to classify the sisters by age. But since the evidence is so slim on this matter, the conclusions are by no means certain in the critiques following them.

In all, this group contains 29 letters and documents by or pertaining to John McLean, 6 letters or documents by or pertaining to his brother Richard McLean (considering Capt. Peter McGlashan's letter to Mrs. C. C. McLean as an official document), and 9 letters from youngest brother Kenneth McLean. Then there is one letter from mother Mrs. C. C. McLean, besides one empty envelope addressed

Confederate Flag Envelopes







to her, one letter from sister Cynthia McLean with three empty envelopes apparently addressed to her, one letter by sister Mary and two by sister Kate with an additional two letters addressed to Kate by women friends. Then there are two ephemeral fragments found with this group that are evidently of McLean family association interest. And finally, to complete this McLean family group, three letters were found in the same cache (and evidently belong to the McLean family for they are also of Thomasville, Georgia) by or to the Mitchell family. These date from 1842 through 1853 and relate to business and real estate intrigue, although the first has a very interesting first hand description of the great temperance rallies hypocritical fever that struck West Miami in 1842. (Note mention of Mitchells in John, 19 and elsewhere).

Of course, the focal point of this whole story is the tragic death of Richard McLean in May, 1863, near Fredericksburg, Virginia, with his dramatic burial "near Salem Church in a pine grove." But the most descriptive incident of all is the little slip of paper John laconically sent his mother from Canton, Mississippi, on May 22, 1863. Though he says he is actually writing it while "on the march," and it is conceivable to imagine that he actually wrote it after coming to a halt, it is certainly much more dramatic, to this writer at least, to imagine the hardship of John marching under the weight of his pack on the parching, dusty Mississippi road while writing this little note of reassurance to his dear mother.

There are certain facts that can be corroborated from extraneous evidence. The existence of John McLean can be secured from the "Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia" by Miss Henderson, Vol. III, Page 437 (and no doubt that of his brothers Kenneth and Richard can be adduced from similar sources) as follows:

> "McLean—John E. (entered as) 4th Sgt., July 27, 1861—
> (Promoted—ie., elected) 2nd Lt. March 5, 1863"

And one finds likewise the following:

> "Young—William J. Capt., July 27, 1861 (entered with this rank)—Colonel May 10, 1862 (in this connection, note John's letters 6 and 7 vividly explaining the mysteries and skullduggery attendant to his election to this office)—Lost arm at Chickamauga, Georgia, Sept. 19, 1863. Resigned. Disability Nov. 10, 1863."

John McLean's early service letters show his great friendship and attachment to Young, and his constant devotion to him is demonstrated several times. And it is certain that this feeling was encouraged and reciprocated, for one finds his first of a long series of furlough documents for "chronic diarrhea" approved by this same Col. Young on Aug. 1, 1863, just a little over six weeks before the latter lost his own arm and was himself furloughed off permanently. This attachment can be readily understood when one learns from Miss Henderson that both McLean and Young were members of Company B, 29th Georgia Volunteer Infantry from Thomas County, Georgia that was reorganized as Company E on May 7, 1862.

And the final information to be gathered from these intriguing letters is summarized in the ensuing subject index that in itself is a story unfolding through many historically famous Southern cities and towns as well as the several fascinating, now-non-existent "ghost towns" enumerated (in themselves a challenging historical project to identify and to place in their proper present perspective) from which it would appear that the Confederate soldiers' "most favorite" passions (besides those paramount of love and yearning for the home folks and the end of the war misery) were those of furloughs, food, clothing, and girls. That hardships were constant and borne as uncomplainingly as the lack of poor water, poor self-provided food and shelter is well documented here. The unique importance of the railroad lines is well shown by the many references to blessings gained by their close proximity and hardships endured otherwise; and it is easy to understand why whole battles and campaign were won and lost or even given up because of the status of preservation or disruption by the raiding enemy (both Rebel and Union) of these vital links to communication, supply, and troop transport. All this can be readily inferred from these letters.

J. B. C.

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FOOD, "Care Packages" from Home	John 4, 5, 6, 7, 11 Kenneth 3, 4, 6 Kate 2
FURLOUGHS, from Army Service	John 8, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 Richard 3, 4 Kenneth 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9
"GHOST TOWN," now non-existent	Cypress Pond, Georgia—Kenneth 9 Deasonville, Mississippi—John 18 Pocataligo, South Carolina—John 16 Vernon, Mississippi—John 18 Ways Station, Georgia—Kenneth 6 White Sulfur, Spring—McLean Family Association Item
GIRLS (Extrafamilial), Mention of	John 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 22, 28 Richard 1, 3 Kenneth 5 Mrs. C. C. McLean 1 Kate McLean 2
HARDSHIPS, of Army Service	John 8, 11, 14, 18, 19 Richard 3 Kenneth 2, 5 Kate 2
HOSPITALS, Confederate	John 24, 25
HUMOUR, Subtle, though still intended	John 13, 23 Richard 3 Kenneth 3 Kate 2
ILLNESSES, of McLean Soldiers	John 3, 13, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 Kate 2
INFLATION, War caused	John 4, 9, 10, 11, 14 Richard 2 Kate 2
JOHNSTON, General	John 19
LEE, General	John 15
LONESOMENESS, and Confinement of Soldiers	John 3 Kenneth 3, 4
MARCHING, Forced	John 16, 19 Kenneth 5, 9

MONOGRAMS, on Writing Stationery	John 1, 3, 49, 23, 24 Richard 5 Kenneth 1, 3 Mrs. C. C. McLean 1 Kate McLean 1, 2
MORALIZING	John 11, 12, 15, 17, 19
NAVY, Union	John 11, 12, 13, 24 Kate 2
NEGRO, Slaves	John 12, 14, 19, 23 Richard 3, 4 Kenneth 3, 8 Mrs. C. C. McLean 1
PATRIOTISM, Confederate	John 5, 17
PHYSICIANS, Signatures of	John 20, 21, 25, 26, 29
PRISONERS, Union	John 11, 24
RAIDS, by the Yanks	Kenneth 7
RAILROADS, Mention of	John 2, 5, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19 Richard 2 Kenneth 4, 6, 9 Kate 2 McLean Family Association Item
SALT MANUFACTURING	Kenneth 3, 8
SEA and SEA-FOOD	John 2
SUGAR CANE, and Sugar-Cane Candy	John 10 Richard 4
TRAITORS, to the Southern Cause	John 10 Kenneth 8
TRANSFER, of Army Post	Kenneth 6
WATER, Drinking	John 4, 8, 14, 17, 19 Richard 2 Kate 2
YANKS, Mention of	John 5, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19 Richard 3, 4 Kenneth 1, 2, 35, 7, 9 Kate 2

Thomasville March 11th 1876

Dear Sister,

Mother received your letter this morning and we are all glad to hear that you are having a pleasant time, it certainly is a very good time for you to be in Savannah on a visit, as during the session of the Convention there must be a good deal of Stir in the City= Thomasville is standing just where you left it and the inhabitants are moving on in their usual, quiet and peaceable way= Mr. MacIntyre left here this morning for Savannah= Jacob Watson (Jr.) came here last Saturday & expects to stay several days= Mother has had the rheumatism since you left but is now up & getting along very well, she told me to say to you, if you found anything you thought you would like to have for, to buy it= if at any time you want money let me know how much and I will send it to you immediately, I saw Uncle Donald yesterday he & buddy are getting along finely= All the balance are well, hope this will find you in like condition, as ever believe me

Your Brother John E. MacLean

1

Thomasville (Georgia), March 11th 1861

Dear Sister,

Mother received your letter this morning and we are all glad to hear that you are having a pleasant time, it certainly is a very good time for you to be in Savannah on a visit, as during the session of the Convention there must be goodeal of Stir (ie., plenty doing) in the City= Thomasville is standing just where you left it and the inhabitants are moving on in their usual quiet and peaceable way= Mr. MacIntyre left here this morning for Savannah= Jacob Watson [Jr.] came here last Saturday & expects to stay several days= Mother has had the rheumatism since you left but is now up & getting along very well, she told me to say to you, if you found anything you would have need for, to buy it= If at any time you want money let me know how much and I will send it to you immediately, I saw Uncle Donald yesterday he & buddy (his brother Kenneth) are getting along finely= All the balance are well, hope this will find you in like condition, as ever believe me your brother

John E. MacLean

2

Brunswick, Ga. Aug. 8th 1861

Dear Mother,

I wrote to Richard (his brother who also volunteered in the Confederate Army) from Savannah & to Sister the first night I reached this town & have been looking for an answer every day but as yet I have received nothing of the kind except Richard's letter which was handed me by Mr. Kubitshek & it was written before I wrote to him. I am anxious to hear from home & would like for some of you to write & let me know how you are, I have been very well since I got to this place. I never felt better in my life, I did have a little headache in Savh (Savannah) but it lasted but only a short time, we are camping now about half (a) mile from Brunswick. I have not been in town (Brunswick, Ga.) since we struck camps here except to attend preaching on Sunday, most of all our boys went, it is not as large a place as Thomasville nor is it half as good looking, the camps are in one hundreds yards of an arm of the Sea in which we bath every day, quantities of cedar trees are grown up all along the coast under which myself and Git Fondieu are now sitting enjoying the cool & refreshing breeze that ever visits us from the direction of the briny deep, we can see within two hundred yards of us Porpus (porpoise) after Porpus chasing & playing after each other= We have learned to eat and relish fare that we have not been in the habit of eating at home, bacon & sea bread, I have learned to eat shrimps but I don't believe I can ever go the oysters. The cars (train) will be running to this place in a week or two & when they do I want Richard to send me a trunk, the small one in the store that I was looking at before I started (joined the army), I want him to put

a few things in it for me, I will let him know in time what they are, a carpet bag (which he now has) dont suit at all to keep clothes in= It is a good thing that I came instead of Richard as a corporal does not rise by promotion to a Sargeant's position. I was on duty yesterday and last night. The Sgt. has a very easy time but the corporal has a harder time than a private or any one else, we have nine companys on this ground now and some of the sentinels are fully 3/8 of a mile apart, the Cpl has to attend to the calls of them all, while the Sgt simply has to stay at the guard house, superintend & see that others do their duty. It is getting about time for the mail to be made up (for dispatch) & I must close, remember me to grandmother & all the bal (balance) of the family & believe me ever your aff (affectionate) son

John E. MacLean

P.S. Perhaps you will be glad to (of) one thing which I neglected to write before, that our services were accepted for 2 years only instead of the whole war=

Please remember me to any of my old friends among the young ladies, we very often think of home and of them.

John

Direct to care of Capt. W. J. Young (viz. direct his mail)—then they (his letters) will be brought (to him) by any of the boys (his fellow-soldiers).

P.S.

The Captain (W.J.Y.) has just come up and told me to put in this postcript with his regards let us know something about Miss Sue soon in Fletcher (Southern towns of Fletcher are now only listed in Kentucky and North Carolina).

J

A scant four months after the southern bombardment of Fort Sumter heralding the beginning of the great war of secession, we find John MacLean already enlisted as a volunteer in the Confederate army (actually he enlisted as a fourth sergeant in Company B of the 29th Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regiment on July 27, 1861) and giving many interesting details of his early camp life on the seashore near Brunswick, Georgia, where he first was exposed to and learned to like sea food. This letter is of interest because it proves that John was the first of the McLean brothers to enlist, for in it he details the comparatively easy life of a sergeant to that of a corporal to his brother Richard (still at home in Thomasville, Georgia) who was soon to follow his example but shortly lose his life in the defense of the birth-pangs of his new country.

N.B. John MacLean's furlough document of Aug. 1, 1863 (vide) states that he was conscripted into the Confederate Army on July 27, 1861.

3

Camp Tattnall near
Savannah. March 2nd/62

Dear Sister,

Yours of the 24th Feby was duly received & I am glad to hear by it that all are well= I wrote a few lines to Richard to=day, hurriedly, but as Dr. Bower is going up in the morning I thought I would write you a line (to send you by him)= Enclosed you will find a tribute of respect to Frank Dixon (this clipping is now missing)* which you will please hand to Richd (John's Confederate soldier brother) & tell him to copy it in the company book—I was appointed to attend to the matter & have already sent one to his mother= I think it is a good idea to have Sisters Mary & Cynthia going to school now, most especially is it so, if Miss Martain is a good teacher=

I am sorry that Richard has to leave but as it cannot be helped you must try to get along as well as you can without us for a short time & though I would like very much for Richard to be with me [which Col. Young (John's superior officer) requested me to say, that he could do, if he desired to] yet I advised him today to get the position in the compy. (company) raising up (being mustered) there, which you spoke of—if he gets it, he will then have some responsibility resting upon him & he will apply himself to study, in order that he may discharge creditably to himself, the duties devolving upon him as an officer=I am glad to hear that cousin Julia's family are all well—give her my thanks for the nice pr (pair of) socks she sent, which fit well & are nicely (hand) made=I had not heard before that Jacob Watson was married & was truly surprised at hearing that he married a widow—My respects to Miss Emily H when you see her & tell her I would like to see her about as well as she would me= I would like also to see Mrs. Giroud MacDonald—I always liked her very much= Our young men (soldiers) have been quite sick for some time past, but we are now camping on a high hill where I think we will all have good health, after the present sickness; which did not originate here, is over—we are two miles from the city (of Savannah) & it is very seldom (that) we go there—we are kept so close in camps (so closely confined to camps)—I went up one day only (to Savannah) & then it was on special duty—to go to the (Savannah) Republican (newspaper) office & get this tribute (to Dixon) published. All soldiers must be treated alike & consequently all have to be restricted on account of those who abuse privileges which would otherwise be allowed us, indeed it is enough to make a fellow feel a little desperate at times, as though he could whip a thousand Yankees= I saw Mr. MacDonald and Malcolm when I was up town—they were both well= It is now getting late & I must close= Tell Richard to get my rifle from Able Johnson before he leaves & bring it home, & put it up (clean & store it) for me in good order as I want it taken care of. With my respects to Mrs. MacDonald and love to all the family believe me very truly your aff (affectionate) brother

John E. MacLean

*See below, p. 45.

Several of John's letters home that must have been written during this seven months hiatus are now missing. But in March, 1862, he is found camping with his Company near Savannah, Georgia. This letter to "sister" was written to his sister Kate, for in it he mentions the other two sisters, Mary and Cynthia, in the third person. It also establishes the fact that Kate is the eldest of the three sisters, for the other two are still going to school. And again it determines that brother Richard is still at home but is about to inevitably enlist. So John gives him the good advice to enlist in a newly-mustering company offering greater opportunity for advancement rather than to join his company. Here, as everywhere else in this correspondence, one sees the very high standards of patriotism and personal conduct evidenced by all the soldier-members of the McLean family.

SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN*

Vol. LXI Thursday, February 27, 1862 No. 48
P. 2

Tribute of Respect
Headquarters Ochlochonee Lt. Infantry
Camp Tattnail, Feb. 25, 1862

Whereas, It has pleased the all-wise Providence to remove from us our much loved friend late companion in arms, FRANCIS M. DIXON, who, seven months ago, with the ardor of youth and the strength of manhood—with soul filled with patriotic feelings, left his home—the home of a widowed mother, and all that was near and dear to him, to join in driving back the invaders who were attempting to invade his country, usurp her constitutional rights, and destroy her cherished institutions—and after having endured the toils and hardships of camp service for months, he was taken with typhoid pneumonia, and, after lingering for many days, away from his home, on the night of the 25th inst. the hand of death was laid upon him, and Francis M. Dixon was in life no more. Therefore, as a token of our love and friendship be it

RESOLVED, That the untimely death of the departed is much lamented by the members of his company and his many friends and companions in arms; that in his death the Company has lost a useful and zealous member, much beloved by all and disliked by none. His place in the ranks of the Company cannot be filled. In his death his country has lost a good soldier, his mother a kind and dutiful son, and his friends a cherished companion.

RESOLVED, That we tender to his bereaved mother our heartfelt sympathy, and mingled with hers, our tears of sorrow over the loss of her son, and trust that she, with his brothers and sister, may again meet him in a land of heavenly bliss where parting with him "shall be no more."

*Copied from microfilm on file at the University of Georgia. The examined newspapers from the University covered the period 1861-1864. Some copies are missing. R.C.

RESOLVED, That the foregoing be furnished to the "Savannah Republican," for publication, and spread upon the minutes of the Company, and a copy sent to the mother of the deceased;

J. E. MacLEAN,
W. H. REYNOLDS,
W. W. McGRIFF,
} Committee

4

MacKay's Point, April 7th 1862

Dear Sister,

I have not written to you in some time but it is because I have been answering letters from some of the rest of the family all the time & everything is so dull that more than one letter at a time from this place would not be interesting= I received letters from Sister Mary & Uncle Donald which I intend answering–the jug (of) syrup & box (of) provisions all came safely to hand & kept well= I went up last week to see Richard and since that time he has been down to see me–I got a letter from him yesterday–he is well & his regmt was ordered to leave for North Carolina, but I learn that the order has been countermanded–consequently they will remain where they are for a while–their location I think is a healthy one & they have good (drinking) water= A good many of our men & most all the Thomasville (Georgia) guards are complaining though there are no serious cases–a great many, I am afraid, dont take care of themselves as they ought, hence the cause of so much complaint among them–I am very well at this time & hope by proper cares (precautions) to be able to keep up (well) all the time= Nothing would please me better now, than to go home & see you all and look after the plantation &c–though I have no doubt everything is getting along as well as could be expected.

Sissy tells me that you have been to call on Miss Shine–I have no doubt you will like her very much after getting well acquainted with her= Ma has sent me a goodeal of meat in the last two boxes I received–tell her I think it would be best for her to keep it at home, for it is very high & scarce at this time. I know she has not got it to spare at home, while we are getting plenty of it from the government now= What has become of Miss Sue Smith–is she in Fletcherville yet & is she getting well= The Yankees keep pretty shy of us here now–when I was going through town last week on my way I stopped at Mr. MacDonald's & saw Miss Fannie Morell & heard some fine music–the first I have heard since we left Darien (Georgia)–

With kindest regards to enquiring friends and love to all the family believe me as ever

Very truly your Aff (affectionate) Brother

John E. MacLean

Although John wrote this letter to either his sister Kate or younger sister Cynthia (not to sister Mary who is menioned in the third person) it was most likely written to his regular correspondent—the eldest, Kate.

One month after the preceding letter, John now writes from Mackay's Point and says that "the Yankees keep pretty shy of us now." One also learns that the Confederate government has finally begun to provision its armies, for he admonishes his mother to keep at home where they are more needed the costly and scarce foods she has been sending him regularly.

5

MacKay's Point, April 20th 1862

Dear Sister,

Yours of the 16th inst (April 16, 1862) was duly received last night & I am glad to hear from it that everything is getting along so very well at both the plantations & I hope that a good provission crop may be made not only by us but throughout the whole Confederacy—a result so necessary to facilitate the efforts of our New Government in its struggles for liberty= It is not worth while for you to worry yourselves about my being at this place, for I am very healthy & most all the men (also) are now, and it is not at all a dangerous place even though we are in sight of the Yankees— & see them every day—we will be very apt to keep a sharp lookout for them & even if we have no chance to fight them we will be very apt to take care of ourselves= Nothing would please me more than to be at home with you all a while but it seems that the country is in great need of all her soldiers now= & I am afraid it will be a good while before I can again have the pleasure of being at home with the family and among the many friends of my youthful days, but you may rest assured that I will make use of the first opportunity that offers to make you all a visit= I am glad to hear from Miss Eliza Williams, also that you have formed the acquaintance of Miss Shine (Miss Shine is also mentioned in his letter to the same sister of April 7, 1862 and this is helpful in narrowing down which one of his three sisters is the recipient of this letter—ie., both the April 7th & April 20th letters were written to the same sister) & are pleased with her—I have no doubt you will like her better still, after longer acquaintances. I passed many pleasant hours in her company last fall & winter at and near Darien (Georgia) and shall ever regard her as one of my best friends of that place= Cut off as we are from the society of ladies at this place we derive some pleasure from hearing that some of our friends among the fair ones request to be kindly remembered to us & in return you will give my kindest regards to those who have shown that they have not altogether forgotten us—viz. Miss Eliza, Miss Katy & Miss Lucy—I hope to see them all again some of these days—I have seen Richard (John's brother) twice since he has been in the service & have no doubt that he will get along just as well as if I were with him [i.e., Just as well as if he were here with me in my company], for he is with a sober set of officers who will set a good example for him—The part of our Regmt which we left up

at Camp Tatnall (see John's letter of March 2, 1862) has been sent out to Costin's Bluff. Myself & Bob Mitchell went out to see them & found them hard at work building artillery and infantry batteries—they have the prettiest place I think I ever saw—the Colonel was looking as well or better than I ever saw him & I think he is going to make an effort to get us up where he is.

I heard that some man was going to start a newspaper in Thomasville (Thomasville, Georgia was John MacLean's home town): is there anything in it= I am glad to hear that Miss Smith is getting better & hope it may not be long before she recovers entirely—

Does Lowry Johnson & family seem to be as wrathy as ever or are they beginning to quiet down yet—

Uncle Donald sent me a box a few days ago but as yet I have not received it—Mr. Ebbinger, by whom it was sent, put it in the warehouse that he might get it next morning when he would start down here, but it was put on the cars (train) early next morning and took a ride back to Thomasville—though one of the conductors or freight agents promised to bring it back & I expect it is in the city now—one of our men is going up today & will look after it for me.

I hope this will (find) all the family well=

Very truly your aff Brother

J. E. MacLean

In this subsequent letter from John MacLean to his sister it is disclosed by the repeated mention of "Miss Shine" that the identity of the recipient sister must again be Kate as in the preceding letter. It also discloses that the McLeans are in possession of two plantations back in Thomasville, Georgia; and John patriotically asserts that he hopes crops are good all over the Confederate entente as "a result so necessary to facilitate the efforts of our New Government in its struggles for liberty" (of course neglecting to mention that the South still wanted to keep the negro in perpetual enslavement).

Even though Mackay's Point camp is "in sight of the Yank," John hastens to reassure his fearful relatives back home that the men are really in no immediate danger. He states that the part of his regiment that had been left at Camp Tatnall near Savannah, Georgia, is now stationed at Costin's Bluff "the prettiest place I think I ever saw," and he is evidently in hopes of his section being consolidated with them.

John explains his understandable longing for female companionship and also accounts for Uncle Donald's parcel to him that was rerouted back to Thomasville on the train.

6

MacKay's Point
May 4th 1862

Dear Sister,

Yours of the 30th ult (April 30, 1862) is at hand & I am glad to hear that all the family is well.

We are all enjoying good health down here now, but everything is very dull. I just saw Lieut. John McKinnon of the Rangers who came to our camp a few minutes ago—he says all are getting along as well as could be expected at the camp—they now have a very high & pretty place having left the old field. I have no doubt they will enjoy good health after this= I am sorry that some persons in our midst have so little to do that they have to write the biggest kind of tales home about Col. Young (John MacLean's superior and friend), for tales they certainly do tell when they say he could not get a lieutenant's place if he was now out of office. The election for Col. (ie., Col. Young's position) will come off in a short time & I will be very much disappointed in the men if he is not reelected to the responsible position which he now holds—I rather expect it was some of the Thosville (Thomasville, Georgia) Guards who wrote (disparagingly) about him—They never like to see an old Ocklokonee (ie., Ochlochnee, Georgia) (person) prosper & get along smoothly, & any person must throw away their time if they listen to half the reports which are written from this place= The box which was sent by Mr. Ebbinger, instead of getting here, went back to Thosville (Thomasville)—if I had been in the city I would have given the agent a talk (upbraided him) about it but I have not been there in about three weeks—

There is no news here and I must close—with kindest regards to enquiring friends & love to the family believe me very truly your aff (affectionate) brother

John MacLean

On May 4, 1862, John MacLean writes his sister back home in Thomasville, Georgia, a letter of justification about the actions of his friend Col. Young (mentioned as Captain W. J. Young in his letter of Aug. 8, 1861) against the calumnies spread about him back in Thomasville. He unhesitantly backs Young for reelection to his colonelcy in the forthcoming regimental election.

7

MacKay's Point, May 8th 1862

Dear Sister,

Your favor of the 6th has just been received & I am sorry to hear from it that Ma is suffering so much with rheumatism. I also received the box, sent by Sarah Dekle which suits us very well as potatoes [with which it is principally

filled] is a scarce article down in this part of the world= There is nothing new with us except that we saw today for the first time, a balloon in the neighborhood of Ft. Pulaski–sent up I suppose for the purpose of enabling them (the Yankees) to take observations of what is going on up about our fortifications–they must have it fastened to something to keep the wind from carrying it away= We are all very well at this time & since we have got climatized to this place I hope we may keep to (ie., stay here)= Our company election came off yesterday & by the assistance of some of his drunken associates & using a little deception beat me (by) 3 or 4 votes for Lt.= Paine was also defeated & will go home in a few days–I hate to see him start= Before night Capt. Spencer had about fifteen applications for transfers–the most respectable part of the company are very much dissatisfied about the Ross affair for if we cannot get transfers it will not be long before he will get drunk & I think Spencer will have him cashiered the first chance he gets at him= They tried very hard to get Bob Mitchell out of his position, but (he) had so many caindates (candidates) against him that it divided the vote very much & consequently the result was in his favor= I got a letter a few days ago from Buddy (John's brother Kenneth) telling me something about the plantation–tell him to let me know in his next how many sheep were gathered up this spring–wool is a very important item to be looked after now.

Hoping to hear from you again soon believe me very truly

Your aff (affectionate) brother

J. E. MacLean

This letter, again written to his sister from MacKay's Point camp by John MacLean, informs one that his mother is a chronic arthritic. He thanks them for the scarce potatoes sent from home and asks his brother Kenneth to keep a special watch on the sheep as wool is an important commodity in the Confederate economy.

Of fascinating interest is the description of the unique usage of a balloon for spying behind Confederate lines near Fort Pulaski. And of historical significance is John's description of the method of electing officers (rather than appointing) used in the Confederate army whereby subversive groups by drink and "deception" are enabled to win the coveted offices.

8

MacKay's Point
May 20th/62

Dear Sister,

Yours of the 15th inst (May 15, 1862) is at hand & I have now started to answer it without having anything of interest to tell you, except that we expect to be moved out of this marsh, in a few days up to Habersham's Bluff about two

miles from here, though we will have to send a picket down here every day—I am not certain about getting off, but Major Anderson went to see Genl. Smith about it today & I think it will be successful—if he should be we will then have a very fine spring of water to use out of instead of the River & a fine grove to shade us (like cattle) instead of being exposed to the scorching rays of the summer's sun—we will also be nearly on a central point between the balance of our Regmt (at Costins Bluff—see John's letter of April 20, 1862 describing this haven), the 50th Regmt & Ft. Boggs where Jacob, Oran, Sam & Malcolm are all stationed, none will be further than about 1½ miles= I was up to see Richard (his soldier brother) day before yesterday & found him looking a goodeal better than when I saw him before= The book I sent by Paine was one that I bought up town to read a short time since (ago) & as I happened to have an opportunity to send it before it took the rounds among all the boys & got abused, & thinking it might prove a little interesting to you for a few days, I sent it, as I might do others, but for the fact that they get too badly torn up after being in camp a short time= I am truly glad to hear that Ma has recovered from her suffering with rheumatism= You ask if I want any clothes—I may want one or two pr. socks after a while but will let you know when I do & you can find them by looking in my trunk without having to make or buy any new ones—I have also a good cloth coat in the upper part of the trunk which I wish you would take out & hang up somewhere for the moth may eat it if it stays folded up in the trunk all the time= We were all very much pained yesterday evening upon hearing from the city that Bob McKinnon was dead—he was indeed one of the best young men I ever saw—he performed well, & willingly the duties devolving upon him as a soldier & was much loved by the members of the Company=

We are all getting along very well down here now—I never enjoyed better health in my life= Why dont sister Mary write to me, I have not had a letter from her in a long time, I suppose though she has to write very often to Richard (It was a custom for different members of families to write to their own correspondents in multiple-soldier families and thus spread the workload of writing more equitably) & tell him about Miss Emma (brother Richard's sweetheart?) &c & therefore has but little time to write other letters. I hope everyhing is getting along well at the plantations=

My kindest regards to Miss Katy Shine when you see her again, also to Col. MacIntyre & lady and with love to all the family believe me very truly your aff brother

John E. MacLean

This letter from John was again probably addressed to Kate (at least Mary is removed as recipient by being mentioned in the third person). John states there are good prospects of their low, marshy camp being moved to higher, more salubrious ground. He sends Paine's book home for her to read and mentions the care of his clothes. Mother McLean's "rheumatism" is improved. Bob McKinnon, an excellent and popular soldier, is dead.

9

Camp Near Savh (Savannah)
Sept. 11th 1862

Dear Sister,

It is now some time since I have written to or received a letter from you—I haveing been writing to some of the rest of the family for a short time past—I received Buddy's (his brother Kenneth's) last letter a few days ago & from what he sayes I suppose you have returned from your Monticello trip by this time. I hope you had a pleasant visit—some of those people have always seemed very friendly to you and also to the whole family & I always liked them very much—did you see anything of Mrs. Finlason the lady who was at our house just before I came into the service & insisted on my bringing you down to see them—she is I believe an old acquaintance of Ma's—how is Miss Rosa &c—

I have heard that the young ladies of Thomas (ville) are again trying to make up funds for sick soldiers by giving concerts &c not only in their own town but in the surrounding counties—good success to them in their generous effort for the promotion of a good cause= I have been watching the papers every day for the news from Virginia but I find they make but little mention of Genl Drayton's Brigade= It seems however that only a part of his troops were engaged in the late battles & I think he is a little (to be) censured for having fallen short of his duty in not bringing up his brigade in time—if Dick (John's soldier brother) should write to you let me know=I wish you would tell Buddy (John's brother at home, Kenneth) to send me a cake of tooth soap by some one coming back to camp—there was plenty of it at the store when I left home= I was in the city the other day & find everything that you can cull (scrounge up) (selling) for enormously high (prices) & then most of them (storekeepers) don't care whether they sell anything or not, thinking, I suppose, that prices will still get higher—I saw fine tooth combs & they told me the price was $3.00 each= The health of our Company, and I believe of the Regmt. generally is improving since we got to this camp= With kindest regards to enquiring friends & love to the family,

Believe me very truly your aff brother John—

After a lapse of almost five months, we again find John MacLean writing his sister but this time from a new army camp near Savannah which he states is much healthier for everyone. He thanks the ladies back home for their efforts to earn money by giving concerts—the monies to go to help sick Confederate soldiers. John castigates General Drayton for his cowardly slothfulness in bringing up his brigade to help embattled Confederates.

Inflation is rampant as evidenced by the outlandish prices now being asked in Savannah for everyday-items like tooth soap & combs, now virtually becoming unprocurable.

10

Camp Young, Near Savh (Savannah, Georgia)
December 2nd, 1862

Dear Sister,

Yours of 28th ult (Nov.) was just recd this morning & I am sorry to hear that you have been unwell, I also had a letter handed me today by Mr. S. Powell from Uncle Donald stating that he was in the city last night & would return from Charleston to Savh Thursday night, I shall try to meet him there. I hardly think he will buy goods at the Charleston (? auction) unless he finds them cheaper there than in Savh. I expect some of the people in Thomas Co. (Georgia) are having fine times now while the (sugar) cane grinding is going on, if we could all be together and have an old fashioned candy pulling how fine it would be, you recollect several years ago you all tried to make believe that Miss Emily H beat me by pulling a big piece of candy in (on) the old porch, but now I would bet I could out pull her and two or three more of the fair ones= I am glad that Jim Sheldon has reached his company with Richard's (John MacLean's brother) things in safety. I was very much surprised to hear from Richard's last letter that Sheffield from Thomas County had taken the oath of allegiance to the Abolition Government (ie., to the Union), I did not think we had a man in Thomas (Georgia) that was fool enough or unprincipalled enough to be led into such an act of degradation—you say the (Thomasville) Rangers are here (in Thomasville) now, (and) only thirty men in the company (are left alive), I don't see how they can be reduced so much as that for it was a large company when it left here & I hardly think it has lost men enough to bring it (down) to thirty=

I received the pants Buddy (his brother Kenneth) sent down by Lt. Jones—they fit me as well as I could want them to do= When I wrote to you before I thought I must have got hold of the wrong matress & it turns out that I was right, for a few days ago the one that Ma sent me came to hand & I now have two, but I intend sending the other one back to the depot for the owner may get it though it is somewhat doubful for it had no name on it when it was sent out to me for mine= myself & Albert are getting along finely= With kindest regards to enquiring friends and love to the family believe me

Very affectionately your Br (brother) John

P.S. Tell Buddy to look in my trunk and send my memorandum book by first opportunity—it has my name on the back of it.

J –

John MacLean writes this interesting letter from Camp in Dec. 1862, to his sister (probably Kate) in which he nostalgically recalls the joyful candy pulling days at sugar cane grinding time. He castigates a fellow townsman who embraced the Union cause and doubts that the home town "Thomasville Rangers" have been reduced to only 30 men by the war. Thanking his brother Buddy for the well-fitting pants he sent, he goes on to acknowledge the eventual receipt of his own sleeping mattress.

11

Wilmington, N. C. Jan'y 23rd/63

Dear Sister,

Yours of the 7th inst has been received & I am sorry that you have been so unwell lately—I recd one letter from Buddy since I have been here & two from Dick. We are in rather a bad fix for taking care of writing material, consequently you must not expect to hear from me as often as heretofore—Dick tells me that they are going into winter quarters now & are faring very well, but sayes he has not heard from home in some time—all the men of our Reg't came to us (ie., "here") today, except one or two to a company who were left to take care of (clean up) the (previous) camp. Albert came along with them & as he is here I guess he will not be in the way—he sayes he can stand the rubs (hardships) as well as I can—he tells me he sent my things home with the exception of the bed clothes & cot which he left with Mr. MacDonald—the box (of) provisions which Ma sent came too late—I am glad they were sent to the care of Mr. McD (Donald) & hope he will not hesitate to make use of them as they will never do me any good & provisions are very high in Savh. (Savannah)—

Last week the United States Steamer Columbia ran aground in a sound near by where we are now stationed & the Artillery attached to our brigade went down & fired on it & soon made it raise the white flag & we carried about fifty prisoners to town—some of them managed to get off (escape) on the other gun boats that came up to their assistance, hence the cause of our not capturing the whole party which numbered something over a hundred—some of our men went on board & captured a number of clothes &c—I have a pr. of splendid Yankee shoes, which came in (at a) very good time= The weather is tolerably cold up here but not so much so but what we will stand it very well= Enclosed I send you a five cent shinplaster from Yankeedom which was sent to me by Dick=

I think perhaps we will be sent back to Savannah after a while but not so long as there is any appearance of the Yanks making an attack on this place or the rail road above here=

It is pleasant to be remembered by our friends among the many young ladies such as Miss Emily H. & Miss Lizzie J. Return to them my kindest regards when you see them again= When we were near town [Wilmington] we saw a good many nice looking young ladies but we are all smoked so black that we have no inclination to form any acquaintances among them—all of us preferring to pass along unnoticed & unknown=

Is Buddy studying Latin or what are his studies & how is he getting along with them—he ought to try & push ahead & learn all he can while he has a good opportunity=

– Hope this will find you all well

Very truly your brother

John

On Jan. 23, 1863, John MacLean now stationed in North Carolina, writes his sister Kate (presumably) the details of breaking up their old camp to move. He gives a fascinating account of their regiment raping the helpless grounded Union steamer "Columbia" with the taking of 50 prisoners and booty—his personal prize being "a pair of splendid Yankee shoes, which came in very good time." And his soldier brother, Richard, sent from another Confederate post a "five cent shinplaster from Yankeedom" which provisional money shows the dire pecuniary plight the belligerents were placed in by this useless internecine war.

John adds that although the soldiers delight in the company of the fair sex, they are all "smoked so black" as to make any relationship with them embarrassing. And he ends by encouraging his brother Buddy, still at home, to press on diligently with his studies.

12

Camp Young, near Savannah
March 18th 1863

Dear Sister,

Your last letter was received a few days since (ago) & I am sorry to learn in it that Babe was so unwell, but hope by this time, that she is entirely recovered—I only write this time to let you know that I am well for so far as news is concerned there is none here—since the Yankee gun boats left the Ogachy or Ft. McAlister everything seems to be quiet & still as it ever was—

I would like to have my trunk sent down (here) but want most of the things taken out of it first, for I shall have no use for those white shirts & vests &c. You may send me one more colored shirt, a box of blacking & shoe brush, my pr. (pair of) shoes, if old Jim (their slave?) has finished them—I dont want any coats or pants sent for I will have no use for them—the reason I dont want the uniform coat made now is this—I am going to try and get some cloth from the quartermaster of our Regmt as he is expecting some that is very good & I can get enough to make coat & pants of the same kind of goods= Tell Buddy to have the straps fastened on my trunk to keep the top from falling back too far when opened—the key can be sent down by some one coming down this way=

I saw Mr. MacDonald yesterday—he told me that the family were all well=

Tell Ma to be a little particular about Buddy going to so many parties any & everywhere for I heard that some of those fast going young chaps are learning or have already learned to hide out their bottles & go out to drink occasionally to keep them lively, & never want him to be led away into dissipation—the Drum is just beating for drill & I must close in haste believe me

Very truly your aff bro John

PS

We have got up a brass band—it is composed of men from the O.L.I.'s and Thosville (Thomasville, Georgia) Guards—they commence practice tomorrow and I am in hopes you may all hear music from them one of these days in old Thomasville, for whenever the war does end we intend taking them to Thomas County

Yours &c

J.

Almost two months later John now writes to his sister from a Confederate army camp near Savannah, Georgia, instructing her as to the disposition of his clothing when sending him his trunk and asking him to delay having a suit made for him in the hopes that he can obtain from his quartermaster better and more uniform material for a suit.

He admonishes his brother Kenneth on the necessity of staying away from "sporty" companions and abjuring drink. As the rolling of the drum announces beginning of drill, he mentions that the Thomasville, Georgia, Guards are forming a brass band with which they hope to regale the folks back home after the cessation of hostilities.

13

Morris Island near Charleston
April 11th 1863

Dear Brother,

I received a letter from you some two weeks since & I fully intended writing to you before this but being sent off here prevented my doing so— You have read before now a full account of the late engagement with (the) Yankee Fleet at this place, consequently it is unnecessary that I should give you an account of it— This island is mostly a perfect bed of sand with no trees & but few bushes on it and is about seven miles below the city (of Charleston), one or two below Ft. Sumpter, and is facing the ocean itself, the 29th Ga. & one South Carolina Regt. are here & I suppose to prevent the Yanks from landing— which I think we can do as they will have to land in small boats if at all— our tents are about 50 yards from the edge of the water and the roaring surf is heard all the time like a huge engine puffing off steam immediately over your head, all have to do in order to be in full view of the Yankee Fleet is to climb over a little bank of sand which hides our tents from the enemy— I have just counted the blockaders, there is twenty five of them to be seen plainly now with the naked eye, seven of which are turreted iron clads, and the old Iron Sides which is the largest monster, in the shape of a war vessel, that I ever saw, it & some others are so close that I can see the men on deck plainly—

Did Sissy receive my letter in which I wanted Ma to send the piece of grey cloth to Mr. Lindsey & have a coat made (from it)– I want it to be double breasted & I will send the buttons &c when we get back to Savannah which, I think, will be as soon as the dangers of attack on this place is past= Albert is with me & dont seem to be as much afraid of the Yankees as some of the negroes are= About two weeks ago I had one or two chills but I think being here on the salt water & a change of air will do us all a great deal of good– I am feeling very well now & have no idea of having any more chills.

Our facilities for writng are very poor here & you must not expect to hear from me often while here except something of importance takes place– If you can buy me three yards of grey goods, like that for the coat, get it & have Arnold to make a pair of pants & let me know what you pay for it & I will send the money as soon as I get back to Savh (Savannah, Georgia)–

With love to the family believe me very truly your aff Brother

John

P.S. Col. Young has just told me that I better get Uncle Donald to give us a letter of introduction to some person in New York but I believe I shant make the trip (there) just now, though some of the boys think that we may

Your &c

J

Three weeks after the preceding letter, John MacLean is found stationed at Morris Island about seven miles below Charleston, S. C., from where he describes to his brother Kenneth back home at Thomasville, Georgia, the strategic advantage of this sand-duned island near historic Fort Sumpter and tells of its blockade by the Union's fleet of "Iron Clads" (which information plus the standing joke about the projected occupation of New York City his sister Kate relayed to her other brother, Richard, in the field, in her letter of April 23, 1863 (vide), to him.

14

Coosawhatchie, S. C.
April 27th, 1863

Dear Sister,

Your two last letters have been received, one directed to Morris Island, the other to Savannah, but you were mistaken when you heard that the 29th (Georgia Regiment) were back at Savannah– we are about 45 miles off immediately on the Charleston & Savannah RR– If it is not convenient to get cloth for a uniform now I am willing to wait until it can be had without so much trouble– You say that the Ladies of Thomasville & schollars of Fletcher Institute have made up a

gooddeal of money to buy a Band for the 29th Regt. & we have just heard that it was asked of them by some persons since we left Savh. In the name of the Thosville Guards & OSIS, both companies are very much put out about it for we have already paid for the band and even if we had not we never expected to ask money of our friends at home, for this purpose—this solicitation for money was unauthorized by us & done without our knowledge of the fact= I think we will remain here three or four weeks & then be sent to our camp in Savannah— the reason I have never wrote to Richard or home oftener is because we are not at all fixed for writing—it is not much pleasure to write with a little pencil one or two inches long & at the same time using our knee as a desk or table—this is a better place than Morris Island for we can get plenty of water now whereas on the Island we could hardly get enough fresh water to drink—we have plenty of good shade trees here (note his remark in the previous letter that there were no trees at all on Sandy Morris Island) & also got plenty of (news) papers from both Charleston & Savannah every day—How is the crops &c getting along at the plantations—was any rice planted this year, it is now getting very high & I think (it) would pay very well to plant some of the ponds in rice as they will produce nothing else & it is good to feed the negroes with as well as to use on the table in the house,

Hoping you all may be well believe me very truly—

your aff Brother

John

And two weeks later John MacLean is stationed at Coosawhatchie, S. C., "about 45 miles off immediately on the Charleston & Savannah RR" from where he excuses his infrequent letters on the basis of unavailability of suitable writing facilities. Then he asserts that the purchasing of a band for their regiment is their own reponsibility and not to be accomplished by the solicitation of friends back home as some have insinuated. John advises that it would be of profit to plant some of the unproductive ponds on their plantations in Thomasville, Georgia, with rice as the war needs have made that staple very expensive.

15

Coosawhatchie, S. C. May 1st 1863

Dear Brother,

I have received several letters from home lately & they say that you complain that you never hear from me & I must acknowledge justly too, for I have not been writing lately, but I think I am somewhat excusable taking into consideration the fact that I have had no writing material along with me— we have been moved to and from several of the most out of the way and secluded places on the coast, we are now forty five miles from Savannah & near the C (Charleston) & Savh. RR— our present post office is Pocataligo, S.C. (now a non-existent "ghost town") about seven miles from here—it was thought one or two weeks ago that we

would go to Tennessee but now I am afraid we will stay somewhere around here all summer, if they do keep us here I hope it will not be long before the authorities see proper to commence the furlough system again as they generally give them to us in the summer & to you in the winter– the Yanks being whipped pretty badly at Charleston I hardly think they will make another attack in this department again soon– I am afraid they (the Yanks) will get some advantage over us in Tennesee or on the Mississippi (which came true with Grant's capture of Fort Henry on Feb. 13, 1862, and Fort Donelson on Feb. 15, 1862, opening up the way to later control of the Mississippi by the Union forces), if we can but whip them at these Departments (ie., Tennessee & Mississippi) I shall think our cause progressing finely for I believe Lee will give Hooker as much as he wants any time he calls on him=

Lebb & myself being a little puny stopped at the Charleston Hotel last week & were surprised to meet up with Dr. Brandon there en route for Thomasville (Georgia) for good having left the services, he looks very badly– he told me he thought that Capt. McGlashan would be major of the Regt. (ie., Richard's regiment) in a short time, some of the older captains preferring not to go before the Board for examination; I want you to study hard if necessary, so that if he (McGlashan) should leave your Company you will have no hesitancy whatever in going before any Board or Court & taking charge of the company, rather than let any one else do it & come in ahead of you, even though you would prefer that McGlashan had kept the command & let you be 1st Lieut= Bill Pugh has been appointed Sergeant Major of our Regt & Reynolds is now orderly Sergeant of the Company= I got a letter from Buddy (their civilian brother Kenneth still at home in Thomasville, Georgia) a few days ago and he tells me that some of the young people, that is, the school boys & girls are preparing to have a May party & the different denominations [religious] are to have a grand Sunday School celebration in a short time at Thomasville, what fine times we used to have on such occasions & how sad when we think of it alone sometimes that such pleasures as these are past with us and the stern duties of the soldier taken up in their stead–

Sam Spencer's cavalry as also the company to which Charly Hansell belongs have been sent to McIntosh or Libert County (Georgia)– I suppose to do picket duty along the coast or those rivers that pass through that section of country– All were well at home a few days ago– hope this will find you so too, Very truly your aff Bro

John

John MacLean wrote this letter to his brother Richard of the 50th Georgia Regiment (stationed near Fredericksburg, Virginia) from his station at Coosawhatchie, S. C., a few days before the former's death on the field of battle (see Peter McGlashan's letter to Mrs. MacLean dated May 21, 1863). Apparently this letter was returned to Mrs. MacLean with Richard's other effects, upon his death.

In it we learn that McGlashan was Captain of Richard's regiment and as there was a chance that McGlashan was to be examined for a higher rank John advises Dick to study hard and aspire to succeed in the command of his company.

John MacLean outlines the Southern strategy of war in regard to the control of the Mississippi, little realizing that U. S. Grant's daring captures of Fort Henry & Fort Donelson in February, 1862, had already hemmed the Western boundary of the Confederacy and sealed its eventual downfall. It seems that the Southern faith in Lee's eventual supremacy was fixed.

Brother Kenneth's good times at home in Thomasville, Georgia, make John envious to reexperience the happy times of his youth.

THE SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN*

Vol. LXII Wednesday, May 7, 1863 No. 106

News of the Battle of Chancellorville [sic] P. 2

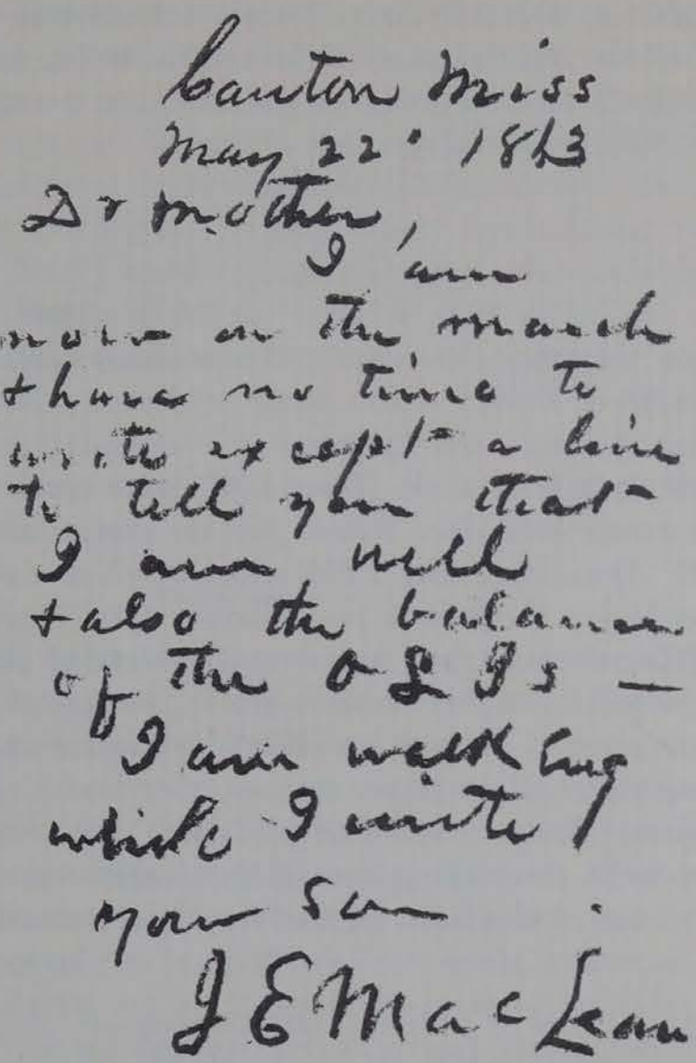
Headquarters 29th Reg't Ga. Vol's.,
Camp Young, May 6th, 1863.

To the Ladies of Savannah, Ga.:

The Twenty-ninth Regiment Georgia Volanteers [sic] are under marching orders, and will bid adieu to you all this evening, at 2 o'clock, and in all probability will not return, until victory shall have perched upon our banners throughout the entire South. I would be doing violence to my feelings if I did not return to you my sincere and heartfelt thanks for the many acts of kindness you have bestowed upon the Regiment, and more especially upon the Company of which I have the honor to be a member, (Co. D.) You have done your whole duty; yea, you have been kind and affectionate mothers and sisters to us ever since we have been stationed here. You have not only done your whole duty but you have done more than could have been expected of you. We will remember you with grateful hearts wherever our lots may be cast. For them and myself I bid you adieu, hoping that the God of battles may be with you to protect you and shield you from all harm, and especially from the invading foe, and that all he absentees may be permitted to return to their loved ones at home before ere long. Again, goodbye!

A Member of Co. D.

* Copied from microfilm available at the University of Georgia. R.C.


Canton Miss
May 22d 1863
Dr Mother,
I am
now on the march
& have no time to
write except a line
to tell you that
I am well
& also the balance
of the O L I S —
I am walking
while I write
your Son
J E MacLean

16

Canton, Miss.
May 22d 1863

Dr Mother,

I am now on the march & have no time to write except a line to tell you that I am well & also the balance of the OLIS (Regiment is)–

I am walking while I write

Your son

J (John) E MacLain

P.S.

As much as I would like to hear from home it will not be worth while for you to write to me– I don't know where I will be–

I got George Parnell to send my trunk home by express– hope it got there safe

J E M

This remarkable ephemerum from John MacLean was written under great handicap while "on the march" near Canton, Mississippi, to his mother ("I am walking while I write"). It is an easily imaginable picture and leaves a most moving impression of the hardships of the Great War.

17

Hd Qrs, Walkers Brigade
Near Yazoo City, Miss. June 4th 1/63

Dear Brother,

Your letters of 15th & 17th ult (May, 1863) were received several days ago, but being on the march ever since I have had no chance to answer— I received one from Uncle D (Donald) before I did yours which was written while on the cars (train) en route for Virginia & immediately upon receipt of it I wrote to Ma to let you all know that I had heard of the death of our (soldier) Brother (Richard)— I also wrote her a line or two a few days before that, but it was before I had recd Uncle D's letter— I hope his efforts may prove successful in Va, for it would be consoling to us all to know, at least, that we had his remains near at hand where they could sleep in undisturbed repose, far away from the ceaseless rattle of musketry & the thundering roar of the cannon, now the quiet home of his childhood & infancy. I shall not expose myself unnecessarily, for it is my desire, God willing, to return home some day & be of service to Ma, sisters & Uncle D, but to shrink back on account of danger from an invading & a hated foe, I never will, I never can,—their (there) is time enough for you to think of coming into the service & therefore I dont want you to think of it, or bother yourself in any way about it— it is my opinion this war will come to a close, if not shortly, at least before you are 18 years old & I want you to devote yourself to your books at school & to the interest of the family at home— that you may have a good education & a knowledge of business, that you will make you useful to yourself & those around you— when you write again let me know what your studies are, and how everything seems to be getting along at the plantation &c=

When I wrote to Ma, I stated that Tom Dyson had been killed at Vicksburg but I heard since that he was badly wounded— supposed to be mortal but that there was a little hope of his recovery—

Col. Young was taken sick & left just before I wrote last, but he has caught up again (ie., improved) again & taken command of the Regmt.—

We are about 3 miles from Yazoo City & from present circumstances, I think will stay in the vicinity some time— the Yankees have had possession of the city but Genl Walker with his division (of) twelve thousand men are here putting cannon on the high hills around the city & when you write to me direct (the letter) to this place instead of Canton— as we are now some distance from that place— Genl Johnston with the balance of his Army is between Canton and

Jackson (Miss)– reinforcements (are) continually coming in & I hope it may not be long before we will make a strike and drive them (the Yanks in Yazoo City) back upon their soil or lay them low (kill them) in the Valley of Mississippi – I had always heard a great deal of the Valley of Miss, the great farming country & it is true the crops here look well, but most all the soldiers from the Atlantic States say they would never exchange their old homes for one in this part of the country– I have not seen a grain of sand & only one running creek from Jackson (to here) [The Big Black] until I got to this place, the roads are so deep in dust that it is impossible for us to see the men 30 yards ahead of us– this is a small creek we are now at but it affords us plenty (of) water for ourselves & stock & I think we will remain near here some time– Myself & Albert are well– also most of the Thos Co (Thomasville, Georgia) boys– Capt Spencer looks badly & does not report for duty though he is up– with love to the family believe me very truly your aff bro John

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On June 4, 1863, John MacLean writes from near Yazoo City in the Mississippi valley (whose agricultural fame does not impress him) where his regiment under the 12,000 man command of General Walker is trying to drive the Yanks out of the city. Shortly before, he has been informed of his brother Dick's death on the battlefield near Fredericksburg, Virginia, and is attempting to comfort the family and then also dissuade his brother at home, Kenneth, from entering the service before the drafting age of 18 by which time John (euphemistically) feels the war will be over.

John confirms here the information gathered from his sister Kate's letter of July 6, 1863, that through the efforts of his Uncle Donald, Richard's remains will be brought home to Thomasville, Georgia, for reinterment.

18

Bivouac, Walker's Brigade
Vernon (now a disappeared "ghost town"), Miss
June 15th 1/63

Dear Brother,

I wrote to you a short time ago from Yazoo City & I wrote to Ma from a little place called Deasonville (another "ghost town" now), I hope they came safely to hand, I have not recd letters from any of you since Capt Spencer caught up (with our regiment) & brought your two to me– direct (letters) to me hereafter at Jackson as that is a sort of central point & I will be more apt to get them– I got a letter from Major McGlashan of the 50th Ga (his deceased brother Richard's regiment) which I intend sending to Ma if any person from here should be going to Thos Co. (Thomasville, Georgia)– it gives a very feeling (touching) account of our Brother's death & the disposition made of his body– of course

Uncle Donald has returned & given you the particulars before this, but still I want Ma to have this letter– I shant send it by mail– Capt Spencer was telling me of his seeing a letter from McGlashan in one of the Savannah papers– if you have the paper yet I should like for you to keep it so that I may see it some of these days– we get news very seldom out here & are taking real soldiers fare generally– one blanket is all the baggage we carry–

I hope the Yankees may soon be driven from this state & we will be able (to) hear from home oftener as we will not then be moved about so much– crops out here seem to be very good– I hope plenty (of crops) is being made in Thos County to feed itself & to spare.

I like (it) down (here) in this neighborhood better than I do higher up about Yazoo (City, Miss.), as that is the most broken (up) country that I ever saw in my life– no pine trees to be seen out here– hope all are well at home– Kindest regards to Mr. MacIntyre & family & love to the (his own) family believe me as ever your Brother

John E MacLean

John MacLean writes his remaining brother, Kenneth, still at home, from the "ghost town" of Vernon, Mississippi, on June 15, 1863, mentioning that Major McGlashan also wrote him a very touching letter about brother Richard's death and also had a letter in a contemporary Savannah paper.* He also states that this business of driving the Yanks out of Yazoo City makes army movements rough and postal communication very poor. Crops are good in the valley, and the territory there is much preferable to the higher rough terrain of Yazoo City.

* This newspaper reference has not been definitely identified as of this printing, although the May 18, 1863, issue of the *Savannah Republican* contains news, in an unsigned letter, of the death of Richard McLean on May 3 or 4, at Salem Church. Conceivably, the letter is that of McGlashan. R.C.

19

Hd qrs 29th Ga Regt near Morton, Miss
July 24th 1863

Dear Sister,

I have received letters from most all of you at home since I have written to any of you, but the reason I have not written is because I have not had a chance (to) in some time, all our luggage, but one blanket being taken from us some time since (ago), I wrote to Uncle Donald about the 5th inst (of July) when we were near the Big Black River– the next morning we went on the march & have been ever since except (for) 8 or 10 days that we were drawn up in line of battle in front of Jackson where Tom Ross of our company was killed (and) also Major Lumb. I was close to the Major & saw him fall struck in the side of the head by a small cannon ball– some seven or eight were wounded in the Regiment but you dont know any of them– it is not worth while for me to tell you about the

campaign out here since we have been in this state, the news papers have already furnished you with this news, perhaps more full & complete than I could do, suffice it to say that, the soldiers of this command are satisfied with Genl. Johnston in being a great military man, though he has been embarrassed by having a small army (only with which) to contend against large numbers of the enemy– it may be said that many of the men of this command love him, he is so polite & seems to be so modest & unassuming– I have seen him raise his hat to the humble private while passing along the road, I believe him to be a man who is determined not to sacrifice his men uselessly– the Yankees have left this part of the country & I think the campaign out here is all over for some time at least= We have been drinking very bad water since we have been in this state, having to use (water) out of the artificial ponds made by the people for watering their stock– just such stuff [sometimes] as a decent Georgia man would turn up his nose at, we have now got to a running branch of a stream & have dug out springs close to it which furnish us plenty of cool, clear water to drink–

I expect some of our boys will be at home (on furlough) in a few days, an order having been issued saying that applications for furlough would be considered at Hd Qrs– only one officer need apply from a company & as Lieut Dikle has not been home in a long time he has made application– I have just seen the death of Lieut Col Kearse of the 30th (Regiment) noticed in the "Republican"– the battle of Gettysburg was one of the most terrible that has been fought during this war–

Black Jones's Boy that he brought out here with him went (over) to the Yankees on our retreat from Jackson (Miss)– I gave Albert fair warning in the morning having told him if he wanted the enemy cavalry to pick him up just to stay behind (lag in the line of march) and fool away his time– he replied it will take a soon (i.e., quick) Yankee to get me this day, I did not see him all day but at night when we stopped Albert was with me in five minutes, he seems to have some attachment for me & for home & I believe would never leave us if he could help it– he is a goodeal of help to me & I am not sorry that I brought him along=

Morton (Miss) is a very small town, a station on the rail road leading east from Jackson, I dont think we will stay here long, some think we will go to Maridian (Meridian), Miss & others to Mobile, Ala. – it is hard for us to tell about matters of this kind, when we do more (travelling), however, I will write as soon as we reach our destination=

I received the shoes, camphor &c (for his aching feet) that were sent to me some time ago by Ma & Uncle Donald, the pencil got broken to pieces before it got to me, but (the) other things were all right=

I was glad to hear from Buddy's letter that the prospects at the plantation for favorable crops were good– tell him I want him to make good use of his time & pay close attention to his books & learn all he can while he has a good opportunity=

I wrote very hurriedly about the 5th inst to Miss Sue H---- of McKinnon, (Ga.) (?) she having written a very friendly and sympathising letter to me a short time previous– my kindest regards to her when you see her again=

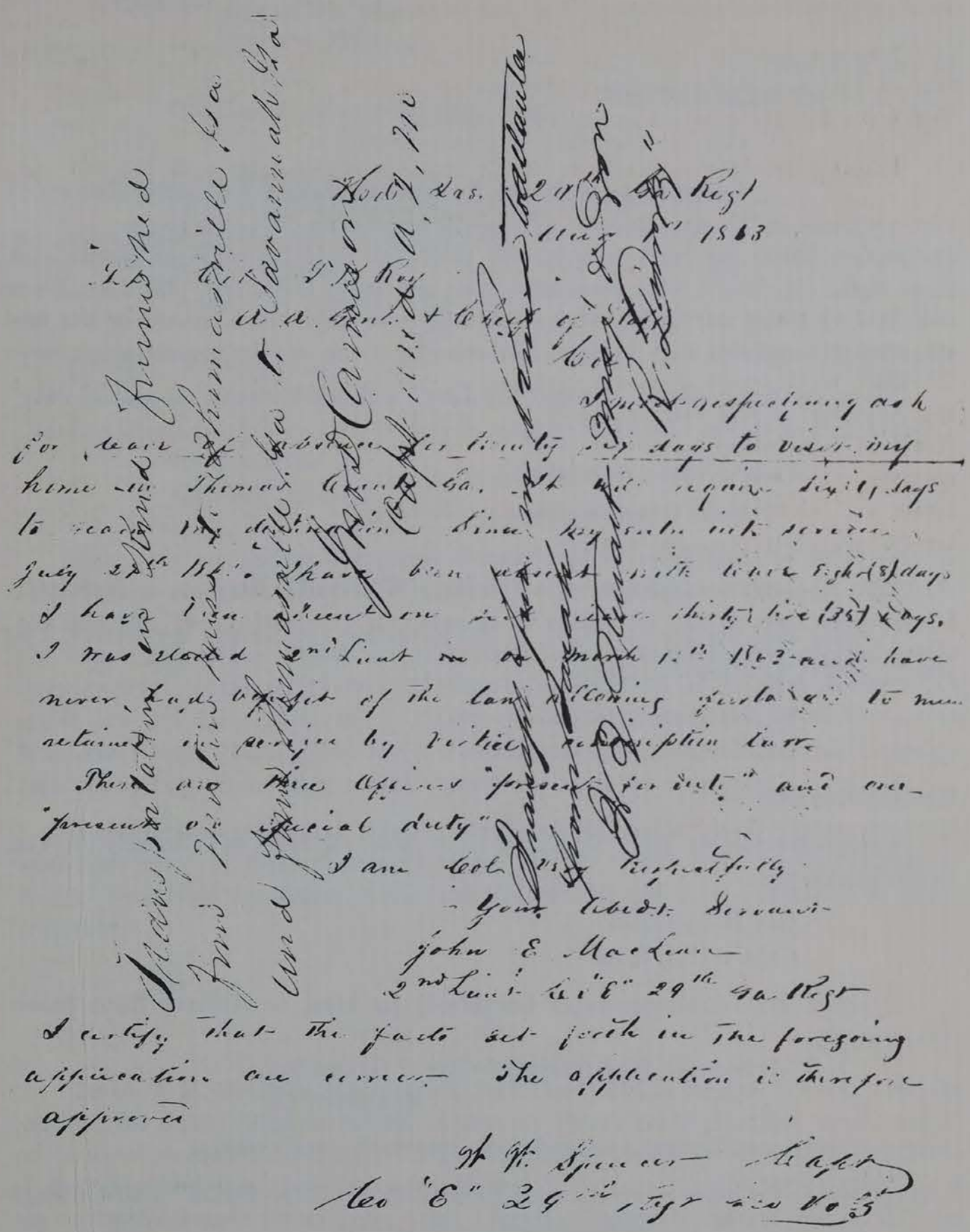
I heard that Mr. MacIntyre had a cavalry company and was going into the service– is it so= If you should see any of the Mitchells you can tell them that Bob & the Col are well (as is) also Col Young–

Hoping this may find all the family well believe me very truly your aff Bro.

John

Due to the severe deterioration caused by the aging of the poor paper and ink used in this letter of John MacLean's written near Morton, Miss., on July 24, 1863, to his sister (? Kate) back home, it is exceedingly difficult to decipher the wording. It is a fascinating letter, however, for it describes vividly the difficulties of Mississippi Confederate Army life, the constant struggle for good living quarters, pure water, the defection of a slave to the Yanks, the desire for furloughs home, etc. General Johnston's character is warmly eulogized and the battle of Gettysburgh is deemed the acme of war horror.

John continues to admonish his civilian younger brother to study hard at home, etc. General Johnston's character is warmly eulogized, and the battle of Gettysburg is deemed the acme of war horror.



Headquarters 29th Regt
near Atlanta Ga
July 21st 1863

Respectfully asks
for leave of absence for twenty (20) days to visit my
home in Thomasville Ga. He will require twenty days
to reach his destination & return by such mode of travel
July 22nd 1863. I have been absent with leave eight (8) days
I have been present on duty thirty five (35) days.
I was elected 2nd Lieut in the month of May 1863 and have
never had a day off of the last allowing furloughs to men
retained in service by strict enforcement of discipline here
There are three Officers present for duty and one
present on special duty

I am Col very respectfully
Your Obdt Servant
John E Maclean
2nd Lieut Co "E" 29th Ga Regt

I certify that the facts set forth in the foregoing
application are correct The application is therefore
approved

W W Sumner Capt
Co "E" 29th Regt Ga Vols

20

Hd Qrs. 29th Ga Regt
Aug 1st 1863

Lt Col T B Roy
A - A - Genl. & Cheif of Staff

Col

I most respectfully ask for leave of absence for twenty six days to visit my home in Thomas County, Ga. It will require six days to reach my destination. Since my entry into service July 27th 1861 I have been absent with leave eight (8) days. I have been absent on sick leave thirty five (35) days, I was elected 2nd Lieut on March 12th 1863 and have never had benefit of the law allowing furloughs to men retained in service by virtue (of the) conscription law—

There are three officers "present for duty" and one "present on special duty" (to take care of things while I am gone)

I am Col very Respectfully

Your Obedt. Servant

John E. MacLean
2nd Lieut Sev (Service) "E" 29th Ga Regt

I certify that the facts set forth in the foregoing application are correct. The application is therefore approved

W. W. Spencer Capt
Co. "E" 29th Regt Geo Vols

Counterinscribed—

Transportation in kind furnished from Morton, Miss to Thomasville, Ga. to Savannah, Ga

Jno D Cameron
Capt and A, 2, no

Transpt fur. (transportation furnished) in kind to Atlanta from Savah (Savannah).

J. B. (?) Stewart, Maj (major) & Gen (? General)
R. Dinrez (?)

And this document bears the following endorsements on its verso—

Application for leave of absence for Lieut J. E. MacLean Co "E" 29th Ga Regt

———————————————

Hd Qtrs 29th Ga Regt
Aug 1st 1863
Approved & rspct forwarded
W. J. Young Col
Comd (Commander of the) Regt

S./D. Gen Wilson's Brigade
August 1st 1863
Approved & respectfully forwarded
C. C. Wilson
Col Comdg (Commanding) Brig

Hd. Qur. Walker's Division
Near Morton (Mississippi), Aug. 1, 1863
Respcty (Respectfully) per (i.e., approved)
W N S Walker
Maj Gel (General) Co Dr (?)

Hd. Qrs. Morton, Miss
August 3d 1863
Leave of absence is granted for twenty four (24) days
By command of
General Johnston

This very interesting document shows that after two years of service in the Confederate army and only 43 days of leave during all that time, Lt. MacLean felt justified in applying for a furlough to which he felt entitled by virtue of the Conscription law under which he originally entered it. He applied for 26 days leave and obtained 24 days plus free transportation, as the various signatures attest. His old friend, Col. W. J. Young (frequently mentioned in admiration in MacLean's letters home), no doubt was instrumental in obtaining this furlough; and Young's signature of approval appears twice on the document.

This paper reveals that John E. MacLean was conscripted (rather than volunteered) into the Confederate Army on July 27, 1861, and rose to the rank of second lieutenant by virtue of election (March 12, 1863) by the members of his company.

21

Lieut. J. E. McClain (i.e., John E. MacLean) of Co. E. 29th Ga Regt. having applied for a certificate on which to ground (base) an application for extension of leave of absence I do hereby certify that I have carefully examined said officer & find him suffering from chronic diarrhea & that in consequence thereof he is in my opinion unfit for military duty. I further declare my belief that he will not be able to resume his duties in a less period of time than thirty (30) days. I therefore recommend that his leave of absence be extended for the above time.

Dec 23rd. 63
Duplicate

W. P. Clymer Surg (Surgeon)
29th Ga. Regt

There is no documentary evidence left to tell what kind of a 24 day furlough John MacLean enjoyed during August, 1863, back home in Thomasville, Georgia, (see preceding document) but one can imagine what a supremely joyous occasion it was for all in such a loving, tightly-knit family– especially after an absence of two years.

But his order was to be back at his Morton, Mississippi, Army Lieutenantship on Sept. 1, 1863. Did he do this and then become ill of chronic enteritis, or did he contact the disease while on leave at home? The former conjecture is the more likely, for this document from his regimental physician asks for a 30 day leave in his behalf because of the severe enteritis. But what does he mean by "extension of leave of absence"?– Does this refer to the original furlough MacLean was granted in August, 1863, or had he had another leave subsequent to his returning back to duty on Sept. 1, and before the dating of this memo on December 23, 1863? And if so, was this leave granted him because of this diarrheal "flux"?

"EXTRACT."

Head-Quarters Army of Tennessee,
Dalton, Georgia,
March 13th 1864.

SPECIAL ORDERS,
No 73

II. Under General Orders
No 227 Leave of absence is granted to the following officers for the period set opposite their respective names:

Lieut. John W. McLean Lg 1st Ga Regt 10 Days

By Command of GENERAL JOHNSTON,
Kinloch Falconer
A.A.A.G.

Lieut. John W. McLean
Thro'
Lieut. Genl. Hardee

22

"EXTRACT"

Head-Quarters Army of Tennessee,
Dalton, Georgia
March 15th 1864

SPECIAL ORDERS,
No. 73
II. Under General Orders

No. 227 leave of absence is granted to the following officers for the period set opposite their respective names:
7– Lieut. John McLean, 29th Ga Regt 18 days

By Command of GENERAL JOHNSTON,
Kinloch Falconer A.A.G.

Lieut. John McLean
Thro?
Lieut. Genl. Hardee

And on the verso of this printed document is found–

Lt. MacLean relieved
from duty at his Regmt.
March 18th 1864
J. J. Owen
Capt Comdg (commanding the) Regmt

Lieut. John MacLean receives another 18 day furlough after such a short time. Was he still suffering from his enteritis mentioned in the previous note?

The document bears an official rubber stamp (illegible) in blue dated April 5, 1864, which would coincide with the termination of MacLean's leave and must signify when he returned to his duty. Also note in mss. the word "thro?" Apparently the officer who granted MacLean his furlough was not sure if Lieut. Genl. Hardee was responsible for granting him this leave, but he attributed it to Hardee anyway.

23

Camp 29th Ga Regmt
Near Dalton (Georgia), April 5th 1864

Dear Sister,

I reached camp this morning before day all safe & right (sound). I had a very pleasant trip all the way to Dalton, having met up with Mr. Curtis Carroll going to Atlanta and also Col. Werin of the 25th Ga Regmt of our Brigade from Liberty County (Georgia), and, as he is a very nice man, had pleasant company all the way– I thought on Saturday that I would call and see Paine, Charley Hansell

& others of Millers Battl. but when I got to the Depot it looked so much like rain, I thought it best to go immediately to the hotel– I stopped at the private boarding house of Mrs. Morse, where we found so much better accomodation in every respect than at the hotels, that I think I can say that I am done with the Pulaski House as long as she (Mrs. Morse) keeps house there, and she only charges half the price of the hotels, I said we had a fine trip until we got to Dalton which was last night at 7 o'clock, it had been raining up here and then the clouds looked very threatening and made it very dark traveling out to camp (4 miles) the mud being very plentiful all the way & deep in some places, I had a little fun seeing Col. Winn, a field officer who is in the habit of riding, splashing through the mud– He also had a negro boy along to tout (carry) his carpet sack but notwithstanding he was thus relieved of his load (by the Negro) we had to stop two or three times along the way for him to rest, I think he is a member of the church, but am inclined to think he was tempted to say cuss words, sometimes when he would run into a pretty bad place, he could complain very much saying it was very tight papers– we got lost once in about one mile of (from) camp but after about one hours search found our path again and were soon in our comfortable little (army) huts again= I never found (out) until after I had left here that my canteen (razor) strop had been completely ruined by boiling it in water, I cant get another up here– tell Buddy to look up stairs in the store, hanging up against the street wall & send that Hatter Rain by some of the boys. It will be a very small bundle & will make me a good strop–I think I had two letters for (to deliver to) Col Mitchell & since my arrival at Camp I find only one, it (the other) must have been left at home in the drawer or somewhere about the house as I put all I had in my carpet sack upon leaving home– Tell Miss Emmie that I heard from the April fool– Miss Kitty thinks yet that Bob wrote it and thanked him very much for such a long & interesting epistle– as ever your aff Bro

John

On this leaf with the blind-embossed emblem of the *Union* Congress by Plantner/Smith, John MacLean writes his sister (Kate?) back home in Thomasville, Georgia, the details of his trip back to his camp near Dalton, Georgia. Staying at Mrs. Morse's private hostelry was better and cheaper than the "Pulaski House." Especially ludicrous were the efforts of cavalry officer, Colonel Winn, to splash back to camp through the mud despite the fact that his bag was carried by his Negro boy.

24

Macon, Ga. June 7th 1864

Dear Sister,

I arrived in this city Sunday morning and stopped at the hotel until Monday, the time for the meeting of the Medical Ex (Examining) Board, when I went before it to see what disposition they would make of my case– they say they have

received orders not to extend any furloughs hereafter until they are made fully acquainted with the case by having it in the hospital a while for treatment, accordingly I was sent to the Floyd House Hospital where Rosenfield, a member of our Company is Ward Master, & he has any attention paid to us that we want & I would prefer being here to any other place of that sort that I would be sent to— to my surprise upon going into the Hospital Rosenfield took me to a very good room in which I found Capt Spencer sick with fever, he looks rather badly, & in the same room Capt Bradwell of (the) 25th Ga Regmt from Liberty County wounded in the hand, it is somewhat troublesome & a little painful to him at times but not a bad wound by any means— I have been getting along very well since I left home but I cant say that I have much hope of a furlough from this place— I dont want any of you to trouble yourselves about me at all for you can do me no good here & if I want any assistance at any time I shall write home to that effect immediately— I have no news to write you for this place is very dull, except rumors & reports of different kinds coming in from the Army occasionally, more than half of them proving to be false= I saw about fifty or sixty prisoners this morning, the crew of the (Union) boat captured below Savannah a few days ago, on their way to Andersonville, the prisoner camp, they had but very little to say to any body, but were well dressed and looked fat & healthy, as most seamen do.

I have not seen Mr. Clisby here though I have been on the street several times & walked about a good deal= When you write to me here it is not worth while to put down the Company & Regmt but simply Floyd House Hospital; Macon, Ga—

Hoping this may find all well at home

Believe me very truly your

Aff Bro

John

From Macon, Georgia's Floyd House Hospital where John MacLean was sent to be reevaluated medically for a furlough extension, he writes his sister (Kate?) in Thomasville, Georgia, on June 7, 1864. He met there some of his war buddies undergoing treatment & also saw a group of prisoners from a captured Union gun boat (looking "fat & healthy as most seamen do") being herded off to the notorious Andersonville prison where no doubt they would soon lose their flourishing faces.

25

Floyd House Hospital
Macon, Ga. June 1864
(11-17th)

Maj A P Mason
A A Genl Army, Tenn

Major—I have the honor to apply for a furlough, to visit my home in Thomasville, Ga, based on annexed certificate of (the) Med Ex (Medical Examining) Board

I am most Respty,
Your obt (obedient) Svt (servant)
Jno E MacLean, 2nd Lt
Camp "E" 29th Ga Regmt

Off. Bd Ex (Official Board of Examiners) Floyd House & Ocmulga Hosiptal
Macon, Ga. June 13, 1864

John E. MacLean a Lieut. of W.W. Spencers Company "E" 29th Georgia. Stevens Brigade having applied to this Board for a certificate upon which to base an application for leave of absence, we certify that we have carefully examined him, and find that he is unfit to perform his duties in the field in consequence of Chronic Diarrhoea from the effects of which he has suffered twelve months. We further declare our belief that he will not be able to assume his duties in a less period than forty five (45) days and respectfully recommend a leave of abscence for that length of time, to visit Thomasville, Thomas County, Georgia.

E.J.Roach, Sr Surgn
S. E. Charlee, Surgn
W. S. Lee, Surgn
Ex. Board

Two pages pasted as one folio— and overleaf the following endorsements—

John E MacLean
Lieut Co E 29th Ga

Floyd House Hospital
Macon, Ga. June 13, 1864

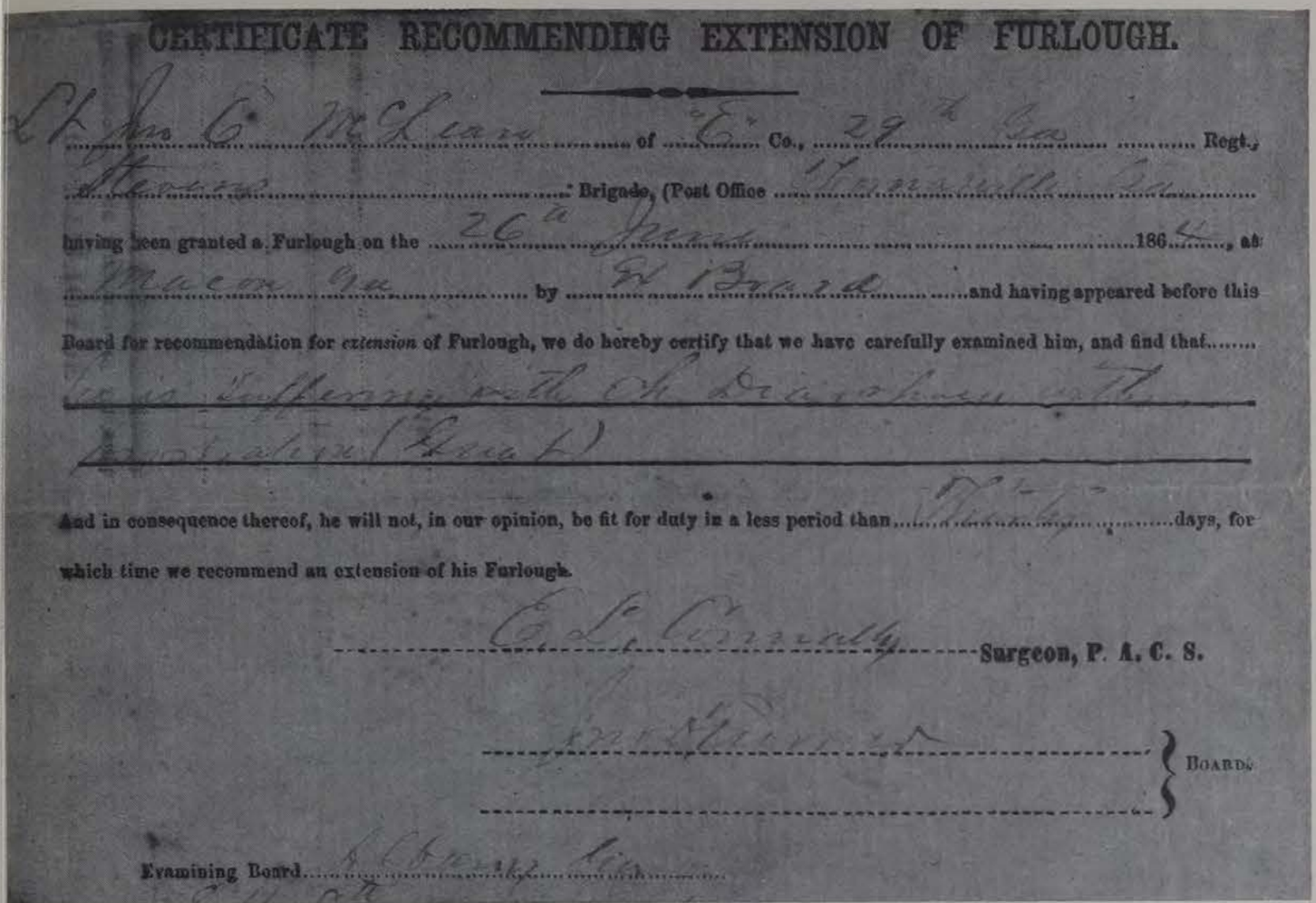
Application for leave of
abscence based upon an
accompanying certificate
of the Medical Examining Board

Off. Surg C. Hospls
Macon, June 14, 64
Respectfully forwarded
Approved.
James Mercer Green
Surgeon chge Hospls

O.M.D. Hospls
Atlanta June 19, '64
Resp'y for approval
G. H. Stout
Med Director
Atlanta, Ga
June 2, 64
Approved in the absence of the Medical Director
By Comd of
Genl Johnston
B.J.S. Ewell
Col. & A.A.S.
Office Floyd H. Hospital
Macon, Ga. June 26/64
Lieut John E MacLean
is this day discharged from
Hospital
E J Roach
Surgeon in Charge
Per Abrams
Office of Chf. Surg, Sub
District No. 1
Tallahassee, Fla. Aug. 8 1864
I certify that Lt J E.
MacLean has appeared
at this Post for examination
by the Med. Board.
There being no board at
the time, he appeared again this
day, Sept. 3d/64.
There still is no Med.
Exam. Bd in consequence
of the absence of the Sr
Surg (Dr. Roach) of the Hospital.
J. H. Randolph
Chf Surg Sub Dist (District)
No. 1

Tallahassee, Fla. Nov 5/64
Recommended for an
extension of 30 [30] days
Henry S Bacon, Surg
W. H. Clark, Asst. Sg.
Exam Board

According to this extended document, it is discovered that since June, 1863, John MacLean has been suffering from persistent enteritis with chronic diarrhea, no inkling of which can be gathered from his modest letters home. On June 13, 1864, at Macon, Georgia, the medical examining board gives him a 45 day medical extension of his furlough to cure himself at his home in Thomasville, Georgia. Subsequent to this, he spends all summer trying to find a board to sit on his case in Macon ("there still is no medical examining board in consequence of the absence of the senior surgeon, Dr. Roach"). Finally, the Tallahassee, Florida, board (to where the pressing Union Armies have now dislocated this facility) give him an additional 30 day extension on Nov. 5, 1864.



CERTIFICATE RECOMMENDING EXTENSION OF FURLOUGH.

Lt Jno E McLean of "E" Co., 29th Ga Regt.,
Stevens Brigade, (Post Office Thomasville Ga
having been granted a Furlough on the 26th June 1864, at
Macon Ga by Ex Board and having appeared before this
Board for recommendation for extension of Furlough, we do hereby certify that we have carefully examined him, and find that
he is suffering with Ch Diarrhoea with
Prostration (Great)

And in consequence thereof, he will not, in our opinion, be fit for duty in a less period than Thirty days, for which time we recommend an extension of his Furlough.

E. L. Connally Surgeon, P. A. C. S.

Jno D. Turner
Board

Examining Board Albany Ga
Sept 8th 1864

CERTIFICATE RECOMMENDING EXTENSION OF FURLOUGH

LT JNO E. MCLEAN OF "E" CO., 29TH GA REGT.,
STEVENS BRIGADE, (POST OFFICE----------THOMASVILLE GA
HAVING BEEN GRANTED A FURLOUGH ON THE 26TH JUNE 1864, AT
MACON GA BY EX BOARD AND HAVING APPEARED BEFORE THIS
BOARD FOR RECOMMENDATION OF EXTENSION OF FURLOUGH, WE DO HEREBY CERTIFY THAT WE HAVE
CAREFULLY EXAMINED HIM, AND FIND THAT HE IS SUFFERING WITH CH DIARRHOEA WITH
PROSTRATION (GREAT)
AND IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF, HE WILL NOT IN OUR OPINION, BE FIT FOR DUTY IN A LESS
PERIOD THAN THIRTY DAYS, FOR WHICH TIME WE RECOMMEND AN EXTENSION OF HIS FURLOUGH.

E.L.CONNALLY SURGEON, P.A.C.S.

JNO D.TURNER
BOARD

EXAMINING BOARD ALBANY GA
SEPT 8TH 1864

(DUPLICATE)

AND ON VERSO-

CERTIFICATE
RECOMMENDING AN EXTENSION OF FURLOUGH

L JNO E MCLEAN
CO "E" 29TH GA. RGT

EXAMINING BOARD 2ND DIST GA
ALBANY SEPT 8TH 1864

THIS IS JOHN MACLEAN'S OFFICIAL DOCUMENT OF MEDICAL FURLOUGH EXTENSION AUTHORIZING HIS LEAVE FROM SEPT 8 THROUGH OCT 8,1864. AS IT READS FOR "CHRONIC DIARRHEA WITH GREAT PROSTRATION" CHRONIC AMOEBIC DYSENTERY MUST BE RULED OUT ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF HIS FREQUENTLY RELATING IN THE FOREGOING LETTERS ■ THE HARDSHIPS OF FINDING PROPER DRINKING WATER AND OFTEN HAVING TO DRINK FROM THE SAME BRACKISH POOLS USED TO WATER THE STOCK.

27

Thomasville, Ga. Nov. 4/64

Enrolling Officer

On the 4th Oct. Lt Jno E MacLean Co E 29th Ga Regt applied at this office for an extention of thirty days on his furlough. It was approved & forwarded to Hd Qrs Ex Bord in accordance with order. His said Certificate has not yet been returned to this office. I give him this shewing (i.e., certifying MacLean's appearance here).

L M Sutton
A S A T E O (?) of Thomas County

This hardly legible document (because of the scarcity of good writing material near the finish of the war) was of considerable importance tc John MacLean for it prevented his being considered absent without leave by accounting for the period of Oct. 4, through Nov. 4, 1864, when he was granted another official 30 day medical extension of his furlough by the Tallahassee, Florida, Medical Examining Board of Nov. 5, 1864 (for which please see previous document).

28

Monticello, Fla
February 8th 1865

Dear Sister,

Your letter written a few days ago & also one from Buddy (his brother Kenneth) were duly received & I ought to have answered it yesterday but I went out to pay a visit to a House that I had never been to before which prevented my doing so, as I staid a good long time, it was at Mr. Wm Denham's & before telling you anything about my visit let me remark that I have been but very little expense to the Hospital since my arrival here, for Mrs. Denham has been feeding me with the best that this land affords, sending me breakfast & dinner every day— I concluded I would go around yesterday after dinner though I had never met any of the female part of the family— Mr D— was off attending a sale, though I found Caph Jno Denham, a brother, there who introduced me to his neice. Mrs D— was feeling quite unwell & I did not see her, though I found her daughter quite a pleasant young lady— Docto (r) Palmer, just (arrived) from Virginia came in about this time & it was not long before Mr Williams & several other gentlemen of the town came in to see him & all together we passed a very pleasant evening. I was very kindly invited to call & spend the evening again— I have also been to see Mrs McDonald & Mrs Williams & family— both wanted me to come & take a room at their house & stay, having nothing to do with the Hospital except to report to the Doctor at such times as he might require, they both invited me very kindly & so did Mr Williams but I did not accept the invitations as I certainly would have been some trouble to them (especially with this diarrhea) and it was not necesary for my health that I should put them to the trouble & besides I thought I would feel more free & easy where I am= I have been

home to supper with Doctr Morel twice & so far I find him & his wife both very pleasant & agreeable, I expect from what I can see & hear of him that he is a man who has peculiar ways of his own, but he certainly does treat me with all the respect & attention that I wish, I have a room all to myself & not in the same house with other patients– He (Dr. Morel) told the steward to fill out a furlough for me tomorrow & he will have it fixed up, though it has to go to Tallahassee for approval by the General comdg (commanding) district in consequence of there being only one surgeon at the hospital to sign it, the other who was on the board with Morel have (?) died not very long since, I may possibly not be approved by the Genl. But I hope it will (be approved)= The paper you sent by the same mail with the letters came to hand= I am getting along very well generally & hope that the sick ones at home may be getting well fact by this time

Beleive me very truly
Your aff Bro
Jno. E. MacLean

This is the last actual letter remaining from the John MacLean correspondence, it is written on Feb. 8, 1865, from Monticello, Florida, to his sister (probably Kate) back home at Thomasville, Georgia, and tells of his hospital stay as an outpatient under eccentric Dr. Morel's care. Apparently he still suffers from chronic enteritis, but this does not prevent him making other social calls. He still seeks further medical deferments of his furlough.

29

Head-Quarters, Military Dist of Fla.,
Tallahassee, Feb'y 21st, 1865

Special Orders
No. 36
XI. On Certif. Med. Examig. Board a furlough of sixty, [60,] days is granted the following named officer:–
Lt. J. E. McLean Co. "E"., 29th Ga. Regt
H. R. Jackson's Brgade.
[Sec. S.O. No. 225. Par XI., series of 1863, Dep't. S.C., Ga., & Fla.]

Maj Gen Sam Jones
By command of P. O. Warwick A.D. C & A.
Ass't Ad'jt General.

Lt. McLean,
Thro'
Surgn. J. S. Morel
In Chge. Hosp–
Monticello

and on verso is recorded–
Dischgd from Hospital Feby 23. 65
J. S. Morel
Surgn Genl. Hospl
Monticello
Fla

Head-Quarters, Military Dist. of Fla.,

Tallahassee, Feby. 21st, 1865.

Special Orders,
No. 36.

* * * *

XI. — On certif. Med. Exam'g. Board a furlough for Sixty, (60,) days is granted the following named officer: —

Lt. J. E. McLean C. S., 29th Ga. Regt.
N. B. Jackson's Brigade.

(See S.O. No. 225. Par XII., series of 1863, Dept. S.C., Ga., & Fla.)

* * *

By command of Brigadier General Milton.

May Genl Van Jones.

P. B. Warwick
A.D.C. & A. Ass't Adj't General.

Lt. M. McLean,
Thro'
Surg. J. S. Morel,
In charge Hosp —
Marietta Ga

Thus ends the saga of Confederate Lieutenant John E. MacLean who by this above document extending his medical furlough from army service through April 21, 1865, was enabled to coast out the war without any further participation in fighting. Actually, then, John's last contact with active army camp life is detailed in his letter from Dalton, Georgia, written on April 5, 1864, to his sister back home in Thomasville, Georgia.

Harrisville, Michigan

RE-ANALYSIS OF RICHARD M. NIXON'S CHECKERS SPEECH

DONALD R. TERRY

The circumstances that led to the giving of the address that is often termed "The Checkers Speech" began in late 1950 after Richard Nixon's election to the Senate, when Nixon accepted contributions to finance political activities during his term of office. Dana Smith, finance chairman of the 1950 Senatorial Campaign, handled the collections and disbursements for the fund. Nixon in his explanation of the source of the contributions quotes Dana Smith:

> The idea, Smith told Edson, was substantially this: if Republican party supporters contributed to the election of Senator Nixon, why wouldn't they want to contribute funds between elections which would allow him to travel back to California more often to see his constituents, keep in touch with party workers by regular mailings, and carry on other political activities? The fund had been carefully established, limiting contributions to individuals, not corporations, and to a maximum of $500, so that no one could be accused of trying to buy special favors. The money was solicited from regular party contributors and it was administered by Smith as trustee. The funds were kept in a Pasadena bank and subject to regular audits. It was to be used for transportation, mailing, and office expenses connected with political activity, as distinguished from official government business.[1]

The Price, Waterhouse, and Company audit disclosed that the amount involved was $18,235 from 1950 to 1952.

In the presidential campaign of 1952, the fund began to come to the fore on September 14, 1952. Rumors had been passed to members of the press that Nixon had a "fund" or "supplementary salary." Peter Edson, veteran political columnist, asked this question after a Nixon appearance on "Meet the Press."

> Senator, what is this 'fund' we hear about? There is a rumor to the effect that you have a supplementary salary of $20,000 a year, contributed by a hundred California businessmen. What about it?[2]

The story broke on September 18, in several papers. As Nixon recalls:

> . . . the Edson story was a fair and objective account of the fund. It was the *New York Post* which let me have it with both barrels. It was a clever example of the half-truth.[3]

By Thursday afternoon, Democratic National Chairman, Stephen Mitchell, had called on Eisenhower to demand Nixon's resignation. On the Republican side, Senator Karl Mundt, Congressional Campaign Chairman, and Arthur Summerfield, Republican National Chairman, urged that Nixon remain. Mundt issued a public statement calling the attack a "left wing smear" and a "filthy" maneuver of a pro-Stevenson newspaper.

Nixon reports that on his campaign train, he and his chief advisers, Chotiner and Rogers, believed that the less attention given the issue the better. But on the evening of September 19, one question by a reporter in the corridor of the train changed the entire situation. It was by this means that Nixon and his staff learned

that the *Washington Post* and the *New York Herald Tribune* would publish editorials on the following morning saying that he should submit his resignation to General Eisenhower. The fact that the *Herald Tribune* was the most influential Republican newspaper in the East made the blow a telling one.

The most interesting point, in retrospect, of this breaking of the story was the charge made by the *New Republic,* in an article attacking Nixon, that: "Never has our free press been as one-sided as this. And never has it carried its prejudices over into its news columns with such ruthless suppression of unwelcome facts."[4] Contrast this with the previously quoted Mundt and Nixon remarks, as well as Nixon's complaint that Mundt's "statement was lost in the back page of most newspapers, while Mitchell's demand that I resign made most of the front pages."[5] The only possible conclusion is that each side felt that the news media was less than fair to it.

As the campaign proceeded. Nixon began to receive harsh treatment as exemplified by the situation in Portland on Saturday, September 21. He reports:

> There the crowds were thin. But the pickets and hecklers were out in full force. When we reached the Benson Hotel we were met by a jeering crowd blocking the entrance. Pat and I were shoved and jostled as we got out of the car, and only with the help of Bob Hamilton, who had taken leave from his job with the FBI in San Francisco to serve as my aide, were we able to force our way into the lobby.[6]

That evening the decision was made for Nixon to state his case on a national television broadcast. On Sunday afternoon, Thomas Dewey called from New York, urging a like course of action and suggesting a request for telegrams from the electorate stating whether or not they believed he should stay on the ticket. Dewey estimated perhaps a million might respond. That evening General Eisenhower telephoned the same advice; and a short time after 1:00 a. m. on Monday, September 23, Nixon announced that he would fly to Los Angeles for a nationwide television and radio broadcast.

On the way to Los Angeles, Nixon arrived at several conclusions and with these in mind began to sketch notes for the most important speech of his career. Had the speech not been effective, he would have had no future national political career. As he pondered the situation he concluded:

> I realized I had to take my case to the people and convince them of my honesty and integrity. The public reaction to my speech would determine whether or not I was a liability to the Republican ticket. And I went even further in my own thinking as to what I had to accomplish through the broadcast. I must not only remove any liability I might be to the ticket, I must become a positive asset. I had decided that unless I could attain both these objectives I would resign.[7]

With the purpose of the speech established, to gain enough public reaction to display that he was an asset and not a liability, Nixon turned to a consideration of the content of the speech.

Three requirements were formulated relating to content:

> First, I must answer the immediate attack that was being made on me by explaining and defending the fund. Second, I must ward off future attacks along the same lines so that any future allegations that I had profited financially from my public service would fall on deaf ears. Finally, I felt I had to launch a political counterattack to rally the millions of voters in my television audience to the support of the Eisenhower ticket.[8]

Nixon started preparing the speech by jotting down his first notes on picture post cards provided by the airline. It was at this stage, Nixon recalls, that he chose the cloth coat of his wife to make the comparison to the mink coat scandals of the Truman administration. It was also here that the common name for the speech as the Checkers speech got its start. Nixon credits two ideas for bringing it to his mind. First, he was thinking of Eisenhower's advice to disclose any gifts, and second, he recalled:

> . . . Roosevelt's devastating remark in the 1944 campaign — 'and now they are attacking poor Fala' — I decided to mention my own dog Checkers. Using the same ploy as FDR would irritate my opponents and delight my friends.[9]

After arriving in Los Angeles, Nixon spent the better part of thirty-six hours gathering data on his financial situation, outlining the speech, and preparing. Nixon reports that he wished to stay with a project until it was completed rather than taking breaks. He took a brisk walk near the hotel late that evening, but he used the time to test the first outline of his speech on William Rogers. While he was preparing, he used four outside sources. He had his secretary, Rose Mary Woods, call his Washington staff to research his exact financial standing. Dr. Paul Smith, his history professor at Whittier College, checked the accuracy and authenticity of the Lincoln quotation on the common people, while Price, Waterhouse, and Company audited the fund accounts and Gibson, Dunn, and Crutcher, a large Los Angeles law firm, prepared a legal opinion on the possibility of law violation in any aspect of the fund's usage. In preparing his speech, Nixon followed his usual procedure with one exception. He records that:

> . . . my practice was to make a first general outline and throw it away, then make a second, tighter-reasoned outline without referring to the first one; and finally to make a third even shorter one which I would then read over several times. I then would be able to deliver the speech without any notes at all. Particularly on television, I always tried to avoid reading a speech. I never memorized a speech or practiced it before delivery. Only when I could deliver a speech without memorizing it, and if possible without notes, did it have the spark of spontaneity so essential. But I had an acute problem in preparing this particular speech — there just were not enough hours in the day for me to get the ideas firmly enough in my mind so that I could deliver it entirely without notes.[10]

As a result, the Checkers speech was delivered with the aid of five pages of notes.

The strategies or motives employed by Nixon in this rhetorical event can be viewed as principally three in number. The first and most important was to identify himself with the honest, struggling, average American. The second was to turn the tables on the Democrats and, in fact, imply that any wrong doing was on their part. The third major strategy was to gain sympathy for one unjustly accused who was willing to strip himself bare for the truth to prevail.

A combination of turning the tables and pointing the finger of guilt at the Democrats is used in the introductory material. Nixon contends that the usual political practice is to ignore charges or to deny them without details. For himself, he implies a more moral course will be taken: "I believe we've had enough of that in the United States particularly with the present administration in Washington, D. C."[11] He then maintains that the only course of right action is a detailed exposition of the truth.

At this juncture one of the main disputes surrounding the speech is propelled to the fore. Did he, in fact, give this detailed truth? Some analysts of the speech do not think so. The overstatement of the opposition was summed up by *Commonweal* in its attack: "Not once did he seriously discuss the main issue."[12] A fair conclusion would be, however, that, "as a reasoned reply to a specific charge, the speech had obvious weaknesses."[13] It is unfair to argue that he made no specific replies. He cites the Price, Waterhouse, and Company audit; presents the Gibson, Dunn, and Crutcher legal opinion in full; gives the total of his and his wife's savings; lists their assets and mortgages; and spells out their life insurance coverage, and automobile and furniture ownership. Nixon gives his total law firm earnings for the past six years from residual estates and two small inheritances he and his wife received. He presents the things for which the fund was used: political trips, mailings, speech printings and the like. Finally, he categorically denies ever giving contributors any special consideration, and he challenges the Democratic Administration to bring forth contrary evidence:

> I can say that never, while I have been in the Senate of the United States, as far as the people that contributed to this fund are concerned, have I made a telephone call for them to an agency, or have I gone down to an agency in their behalf. And the record will show that, the records which are in the hands of the Administration.[14]

The speech does lack two things. First, the detail of the fund's expenditures and contributions are not there; but this detail would have dulled the impact of the speech, destroyed its vividness and appeal, while proving little that could not be proven from the sources and reports cited. Second, and most important, the speech never discusses the moral issue or propriety of such a fund's existence. The closest Nixon comes to this issue is to quote Stephen Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee that: "if a man couldn't afford to be in the United States Senate he shouldn't run for the Senate" then to state, "I don't agree with Mr. Mitchell when he says that only a rich man should serve his government in the United States Senate or in the Congress." Again he counterattacks and identifies himself with the average listener. "I don't believe that

represents the thinking of the Democrat party and I know it doesn't represent the thinking of the Republican party."[15] If anything, this passage lends credence to or again raises the question of the usage of the fund.

Senator Nixon made many attempts to identify with the common man. Example of his attempt to identify are his wife's working at a non-government position, his service record, his concern for those needing work, and his feeling for his children. Not the least of his attempts was his recital of debts. The average American was faced with an ever increasing consumer and mortgage debt that at times caused him much frustration. Nixon placed himself right with the common man, and, on the other hand, placed Governor Stevenson apart with the wealthy.

> I believe that it's fine that a man like Governor Stevenson who inherited a *fortune* from his father can run for President. But I also feel that it's essential in this country that a man of modest means can also run for President. Because, you know, remember Abraham Lincoln, you remember what he said: 'God must have loved the common people—he made so many of them.'[16]

This passage not only illustrates a strategy, but points up the weakness of style and sentence structure that is fairly common throughout the speech. Whether the weaknesses were intentional or not, or even laudable from an academic point of view, they did help the strategy of identification with the average television viewer. Concerning style, the speech is full of lengthy sentences, clauses that are unattached, and unclear statements like this one:

> Do you think that when I or any other Senator makes a political speech, has it printed, should charge the printing of that speech and the mailing of that speech to the taxpayers?[17]

The word "incidentally" is significantly overused in the opening of important passages. It occurs ten times in what appear to be opening or transition sentences at the outset of the development of a point. The reason for this repetition may be a lack of preparation time, since in the last two pages, which are primarily an attack on Communism and corruption, issues Nixon had been exploiting, "incidentally" only occurs once compared to nine appearances in the first two and one half pages of defense. At one of the major points of the speech, Nixon lapses into the colloquial when he says: "You know the kids love the dog and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we're gonna keep it."[18] For the most part, the style of the speech is plain with occasional lapses.

Another example of an attempt to turn the tables on the Democrats came in his attack on the Stevenson funds. This, also, helped the sympathy appeal of one unjustly attacked by those who were really guilty. The attack on Sparkman's wife, who worked in his Senatorial office, with pay, from the government, was another such illustration.

In keeping with the prevalent climate of opinion of the day, a straw man argument against all such future attacks was made. Nixon argued:

> I know this is not the last of the smears. [Loaded language also appears at this point.] In spite of my explanation tonight, other smears will be made; others have been made in the past. And the purpose of the smears, I know is this – to silence me, to make me let up.[19]

The final appeal of the speech was in line with the overall strategy of seeking identification with the members of the audience. A simple statement was made that he was not a quitter, nor was his wife, but that the Republican National Committee would make the decision on his position on the ticket:

> Let them decide whether my position on the ticket will help or hurt. And I am going to ask you to help them decide. Wire and write the Republican National Committee whether you think I should stay on or whether I should get off. And whatever the decision is, I will abide by it.[20]

Thus, the groundwork was laid for a test before the bar of public opinion. This speech offers a test case for those who think that the measure of a speech's effectiveness is in moving the audience's conduct or attitudes. Lord Curzon wrote that a man's reputation for eloquence should be judged by the impression on, or the movement of, a contemporary audience. He goes further to write that it should be measured by "that test and that test alone." Wicheln's, in his *Literary Criticism of Oratory,* concludes that a speech should not be measured by that test alone, but primarily by that test. How did the Nixon speech measure on that criteria?

Three areas of measuring effect shall be considered here: the press reaction, individual reaction, and the measurement of many individuals by polls. By all three standards, this was one of the most effective rhetorical events of the century. Measured by the impact on the long range audience, history, by style or logical standards, perhaps the speech could not be considered one of greatness; but by the standards of moving the audience for whom it was intended and fulfilling its purposes, it must be labeled truly significant. From the long range view, it propelled Nixon into national political prominence that led to two terms as vice president, to his party's 1960 presidential nomination, and ultimately to the presidency.

Samples of press reaction show the favorable nature of the comment. *Newsweek* reacted: "No one disputed that it was an effective speech. It saved the Republican ticket from disaster."[21] *Time* editorialized:

> As debate the Nixon case did not amount to much; the Democrats started an argument, lost it and wound up defending Stevenson's fund. Some editorialists and columnists scoffed at Nixon's performance, but most opinion flip-flopped thunderously to Nixon's defense.[22]

Life concluded:

> He had established himself as a new force in the party with a prestige seldom enjoyed by a vice presidential candidate. Ethics is a standard of personal behavior and on that score Dick Nixon left nothing to be desired.[23]

The *New York Times'* editors said: "his own personal integrity is untouched."[24] The *Los Angeles Times* argued: "Few men in public or private life have found themselves caught so mercilessly in the whirlpools of honest doubt, calculated malice and planned contumely as the GOP's young nominee for vice-president. Fewer still have emerged so triumphantly with honor untarnished, integrity unscathed and conduct unsmirched."[25] The *Chicago Tribune* editor stated: "He made what was, by long odds, the most effective speech to have been delivered by any Republican leader so far, and it is not likely to be surpassed in impact as the campaign goes on. It would hardly be exaggeration to say that in the public mind, the Republican ticket is now Nixon and Eisenhower, rather than Eisenhower and Nixon."[26] Finally, on its news pages, the *New York Times* reported that based on reports from their correspondents in the other forty-seven states: "Senator Nixon's speech gave impetus to the Republican Campaign."[27] *The Washingon Post* before the speech contended: "Mr. Nixon owes it to his party and his country to take himself off the ticket."[28] However, on September 28, the *Post* said: "The story these politicians tell was the same all along the line: Nixon's broadcast had produced sensational result."[29]

On the level of individual reaction, we have the objective evidence that over three million people signed over two million telegrams sent to the Republican National Committee running overwhelmingly in Nixon's favor.

> By week's end the national committee estimated that it had heard from over two million people in his favor. Few verdicts of that obscure judge, public opinion, have ever been plainer. That part of the public that could be convinced made up its mind that he was an honest and thoroughly sincere man.[30]

In the Cleveland auditorium, men and women wept openly as they listened to Nixon. In the office, Mamie and her mother wept too. Ike's jaw was set to suppress his emotions, but his eyes filled with tears. In the auditorium 17,000 voices broke into a chant: "We want Nixon."[31] When he renewed his campaign tour, public reaction had greatly changed. "At each windsock stop, he was cheered with the fervor accorded a conquering hero."[32]

The professional polls, although not measuring the speech alone, all had similar results showing an upswing of four percent for the Republican ticket.

Barnet Baskerville concluded that Nixon's concern was always "for the attractiveness of the package rather than the quality of the content" and that "the touchstone of his rhetoric was: Will the people accept it as true?"[33] Even though a few critics raised questions about the speech, there is little question that the great majority accepted what Nixon had to say as the truth; and if for no other reason, "The Checkers Speech" must be regarded as an important rhetorical event.

LeTourneau College

NOTES

[1] Richard M. Nixon, *Six Crises* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962, p. 74.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[11] Richard M. Nixon, "My Side of the Story," *Vital Speeches,* XIX (October, 1952), pp. 11-15.
[12] "Affair Nixon," *Commonweal,* LVI (October 3, 1952).
[13] "Symposium-1952 Campaign Speaking"; *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XXXVII (December, 1952).
[14] Richard M. Nixon, "My Side of the Story," p. 12.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[21] "The Campaign," *Newsweek,* XL (October 6, 1952), pp. 23-25.
[22] "Ordeal by Campaign," *Time,* XLI (October 6, 1952), p. 19.
[23] "Editorial," *Life,* XXXIII (October 6, 1952), p. 32.
[24] Editorial in the *New York Times,* September 25, 1952.
[25] Editorial in the *Los Angeles Times,* September 25, 1952.
[26] Editorial in the *Chicago Tribune,* September 25, 1952.
[27] News item in the *New York Times,* September 29, 1952.
[28] Editorial in the *Washington Post,* September 23, 1952.
[29] News item in the *Washington Post,* September 28, 1952.
[30] "Ordeal by Campaign," *Time,* p. 20.
[31] "The Campaign," *Newsweek,* p. 25.
[32] "Nixon Fights, Wins and Weeps," *Life,* XXXIII (October 6, 1952), p. 30.
[33] Barnet Baskerville, "The New Nixon," *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XLIII (February, 1957), pp. 38-43.

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INTRICACIES



Photograph by David S. Robinson

INTRICACIES

TREES' KNEES

D. M. Gordon

November has raised the pond to the tree's
knees and covered the lowland meadow:
a dark moving mirror with lichen streaks,
sunless before the impending freeze
as wild geese swerve their V to circle.

Tufts of fog-grass thrust through the pond's
surface, withered as the wisps of clouds, and
beneath the long lean lines of the trunks,
deer-browse. The alders patch-work the ground,
as geese cant wings spiralling the water.

Great bare oaks and birches reach
high in leafless silence from the pond's
edge, but the swift clean dive of the geese
shatters the image of the tree's in the water.

Wiscasset, Maine

THE SENTIMENTAL POET TO HIS OWL

Hugh Lord

If you would just move your right foot slightly,
It would ease the pressure some on my brain.
It's a bit difficult to think rightly
With you clinging there. Don't like to complain,
But such things have driven some folks insane.

And my sanity is precious to me.
I have been wondering somewhat of late
Why none of the other poets I see
Has an owl like you on his head. I hate
To ask. I know not everyone can rate

The status of owl-bearer. You said so
When you landed there in your owl disguise
(From out of the blue!) all those years ago,
Looking so weary and seeming so wise,
My feathery Muse with the great, wide eyes.

West Enfield, Maine

ALONE IN CONVENTION

James D. Barry

Alone in a hotel room high above Manhattan,
Alone, thinking of you, I cannot sleep.
I look down on the street and see other men,
From Billings, Des Moines, Harrisburg,
Other conveners, some in groups and some alone,
Softening their loneliness by investigating the city,
Pretending that they glory in this escape from family,
Thinking of their you's as I am thinking of mine.

Is not this island of conveners a demonstration
That man has need of one to possess,
That man has need to be one possessed,
That the real convention is a convenant of love,
That indeed—in spite of extra liquor, brighter lights, the appeal of the island—
"It is not good for man to be alone"?

Loyola University

OF STUDENTS, FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATORS

GERALD G. WORK

The wave of student protests which began with the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964-1965 signaled major changes in higher education. The shape and form of these changes can be seen dimly. What does appear to be certain is that higher education will continue to feel the pressure of students confronting administrators and faculty with requests and demands for change. For many in positions of leadership in higher education any deviation from the present state of affairs is unwelcome. For others, change is its own end and, therefore, to be pursued blindly.

It seems that both points of view ignore the complexity of the present day university. Since most of the student protests and demonstrations have occurred on campuses which fit Kerr's definition of the multiversity (1963), the following comments will be directed to that distinctly American institution. In contrast with the concept of community (Millett, 1962), the multiversity is composed of a number of communities.

The singular, most important community of the multiversity is the students. It is from this community that government leaders, business executives, scientist, and teachers are drawn. It is also from this community that significant questions have been raised which will, in time, bring about major changes in higher education.

Initial student concerns dealt with the university's involvement in the extracurricular or nonacademic life of the student. Specific issues revolved around parietal rules, restrictive dormitory regulations, consumption of alcoholic beverages, and governance of campus organizations. Issues of national significance, such as Civil Rights and the Vietnam conflict, have been of continuing concern. It is, however, only recently that students have turned their attention to academic concerns, such as the curriculum as exemplified by black students to include Black Studies programs and by direct involvement in the decision-making process regarding tenure and promotions.

Before the first shocks of the Berkeley wave subsided, universities across the country were telling themselves that "it couldn't happen here." For many it did. The first reactions were disbelief and chaotic response. Demands were acceded to, but usually only after a prolonged siege. The fact that most petitions were granted implies their legitimacy and validity. That the temporary cessation of hostilities came after considerable damage, both physical and psychological, seemed to attest to a paucity of creative responses and to guilt for long overdue action on the part of university administrations. It is a fact that universities were simply not prepared for the massive confrontations and tactics perpetuated by their past mistakes. The concept of *in loco parentis* applied to the multiversity was at best, unworkable; at least, its paternalistic approach retarded rather than enhanced the education of students.

A reasonable and rational approach to the dilemma of student disruptions is evolving, particularly as it relates to the extracurricular life of the student. A

stopgap measure which deals with the symptoms of student dissatisfaction has been clearly enunciated throughout higher education. It is one of advocating the right of student dissent as long as that protest does not infringe upon the rights of others. Students who protest against campus recruitment by the military and industry may do so as long as they do not inhibit or obstruct the right of the recruiter to recruit and the recruitee to be recruited. However, it is only a treatment of symptoms.

The resolution of student protests in the academic area will not be accomplished quite so easily. It has taken many years to secure the measure of academic freedom now possessed by the faculty. Responsibility for hiring, firing, tenure, and promotions, as well as the curriculum, rests with the faculty. Student involvement in the decision-making process is advocated by most faculty members; but most advocates balk when the above-named responsibilities call for student participation. There can be little doubt that students are increasingly turning their attention to matters academic. Perhaps the most telling example and a precursor of things to come is the demand of black and white students for the institution of Black Studies programs. It should be a matter of great concern to professional educators that black America has been woefully shortchanged in almost any curriculum on any university campus; this is a sweeping generalization, but it is nonetheless true. The above illustration serves to make the point that students are demanding that their education be made "relevant."

Is it the fate of faculty and administrators to react rather than act? Even a cursory review of the history of higher education in the United States argues in favor of a react syndrome (Rudolph, 1962). Change comes about slowly in higher education, especially when dealing with academic matters; this would not be critical were it not for the fact that our American society is in need of answers now. The plight of urban America, for example, with all her manifold problems of pollution, crime, race relations, and congestion can find a partial solution, at least, through the expertise and research facilities of major universities within her midst. There is a clear call, in the words of Charles V. Hamilton (1969), Professor of Political Science at Roosevelt University, for "academe for action." It is just such a call that the students are answering.

But what of students and their involvement in the decision-making process? In the early stages of the student protest movement, the unshaven and unwashed students were dismissed as a lunatic fringe, not representative of the mass of students. Curiously enough, however, these same students rallied massive support from their peers and faculty during the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. As the number of campuses experiencing demonstrations climbed since 1965, reaction to student activists has changed commensurately. No longer are these students passed off as an isolated phenomenon. In far too many cases they have spoken, albeit not always delicately, for their less vocal peers. It is exactly this point which needs emphasis: we cannot understand what students are saying if what they are wearing, whether placard, hair, or clothes, causes us to close our eyes and shut our ears.

Long hair, whether sideburns or beard, has no correlation whatever with academic performance or the ability to suggest and to participate in needed reform in higher education.

It is not enough to say that only two or three percent of the student body can be identified as activists. When placed in the perspective of the whole of higher education, the number of activists is significant. What is most significant of all is that these students are asking for essentially the same thing, namely, active participation in the decision-making process of the institution. Governance of the institution by students is not what is being demanded. Clearly at work is a basic sociological principle: those whom policies are to affect must be involved in the decision-making process which formulates those policies.

The most rabid activist on campus can provide valid data for the direction of needed reforms, programs, or projects. What must be overcome, however, is the impulse to fight or flee. Students do not have all the answers, nor do they have a corner on the moral market. What they do have is a point of view; information different from that possessed by faculty members and administrators; and a large investment of time, energy, and money in their education. By concentrating on these obvious strengths, many of which have been long underrated, the probability of rationality and orderly process increases. How, then, to include students in the decision-making process of the institution in such a manner that capitalizes on the attributes they possess? The following is offered as a viable course of action.

There are numerous alternatives that can be utilized to enable students to participate in the decision-making process, whether academic or extra-curricular. These range from a relationship where students would be called to contribute in an advisory capacity, but with no vote in the final decision. At the other end of the continuum, students would control the final outcome through a simple majority. Neither appear to be satisfactory and viable alternatives to the decision-making process in higher education.

What does appear to be a workable alternative is a participatory plan to function primarily at the policy level. Policy level functioning is critical for a number of reasons. First, policies must be formulated without regard to individual personality quirks and characteristics. Second, students, faculty, and/or administrators can consider policy formulation or reformulation apart from an individual's distinct style of making policy operational. For the most part, universities have hired potentially competent faculty and administrators to participate in policy-making and, of significance here, to practice that policy in daily activities. Third, student involvement in policy-making decisions at all levels will provide an all-important sense of commitment without the entangling burden of daily concern for operationalizing policy. It is appropriate to add that through the establishment of policy, students may very well be involved in its functional aspects.

Of critical significance to the sound working of such a proposal is the selection procedure, both for faculty and/or administrators and students. For general

university committees, it seems appropriate to utilize student government for student members. Screening criteria for membership would be applied to *all* potential committee members. When committees of a college or department are needed, selections would be made from the appropriate subgroup. Especially amenable to this arrangement are academic departments and specific, identifiable units of the university. An academic department consists of two essential components, the faculty and students majoring in the area. Orgel and Zwerdling (1966) make the point when considering the question of faculty evaluation that peers, students, and department chairmen present a more complete and valid evaluation than any singly used. So it is that student participation on departmental questions adds a dimension of considerable import.

A participatory plan for student involvement in the decision-making process provides a vehicle, but guarantees no results. Listening sensitively to students is important but does not stand alone. Gathering data to support or validate student demands for needed changes may be a futile exercise when carried out in a vacuum. The preceding are essential and almost complete when coupled with a commitment to action by faculty members and administrators. The react syndrome need not be the mode of future behavior in higher education. Just as the scientific method has been applied to propel our technology to ever-dizzying heights, so too can the same method be applied to the problems of higher education. But with the one missing ingredient to be added to the above . . . feeling.

University of Maine

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TELEVISION AS AN ASSET TO LEARNING

CALVIN M. THOMAS II

Every school, whether it be college, high school, or elementary, constantly seeks ways to improve instruction. With the availability of new and improved instructional media, educators face a very real challenge in keeping their instruction modern, yet at optimum effectiveness. Instructional television (ITV) is but one of many useful tools educators have to consider. It may be expensive when compared, for example, to overhead projectors; but it has versatility and flexibility, and can be approached from a variety of directions. A teacher of typewriting or accounting could, for instance, prepare and record on video tape a particular segment of his lesson for the day; then he could observe the learning process as his classes viewed the tape and make adjustments and additions to his presentation in order to achieve the best possible results. At the other extreme, the same teacher might seek out lesson segments already produced by a professional television teacher which would be applicable to a certain portion of his curriculum. He could use this television lesson in his class and be freed to spend more time on special problems or with individual students during the available class time. These two approaches could be utilized through either a self-contained closed-circuit television system, which might subscribe to a service from a local university, or an open broadcast system where lessons are sent out over the air for public viewing. There are, of course, advantages to each approach; it is the role of the educator to decide which one or combination is best for him.

Alvin C. Eurich, President of the Academy for Educational Development, Inc., asserts that students "are demanding more vital instruction . . . Today the college which is not committed to experimentation in teaching *is* committed, unconsciously but inevitably, to the deterioration of quality and the loss of public trust."[1] The use of television as a tool in the process of instruction is a most logical means of experimenation in many locations because the medium is available and becoming more available and better in quality every year.

It is quite possible, of course, that television is not the best tool for a given situation. Most leaders in ITV do not consider television a panacea which can end all learning problems but an effective addition to good teaching of lessons or courses. The educator must first decide what has to be accomplished—what are the behavioral objectives—and then seek the best means of meeting these objectives. If television instruction is most practical and beneficial for a certain set of objectives, then the means of providing the right kind of television must be sought. Often the use of television in conjunction with other instructional media or with an "experimental" teaching technique can lead to excellent learning experiences.

There is much interest in savings—perhaps "conservation" is a better word—in education at all levels: conservation of teachers' time and conservation of classroom space. At the same time there is considerable antagonism toward savings or conservation, particularly from those who actually teach in the classrooms, because they feel that quality must be sacrificed as a result.

The careful use of modern instructional media, however, can sometimes lead to both savings and improved quality. The Business Department of Grosse Pointe (Michigan) High School first experimented with and then fully changed over to teaching typewriting through a combination of television and team teaching. Though at first apprehensive of possible difficulties, the teachers found that the close-up views of the instructors' manipulations of the keyboard and the "one-to-one" relationship between television teacher and student assisted in the learning process.

Much more important, however, were the extra benefits gained from using television. It was Grosse Pointe's purpose to better present the material originally presented in a conventional classroom—not to teach more sudents with fewer teachers, or to teach more material in less time, though both of those advantages were realized. Surprising to many of those involved were other additional gains:

> With more release time, the classroom teacher assumes a more significant role as a counselor of individual learners. He is free to study the students, ascertain their needs, and provide the appropriate emotional and intellectul guidance. Individual differences as far as needs, interests, and level of achievement are concerned, can now be more readily observed; and more time is available to provide for these differences.[2]

In academic disciplines where current events are important, television offers the obvious asset of immediacy. Students can benefit from the proverbial "front row seat" at political conventions, scientific achievements, and cultural performances.

The integration of several forms of instructional media into one presentation can be accomplished by a professional staff in a television studio more effectively than by a single teacher in the classroom. And if such a presentation must be given many times over, the advantage of replaying the same video tape is apparent, particularly when the presentation is a difficult or expensive one.

The effect on learners is the ultimate test of the instructional process. If any method or teaching tool does not assist learning, it does not do the job required of it. Television as an instructional aid has performed well, if not spectacularly, in its effect on learning. Results in a particular situation must be analyzed carefully, however.

In a report of a study conducted by Indiana State University, Richard D. Pethtel reported that "Students enrolled in television courses in [beginning] mathematics seem to achieve, as well as retain as much as students in traditional lecture classes."[3] Findings such as these might incite enthusiasm for full-scale transition to televised math instruction in a college investigating the medium. There are other factors to consider, however. Pethtel also discovered that the degree of achievement was different with different levels of student ability, with "students at upper ability levels showing greater gain than students at lower ability levels."[4] The investigating college must therefore consider the make-up of its student body and determine the exact results desired, especially those which

television could be expected to effect. Several approaches should be found, tried, and evaluated for each case where television will help induce learning.

A school system or college might feel itself ready for television if the medium could bolster the curriculum through one of several conditions:

1. Allowing coverage of subjects in greater depth and facilitating more extensive use of experts in many subject areas.
2. Compensating for staff weaknesses in certain departments.
3. Covering subjects and events that one simply can't handle in the classroom.[5]

In the case of the first above, a special program on racial violence might be brought into a contemporary history or sociology class to involve students more personally in the issue of today; or a visiting professor of economics or an outstanding authority on current politics could be recorded for continued classroom use.

An elementary school with a lack of full-time music teachers can offer students high quality instructional segments via television.

Space launchings, expensive and dangerous chemical experiments, and professional drama, music, or dance performances are brought easily into a learning situation with television and can be used effectively by good teachers.

By careful investigation of the above conditions, as well as others which may apply more specifically, any school can and should arrive at its own policy toward a television system. An important factor must be, of course, the anticipated future instructional problems, for this area is where innovative use of media will make the biggest difference.

An equally important decision, once television has been decided upon, is what approach to use for a system. Most administrators will want to consult professional ITV personnel when faced wih the choice of a private closed-circuit system, the subscription to closed-circuit service which is available from some universities on the 2500mc frequency, and the use of the public airways.

The most important initial move is that one which brings a school system or a college into the company of effective users of modern technology. The list of new equipment is long and growing longer every day; and if federal, state, and foundation money is to be spent on education, let it be spent on those items which can best assist the learner. Again Alvin C. Eurich struck at the heart of the matter when he said: "The only way to conserve the values of liberal learning is through the full and imaginative use of every tool of modern technology, not just for the sake of using them, but because they are a new force in the individualization of instruction."[6]

University of Maine

NOTES

[1] Alvin C. Eurich, "Man and Media in Higher Education," *Educational Broadcasting Review,* II (August, 1968), p. 3.
[2] Marie Onest Parzych, "Team Teaching of Typewriting Through Television," *Journal of Business Education,* XLIII (December, 1967), p. 106.
[3] Richard D. Pethtel, "Closed-Circuit Television Instruction," *The Mathematics Teacher,* LXI (May, 1968), p. 521.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Jack Tanzman, "Are You Ready for ETV?" *School Management,* XII (January, 1968), p. 21.
[6] Eurich, p. 3.

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