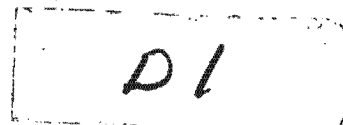
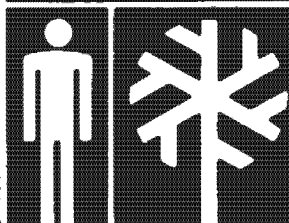


historic resource study and administrative history

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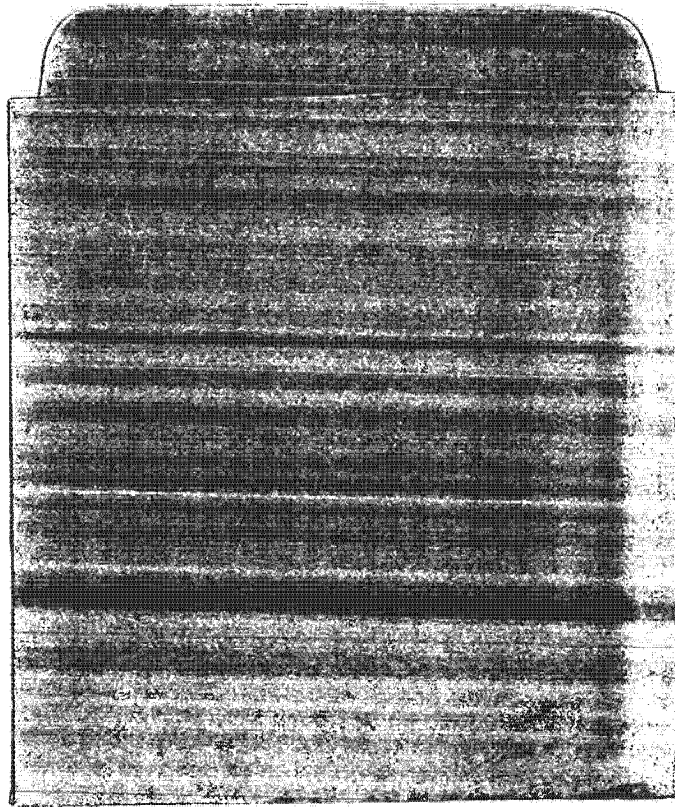
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**HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
and
ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY**

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER NATIONAL MONUMENT

DIAMOND, MISSOURI

Prepared by
Anna Coxé Toogood

**DENVER SERVICE CENTER
HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO**

July 1973

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CODE

EODC — Eastern Office of Design and Construction
KCRC — Kansas City Record Center
MWRO — Midwest Regional Office, originally Region 2.
GWCA — George Washington Carver National Monument
WASO — Washington Office
H2215 — Historical Research
L1415 — Land
A2615, A2823 — Monthly Reports
D18 — Master Plans
L3015 — Land Use
P14 — Personnel
A8215 — Special Events
A98 — Mission 66
A2621 — Annual Reports of the Superintendents
D3415 — Buildings, Construction, and Maintenance, etc.

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PREFACE

A Memorandum of Understanding agreed upon by the Superintendent, George Washington Carver National Monument, and this writer in February 1973 defined the intent of this report; that is, to provide not only a summary of historical research on the early life and significance of Carver collected by Regional and park historians over two decades, but also to include an administrative history of the park from the inception of the idea in the early 1940's to the present.

Prior to beginning the research for this dual report, the writer interviewed Merrill J. Mattes, Manager, Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, who was the regional historian in the Midwest Region during the critical years of development at George Washington Carver National Monument. His thoughtful recollections of his own extensive involvement with the research for the park, as well as his suggestions for source locations for subsequent research, set the writer on a direct path to the completion of this report. During the course of my research I also contacted Robert P. Fuller — historian at the park throughout its formative years — who enthusiastically answered my questions and provided me with several insights and guides to the history of the Monument.

The research for the Historic Resource Study was considerably shortened by the prior research undertaken by earlier Service historians and collected in the park files. The administrative history required a trip to the federal record center in Kansas City, Missouri, where the earlier papers for the park had been retired. Fortunately, the existing records gave a detailed account of the affairs in the park, from maintenance to interpretation. Had time permitted, it might have been enriching to pursue leads for missing correspondence in the historical research file, but it does seem that the information gathered for this report sufficiently relates the development of the park through three decades.

Superintendent Colbert and each member of his staff assisted me often in the research or duplication of the park historical records, and I appreciate their complete cooperation and concern throughout. Similarly in the Midwest Regional Office I would especially like to thank Ken Krabbenhoft, Jean Benson, and Bill Padmore for making the records available and my visit in the office more enjoyable. In the Denver Service Center Larry Nahm and Violet Kellmann, Librarians, tracked down several books not available to me in my research which I greatly benefited from and appreciated. And outside the National Park Service three individuals furnished me with important information for this report, Mrs. Billy Mojonner of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Mrs. Ethel Edwards Morris who wrote the biography, *Carver of Tuskegee*, and Mrs. Helen Dibble, Librarian at Tuskegee Institute, each of whom I would like to sincerely thank.

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

CHAPTER 1: PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH

Just 10 years after George Washington Carver's death and the subsequent establishment of the National Monument at his birthplace in Diamond, Missouri, Mrs. Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, the Director of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, completed for publication a classified bibliography on Carver's life and work. Of the 93 biographical books, pamphlets, leaflets and articles listed, over 60% were written during Carver's 43 years spent at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Of these contemporary accounts, this writer had the occasion to read only a few of the widely recognized biographies, each of which expounded the same broad interpretation of Carver's birth and boyhood. None, however, showed the reader any proof of historical methodology or accuracy in the compilation of information.

At the heart of the problem lay the personality and achievements of Carver himself. Once Carver's extensive work with the peanut had aroused public interest and curiosity, reporters quickly came to realize the scientist's deep sense of privacy, and his reluctance to be interviewed. While he made lasting friendships, Carver had no time for the misguided, insensitive inquiries made about his climb from slavery. When his personal acquaintances began to urge he cooperate in a biographical publication, Carver consented, in the hope that his achievements might be an inspiration to others, and that, as this deeply religious man felt, his uncovering of God's resources in nature might be a light to the non-believers.

Carver's reminiscences about his early childhood, however, had faded dramatically by the 1930s, and the only subject his biographers consistently reported on was that concerning his kidnapping as a babe and his subsequent return to Moses Carver for the price of a \$300 horse. For most readers this dramatic and symbolic episode provided a good back-drop for the more important years of schooling in Carver's boyhood.

When Congress passed the bill establishing the George Washington Carver National Monument in 1943, Doubleday Doran & Co. had just published Rackham Holt's, *George Washington Carver*, a biography widely hailed as the best and most definitive work yet written on Carver. Mrs. Holt had received a commission for the book in 1940 with the foreknowledge that Carver was receptive to the idea. In a letter to Clarence Schultz, Superintendent of the Carver Monument, she explained that she had spent the better part of 2 years at Tuskegee trying to gather the necessary information. "In all, I made three trips to Tuskegee — the first two being rather unproductive because Dr. Carver was by nature a recluse and not an outgoing person, reluctant to talk about himself or, moreover, sad memories." On the third visit, however, she apparently joined Carver on one of his 4:00 a.m. walks at which time he opened up to her and

began to cooperate. He even shared with her the contents of the boxes and trunks which contained his momentos — he kept the letters from his many friends — and met her on a daily basis in his office.

While Mrs. Holt's biography contains one photograph of herself with Carver in his study, no other specific contents of the book verify her claim to have acquired an intimate knowledge of her subject from extended interviews. While Mrs. Holt still holds the highest honors as his "authorized" biographer, her position has been challenged by Ethel Edwards who in 1946 worked closely with one of Carver's oldest friends, James T. Hardwick, in an effort to "disentangle man from myth" in a new biography. Hardwick provided her with over 300 letters written to him by Carver between 1922 and 1937, and opened many doors for her interviews. She spent time both at Carver's birthplace and at Tuskegee where she was given permission to research and quote from Carver's personal papers stored in the Carver Museum. But possibly due to the success of Mrs. Holt's biography, Mrs. Edwards could not find a publisher for her manuscript. Until she had finished raising her children, her research collected dust. Finally, in 1971 she decided to print the book privately. Her comments on Mrs. Holt's research, quoted below, must be considered in the weighing of available sources on Carver's life:

Many people wanted to see the famous Dr. Carver, but the scientist refused to be put on display for the benefit of curiosity seekers. He liked people on sight if at all. Those he once judged mean-spirited or incapable of appreciating the significance of his work he would have no more to do with. . . .

Mrs. Rackham Holt was one of the people he could not endure. She was sent south by a publisher to write Carver's biography. The scientist was eager to cooperate in this and quickly made an appointment to see his would-be-biographer for the first and only interview. He felt she was not a person capable of understanding the spirit of his work. So far as he was concerned that ended the matter.

A number of people tried to persuade Carver to work with Mrs. Holt. He had made an agreement with the publishers. It would be good publicity for the school and he could read what she wrote about him and change that [sic] anything he didn't like. Such arguments only firmed his resolve.

After some time on the campus during which she gathered what information others could give, the writer approached Curtis with an offer. She would give one-third of her royalties if the scientist would talk to her. He reported the matter to Carver, reminding him he had agreed to the biography. Carver told his assistant that if he would deal with Mrs. Holt he would tell him the things she wanted to know and he could relay them to her, the share of royalties to go to his assistant. No, he wouldn't bother to look at what she wrote, but Curtis could show her his

papers and he would tell his "dear boy" anything she wanted to know. Mrs. Holt acquired her information through interviews with Curtis.

Mrs. Holt herself confirmed at least part of Mrs. Edwards' statement in a letter to Schultz explaining that after her book was first published, the President of Tuskegee caught wind of Curtis' undisclosed arrangement to share the royalties, and pressured Curtis to resign from the Institute.

Like Mrs. Edwards, Superintendent Schultz also found shortcomings in the scope of Mrs. Holt's research. Having visited Tuskegee Institute in 1955, he recommended that the Park Service arrange for interviews "with a number of aged persons who taught or worked at Tuskegee Institute during the early years of Carver's service there," and noted matter-of-factly, "It is known that Mrs. Rackham Holt did not utilize this source of information." If this source Mrs. Holt neglected, then how can researchers be sure that she interviewed any of Carver's boyhood neighbors and acquaintances? Mrs. Holt makes no specific mention in her bibliography of any interviews. In fact, her bibliography shows a meager list of sources.

While Mrs. Holt failed to be explicit on her sources for the biography, she assured her readers in the acknowledgments that,

Many friends of Dr. Carver in his childhood, youth, and manhood, whom I have never seen, have been generous of their time and effort in supplying recollections and data for this biography, and have been especially helpful in enabling me to augment his own scattered memories of his early days. Those to whom I am indebted for aid in gathering material compose such a large number that they cannot be listed.

Although it is hard to prove that these multiple testimonies were donated to Mrs. Holt as Carver's recognized biographer, it is also difficult to explain the abundance of detail in the biography related to Carver's early years, some of which noticeably were present in interviews conducted by National Park Service employees 10 years later. In addition, a letter received by this writer in 1973 from Mrs. B. B. Wolcott, who has lived at Tuskegee Institute since 1907, stated that, "To set the record straight: when Mrs. Holt came to Tuskegee she talked with me in my office. I do not remember how long she stayed nor the details of our talk." That Mrs. Holt did interview Mrs. Wolcott, one of the best witnesses to Carver's long career at Tuskegee, suggests that Superintendent Schultz's statement mentioned earlier is perhaps not completely accurate. But still the information gleaned from the interview, if used in Mrs. Holt's Carver biography, remains obscured by the lack of documentation.

Edwards, *Carver of Tuskegee* (Cincinnati, 1971) pp. 226-7.

Possibly aware of the questions and criticisms which had arisen concerning her biography, Mrs. Holt visited the Carver Memorial in the 1960s and donated a small selection of letters she had received from Carver between 1940 and 1941. The tone of all Carver's letters seems to this writer to be exceptionally cordial, but perhaps at times superficial in its total politeness. In July 1940 Carver appears to have been bemused perhaps to the point of facetiousness, and possibly even pleased by the manuscript Mrs. Holt had sent him to read:

I want you to know that it is the most fascinating piece of writing that I have read. I started in and I confess I could not lay it down until I had finished it. You certainly have reflected your on [sic] personality into it in a most charming and delightful way, and the facts are really very clear.

Carver apparently did not mind Mrs. Holt's projections on his childhood. The problem for today's researcher, again, is where do the "facts" end and the author's personal insights begin.

One document located by Historian Robert P. Fuller in the Booker T. Washington collection at the Library of Congress in 1960 lends some support to Mrs. Holt's interpretation of Carver's childhood. Evidently summarizing his early life for his new employer, Carver described in 1897 his boyhood concern for flowers, his secret garden, and his title as "Plant Doctor" in the Diamond community. While all these details were included in Mrs. Holt's biography, she claimed to have had no knowledge of this seven-page document until her visit to the park in the 1960s.

Attempts by previous researchers to resolve the existing contradictions in the secondary source material on Carver have met with little success. Mrs. Holt's presumably extensive research notes nor Mr. Curtis' recollections have been made available for evaluation. From 1955 to 1958 Superintendent Schultz corresponded with Mrs. Holt and Tuskegee's staff in an attempt to locate her primary source materials. Mrs. Holt firmly stated she had left the collection to the Institute, but the Institute could find no record of them. Mrs. Holt speculated that they had been destroyed in the 1947 fire in the Carver Museum. Schultz noted that the Institute did not cooperate in providing an estimate of the loss of Carver papers due to this fire, and surmised that in all likelihood no record of the original collection ever existed.

Realizing the almost unique intimacy Austin Curtis shared with Carver as his assistant from 1937-1942, the National Park Service contacted him on several different occasions at his laboratories in Michigan, where he had for some years been reaping profits from his sale of products advertised in connection with Carver's name. Curtis steadfastly refused to divulge any recollections or memorabilia without a fee. However rich his source of information might be, it has not been tapped by recent researchers. Curtis is still living in Detroit, and his address can be found in the files at the Carver Memorial.

Rather than depend on the secondary sources, then, the National Park Service conducted its own research, focusing on Carver's birth, childhood, and early manhood acquiring an education. For nearly a decade, park, regional, and Washington Office historians pursued leads to document fact from fiction. Multiple interviews with "old timers" were recorded. Research trips to Tuskegee Institute, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, county courthouses and historical societies, and numerous other potential source locations were made. In 1957 the research findings were set down by Robert Fuller, Park Historian, in collaboration with Merrill J. Mattes, Regional Historian, in a report entitled, "The Early Life of George Washington Carver, Parts I and II."

To their pointed frustration, the writers were unable to tap one significant source not then made available to researchers. Two Park Service historians, Dr. Dawson Phelps and Superintendent Clarence Schultz, had visited Tuskegee Institute in the mid-1950s and had reported seeing, but not having access to, Carver's personal papers. Phelps described the collection as 18 unsorted file boxes, while Schultz approximated it at 40 letter boxes. In more recent contact with the Institute these papers could not be located.

During the 1950s the Service historians received another disappointment over the research materials available at Tuskegee Institute. In 1948 a team of faculty members at Tuskegee had traveled some 6,000 miles to trace Carver's life prior to his arrival in Alabama in 1896. In 1955 Superintendent Schultz obtained a copy of the unpublished research notes, only to find that they did not add any substantial information to that already gathered by the Park Service. After a recent inquiry by this writer for further materials gathered by the 1948 research team, the Institute's librarian forwarded a copy of the notes, with an explanation that the results of the trip had never been published nor expanded upon.

Since the completion of the Fuller-Mattes report in 1957, two good friends of Carver, H.O. Abbott and James T. Hardwick, have donated their letters from Carver to the park. A scanning of these letters only confirms that Carver in his latter years had become vague about his early life. One can speculate, then, that the Carver letters which Phelps and Schultz reported seeing at Tuskegee also might have provided a paucity of relevant information on Carver's boyhood. Future investigations in the library collections at Tuskegee, however, may some day uncover yet new information, as a professional archivist has been in the process of cataloguing the available records for some years now.

In summary, it is evident that none of the published biographies provide any documentation of research. Both adequate footnoting and bibliographical data are glaringly omitted from Holt's and Edwards' biographies. Mrs. Edwards, despite her rather disparaging comments on Mrs. Holt's relationship with Carver, stated recently in

a letter to this writer that, "you will find more factual information on Dr. Carver's life in the Holt biography than anywhere else." She went on to explain that Carver on several occasions took an instant aversion to people, but that in Mrs. Holt's case he did maintain an open contact with her through Mr. Curtis. On the other hand, Mrs. Edwards in her biography obviously avoids the literary embellishments which Mrs. Holt so excelled in. She states her findings candidly and directly and makes no attempt to establish an exact birthdate, giving full acknowledgement to the fact that he himself never knew it.

The only fully documented biography on Carver is that by Fuller and Mattes which covers Carver's life prior to 1896. Because their research was so thorough, this writer has focused the following resource study on Carver's formative years while still on the Carver farm in Diamond. Someday a biography containing documentation on Carver's entire life will have to be made, but this is obviously neither the time nor the place for such.

CHAPTER II: CARVER'S BIRTHDATE — A CONTROVERSY

Whenever asked to provide information on his birth, Carver invariably indicated that he was born near the close of the Civil War. Repeatedly in his later life, as documented in *Who's Who* from 1927-39, Carver stated "about 1864" as his date of birth. To this writer's knowledge, all biographers and reporters on Carver's life gave 1864 as the birth year until the National Park Service took up its research in the 1950s.

In 1957, after nearly 5 years of research, Historian Robert P. Fuller in collaboration with Regional Historian Merrill J. Mattes concluded in a report entitled, "The Early Life of George Washington Carver," that Carver had been confused about his date of birth and that the census of 1870 proved Carver to have been born in 1860. On May 20, 1958 the Midwest Regional Chief of Interpretation, H. Raymond Gregg, submitted a three-page memorandum to the Director allowing that,

The vexatious research problem of determining the exact birthdate of George Washington Carver is not merely an academic one. In a sense, it is the key to plans for a dedication of the Visitor Center, which is now scheduled for construction in 1959. There will be strong sentiment for linking the dedication to a George Washington Carver Birthday Centennial. Unfortunately, after several years of intensive analysis of the problem by various historians of the Service, no general agreement has been reached as to an actual verifiable date, or even a strongly probable theoretical date. Nevertheless, for reasons set forth below, we recommend recognition of July 12, 1860 as the "traditional" birthdate", even though it is not subject to documented confirmation.¹

The argument continued that three Service historians had arrived at 1859, 1860, and 1861 as the probable birth years, and that 1860 made a good, "morally acceptable" compromise, and would coordinate with the completion of the new visitor center. The Director accepted the "traditional birthdate," and until of late this year had been used in Service interpretation.

In 1973 research for an historic resource study on George Washington Carver National Monument confronted this writer with the controversy and prompted me to reevaluate the evidence on Carver's birthdate. In direct contradiction to the conclusion reached in the Fuller-Mattes report that Carver demonstrated an unclear notion of the year of his birth, this writer found Carver to have been notably consistent throughout his youth in reporting his year of birth as 1865. In addition, the writer noted that the majority of available testimony from "old-timers" of Diamond, Missouri, Carver's birthplace, as

1. This memo can be found in Book 3 of the H2215 file at the Region.

well as most of the public documents related to Carver in his youth, overwhelmingly supported Carver's recollection of his birth over the evidence of the 1870 census.

Based on the preponderance of evidence suggesting 1864-65 as Carver's birthdate over the single evidence of the 1870 census which gives Carver's age as 10, this writer thought that a presentation of the controversy should be made to introduce new material and to reevaluate the conclusions.

Carver's Birthdate: Biographers

1. Raleigh H. Merritt

During his later years, George Washington Carver gave his personal consent to two individuals who requested permission to write a biography of his life. The first, Raleigh H. Merritt, wrote in 1928 in the preface of his first edition of *From Captivity to Fame or the Life of George Washington Carver*.

Dr. Carver prefers not to be the subject of any biography. He has felt, however, that if it is to be written, it is best done by a friend who has known him for several years, and whose judgment and discretion he can trust, and one who, because of his knowledge of the facts, will not misrepresent him. . . . I make no attempt, however, to give a complete account of Dr. Carver's life and works. . . . Only certain incidents can be detailed with accuracy.²

Carver never gave any indication that he found misrepresentation or inaccuracy in Merritt's biography. On the contrary, published in a later edition of Merritt's biography was a letter from Carver dated April 1930 which stated, "the very fact that the book contains rare photographs and other matter taken from *my personal files, that no one else has, stamps my highest approval of the book.*" And in that book Merritt gave 1864 as Carver's birthdate, allowing that, "He never knew the exact date of his birth, it is a guess because no records were kept for the birth."³

Merritt further indicated that Carver's birth occurred late in 1864, as he had George as a 6-week old baby kidnapped from the Moses Carver farm just after the close of the Civil War.

2. Merritt, *From Captivity to Fame* (Boston, 3rd edition, revised, 1938), pp. 11-12.

3. Ibid., pp. 19-21, 85-6.

2. Rackham Holt

In 1940, nearly 12 years after Merritt's biography, Carver gave permission to Rackham Holt, a representative of Doubleday Publishing House, to write a new authoritative biography of his life. Although Carver reportedly met with Mrs. Holt only once in person, he cooperated in providing information which she requested on different periods of his life by passing his records and recollections through his assistant, Austin Curtis. Mrs. Holt spent over 2 years in conducting her research.

In her first edition of the biography published in 1943, Mrs. Holt stated Carver's birth to have been in 1864. Possibly reflecting an awareness of Park Service research, however, her 1960 revised edition gave January 1860 as the date of birth. Her text indicated that she had consulted the census records to arrive at this date.⁴

When leading up to the kidnapping incident, Mrs. Holt set the scene by describing baby George's first year on the Moses Carver farm "during the brutal days of border war between Missouri and neighboring Kansas, when farms lay desolate, men hid their families and their animals in the deep woods, and nobody had enough to eat." Such a violent, depressed scene in 1860, however, does not check out with histories on Southwest Missouri, but does closely fit the setting from 1863-65. Moreover, if the kidnapping occurred early in 1861, as Mrs. Holt suggested, it would have been prior to the outbreak of war in Missouri, and nearly 2 years before serious guerilla raids were reported in the Diamond, Missouri area.⁵

4. The writer did not see a 1943 edition of the Holt biography, but read in the park H2215 that she had made the revision referred to above. Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver, An American Biography* (New York, 1963), pp. 9 and 42. Mrs. Holt may have been reading the 1860 slave schedule which noted one slave boy 7/12 years old under Moses Carver. Since the enumerator dated his schedule in July, the 7th month, she might have concluded the baby was born in January. But research has definitely established that the baby 7/12 years old was Jim, George's older brother, whose gravestone reads, "Born October 10, 1859." See the H2215 file, books 1 and 2, for a chronological development of the debate on the 1860 census.
5. Jay Monaghan in his well-documented history, *Civil War on the Western Border 1854-65*, made no mention of desolation, depression, and widespread brutality during 1860, but described the military preparations in Kansas and Missouri. *The Historical Atlas of Newton County, Missouri*, (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 8, explicitly stated that up to about 1861 "the country . . . enjoyed unexampled prosperity; all classes of citizens were contented and happy." A leading 19th century recorder of the history of Southwest Missouri, Wiley Britton, discussed only the preparations and steps in 1860 which led to the outbreak of war. *Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri*, (Columbia, 1923), pp. 126-29. *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* documented the outbreak of violence in Southwest Missouri around Neosho in April 1862. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. VIII*, p. 877. In October 1864 Major Milton Burch, stationed in Neosho, reported, "Guerillas are very active throughout the southwest." *Ibid.*, Vol. XLI, Part III, p. 863. Britton in his, *The Civil War on the Border 1863-65*, pp. 194-97, reported the guerilla raids in the Neosho area during the winter of 1863-64.

Carver's Birthdate: Carver

To this writer's knowledge, Carver's last autobiographical sketch appeared in the 1941 edition of *Who's Who* which gave about 1864 as his year of birth. Carver had provided the same date of birth to the editors since 1926. Only one other 20th century autobiographical sketch has been located, that of a 1922 letter from Carver to Dr. Pammell at Iowa State University in response to specific questions addressed to him by the latter. Carver's first answer stated, "Born at Diamond Grove, Missouri, just as freedom was declared." Historian Fuller in the 1957 report assumed this statement referred to the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. He argued that Carver again demonstrated the confusion in his mind over the year of his birth. But the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to Missouri, as the State then was under Union command. Very likely Carver was referring to 1865, the year his Missouri family would have remembered that the Missouri Legislature officially abolished slavery "now and forever" in the State.⁶

During his youth, from 1880 to 1897, Carver consistently reported 1865 as his year of birth. At some point during his first year at Tuskegee Institute in 1897 Carver wrote the longest autobiographical sketch to date uncovered. He opened with, "As nearly as I can trace my history, I was about two weeks old when the war closed." In 1896 Carver provided a writeup for the Iowa State College yearbook, the *Bomb* which specifically stated, "Mr. Carver was born in Southwestern Missouri, in 1865." In 1888 Carver filled out his pre-emption papers for the Ness County, Kansas, homesteading claim he had made 2 years before. He gave his age as 23, so indicating 1865 as his year of birth. (Fuller misread this document and thought it was dated 1886, so indicating 1863 as Carver's testimony of his birth year. Fuller thereby reinforced his argument that Carver was confused in his notion of his birth year.) Also in 1888, Carver gave his age as 23 for the Ness County Tax Assessment. And, finally, in 1880 Carver appeared in the Federal Census as a boy of 15.⁷

6. Fuller-Mattes, Part II, Exhibit A, p. 2; Exhibit 4B, provides a copy of the letter to Dr. Pammell. Fuller argues his point in Part I, p. 10. Holt p. 9. James I. Robertson, Jr., *The Civil War* (U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, 1963) p. 22.
7. A copy of all these documents has been obtained for the park. Fuller argues his point about the pre-emption papers in Part I, p. 10. See Part II, for a copy of the homesteading & pre-emption papers, and Appendix A for the sketch on Carver in the *Bomb*. This writer strongly suspects that Carver's most specific sketch of his life appeared in the yearbook summary, and that Carver made a deliberate effort to stop and evaluate his life at this time. All the details in this sketch check with the fragmentary list of documents pinpointing Carver's whereabouts in his early life. See also Appendix B for the 1897 autobiographical sketch.

Only one public document contradicts Carver's prior statements in his youth that his birth was in 1865: the Iowa State Census of 1895 which shows him to be 27, making his year of birth 1868. In 1895 Carver was working as an assistant at the agricultural experiment station in Ames, and boarding in the home of Mrs. Eliza Owens. It could be fairly speculated that when the enumerator visited the boarding house Carver was at work, and that Mrs. Owens made what she felt was a fair guess at his age. That Carver might have appeared to be as much as 3 years younger than his age, (were he born in 1865), seems plausible when considering it in the light of his peculiarly high-pitched voice (attributed to his severe case of whooping cough as a baby), his frail physique, and his graduation only one year before from Iowa State College.⁸

In summary, then, seven autobiographical documents which span nearly 20 years prior to 1900 have been recovered. Six of these pinpoint 1865 as Carver's impression during his youth of his date of birth. One version giving 1868 as his year of birth has questionable proof of Carver's authorship. In his later years Carver reverted to "about 1864" as his birth year. Never during his lifetime did Carver hint at any suspicion that his birth might have been as early as 1860.

Carver's Birthdate: "Old Timers"

Early in 1953 Park Service historians launched an intensive program of interviewing "old timers" who had been acquaintances or friends of Carver during his years prior to moving to Tuskegee in 1896. Since most of the "old-timers" were well into their 70's and 80's, their memories presumably were not as sharp as in their younger years. Many of them had acquired a keen interest in Carver after they learned of his national fame. Undoubtedly in the 10 years between Carver's death and their interviews with Park Service representatives, they had read at least a few of the plethora of newspaper and magazine articles, pamphlets and books written in commemoration of Carver's life and work. Nonetheless, their testimony, despite several inconsistencies, has remained as the most extensive source of information on Carver's elusive early life.

"Old timers" interviewed in the vicinity of Diamond, Missouri, Carver's birthplace, recounted their versions of the kidnapping episode. While none of them appeared ready to state Carver's birth year, several individuals whose testimony carried greater weight after evaluation than others, left a lingering impression that Carver's birth fell towards the middle or end of the Civil War. One recently acquired account by a Diamond "old timer" interviewed by the Tuskegee research group in 1948 also suggests Carver was born during the war. And, two brothers who both claimed to have attended school with Carver in Olathe, Kansas, remembered Carver as approximately the age he had stated throughout his youth.

8. Fuller-Mattes, p. 11.

1. Elza Winter, Sr.

In 1953 Historian Fuller and Regional Historian Mattes interviewed Elza Winter who, since his birth in 1891, had lived on his family's farm just across the road from Moses Carver's. As a boy, Winter had heard the famous kidnapping story from Moses Carver himself. As Winter remembered the account:

Uncle Mose and Jim were clearing a field when the raiders arrived. They dropped to the ground and crawled into a bush pile while the raiders went to the slave cabin and got Mary and George. . . . Old man Bentley got George back.

According to Winter's version, Jim must have been at least 5 years old when the kidnapping took place. This would date the kidnapping some time after 1863, as Jim's birth has been established in October 1859. If George were born in 1860, he would have been 4 years old at the time of his abduction, a very unlikely possibility in context with the other kidnapping accounts. However, in an interview with the Tuskegee research team in 1948 Winter repeated that, "Bentley was the man who brought George Carver back to Mose Carver when he was stolen," and added about George, "He was four years old when George was brought back." While the latter statement lends support to the evidence in the 1870 census giving Carver's birth as 1860, Winter later in the same interview came in conflict with the 1870 census when he stated, "Jim was four years older than George," (the census recorded Jim as only 2 years older). If Jim, born in 1859, were 4 years older than George, then Carver's recollection of his birth year as "about 1864" would coincide with Winter's testimony.⁹

2. Mrs. Estella Winter

Mrs. Winter, mother of Elza Winter, was interviewed in 1948 by the Tuskegee research team, but died before the National Park Service historians began their research. She noted that her deceased husband, Lee Winter, played with George from about the age of 4. Lee, she said, was about 2 years younger than George. Lee was born in June 1865.¹⁰

3. Mrs. Mary Boyd Hardin (1858-1956)

Mary Boyd grew up on a farm close to Moses Carver's. She knew George Carver in her childhood, and her two brothers were his playmates. She married Tom Hardin in 1883 and continued to live in Diamond. In 1955, at 97 years of age, she described the

9. A copy of both interview transcripts can be found in the park. See Fuller-Mattes, pp. 5-11 for a discussion of the research findings which gave proof of Jim's birth in October 1859. A photograph of Jim and George as boys is included in Holt (1963 revised edition), opp. p. 72, which suggests to this writer that at least 4 years separated the two boys in age.

10. Tuskegee Research notes, p. 11. The notes from the Tuskegee research team can be found at the park.

kidnapping episode in an interview with Park Service historians: "The soldiers came there after them. Jim went to the bushes and hid but they got George and the mother. Uncle Mose got up some men and sent for them. It was right at the close of the war and the 'darkies' were to be freed and these soldiers wanted to get all the money they could, I guess." Later in her account she referred to George as a baby at the time of abduction which would indicate that his birth was in 1864 or 1865. To the 1948 Tuskegee research team she noted that Jim was not kidnapped because he was out playing which suggests that Jim must have been at least 4 or 5 at the time and born in 1860, as the census for that year shows. Her statements, then, lend themselves as evidence to support Carver's recollection.¹¹

4. John F. Harris

The Tuskegee team interviewed Mr. Harris in 1948 and reported that he was born three quarters of a mile from the Carver farm in Diamond. Harris testified that he was born in 1869, his brother in 1863, and his neighbor in 1865. George Carver, he added, was born in between these dates.

5. William Bentley

As three of the Diamond "old timers" specifically named John Bentley as the rescuer of George Carver, Park Service historians made an attempt to find relatives and records which might verify this fact. William Bentley, John Bentley's son, was 91 years old and living in Oklahoma in 1953 when his daughter replied to Mr. Fuller's inquiry on the kidnapping and rescue episode. Mrs. Verdie E. Freeman wrote that her father was born in 1862 to John and Charlotta Bentley, and that John was a scout in the Cavalry. Concerning her father's recollection of the event she wrote,

My father, William Sigel Bentley does remember waking one morning to find the small colored boy in bed with him; that he had been brought in some time during the night. He remembers the horse that Moses Carver had given his father in payment or to ride down into Arkansas to bring the boy home, but he can't seem to remember the other man's name, but does know it was not Moses Carver as he did not go, but had the other two go into Arkansas and bring the child back.¹²

If William actually had a recollection of Carver in his bed, then he had to be at least 3, making the year 1865. Mrs. Freeman describes Carver as "the small colored boy," however, which could allow for Carver to have been 4 or 5 at the time, and his birth in 1860 or '61. At best, William Bentley's recollection is tenuous, and that it is retold by his daughter makes the account one step farther removed as relevant evidence. Nonetheless, a personal interview made later with Bentley at his daughter's home, and

11. Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 18; Part II, Exhibit 6a shows a photograph of the Hardins shortly after their wedding.

12. Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 12.

based on the accumulated testimony that his father did participate in the rescue, it is probable that William's story is at least true in general detail, which would make the rescue sometime after William's birth in 1862.¹³

6. John Bentley's Military Record

Upon request from Park Service historians, the State Archivist of Missouri researched and reported on John Bentley's military record in the Civil War. The record shows John Bentley assigned to Company L, 8th Missouri Cavalry, from February 1863 to the spring of 1865, when he returned to Springfield, Missouri, under arrest. In September 1864 Bentley was promoted to Sergeant Major; prior to that time he had been serving as a military clerk in Neosho. In his capacity as Sergeant Major, Bentley would likely have known about all guerilla raids in the vicinity; the kidnapping at the farm of Moses Carver, one of the more affluent farmers in the Diamond community, would, then, have undoubtedly caught his attention. If the incident did occur after Bentley's promotion, which historically would be likely as guerilla raids and skirmishes around Diamond were reported in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* at exactly that time, then John's son, William, would have been approaching 3, and at an age to remember such a startling event.¹⁴

Based upon the premise that Carver was a baby and not a young boy at the time of his rescue, the record of John Bentley's assignment in Neosho supports the likelihood of Carver's birth in 1864 or 1865.

7. Harold A. Slane

In an interview with Park Service historians, Harold Slane reported that his father, Steven Slane, had tutored George in Diamond sometime after his arrival in the community in the fall of 1876. In a letter to Harold Slane in the 1930s Carver confirmed that Steven Slane had tutored him as a boy. Most available testimony relates that Carver left Diamond at about the age of 10 to attend school in Neosho, and that he then left with a family for Fort Scott, Kansas. Carver appears in a Fort Scott

13. The interview with William Bentley is on tape at the park.

14. Fuller-Mattes, Part I, pp. 13-14 gives a full account of Bentley's record and a discussion of the probable date of the kidnapping which Fuller assumes is the winter of 1863-64. *Official Records, Series I, Vol. LXI, Part I*, p. 193; *Series I, Vol. XLI, Part III*, p. 863. Mrs. Mary Lou Hardin told the Tuskegee research team, "Mr. Carver had more money than anyone else." Tuskegee notes, p. 6.

Directory in 1879, which suggests that sometime between 1877 and 1879 he attended school in Neosho.¹⁵

In his college resume for the *Bomb* of 1896 Carver noted that he spent the first 12 years of his life on the Moses Carver farm and then set off for Neosho. If Carver were born in 1865, his 12th year would have fallen in 1877, which would allow a reasonable time period for tutoring with Slane, a year of school at Neosho (as Carver on at least one occasion recalled), and his residency in Fort Scott by 1879. If Carver were born in 1860, however, he would have been 12 in 1872, 4 years before Slane arrived in Diamond; and in 1877, he would have been 17 years old, much older than Carver's own best recollection of his age when he went of to Neosho.¹⁶

8. The Moten Brothers

Prior research has pinpointed that sometime between late in 1880 and 1882 Carver attended school in Olathe, Kansas. Two brothers by the name of Moten remembered Carver in their Olathe School. The younger of the two, William R. Moten, told Park Service historians in an interview in 1956 that he was some 10 years younger than Carver at the time. He guessed Carver to have been 15 or 16, but added, "He wasn't over 17, I'm sure." If Carver had been born in 1860 or 1861, he would have been between 19 and 22 years of age at the time; or from 3 to 7 years older than Moten's best recollection of him. On the other hand, had Carver been born in 1864 or 65, he would have been between 15 and 18 at the time.

15. Superintendent to Regional Director, November 30, 1956, H2215 file, Book 2, gives a typescript copy of a taped interview between Slane and Robert Fuller and Clarence Schultz. A photostat copy of the 1879 Fort Scott Directory listing is in Fuller-Mattes, Part II, Exhibit 9a. Carver's recollection of his early childhood repeatedly proved his impression that he left the Carver's at an early age, between 9 and 12 years old. In the Merritt biography Carver authorized, it states he was about 10 when he left for Neosho (p. 25). In the 1897 autobiographical sketch Carver recalled living on the farm until about 9 years old, and being a "defenceless orphan" in Fort Scott. (Fuller-Mattes hold he was 20 years old when in Fort Scott.) According to an 1888 *Ness County News* article on George, quoted in full in Fuller-Mattes, p. 76, Carver left Missouri when he was 9 or 10. George obviously provided the Kansas reporter with the biographical information. Mrs. Holt's revised edition notes that Carver was about 13 or so in Fort Scott, which agrees with the premise he was born around 1865, and directly contradicts her own contention that Carver was born in 1860. Fuller-Mattes, p. 44 states, that Carver left Diamond about 1875 at the age of 14 or 15. The date was determined by the year Stephen F. Frost first became the colored school's teacher. (Frost by all available testimony was Carver's teacher. He remained the teacher until 1884, however, which would allow for George to have left Diamond at any time between 1875 and 1879.) When George returned to Neosho in 1908 an article about him stated that he had come to live in the town with Aunt Mariah Watkins at age 8. The article is quoted in Fuller-Mattes, p. 49. See below, "Carver's Birthday: A Reevaluation" for a counter to the Fuller-Mattes thesis that George was 17 in 1877 while at school in Neosho.

16. In his 1922 letter to Dr. Pammell exhibited in Part II of the Fuller-Mattes report (8b), Carver recalled staying at school for about 9 months before he continued on to Kansas.

William's older brother, Rashey B. Moten, claimed to have spent a semester of the fourth grade with Carver at Olathe. He remembered him as "a very fine man, a boy, youth we should say. . . . A tall, lanky man, a kid, but he didn't care to play many games." Mr. Moten also recalled George was "about the same age;" Moten was born in 1868, and was only 13 at the time of attending school with Carver. Moten undoubtedly would not have recalled that Carver was a boy, youth, kid of about the same age, had George been between 19 and 22 years old at the time.¹⁷

In summary then, the two brothers, one who lived in Topeka, Kansas, and the other who lived in California at the time of the interviews, both furnished similar recollections of the approximate age of Carver when he was in Olathe. Both remembered Carver as a young teenager, and not a young man, which Carver would have been had his birth been in 1860 or '61.

Carver's Birthdate: National Park Service Historians

In 1957, after several years of intensive research and debate, Historian Fuller, in collaboration with Regional Historian Merrill J. Mattes, completed a report on Carver's early life which held Carver's birthday to be July 12, 1860.¹⁸

The argument centered on the Federal Census records of 1860, '70, and '80. "There are bothersome discrepancies in the various census records," the discussion began, so that, "It must be admitted . . . that the census records are not a uniformly reliable index of ages." Nevertheless, the argument continued with a process of elimination. The census of 1880 described Jim, George's older brother, to be 21, which fit exactly the birth year of 1859 inscribed on Jim's gravestone. Moreover, the one mulatto slave baby of 7/12 years old in the 1860 census for Moses Carver's residence also fit closely Jim's reported birthdate and physical description. The available evidence provided conclusive proof that Jim was the slave baby on the census of 1860, even though George appeared in the 1870 census as a boy of 10, which also would have made him born in 1860.

17. The census of 1880, taken in June of the year, recorded Carver in Paola, Kansas. In July 1883 Carver appeared on the roll book of a Presbyterian church in Minneapolis. Olathe is located in between these two towns. See Fuller-Mattes, Part I pp. 55, 57-60; Part II, Exhibit 13B Superintendent, GWCA, to William R. Moten, November 2, 1956, Book 2, H2215 file at the park includes a typescript copy of the taped interview with William Moten. Carver verified that he attended school in Olathe, Kansas, in a letter to Dr. Pammell at Iowa State College in May of 1922. Fuller-Mattes, Part II, Exhibit 4b.

18. The discussion of Carver's birthday, as summarized in this section, is found on pp. 5-11 in the 1957 Fuller-Mattes report.

To explain why George did not appear on the 1860 census, Fuller and Mattes argued, "We hold that George is not reported in the 1860 census for the simple reason that he had not been born yet when the census taker arrived." They went on to explain why they thought that George was born shortly after the enumerator visited the Carver farm in 1860:

"(1) The census of 1870 shows his age as 10, and it is inconceivable to us that Moses Carver could have been grossly in error on this point. (2) The visit of the census taker occurred only once every ten years. What event could be more definite as a peg on which to hang one's personal memory of vital events. . . . What earthly reason can there be for challenging the accuracy of Moses Carver's recollection?"

In order to discount the 1880 census, where George claimed to be 15, as well as subsequent records giving Carver's age, Fuller and Mattes argued, "As will be demonstrated below, George Washington Carver himself had a quite erroneous concept of *the year of his birth*." The italics was used here as a preface to their later contention that Carver did know the month and day of his birth. They cited two letters from Carver to Mr. H. O. Abbott dated July 14, 1938, and July 13, 1939, in which Carver stated his birthday was July 12.¹⁹

Finally, Fuller and Mattes took up the ticklish subject of how to explain the short period of only nine months between Jim's apparent birth in October 1859 and George's in July 1860:

We confess that a nine month interval between the two slave babies seem to strain credibility. However, medical opinion strongly supports the version that it is not at all impossible. In reply to our query of October 14, 1957, to the Dean of School of Medicine, University of Kansas, concerning the possibility of two births to the same woman within a nine month period, Dr. L. A. Calkins, M.D., Department of Gynecology and Obstetrics, made the following statement: 'It is, of course, possible for two births to occur to the same woman in a nine months period, even though the second one is not markedly premature. The sickly state of a child might result from prematurity, but not necessarily so.'

19. After first seeing these letters, Regional Historian Mattes admitted, "I may seem overly skeptical but I am not convinced that Carver had certain and correct knowledge of his own birthdate. Of three biographies I have read . . . none indicates a birthdate." Regional Historian to Regional Director, Feb. 4, 1953, H2215 file, Book 1, Regional files. The letters unfortunately could not be located in Regional or park files.

Fuller and Mattes then concluded their argument:

This leaves us with two conclusions. Carver was not in error in his belief that July 12 was his correct birthday, and that the evidence supports the theory that he was born prematurely. This latter hypothesis is strongly supported by the known fact that in his infancy and boyhood, he was frail, sickly and spindly. Therefore, the writers presently uphold the view that George Washington Carver himself, as well as Moses Carver and the census taker of 1870 had a fairly accurate concept of the birth date. Thus, we believe that, in the absence of conclusive contrary evidence, the July 12, 1860 date should be officially recognized.²⁰

The National Park Service accepted the Fuller-Mattes thesis, and on the basis of their research, July 12, 1960 was the date chosen to dedicate the new \$150,000 visitor center at the George Washington Carver National Monument. For several years thereafter the Park Service coordinated with local Carver committees to acknowledge Carver's birth on the Moses Carver farm in July 1860.²¹ Although this birthdate celebration has not taken place at the park since 1966, the mini-folder perpetuates the thesis by noting that the 1870 census gives George's age as 10 years old.

Carver's Birthdate: A Reevaluation

This writer takes issue with the Fuller-Mattes thesis on several points discussed below:

1. The contention that Moses Carver, George Carver himself, and the census taker in 1870 all contributed to the establishment of Carver's birthdate on July 12, 1860 does not seem to satisfy counter-arguments that perhaps Moses Carver was not present at the time of the 1870 enumeration, that Carver never claimed in any available autobiographical sketch of any belief that July 12 was his birthday and 1860 his birth year, or, that the 1870 enumerator might have set down the record incorrectly.

2. The contention that Carver was born a premature baby in July 1860, within 9 months after Jim's birth, does not explain why 2 years difference was given to the brothers' age in the significant 1870 census.

20. Fuller-Mattes, Part I, pp. 5-11.

21. The park's correspondence files indicate that at least some of the urgency to establish a birthdate for Carver related to the expressed desire to correlate an important date in Carver's life with the dedication of the visitor center which had been planned as early as 1956. To what extent immediate practical considerations may have influenced the final acceptance of the Fuller-Mattes thesis by the Park Service cannot be determined, but it is known that the decision makers were concerned with making the dedication a significant and impressive event.

3. The contention that Carver's "frail, sickly, and spindly" condition in infancy and boyhood was proof that he was born premature does not account for the possibility that the severe whooping cough he contracted as a baby might have caused his weakened condition. Carver himself, in the autobiographical sketch of 1897, closely associated the whooping cough with his sickly boyhood, and some accounts have attributed Carver's high-pitched voice to the disease.

4. The contention that George was 14 or 15 when he first went off to school in Neosho in 1875, contradicts most of the available testimony from Carver himself, his biographers, and "old timers" that he was only "about 10" at the time.²² The Fuller-Mattes report furnishes the testimony of two Neosho "old timers" to show that Carver was probably older than 10 when he left the Carver farm. Mrs. Amelia Thomas Richardson, aged 90, recalled that she first had known George by his first name but that her mother instructed her to call him "Mr. Carver" because he was so much older than the other children. Mrs. Richardson was recalling her impressions during the one year that George spent at her school after she first entered in January 1876, at the age of 7.

While Mrs. Richardson's testimony suggests that Carver might have been at least 17 when she remembered him in school in Neosho, it is the only evidence of its kind, for the second Neosho "old timer," Calvin Jefferson, provided a recollection which better supports the notion that Carver was younger. In a letter to Carver's Tuskegee assistant, Austin Curtis, in 1936, at the age of 70, Mr. Jefferson stated, "I was about nine years of age when I first met Dr. George Washington Carver in Neosho, Missouri, in the year 1877. . . . He was about four or five years older than I." If George were 4 years older, he would be 13, and 5 years older, he would be 14 in 1877. This would indicate his birth was in either 1863 or 1864, which comes close to Carver's own recollection of his year of birth.²³

5. The contention that George was nearly 20 years of age when he reached Fort Scott, Kansas, in 1879 does not correspond well with Carver's own recollection that he was "a defenceless orphan" at the time.²⁴

6. The contention that Carver had "a quite erroneous concept of the year of his birth does not agree with the findings stated previously by this writer that Carver six out of seven times in his youth can be documented to have thought 1865 was his birth

22. Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 44; see above, Chapter II, ft. nt. 15 for a list of sources giving George's age as "about 10" when he went off to school.

23. Fuller-Mattes, Part I, pp. 45-46.

24. See Appendix B, the 1897 Autobiographical Sketch. Merritt, pp. 92-3, furnishes a copy of a letter dated August 10, 1938 from Carver to Miss Clopton.

year. Moreover, Carver's impressions of his age must have been clearer as a young man. The accuracy and detail in the autobiographical sketch for the 1896 *Bomb*, the Iowa State College yearbook, strongly supports the supposition that Carver had a more lucid memory of his past when still a young man than in his later years, for the details he listed of his travels closely check out with much of the available documentation on Carver's life. Moreover, it is this writer's contention that at the time of writing his yearbook blurb, Carver deliberately attempted to bring his early years of wandering into focus. In contrast to the vague memories of a painful youth filled with hunger and hardship which Carver recalled for Miss Clopton near the close of his life, it seems very likely that as a young man Carver took a prideful interest in outlining his 20-year quest for knowledge which, despite overwhelming obstacles, resulted in a bachelors degree from an all-white college in 1894.

Moreover, if the Park Service should accept that Carver was born in 1860, then it would have to be presumed that Carver either falsified his age or spent his entire life with a mistaken notion of when he was born. To explain the former possibility, one might argue that perhaps Carver did so in an effort to excuse his frail physique, his high-pitched voice, or his poor education by making himself appear younger. But the assumption that Carver deliberately falsified his age comes in direct conflict with the character description he earned throughout his life as an individual of exceptional honesty, integrity, morality, intelligence, and courage. At the same time, the assumption that Carver might have made as much as a 5-year error on his age, simply on account of a mistaken notion of the year of his birth, seems quite implausible.

In conclusion, this writer feels that the evidence for the Fuller-Mattes argument does not outweigh Carver's own consistent life-long testimony which is supported by recollections from numerous "old timers." For this reason, I recommend a change in the interpretive media to reflect Carver's impression of 1864-65 as his probable time of birth.

CHAPTER III: MEMORIES OF AND BY CARVER AS A BOY

The childhood years of George Carver have been effectively brought to light in Rackham Holt's biography. While her sources stand obscured by no documentation, her biography follows closely all the available information on Moses Carver, his wife, Susan, his farm in Diamond, Missouri, and the few written autobiographical sketches that have been found. While Carver appeared somewhat bemused or even pleased by Mrs. Holt's depiction of his childhood years, he did not object to her style which, he stated, reflected her own personality "in a most charming and delightful way." Because it was styled the most authoritative biography, long passages from Mrs. Holt's chapters on Carver's childhood appear in the 1957 Fuller-Mattes report.¹

Since the completion of Mrs. Holt's biography and the Fuller-Mattes report, however, an autobiographical sketch dated "1897 or thereabouts" has been recovered by Mr. Fuller in the Booker T. Washington papers at the Library of Congress. This six-page hand-written document appears to have been written by Carver at the request of some members of the Simpson College staff with a biographical sketch or book in mind. Carver inserted at one point, "Please fix this to suit," and closes his paper with, "If there is not sufficient please let me know, and if it ever comes out in print I would like to see it."

Carver opened his autobiography with,

My parents were both slaves. Father was killed shortly after my birth while hauling wood to town in an ox wagon. I had 3 sisters and my brother I know to be dead only as history tells me, yet I do not doubt it as they are buried in the family burying ground.

Carver then went on to recount his version of the kidnapping which varies somewhat from the Holt one:

My sister mother and myself were curchuckled [?], and sold in Arkansaw. And there are now as many conflicting reports concerning them I dare not say if they are dead or alive. Mr. Carver the gentleman who owned my mother sent a man for us, but only I was brought back nearly dead with whooping cough with the report that mother & sister was dead, although some say they saw them afterwards going north with the soldiers.

1. Carver to Holt, July 23, 1940, copy in park files. A photostat copy of the autobiographical sketch is also available at the park. All following quotations come from this document.

Interestingly, Carver made no other reference to his mother, Mary, whom Moses purchased in 1855 when she was only 13. While he never knew his mother except in infancy, George clearly cherished her memory through some of her personal possessions which Moses gave to him in his youth, and which he kept among his few belongings throughout his life.²

For obvious reasons, Carver's memory of his youth concentrated on the highlights of pain and pleasure. "Until I was about 9 years old my body was very feeble and it was a constant warfare between life and death to me who would gain the mastery." But Carver fortunately was also an inspired child. Instead of developing a morbid preoccupation with his health, Carver, as a boy, became fascinated with life. In his own words, "From a child I had an inordinate desire for knowledge, and especially music, painting, flowers, and the science of Algebra being all of my favorite studies."

Carver, however, found certain obstacles in the path of his pursuit of knowledge. He took to carrying on his search in secret.

Day after day I spent in the woods alone in order to collect my floral beautis and put them in my little garden I had hidden in brush not far from the house, as it was considered foolishness in that neighborhood to waste time on flowers.

And yet, Carver recalled, his sincere devotion in his boyhood won him his earliest recognition.

And many are the tears I have shed because I would break the roots or flower off some of my pets while removeing them from the ground. And strange to say all sorts of vegetation seemed to thrive under my touch until I was styled the plant doctor, and plants from all over the country would be brought to me for treatment. At this time I had never heard of botony and could scerly read.

The emotional comfort George derived from his plants as a young boy no doubt sustained him in his dedication to agriculture later in his life once he had made the difficult decision to give up his artistic schooling for botanical studies.³ Similarly, his work with the earth and rocks at Tuskegee Institute in his later life reflected the tenacity of his boyhood interests:

2. The Fuller-Mattes report, Part II, no. 4a, provides a photographic copy of the bill of sale dated Oct. 9, 1853. Mary's spinning wheel was among the most popularized mementos Carver received. Prior research by Park Service historians could not definitely establish Carver's father, but from existing testimony he likely was a slave on either the Grant or Baynham farm in Diamond.

3. Holt, p. 31; Edwards, p. 24.

Rocks had an equal fascination for me and many are the baskets full that I have been compelled to remove from the outside chimney corner of that old log house, with the injunction to throw them down the hill, I obeyed but picked up the choicest ones and hid them in another place. And some how that same chimney corner would, in a few days, or weeks be running over again to suffer the same fate. I have some of the specimens in my collection [?] now and consider them the choicest of the lot.

As indicated, George persevered in his self-education despite his frail physique and the established community custom. But under the circumstances of his environment, Carver's opportunities for learning proved unusually advantageous. As Carver recalled, "Mr. and Mrs. Carver were very kind to me and I thank them so much for my home training." Indeed, Moses and Susan Carver treated George well as a boy, taking him in, along with his brother, Jim, after the war closed and slavery officially terminated in Missouri. Most likely George never remembered any change between his status as slave and foster son. The Carvers reportedly treated the boys with fairness but required of them all the expected duties of a farm.

George and Jim were both physically and temperamentally different. George was dark-skinned, frail of body, and apparently sensitive and soft-spoken in his behavior. Jim was remembered as light-skinned, a mulatto, strong, athletic, and more outspoken about his desires. George worked more in the house, learning from Susan Carver domestic skills some of which during his lifetime he developed into decorative art forms, while Jim throughout most of his life labored in the fields of the Moses Carver farm.⁴

John Harris, interviewed in 1948 by the Tuskegee Institute research team, remembered knowing and playing with George and Jim as boys. He made several comments in reference to the brothers:

Jim was husky, George was weak. Mose Carver pampered George and was good to him. George had no hard work to do, but Jim did. People swapped work in the neighborhood threshing wheat, etc. Jim took part in this work. George carried water. Had ears pieced [sic] to help eye sight. Was pleasant and well

4. The slave schedule of 1860 showed one mulatto slave baby under Moses Carver. Possibly Jim's father was Jackson Carroll, the 22-year-old white laborer who also appeared in the 1860 census under Moses Carver's household. Jim appeared in the 1880 census as a work hand on Moses Carver's farm; he died in 1883 from a smallpox epidemic which swept the railroad town of Seneca. In 1948 the Tuskegee research team discovered Jim's gravestone in Seneca, and in 1953 Park Service historians made the same discovery, neither group having communicated on the subject. Tuskegee notes, p. 26. According to one testimony, Jim was working as a plasterer in Seneca when he contracted smallpox. He was then moved to a pest house where he died. Interview by Fuller and Jacobson with Paris Boyd, Feb. 11, 1954, H2215 file, Book 1. Photostat copies of the census records are at the park.

liked — soft-spoken. . . . Jim was quite an athlete — a polevaulter. George was very quiet.⁵

If George was indeed pampered by Moses and Sue Carver as Harris recalled, then it no doubt related to George's precarious health as a boy. At the age of 4 Forbes Brown vividly recalled attending the burial of his sister in the Carver cemetery, and seeing George "so slender and frail looking, his large eyes unusually white, expressed so sad." But George also proved himself a child worthy of considerable attention. Moses Carver's great nephew, D.T. Williams, recalled that George was "the smartest boy I ever saw in My life. He could sew, crochet, and cook as good as any woman, and there wasn't a musical instrument made that he couldn't play."⁶

While sharply contrasting in character and appearance from each other, George and Jim shared one thing in common which as they grew set them apart from the entire community — their race. Diamond, in southwest Missouri, had only token slave representation prior to the Civil War, and until presently the County of Newton has reflected a very low percentage of blacks in population statistics. As part of such a small minority, George and Jim were readily accepted by the Diamond community when they were small boys. According to accounts from Diamond "old timers," the brothers played freely with the white children and attended regular Sunday school classes with them at the Locust Grove schoolhouse. But when Moses Carver expressed an interest in enrolling his boys in the Locust Grove school, the white majority balked. After only one school year in Diamond, George and Jim painfully came to realize their inferior status as Negroes.⁷

Jim apparently took the blow to heart and expressed a desire to be white. George, on the other hand, asked if he could continue his schooling in Neosho. His apparent resilience to such a personal blow rested in part, according to one testimony, with the

5. Tuskegee notes, p. 1.

6. Fuller-Mattes, pp. 19-30. The Fuller-Mattes report quotes from Brown's recollections of Diamond for a full seven pages. Tuskegee notes, p. 4, as quoted from the *Joplin Globe* January 6, 1943. See next chapter for further comment on his musical talents.

7. *History of Newton, Lawrence, Barry and McDonald Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, 1888), pp. 248 and 293; interview with Superintendent Eugene J. Colbert, GWCA, February, 1973; testimony of John F. Harris, Ben R. Love, Mrs. Mary Lou Hardin, Elza Winter, Mrs. Estella Winter, Tuskegee research notes, pp. 1, 5, and 11. In 1948 Elza Winter testified, "Jim wanted to be a white man and Aunt Sue told him if he worked hard he would be a white man. George was different. He knew better." Tuskegee notes, p. 10. Mrs. Hardin recalled to the Tuskegee research team in 1948, "George and Jim came to school in Diamond with the white children one year." She was one of George's first schoolmates in Diamond, but "people cut up so about the boys (darkies) being in the school with the whites that they had to go to school in Neosho." Tuskegee notes, p. 6.

encouragement of a white school teacher who came to Diamond in 1876 and who, in his spare time, tutored young George. In a taped interview with Historian Fuller in 1956, Harold A. Slane talked about his father, Steven L. Slane, and George Carver:

... told me about having tutored Dr. Carver after school when he was boarding with the Baynham family who lived near the Locust Grove School ... before my mother and father were married. ... In later years, in 1932, I visited Dr. Carver at Tuskegee Institute, and he also reaffirmed to me that he had received tutoring from my father. ... [He told me] that he felt that my father's influence had been great in helping form his background. He said, "well, I owe more to Steven L. Slane than any person I've ever known."

... [father said that] he found Dr. Carver to be an exceptionally brilliant boy, and that he felt that he had given him the benefit of all of the training he could, and he advised him to go on up into Iowa where he could get further school.⁸

Most likely having received reassurances from Slane of his aptitude for learning, from Moses Carver of his freedom to leave, and from his own faith in God's protective shield, young George walked the 8 miles to town, or Neosho, to enroll in the school for Negroes. According to his best recollection of the time, George remembered himself to be between 10 and 12 years old. The school he joined had been founded in 1872 to educate some 3 percent in the county who were Negro. They met in a small one-room house. For the first time in his life, George lived and worked in a total Negro community. His rural experience in a white community on a typical farm in southwest Missouri had left him with a mixture of strengths and weaknesses in his long struggle for knowledge.⁹

8. Interview with Elza Winter, Tuskegee research notes, p. 10. Superintendent to Regional Director, November 30, 1956; H2215, Book 2, at the park provides a typescript copy of a taped interview with Harold A. Slane and Robert Fuller, and Clarence P. Schultz.

9. In 1860 Marion Township, Newton County, had only five slave owners and 17 slaves listed, which included Moses Carver's one slave woman and 7/12 of a year old slave boy. In 1860 Newton County as a whole had only 5.1 percent black population, or, only 477 Negroes as opposed to 8,842 whites. In 1870 the black population had dropped to 2.3 percent in the county, and in 1880 had edged up to 4.7 percent, or 915 blacks to 18,344 whites. In 1876 a county school census showed a total of 16,881 children, only 3 percent of which were Negro. Staff Historian Porter to Chief Historian, April 10, 1958, H2215 file, Book, 3; Mona Osbourn, Compiler, *History of Neosho and Newton County, Missouri, 1839-1939*, (Neosho, 1942), np; *History of Newton, Lawrence, Barry, and McDonald Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, 1888), p. 270. In his boyhood George apparently had numerous religious experiences which are recounted effectively in the Edwards biography, pp. 6-9. In his 1897 autobiographical sketch he noted that "I had been a Christian since about 8 years old."

CHAPTER IV: CARVER'S BOYHOOD SURROUNDINGS

In early childhood George Carver lived on the Moses Carver farm in Diamond, Marion Township, Newton County, Missouri. The county, founded in 1838, lies in southwest Missouri bordering on Kansas to the west, and only one county north of the Arkansas State line. Marion Township (presently defined as Township 26, Range 31), shares a common border with the county's northcentral line. The township land was offered for sale in 1843. Among the first buyers were Moses Carver and his brother, Richard, both of whom had migrated from Ohio and Illinois, and settled on the land in about 1838.

In George's youth, a rich lead and zinc ore deposit around Granby and an "unexampled" supply of fine running streams of purest water, and the abundance of large, never failing springs" gave Newton County one of the fastest-growing mining, farming and stock-raising populations in that section of the State. As one 19th-century writer remarked, "its natural wealth is undoubtedly great and its citizens enterprising." The county land, as described by an 1882 atlas, was "undulating; even hilly in parts, consisting of nearly equal parts of timber and prairie." Neosho, the county seat, grew up on the western slope of the Ozark Range, about dead center in the county, at a large limestone spring which had a local reputation for its medicinal nature. About 8 miles due north, Diamond, a village which had grown up near a diamond-shaped grove of trees, constituted a typical "cross-roads" settlement: the heart of town boasted only of a general store, blacksmith shop with the post office adjoining in a small room, and a church which coupled as a schoolhouse. The community around Diamond for the most part lived on modest farms, raised agricultural produce as well as livestock, and typified the 19th-century rural life in southwest Missouri.¹

As it was predominantly rural, Marion Township remained relatively unchanged between 1850 and 1880, with only about 7 percent of the population of Newton County within its borders. The Moses Carver farm lay less than a mile from Diamond's Locust Grove Church and schoolhouse, where all community activities centered. As one of the first settlers, Moses and Susan Carver had achieved considerable property and wealth by the time of the Civil War. As any good farmer might have done, Moses selected a site near an abundant water supply — two springs

1. *History of Newton County* (no bibliographical information; a xeroxed chapter of a c. 1889 history in Newton County Public Library in Neosho) p. 323; *Historical Atlas of Newton County* (Philadelphia, 1882) pp. 8-9; *History of Newton, Lawrence, etc.* p. 229; *A Reminiscent History of the Ozark Region* (Cape Girardeau, Mo. 1956), pp. 22-25. Newton County in 1840 had a population of 2,790; in 1850 of 4,268. Between 1850 and 1860 the population more than doubled from 4,268 to 9,319, making the count second only to Greene county. Interview with Forbes Brown, as quoted in Fuller-Mattes, p. 30. In 1923 Wiley Britton noted that southwest Missouri contained the richest lead and zinc deposits in the world. *Pioneer Life*, p. 1.

and a creek lay near his farmhouse — with prairie and timber nearby. Surrounding his house were oak, hickory, elm, and black jack trees, all native to the region. He planted walnut trees in the same manner as corn in a line west of the house. At the end of the row of walnuts, to the southwest of the house, stood the Carver family cemetery which also provided grave space for several other families in the community.²

By 1850 Moses Carver was raising an abundant Indian corn crop of 1,500 bushels, as well as 500 bushels of oats, 10 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 50 bushels of wheat, all crops popular in the region. His herd of 15 sheep provided him with 40 pounds of wool, and his six milk cows with 100 pounds of butter. His livestock also included 21 horses, two asses, 11 cattle (other than milk cows), 30 swine, and four oxen, making a total of 89 head valued at \$966. Compared with the other 292 farms in the county ranging in cash value between \$75.00 and \$3,000.00, Carver's farm, valued at \$1,200, represented a substantial investment.³

By 1860 Moses Carver had more than doubled the cash value of his farm. On his 240-acre tract he had improved 100 acres. He still was sowing large quantities of Indian corn, oats, and hay, and had expanded his orchard considerably. Carver, however, might have been having some financial difficulties, for the number of his livestock had dropped nearly in half, as had the total bushels of produce and pounds of wool. He was experimenting with beeswax and honey produce, and his butter output had more than doubled, possibly on account of the labors of his slave girl, Mary, whom he had purchased in 1855.

Between 1860 and 1870, when George was growing up on the farm, Moses Carver was building up his sheep herd, maintaining the numbers of his livestock, and concentrating on his orchards. By 1870 his wool produce had more than tripled, and his orchard had increased ten fold in value. Like many of his neighbors, Moses was boiling down sugar cane for molasses, but he had cut back his Indian corn crop to 500 bushels from the 1,000 bushels in 1860. Moreover, in 1860 Carver's farm had a listed cash value of \$3,000, the seventh highest value of the 37 farms listed in the township, while in 1870, the farm showed a cash value of \$5,000, which lifted the

2. *History of Newton, Lawrence, etc.*, p. .; Interview with Forbes Brown, Fuller-Mattes, p. 26; interview with J. H. Melton, Feb. 5, 1954 in H2215 file, Book 1; interview with John Harris, Tuskegee notes, p. 3.

3. All the following information concerning the farm and livestock of Moses Carver comes from the Agricultural Schedules of the 1850, '60, '70, and '80 Federal Census Records. Photostat copies of the census records pertaining to the Carver farm can be found in the park files. This writer would like to thank Mrs. Billie Mojonier at the Missouri State Historical Society in Columbia, Mo., for her assistance in compiling some of the above information, as well as expediting an order for the agricultural schedule photostats. See Appendix C for a compiled breakdown of the information from the schedules on the Moses Carver farm.

value of Carver's farm above most of the 64 farms listed in the township. That the farm in 1860 had one of the highest cash values in the area correlates with the testimony of Diamond's "old timer," Mrs. Mary Lou Hardin, who noted that Carver was the wealthiest man in the community when the raiders swept down on his farm during the Civil War.⁴

Between 1870 and 1880, when George Carver was learning more about the farm because he had passed his fifth birthday, Moses Carver was once again adding to his stock of horses. From only 11 in 1860, 10 in 1870, Carver had gathered 24 by 1880. Before George went off to school in about 1877, Moses, no doubt, was already enjoying his local reputation for his horses which Diamond "old timers" so often recalled. John Harris reminisced that "Mr. Carver liked horses. Neighbors brought ponies in and ran a race down a ½-mile track. This was a neighborhood sport." Elza Winter, Carver's close neighbor's grandson, remembered, "Moses Carver got his money from raising race horses." J. H. Melton recalled visiting Moses Carver every Sunday and selling horses for him.⁵

Young George found that certain farm duties fell to him while others he dared not attempt to do. According to various accounts, Moses Carver had 50 or 60 beehives and was an expert bee hunter, as is apparent from the 12 pounds of beeswax and 200 pounds of honey he listed in 1860. Moses apparently did not need to put anything on to protect him from the bees, nor did Jim; but George had to stand a distance from the hives because bees came after him. George did not share the heavy work in the fields on account of his poor health, so Moses hired a hand to help

4. See Chapter II, ft. note . Wiley Britton's, *Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri*, when compared to the livestock and produce records in the agricultural schedules, makes a clear case for the fact that Moses Carver had a typical farm in his region. He noted, "Nearly every family had a small orchard of peach, apple or pear trees," and that, "generally most of this fruit was saved in some form or other . . . very little market for it except for winter apples." "Nearly every family," he wrote, "raised white or Irish and sweet potatoes, sage, red pepper, string beans, roasting ears, onions, peas, pumpkins, and squashes, cabbages, turnips, beets, peaches and apples." The wool from sheep he noted, was used for "making their clothing, stockings, and bed covering." The honey produced from the beehives, he also made mention, was used as the domestic sweetener before sorghum became popularly planted. Since the schedules do not note that Carver planted sorghum, he probably continued to use honey for sweetener for most of the period up through 1880. As Britton described it, the countryside was never short of wild flowers to keep the bees productive. Britton, pp. 15, 24-5, 34. The *Centennial History of Newton County, Missouri*, (Neosho, 1876), noted that sheep, cattle and hogs made a profitable market in the country after being fattened up on the corn and hay of the county, and that wheat from the county could not be bettered within the state.
5. Interviews with John Harris & Elza Winter, Tuskegee notes, pp. 3 and 11; interview with John Melton, see above, ft. note 2.

until Jim was old enough to take the full workload of a laborer. George's biographer, Mrs. Holt, noted that George helped feed the stock as a boy, which may not have been too arduous a task if it only involved the 20 horses and cows which Moses owned in 1870.⁶

According to the testimony of "old timers," George worked mostly in the home with his foster mother, Susan Carver. She introduced him to the handicrafts of weaving, knitting, and sewing so necessary for making the clothes in the rural communities of southwest Missouri. Throughout his life George Carver continued to develop these skills, sometimes doing so as part of his livelihood, until he was urged to display some of his widely admired lace and crochet collection at Tuskegee Institute, in the museum created specifically to honor his life's work.⁷

Susan Carver was described by one "old timer" as "a good old-fashioned mother." She and Moses Carver had never had their own children, but had taken in and raised the three young children of Moses' brother, George, after his death in 1839. When Jim and George's mother, Mary, could not be located after the war, Susan and Moses, both in their early 50's, more or less adopted the two Negro boys, giving them the family name and the values and principles they shared. Uncle Moses projected his hard-working, thrifty characteristics and tried to instill in the boys a respectful awareness of money. He and Susan both liked privacy and quiet in their lives, and had therefore built their first farmhouse under the trees, out of sight of the road. After the war, they shared their simple log cabin with Jim and George as a family unit.⁸

6. Holt, pp. 20-21; Interview with Elza Winter, Fuller-Mattes, p. 24; Agricultural Schedule, 1860 and 1870 Census, Marion Township, Newton County, Missouri; Population Schedule, 1860 and 1870 Census both show Carver had a paid laborer working for him. The 1880 population schedule lists Jim as a 21-year-old laborer for Carver. See Chapter V for a discussion of Moses' stock.
7. Testimony of Forbes Brown, in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 30. George often helped support himself during his years of schooling by working in homes as a domestic or by setting up a small laundry business. He proved not only to be an excellent cook and launderer, but also a skilled sewer. The Tuskegee Institute's Carver Museum still exhibits existing examples of Carver's lace and crochet work. Fuller-Mattes, pp. 64, 66, 70, 79, 85, and 96; Autobiographical sketch, c. 1897.
8. Interview with Mrs. Mary Lou Hardin, Tuskegee notes, p. 6; Moses Carver was born in 1812, his wife in 1814. J. D. Danner in collaboration with Rose Carver Danner, "*History of Christian Carver and His Descendants*," (Willows, California, 1939), n.p. A copy of this typescript can be found in the Midwest Region's library. Holt pp. 14, 20, and 22. Interview with Mrs. Smith, Tuskegee notes, p. 27; interview with Elza Winter, Robert P. Fuller, "Moses Carver and His Family," (1955), p. 5, and Tuskegee notes, p. 10; interviews with John Harris, Tuskegee notes, p. 3; interview with J. H. Melton, see above, ft. nt. 2. The three children — Albert Carver, Daniel S. Carver, and Sarah Jane Carver — were all under 14 years old in 1839. Mrs. John Vineyard, compiler, Newton County, Missouri, Records, Abstracts of Wills and Administrations (1839-1869), p. 23.

Moses found no need for institutional religion, even though the community pressure to attend church was very heavy in the Diamond neighborhood. He did not object, however, to the boys walking the mile up the road to the Locust Grove Church where they could enjoy the companionship and neighborly exchange which the Sunday gatherings provided. Nor were Moses and Susan considered unneighborly. They apparently loved children to visit, and Moses gained a reputation for little favors, such as watermelon, cornbread, and honey, among his little guests. For the adults, Moses no doubt serenaded with his accordian or his antique violin, the latter which he had been playing since the age of 18.⁹

Young George's experiences and relationships during his 10-odd years on the Moses Carver farm seem to have made a deep impression on his character and habits. Not only did George reflect a stubborn independence and self-reliance during his long life — traits so apparent in Moses Carver — but also the domestic skills and quiet reserve which he no doubt acquired from his foster mother during his impressionable years. Similar to the love and consideration shown him in his boyhood, George never acted selfishly or unkindly to others, even to those who demonstrated blatant race hatred towards him. Like Moses, however, George never compromised his personal beliefs to please the community around him. His successful struggle for an acceptance of his work at Tuskegee Institute in his later life stands as a good example of his perseverance in the face of opposition. Also like Moses, George demonstrated a life-long appreciation for music; he always owned an instrument which he played at many social functions, and he played the organ or sang in church choirs throughout his life.¹⁰

9. While Moses refused to go to church, he was no infidel, as some in the community might have whispered. His membership in a Masonic Lodge required first a belief in God. The memorial has a photostat copy of Moses' Grand Lodge Demit, from the Grand Secretary's office of the Grand Lodge of Missouri. Catalogue no. 61, GWCA.

10. A good example of Carver "turning the other cheek" is sited in Fuller-Mattes, p. 78 in a quote from Mrs. Holt's biography; see also Holt, p. 305. His criticism from the staff at Tuskegee is discussed in both the Holt and Edwards biographies. George during his days in Kansas owned an accordian and played in Diamond at his return, in Highland, Beeler, and Minneapolis, according to recollections of John Harris, Chester Rarig, Mrs. N. D. Cawley, all in Fuller-Mattes, pp. 64, 66, 69, 70, & 86. Forbes Brown, in recalling the influence his Sunday School teacher, Mrs. Abbott, had on George, wrote, "Another great inspiration in her teaching that was so very helpful to George was her singing." In commenting on his recollection of George's visit to Diamond at some time after his departure from the Carver farm, he wrote, "We enjoyed first his opening of the evening of music with selections on his accordian, played so skillfully. We youngsters delighted in watching his long, slender fingers as they touched the metal trigger that rang the 2 bells on the upper left corner in perfect rhythm — some of these newer ones we sang for George and it was really remarkable the proficiency he revealed in following us with his accordian." As quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, pp. 28 and 31.

The freedom which his foster parents gave him as a boy probably made the most significant impact on George's life. According to one account, George's wanderings as a boy found him in the parlor of Moses' neighbors, the Baynams, where he realized a burning desire to try his hand at painting such works as he saw along the wall. In his early manhood and later life, George completed many paintings, one of which, his yucca painting, won him honorable mention in the 1893 Chicago Worlds Fair. Today the few paintings that have survived are sought after throughout the world. One is hanging at the park commemorating his birthplace, and several others can be seen at the Carver Museum at Tuskegee Institute.¹¹

That he was allowed the time to pursue his insatiable fascination with the flowers, rocks, and soil in the woods all about Carver farm, (in 1870, 80 acres of Carver's land was still forested), inspired in George a self-confidence and an acute awareness of his natural ability to understand the secrets of nature. When at Tuskegee Institute in his later life the "plant doctor" of the Moses Carver farm still did much of his studying in the woods:

During his younger days at Tuskegee and even in later years he made regular journeys over the hills and through the woods and thickets around about Tuskegee. No one was unusually aroused when he was seen roving through the woods because the people had gotten used to seeing him doing this at various times. At times he would gather up different types of soil to take back to the laboratory. In his own words he simply went through the woods to get "new inspiration."¹²

According to George, this inspiration from Nature stood at the heart of his fame with the peanut, as well as his less-publicized, but equally as significant, experiments with herbal medicines, food substitutes, and paint colors from clay. George often spoke of the simple process of unfolding God's secrets imbedded in nature. He was simply a trailblazer, an educator; God was the Creator. His laboratory was "God's Little Work Shop." Even when fame raised him to popular heights allowed to few other American Negroes, George Washington Carver remained a humble man who outspokenly preferred a simple life much like the one he had first known as a boy on the Moses Carver farm in Diamond, Missouri.¹³

11. Holt, pp. 18 and 21-22, opp. p. 120.

12. Merritt, pp. 80-81.

13. Holt, pp. 308-9, 341, 348; Edwards, pp. 102-3, 178-9, 198. Carver to Hardwick, March 9, 1938, Hardwick Collection at the Monument.

CHAPTER V: HISTORIC STRUCTURES AND GROUNDS

Much is left to speculation and probability when attempting to describe the historic structures and grounds of the Moses Carver farm. Few of the interviews of "old timers" specifically described the physical features of the farm, and only one drawing exists of one of the farm structures. However, that Moses had a fairly typical farm in southwest Missouri is well established in a comparison of Moses's agricultural schedules with those of other farmers in his area and with Wiley Britton's *Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri*. In the following structural descriptions available testimony will be combined with information on typical habits of southwest Missouri farmers.

The Moses Carver Farm Structures

First Farmhouse

During George's youth the Carver farm had two log cabins, one known as Moses and Sue's and the other called, "the slave cabin." Britton notes that, "Most of the people in the country in the Ozark region up to the war lived in log houses."¹ In 1954 Merrill Mattes, Regional Historian for the Midwest Region, and Archeologist Paul J. Beaubien published an article in the *Negro History Bulletin* explaining the Park Service's conclusions on the construction, site, and description of these log cabins after numerous interviews and an archeological dig had been completed. They hypothesized that:

about 1838 a clearing was made in the trees immediately above the Carver Spring on the closest plot of level ground. Then a rude, one-room cabin was erected within a clearing. At a later undermined [sic] date a second log cabin was built and occupied by the Carvers, with the earlier one being designated as the "slave cabin." With the passage of time (about 50 years) the cabins had deteriorated considerably and the frame house or "second Moses Carver dwelling" was erected east of the cabins, nearer the road. . . . It appears that each dwelling was occupied until the succeeding one was completed, and each was constructed farther east from the spring than the previous one. Thus the sites of the earlier buildings have not been occupied by later structures.²

1. Britton, *Pioneer Life*, p. 65.
2. Paul L. Beaubien and Merrill J. Mattes, "The Archeological Search for George Washington Carver's Birthplace," *The Negro History Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, (November 1954), pp. 33-38, as quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, pp. 21-2.

Although the archeological digs did not provide conclusive evidence that George's birthplace cabin stood on the site identified by local "old timers," the writer continues, "the concentration of occupational debris in the southwest portion of the present flower garden [where now interpretation marks the site of the log cabins] seems to substantiate the testimony of those older residents who place the cabin at this site. Test trenching in other likely areas produced only negative results."²

In describing the log cabin where George was born, as well as the Moses Carver log cabin, James Robinson, a life-time resident of Diamond, recalled that they both had floors but "they were on the ground and there was definitely no foundation. The fireplace also was just sitting on top of the ground." As if to answer the questions raised by the results of the archeological investigations, Robinson added, "You could dig for the next five years and would never find anything."³

George Carver himself sketched a drawing of the "slave cabin," and several "old timers" interviewed by Mr. Mattes and Mr. Fuller gave their recollections of the birthplace cabin. All the testimonies agreed that the structure was a one-room log cabin. Each of the recollections warrants notation. The longest, most detailed, and earliest account came from the recollection of Moses Carver's nephew, Tom Williams, as written in a letter from Inez Armstrong to Richard Pilant in June of 1942:

He says the log cabin in which Carver was born faced the east with a single window in the west and a chimney on the north. It was built of hewn logs perhaps 5 inches through, notched at the ends and fitted together, the cracks then being filled with clay or chinking. The door was a plank door with wooden hinges. Mr. W. [sic] described the making of the hinges but he may as well have been speaking Greek to me. . . . The roof was of clapboards. The chimney was built of rock up to the mantelpiece and of sticks and clay from there. The sticks were about 2½ inches in diameter. . . .

There is some disagreement as to the dimensions of the cabin. Mr. Williams says it was about 14 feet by 14 feet by 8 feet while Mr. Winters says 16 feet by 16 feet by 8, and Mrs. Goodwin, Mr. Williams' daughter, insists the length was greater than the width. Her guess is 16 feet by 14 feet by 8 feet.

2. Paul L. Beaubien and Merrill J. Mattes, "The Archeological Search for George Washington Carver's Birthplace," *The Negro History Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, (November 1954), pp. 33-38, as quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, pp. 21-2.

3. As quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 23.

There were two beds in Carver's cabin. They used rope for bed slats. The table had legs crossed on each side somewhat like a sawhorse. Through the cross on each side a hole was bored and a round stick was placed through both holes to help to make the table stronger.⁴

Mrs. Hardin's recollection of the slave cabin added to the above:

... The slave cabin was situated a short distance from Uncle Moses cabin in a northwest direction. ... The slave cabin had a chimney and fireplace and there were shutter windows in it. No glass. It contained only one room. The house was made of logs and were hewed off.⁵

Elza Winter recalled,

The slave cabin ... had no window light but there was a window board which could be removed in the summer time. It was a log building. The door faced south. The roof was pitched and made of clapboards. There was a rock fire place. The slave cabin and the original Moses Carver dwelling, also a log cabin, were both one room buildings.⁶

As alluded to above, Elza Winter remembered the second log cabin, where Moses and Sue lived, as a one-room cabin. He also added that the Moses Carver cabin was "a little larger than the other." Mrs. Hardin, however, remembered Moses' cabin as two roomed. Forbes Brown remembered the original house was of "logs sheathed with roughly sawed boards," and John Harris remembered it as "an old time log house of 1 1/2 story."⁷

4. For the Carver sketch see Illustration S; Armstrong to Pilant, in H2215 files, to December 31, 1953 at the park.
5. As quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 24.
6. As quoted in Ibid. In 1953, Archeologist Beaubien noted, "Description of the early cabins have always represented them as having 'clapboard' roofs. It is interesting to learn the meaning of the word 'clapboard' to the local residents. ... 'It is an oversized shingle rived from straight grained oak; and is more generally known to these United States as 'shake.' " Archeol. to Reg. Hist., May 29, 1953, H2215 file, Book I, MWRO.
7. Ibid.; Forbes Brown to James V. Lloyd, April 23, 1953, H2215 file, Book I, MWRO; Tuskegee notes, p. 3.

From the scant testimony available on the Moses Carver log cabins it appears that both were constructed of hewn logs. Speaking from first-hand knowledge, Wiley Britton discussed pioneer cabins in southwest Missouri:

There were probably not as many round logs as hewed log houses in our section up to the war, for as a rule the pioneers of thrift and who were ambitious of improving their surroundings, were able in a few years to replace their round log with hewed log houses, using the former for stables and cribs, or as an addition to the new house. . . . the family living in the hewed log house was generally regarded as holding a higher social status than the family living in the round log house . . . an index of his character and energy. . . . Both the round and hewed log houses usually had only one window with four panes . . . poorly lighted . . . most houses had puncheon floors . . . replaced in a few years by most families with sawed plank floors.⁸

Evidently, then, Moses Carver's two hewed-log cabins reflected his industriousness as soon as he settled in the vicinity of Diamond Grove. Certainly his log cabins were among the earliest in the community, and his thrift proved outstanding in the neighborhood.

Another description of the pioneer cabins was included in *A Reminiscent History of the Ozark Region* published in about 1893:

The pioneers' cabins were generally made of logs, sometimes hewed on two sides and sometimes not hewed at all. The form of the cabin was always an oblong square, with a huge fireplace in one end. The fireplace was set back in a crib composed of logs, with the face even with the inner wall. This crib was heavily lined with stone and mortar, built up on a hearth made of flat stones. On the top of the stone and mortar lining was made a stick-and-mud chimney, the latter always being entirely on the outside of the building and extending a little above the comb of the roof. . . . All the tools required in the building [the cabin] were an ax, broadax, froe and auger.⁹

Several details in the above descriptions coincide with those given by the Diamond "old timers" when recalling Moses Carver's slave cabin, or the first pioneer cabin built on his Missouri land.

8. Britton, *Pioneer Life*, p. 67. A puncheon floor would be one made with a split log or heavy slab with the face smoothed.

9. *A Reminiscent History*, (reprint, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 1956), p. 20.

Neither of the log cabins stand today. A third Carver farmhouse, a frame 1½-story building with a front porch, replaced them some time around the late 19th century, as Elza Winter, born in 1891, could remember it as a new house. This structure was moved north across the creek in 1916, when Stratton Shartel purchased the land and constructed a large stone residence east of the three other farmhouse sites. Presently the frame Moses Carver house stands to the northwest of the log cabin sites, at the end of an interpretive trail, and the large stone Shartel house has been removed from the property.¹⁰

Spring House

As James Robinson noted about the Carver family, "they used water from the spring down under the hill." That spring still bubbles fresh water to the creek and serves as an excellent interpretive aid at the birthplace of George W. Carver. No mention has ever been made as to whether Moses had a spring house, but it seems likely in context of Wiley Britton's comments: "With very few exceptions the early pioneers settled near a good spring in the Ozark region," and they erected a spring house "for keeping butter and milk." The milk was placed in the spring house so that cream might rise. The fact that Moses was a successful, industrious farmer suggests strongly that he would have had such a spring house.¹¹

The Barn

Robinson specifically recalled, "Uncle Moses barn stood just south of where the present [Shartel] barn is located. It was built of double logs and shedded all around."¹² Probably Moses kept his prized horses and some of his cows in the barn, in accordance with the custom of the region:

There was one feature of stockraising in that section that must have impressed anyone who was familiar with better methods and that was the absence of shelter for cattle in the winter, except that one or two cows might be kept in a shed. But most of the farmers provided stables for their horses. . . .

The barns, Britton went on to describe, consisted "of a stable for horses and cows, crib for corn and hay loft, all under one roof."¹³

10. The National Park Service has labeled the frame farmhouse the "The Second Moses Carver Dwelling," which, according to the above theory that Moses' first farmhouse became the slave cabin after the second log cabin was built would be inaccurate. In 1963 the Midwest Region completed an Historic Structure Report entitled, "Moses Carver Late Period Dwelling, Building No. 5," which can be located in the Region's library.

11. As quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 23; Britton, *Pioneer Life*, p. 45.

12. As quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 23.

13. Britton, *Ibid.*, p. 39, and 69.

Stock Shed(s)

Moses more than likely also built sheds to shelter his cattle, sheep, and swine during the harsh winters, for as Britton noted:

before the war, a few farmers moved into the different counties . . . from Iowa and Northern Illinois where the winters were severe, built separate sheds, standing east and west with the north sides and ends closed so as to keep out the cold winds and rains and feeding them there, protected their stock in severe weather.¹⁴

Stock Pens

Britton further noted that during the other seasons the stock was kept in pens, which most likely adjoined the winter sheds. The sheep needed the pen to protect them from roving wolves, and the pigs were fed corn and swill there until their slaughter early in January. No doubt these pens, as well as the sheds, stood in close proximity to the barn so that all the feeding and care could be easily completed.¹⁵

Smoke House

Most likely close by the log cabin where the Carver family lived stood the "old log smoke house" Moses built to preserve cuts of hog and cattle from the stock slaughtered and dressed on the farm. Britton noted that the hog parts, including ears, feet and parts, usually hung in the smoke house for a month or so prior to being stored in salt barrels.¹⁶

Cider Press Shed

Britton noted, "Nearly every farmer who had an orchard had a cider press." By 1880 Moses had increased his orchard to 520 trees. Probably he sold cider in quantity, and had set up a cider press of some size in a shed to squeeze the apples.¹⁷

14. Ibid. Carver migrated to southwest Missouri from Ohio and Illinois. Carver did not list chickens until 1880, but more than likely he kept a few prior to this year, and they no doubt shared the sheds with the other stock.

15. Ibid. pp. 15 and 39.

16. Ibid., p. 46; As quoted in Fuller, "Moses Carver and His Family," p. 4 from an interview with Elza Winter. A Mrs. Watrous, who lived in the late period Carver farmhouse for many years, also recalled that the smoke house, near the back porch, was used as a summer kitchen. Archeol. to Reg. Hist., May 20, 1953, H2215 files, Book 1, MWRO.

17. Ibid., p. 36. Moses probably did not begin to find a market for his orchard until the decade of the 1870s, when his orchard had shown an increase of ten fold from 1860. See Appendix C, for the information on his orchard as compiled from the agricultural schedules of the Federal Censuses, 1850-80.

Cemetery

About 250 yards southwest of the site where Moses Carver had built his log cabins stands the Carver family cemetery which has been carefully protected and preserved for over a century. When the Park Service investigated the Carver farm property, the cemetery had been altered by the Shartel family, but the graves still were, for the most part, intact. James Robinson recalled that:

there was a fence around the cemetery. It was 4 feet high or higher. There were several people buried in this cemetery with no markings on them and the number was more than 35 or 40. I can show you the boundary of the cemetery. I know for I helped dig several graves myself. My step-mother Josephine McCracken, and my half-Sister, Blanche Hoad, buried in here. There is an acre that suppose to go with this cemetery, but Uncle Moses never deeded it to the County like he was suppose. Its a pity that Shartel moved the rock wall. It had a gate on the east side.¹⁸

Investigation in county deeds indicates the accuracy of Mr. Robinson's recollection. The one-acre cemetery continued to be deeded to family members and protected in a special clause in one deed after the next. Apparently, Moses had set up an understanding in the community that the cemetery was accessible for burials, but never officially deeded it to the county. As Forbes Brown recalled, in 1876 he witnessed the burial of his baby sister in "the small country graveyard given to the community by Moses Carver." Brown also commented on the stone wall:

"In the early days there were many large loose stone, in which the farmers utilized for fences, piling them cone shape, 3 feet or more high; loose. This was the type of fence Mose built around this plot of ground to protect the graves from the meandering stock."¹⁹

18. The Chief of Maintenance, Glen Hough, made an approximate measure of the distance between the cemetery and the cabin sites. Robinson's full testimony from which this quote is taken is in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 23.
19. Moses' nephews and nieces sold the Carver farm in 1911, excepting one acre for the family graveyard square, which the deed noted stood "near the center of the above described lands." Book 81, Deed pp. 389, 578, and 580, Newton County Courthouse, Neosho, Missouri. As quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 29. Brown also noted about Carver's donation of land for a community cemetery, "It was a creditable act for the community and the Carvers were the more respected for it."

In conjunction with Robinson's and Brown's recollections, Mr. Elza Winter, a neighbor and friend to Moses Carver for many years, recalled that Moses went into the fields and gathered native stones and built a dry stone wall around the cemetery approximately 4 feet high.²⁰

The Park Service has reestablished the 4-foot rock wall with an eastern entrance at the cemetery. When gravestones have deteriorated, they have been replaced. Inscriptions that are legible have been included in the report by Fuller, "Moses Carver and His Family." Among the gravestones are those of Moses and Susan Carver.²¹

Horse Race Track

One Diamond "old timer," John Harris, recalled that Moses' neighbors brought their horses over to the Carver farm to race them on the ½-mile track. Elza Winter remembered that "Moses Carver got his money from raising race horses. Had a horse called 'Dog Legs' because he was so ugly. Sold him. After that 'Dog Legs' won races." No other testimony, however, gives strong support to the possibility that Carver actually had a race track on his land.²²

Fences

Carver apparently tried his hand at different types of fences. Besides building the stone wall which surrounded the cemetery, he "planted walnut trees in rows for the purpose of making a fence." He also at some time had a picket fence, on and around which Carver's gourds grew.²³

The Moses Carver Farm Historic Grounds

Land Purchase and Patents

Moses Carver settled on his land about 1838 and the next year he appeared in the county minutes as the appointed administrator and guardian to his brother, George's, property and children. The actual purchase and patents for his land appeared in the deed books between the years 1844 and 1894, but the 240 acres no

20. Fuller, p. 7.

21. See Fuller, pp. 7-8 for a description of the gravestone inscriptions.

22. See Chapter IV, ft. nt. 5 for citations.

23. Interview with J. Robinson, as quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 23; Testimony of Elza Winter in Fuller, p. 4.

doubt were claimed by him within his community all along. The earliest map to show his 240 acres within the Township 26, Range 31, appeared in the 1882 *Historical Atlas of Newton County*. This map clearly shows the farmhouse near the Carver branch, on a tract showing 240 acres of land.²⁴

Land Farmed

Vegetable Garden: Britton noted, "practically every family raised white or Irish and sweet potatoes, sage, red pepper, string beans, roasting ears, onions, peas, pumpkins, and squashes, cabbages, turnips, and beets," all which would make up a farm's vegetable garden. Also in the garden would be planted fruits such as watermelon and musk melon, to add to the orchard fruit grown on most farms. The agricultural census records for Moses Carver's farm specifically mentioned the Irish potatoes which James Robinson recalled Moses "planted in the same spot every year." Elza Winter noted that Carver grew gourds shaped like pumpkins for water and sugar containers. The vines, he added, grew along Carver's picket fence, which may have been a fence to enclose the vegetable garden, and protect it from the grazing stock.²⁵

Crop Acreage: The agricultural schedules for 1860 and 1870 showed that Carver had only 100 acres of improved land. When considering the farm buildings, cemetery, orchard acreage, this fact supports the recollection of Mrs. Smith that, "Uncle Mose . . . did not work the whole farm but just a small portion of it." The agricultural schedules give Moses' major crops: Indian corn, wheat, oats, Irish potatoes, hay, flax, and rye, much of which would be fed to his livestock during the winter, the other part either sold or consumed by the Carver family and work hands.²⁶

Woodland, Wild Grass and Fruits, and Game

On the 140 acres of unimproved land on Moses' farm grew woodland and prairie filled with wild fruits, grasses, and game. Walnut trees not only grew naturally in the

24. Moses Carver's farm falls in Section 7 of the township. One deed of purchase, for 40 acres, is found in Deed Book A, p. 328; the patents appear in Deed Book 33, pp. 46-49, Newton Co. Courthouse, Neosho, Mo. In 1943 Charles W. Porter III wrote a "Report of Investigation of George Washington Carver's Birthplace At the old 'Diamond Grove' Plantation Near Diamond, Newton County, Missouri," as a preliminary investigation for the proposed park. His original report in the H2215 files at the park gives pertinent information about the deeds which is not included in the Fuller-Mattes, Part II, Exhibit A. The relevant data on Moses' land acquisition is also included in Fuller, p. 3. *Historical Atlas*, n.p.

25. Britton, *Pioneer Life*, pp. 34 and 48; as quoted in Fuller-Mattes, Part I, p. 23; testimony of Elza Winter in Fuller, p. 4; as quoted from the testimony of Robinson in Fuller-Mattes, p. 23. See Appendix C for data from the agricultural schedules.

26. Recollections of Mrs. Smith, Tuskegee notes, p. 27. See Appendix C.

area but also were planted, as the timber made good fences, flooring, inlaying and trimming. Other native woodland trees included hickory and hazelnut. During the winter the nuts from these trees were roasted in fires to provide a delicious treat.

Britton noted that "wild nuts and fruits were abundant nearly every year." In the spring, strawberries, sarvis berries, dew berries, and raspberries grew wild in the woods and fields. In the summer, blackberries, huckleberries, and fox grapes ripened; and, in the autumn, the pawpaws, persimmons, hickory nuts, walnuts, chinquepins, hazel nuts, and wild grapes were ready for consumption. The abundance of wild grass fed the cattle while they grazed during the summer and autumn. And, "spice wood or spice bush grew along the streams, attaining a height of six to eight feet, and a thickness of an inch or more, from which tea was sometimes made." Tea was also made from the bark of the sassafras tree in this section of the State.

Throughout the uncultivated areas huge flocks of quail, prairie chickens, geese, wild turkeys and ducks nested, and in the woodlands large herds of deer grazed.²⁷ Hunting this wildlife was a popular sport as well as an important food gathering technique for pioneers to southwest Missouri such as Moses Carver and his brothers.

Residual Historic Resources

None of the structures which stood on the Moses Carver farm during George Washington Carver's boyhood, with exception to the family cemetery, still remain on the site. The farmhouse known as the second or late period Moses Carver dwelling, which stands removed from the historic location of the pioneer log cabins, was not built until several decades after George left the farm. Nonetheless, research has determined that George returned to the Carver farm on at least one occasion — about 1884 — prior to his leaving for Tuskegee in 1896, which would indicate that he spent some time in this later frame farmhouse.²⁸

The numerous elm trees which surrounded Carver's farmhouse have been dying from a tree disease. Only a few of the grand old trees have been saved and they too are jeopardized. The Park Service has stabilized the trunk of "the hanging tree" the walnut traditionally said to be the one where Moses was hung during the Civil War by guerilla raiders who wanted to find out where he had hidden his gold.²⁹

27. Britton, *Pioneer Life*, pp. 20-22, 38, 43-44, and 49-50.

28. Holt, p. 51; Edwards, pp. 19-20; Fuller-Mattes, p. 69. Interview with Paris Boyd, Feb. 11, 1954, in H2215, Book 1, Regional files.

29. Mr. Kolb of the National Park Service tree crew at the monument in 1957 reported that three walnut trees cut down near the site of the Carver log cabins had ring counts that definitely established their age between 135 to 145 years old, or older than the date when Moses first settled on the land. These trees stood close to the "hanging tree" and therefore Mr. Kolb assumed the same age could be established for it. Superintendent to Regional Director, Jan. 18, 1957, H2215 file, Book 2, MWRO.

The extensive orchard which consisted of at least 520 trees by 1880 has all been obliterated. The Park Service has not to date chosen to replant any of this historic ground cover. The forest has samples of persimmon and sassafras trees.

The stream, or Carver branch, still flows past the site of the log cabin farmhouses, and the spring where young George fetched water still gushes with fresh water. Ducks inhabit the stream and its banks. But most of the forest surrounding the stream is new growth.

Farming and stockraising still are the predominant land-use patterns in the Diamond vicinity. A portion of the 210 acres of land within the George Washington Carver National Monument is leased for farming. The Winter family, neighbors of Moses Carver, still owns the farm across the road. Cattle grazing around the birthplace site adds to the historic atmosphere.

The main structure on the historic grounds is now the visitor center which was built as part of a Mission 66 effort to improve the parks. This building stands in the center of the historic scene, only about 200 yards from the cemetery and 50 yards from the log cabin sites. The building obstructs the visitors panorama of the historic scene which once included the cemetery, farm buildings, log cabins, vegetable garden, orchard, the fields of Indian corn, hay, oats, and the pens and pastures with horses, cows, sheep, and hogs feeding.

Recommendations

No additional research is needed for the George Washington Carver National Monument, but additional consideration might be given to the historic scene. While the visitor center obviously could not be moved from its dominating position on the farm grounds, it would be advisable to replant some of the crops, orchards, and native growth in the area during the historic period. The visitor center might also include more basic information about the farm and its probable structural layout. The tapes and nature path where George supposedly wandered provide an excellent introduction to the more private aspects of his childhood on the farm. No doubt fuller explanation of George's probable role on the farm, as well as the lifestyle in that part of Missouri, would enhance this interpretational trend.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

- 1864-65 Born on Moses Carver farm in Diamond, Marion Township, Newton Co., Mo. Kidnapped by guerilla raiders and rescued by John Bentley, scout.
- c1864-c. 1877 Childhood on Moses Carver farm
First 9-12 years on the farm.
- 1876-77 Tutored by Steven L. Slane, teacher at Locust Grove School in Diamond.
- c. 1877-78 School in Neosho
Stephen Frost as Negro schoolteacher; 9-month semester at the Negro school. Living with Aunt Mariah Watkins.
- c. 1878-79 Fort Scott, Kansas attending school and living as housekeeper in white family home.
- 1879, March 27, Mob murder in Fort Scott horrifies George; he moves to Paola. Possibly home for summer helping Moses Carver on the farm.
- 1879-1880 Living in Paola, Kansas. Living with Mrs. Willis Moore. Running a laundry.
- c. 1881-82 Living in Olathe, Kansas. Attending school.
- c. 1883-84 Living in Minneapolis, Kansas. Member of Presbyterian church. Purchased real estate; sold real estate Oct. 20, 1884. Attending high school. Living with the Seymours.
- c. 1885-86 Living in Highland, Kansas. Applied for college at Highland University.
- c. 1885, summer, Attending business school at Kansas City, Kansas.
- c. 1885, summer, Returned to Diamond to visit Moses Carver and old friends.
- c. 1885, fall, Rejected at Highland University on account of race; worked at Union Depot as stenographer.
- 1886-88 Homesteading in Ness County, Kansas. Prompted by the John Beelers of Highland. Living near Beelerville, Kansas. Member of local literary society, and assistant-editor for the society.
- 1887, April 20, Began settlement of homesteading claim.
- 1888, June 22, Mortgaged his 160 acres.
- c. 1889-1890 Living at Winterset, Iowa as cook, houseboy, and handyman; sang in choir. Living with Dr. and Mrs. Milholland who are said to have induced Carver to enter Simpson College.
- 1890-91 Attending Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa. Boarded with Mrs. Mahalia Williams. Art classes taught by Miss Etta Budd who encouraged George to transfer to Iowa State College to study agriculture.
- 1891-96 Living at Ames, Iowa. B.A. and M.A. degrees from Iowa State College. Major in botany. Working at odd jobs for professors.
- 1894-96 Working as an assistant at the Agricultural Experiment Station. Boarding with Mrs. Eliza Owens. Member of Welch Electic Society. Published an article, "Our Window Gardens."
- 1896-1943 Member of staff at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

APPENDIX A

The Bomb, Iowa State College Yearbook, 1896*

GEORGE W. CARVER, B. AGR.,

ASSISTANT IN BOTANY

Mr. Carver was born in Southwestern Missouri, in 1865. The first twelve years of his life were spent on a farm. During the next few years he attended school in Neosho, Mo., Ft. Scott, Kan., Paola, Kan., Olathe, Kan., and Minneapolis, Kan. Having completed his high school education, he attended business college in Kansas City, taking a course in shorthand and typewriting.

After graduation he was for some time employed at the Union Depot in Kansas City as a stenographer, but resigned this position to go west. After spending two years in Western Kansas, he came to Iowa, and 1889 entered Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, where he attended two years, taking the Course in Art. In 1891 he entered I.A.C. as a second-term Freshman, and graduated in 1894 with the degree B. Agr. Since graduation he has remained at his Alma Mater as assistant in Botany.

Gifted with an intense love of nature, he is an artist of most delicate touch and is also an earnest and conscentious [sic] Christian worker.

*See Fuller-Mattes, Part II, Exhibit 9a, for photostat copies of pp. 54-55 of the 1896 *Bomb*.

APPENDIX B

C O P Y

1897 or thereabouts

G. W. CARVER'S OWN (Holograph) BRIEF HISTORY OF HIS LIFE

As nearly as I can trace my history, I was about two weeks old when the war closed. My parents were both slaves. Father was killed shortly after my birth while hauling wood to town on an ox wagon.

I had 3 sisters and one brother. Two sisters and my brother I know to be dead only as history tells me, yet I do not doubt it as they are buried in the family burying ground.

My sister, mother and myself were kluclucked, and sold in Arkansaw, and there are now so many conflicting reports concerning them, I dare not say if they are dead or alive. Mr. Carver, the gentleman who owned my mother, sent a man for us, but only I was brought back, nearly dead with whooping cough, with the report that mother and sister was dead, although some say they saw them afterwards going north with the soldiers.

My home was near Neosho, Newton Co., Missouri, where I remained until I was about 9 years old. My body was very feeble and it was a constant warfare between life and death to see who would gain the mastery.

From a child, I had an inordinate desire for knowledge, and especially music, painting, flowers, and the sciences, algebra being one of my favorite studies.

Day after day, I spent in the woods alone in order to collect my floral beauties, and put them in my little garden I had hidden in brush not far from the house, as it was considered foolishness in that neighborhood to waste time on flowers.

And many are the tears I have shed because I would break the roots or flowers of some of my pets while removing them from the ground, and strange to say all sorts of vegetation seemed to thrive under my touch until I was styled the plant doctor, and plants from all over the country would be brought to me for treatment. At this time I had never heard of botany and could scarcely read. Rocks had an equal fascination for me and many are the basketfull that I have been compelled to remove from the outside chimney corner of that old log house, with the injunction to throw them down hill, I obeyed but picked up the choicest ones and hid them in another place, and somehow that same chimney corner would, in a few days or weeks, be running over again to suffer the same fate. I have some of the specimens in my collection now and consider them the choicest of the lot. Mr. and Mrs. Carver were very kind to me

and I think them so much for my home training. They encouraged me to secure knowledge helping me all they could, but this was quite limited. As we lived in the country, no colored schools were available. So I was permitted to go 8 miles to a school at town (Neosho). This simply sharpened my appetite for more knowledge. I managed to secure all of my meager wardrobe from home, and when they heard from me I was cooking for a wealthy family in Ft. Scott, Kansas, for my board, clothes, and school privileges.

Of course, they were indignant and sent for me to come home at once to die, as the family doctor had told them I would never live to see 21 years of age. I trusted to God and pressed on (I had been a Christian since about 8 years old). Sunshine and shadow were profusely intermingled such as naturally befall a defenseless orphan by those who wish to prey upon them.

My health began improving and I remained here for two or three years, From here to Olathe, Kansas, to school. From there to Paola Normal school. From there to Minneapolis, Kansas, where I remained in school about 7 years finishing the high school, and in addition some latin and Greek. From here to Kansas City, entered a business college of shorthand and typewriting. I was here to have a position in the union telegraph office as stenographer and typewriter, but the thirst for knowledge gained the mastery and I sought to enter Highland College at Highland, Kansas. Was refused on account of my color. I went from here to the Western part of Kansas where I saw the subject of my famous yucca and cactus painting that went to the World's Fair. I drifted from here to Winterset, Iowa, began as head cook in a large hotel. Many thanks here for the acquaintance of Mr. & Mrs. Dr. Milholland, who insisted upon me going to an art school, and choose Simpson College for me.

The opening of school found me at Simpson attempting to run a laundry for my support and batching to economize. For quite one month, I lived on prayer beef suet and cornmeal, and quite often being without the suet and meal. Modesty prevented me telling my condition to strangers.

The news soon spread that I did laundry work and really needed it, so from that time on favors not only rained but poured upon me. I cannot speak too highly of the faculty, students and in fact, the town generally. They all seemed to take pride in seeing if he or she might not do more for me than some one else.

But I wish to especially mention the names of Miss Etta M. Budd, my art teacher, Mrs. W. A. Liston & family, and Rev. A. D. Field & family. Aside from their substantiate help at Simpson, were the means of my attendance at Ames. (Please fix this to suit).

I think you know my career at Ames and will fix it better than I. I will simply mention a few things. I received the prize offered for the best herbarium in

cryptogamy. I would like to have said more about you Mrs. Liston & Miss Budd, but I feared you would not put it in about yourself, and I did not want one without all.

I received a letter from Mrs. Liston and she gave me an idea that it was not to be a book or anything of the kind this is only a fragmentary list.

I knit, crochet, and make all my hose, mittens, etc., while I was in school.

If this is not sufficient, please let me know, and if it ever comes out in print, I would like to see it.

God bless you all,

Geo. W. Carver

APPENDIX C*

MOSES CARVER'S LIVESTOCK, 1850-80

	1850	1860	1870	1880
Horses	21	11	10	24
Milch Cows	6	4	3	4
Asses & Mules	2	3		
Other Cattle	11	10	7	2
Sheep	15	11	38	8
Swine	30	15	15	20
Working Oxen	4			
Poultry				25
Total Value	\$966	\$1,110	\$700	\$900
Total Stock	89	54	73	83

CARVER'S PRODUCE, 1850-80

	1850	1860	1870	1880
Indian Corn	1500 bu.	1000 bu.	500 bu.	1500 bu.
Wheat	50 bu.			
Oats	500 bu.	200 bu.		100 bu.
Irish Potatoes	10 bu.		15 bu.	
Hay	1 ton	2 tons		
Flax	20 lbs.			
Orchard	\$3 value	\$50	\$500	520 trees
Wool	40 lbs.	24 lbs.	100 lbs.	100 lbs.
Rye				40 bu.
Beeswax		12 lbs.		
Honey		200 lbs.		
Sugar Molasses			20 gals.	

* Compiled by the writer from the Agricultural Schedules of the Federal Census Records, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880. Copies available at the park.

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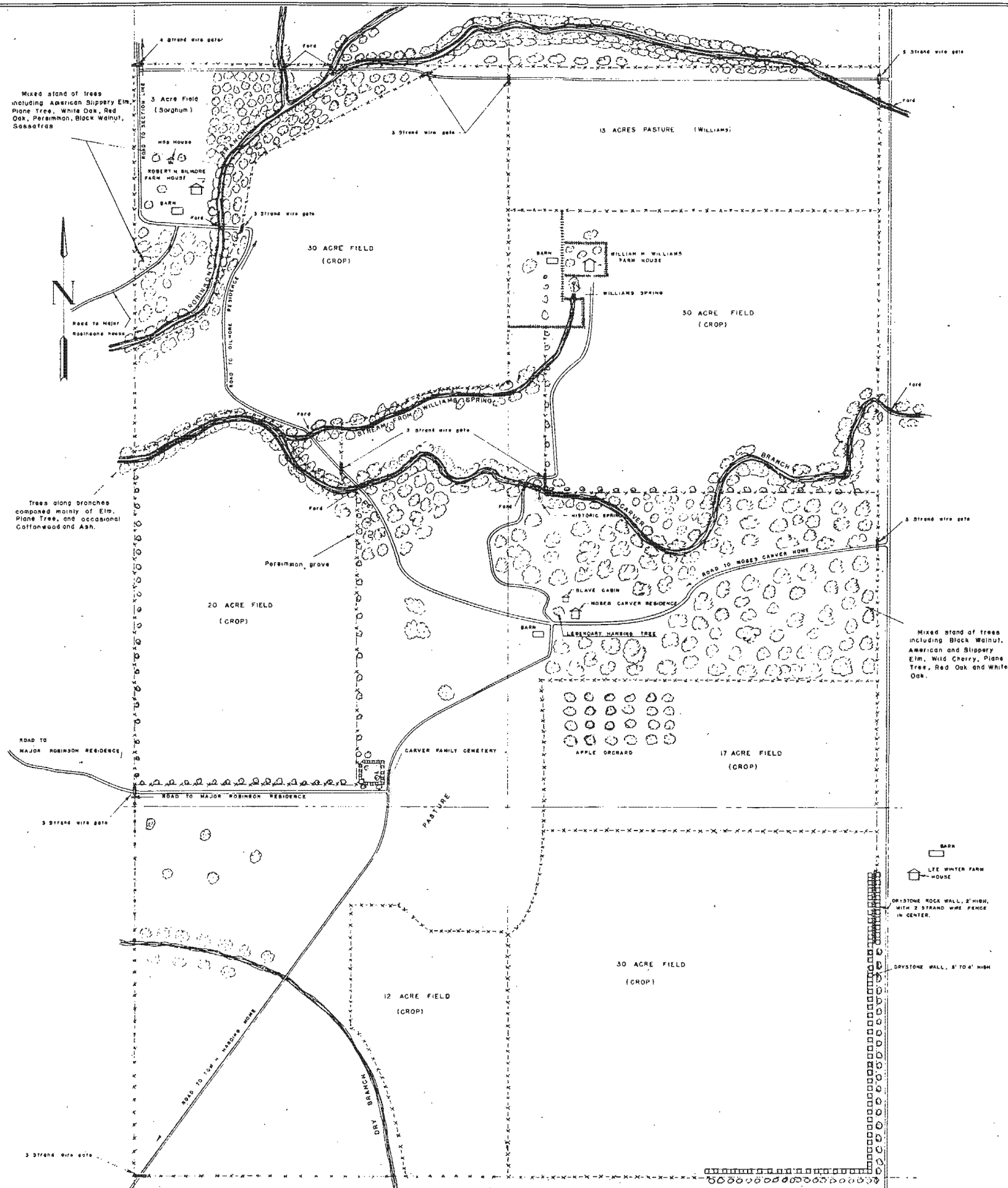
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LEGEND

WALNUT ROW OF TREES
2-STRAND WIRE FENCE
3-STRAND WIRE FENCE
PRIMARY ROADS
BRANCHES
BUILDINGS
ROCK WALLS

SCALE: 1" = 200'

THIS HISTORIC BASE MAP REPRESENTS THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF THE MOSES CARVER FARM, COMPRISING 240 ACRES, PRIOR TO THE TURN OF THE CENTURY.

SOURCE OF DATA FOR HISTORIC BASE MAP

ON-SITE INTERVIEW BETWEEN ELZA WINTER AND SAM OILMORE. CONDUCTED BY: JOSEPH RUMBURG AND ROBERT P. FULLER

DATE: MARCH 18, 1965.

ON MICROFILM

MARK	DESCRIPTION OF REVISION	DATE	INITIAL
		REVISION	
	UNITED STATES		
	DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR		
	NATIONAL PARK SERVICE		
	DESIGN & CONSTRUCTION		
	PREPARED BY:		
	EASTERN		
	HISTORICAL BASE MAP		
	TITLE OF DRAWING		
	PART OF THE MASTER PLAN		
	LOCATION WITHIN PARK		
	GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER NATIONAL MONUMENT		
	MISSOURI		
		DATE	8-1-66

ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

II. ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

Establishment of a National Monument

The Promoters

The most avid, persevering, and eloquent spokesman for the movement to establish a national monument at George Washington Carver's birthplace was Dr. Richard Pilant.¹ As a white southerner born blind, Pilant's driving leadership appeared incongruous, especially at a time when Americans were preoccupied with World War II. But Pilant had highly patriotic and personal motivations for his conviction that Carver's life should be commemorated. In a letter to Secretary Ickes he explained,

may I emphasize that this Memorial was pushed ahead in time of war, because its proponents considered it a war measure designed to furnish a worldwide symbol of racial goodwill for the United Nations now and a partial refutation of the most damaging accusations: the Axis has been able to level against us in this war — charges relating to our treatment of the Negro. As you know in the first World War the point of German propoganda was our treatment of Latin-America, particularly Mexico. Since the point this time is the Negro, because we have singled German treatment for the Jew on our side, the Carver Memorial measure was suggested by me deliberately as the one measure that could please the Negro and our colored allies abroad without at the same time weakening the morale of any other group in this country . . . in a time of war it is most necessary to find a few things on which we all can get together . . . as soon as the site is acquired and takes on national official character that representatives of the different United Nations be invited to take part at the dedication thereof as the first memorial in world history consecrated to race peace . . . that this be an annual affair serving as a world sounding board for the doctrine of race peace and progress. . . .

Having been born blind and refused by all the services, this has been one way in which I have sought to serve my country. . . .

1. Mr. Pilant was described as, "the crusading type of individual and is very much 'on fire' in the matter of recognizing George Washington Carver. His boyhood home was at Granby, Missouri, in the general vicinity of the Carver birthplace. . . in the early 1940's, when he initially conceived the idea of memorializing Carver, he was listed as a Professor of Social Science at Washington University, St. Louis. He acknowledged that his speciality is inter-racial relations." As Pilant noted himself, Southern Missouri is more South than North, so that his sponsorship of a monument to a black man would be considered unusual. Reg. Historian to Reg. Director, Feb. 16, 1953, H2215 file, Book 1, Reg. file.

In the South through experience I have learned that Negroes distinguished in art, music, athletics, literature are all lumped off as just possessing "natural" talent, whereas Carver as a scientist is the only man whose life threatens their notions of race inferiority.²

Pilant wrote over 700 letters endorsing the monument to senators and congressmen, as well as to dignitaries and organizations in every field of endeavor. Pilant's efforts to create interest in the memorial focused largely on "big name" figures who loosely became known as "George Washington Carver Memorial Associates." Since most of these individuals merely lent their weight and prestige to the movement, there was never any effort to incorporate the organization. Nonetheless, the group, represented by Pilant, served for many years as one of the more responsible cooperating agencies working with the Service's staff at the park.³

Mr. S. J. Phillips, President of the George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation, also led in the movement to commemorate Carver's birthplace. Phillips had already achieved a reputation as a black leader by organizing the Booker T. Washington Foundation and by purchasing Washington's birthplace as a memorial. He not only provided support for the bills in Congress to establish the Carver National Monument, but also took an active part in the planning for the park's land acquisition and development after its authorization in 1943.⁴

In 1941, the branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in St. Louis apparently forwarded a proposal to establish a Carver memorial at his birthplace to their Congressman, for in September 1941 John Dempsey the Under Secretary of the Interior answered a letter from Congressman Cochran that such a monument to a living man conflicted with National Park Service policy. He recommended that a State park be considered. Whether or not this group continued to pursue their objective does not become evident from the existing park records.⁵

2. Pilant to Ickes, Jan. 24, 1944, Book 2, "Proposed George Washington Carver National Monument," Federal Record Center, Kansas City, Mo., Accession No 65A719, FRC 150293. Herein cited, KCFRC.

3. Pilant donated 710 letters to the park after its establishment. The collection has been catalogued as No. 340-x. Reg. Historian to Reg. Dir., Feb. 16, 1953, H2215 file, Book 1, Regional files.

4. Reg. Historian to Reg. Director, Ibid.

5. Dempsey to Cochran, Sept. 19, 1941, L1415 file, Land Acquisition, at the Region.

Legislation

As the latest master plan explained, "The first Congressional Legislation relating to the establishment of the monument was introduced on July 15, 1942 in the House, and in the Senate on October 13, 1942." No action was taken by Congress, however, until after Carver's death in January 1943, when new bills were introduced to the first session of the 78th Congress on January 22. On July 14, 1943, after various amendments and conference action, the monument was authorized by the passage of S.37, S.312, and H.R. 647. Such notables as Senator Harry S. Truman, Honorable Harold L. Ickes, and Congressman Dewey Short testified in behalf of the bills.⁶

Land Acquisition

From the very outset problems arose on the purchase of the Moses Carver farm most of which in 1943 was owned by a Mr. Stratton Shartel. Congress had only authorized \$30,000 for the land acquisition and park development. After a study of Carver's original 240-acre tract, the Park Service recommended only 210 for the park grounds. Mr. Shartel, a sharp businessman, wanted \$73,000 for the property, even though the first appraisal by Government officials quoted a \$15,000 value on the farm. From 1943 to 1948 attempts to settle the issue and purchase the land failed. Condemnation of the property was being considered when Shartel sold the farm to Dawson W. Derfelt without an explanation of the Government's interest in it.

On June 12, 1948 the United States filed its petition in condemnation for 210 acres more or less, in the U. S. District Court at Kansas City, Missouri. Derfelt replied with a letter explaining his ignorance of the situation, and was assured by Acting Director Tolson that negotiations for the sale of land were still viable, but that the ceiling appropriation remained at \$30,000. Commissioners of the courts were sent out to appraise the land and to investigate how much compensation should be paid not only for the farm property but for various right-of-ways, mineral rights, and inholdings claimed by the electric company and prior owners of the property. In the trial in June and July 1949 the Commissioners arrived at a total of \$78,895 in awards, a sum which obviously exceeded Congress's intentions by over \$40,000.

In February 1950 the Secretary of the Interior, Oscar L. Chapman, submitted to Congress a draft of a bill to increase the monument's appropriation. At first H. R. 7302 amended the original bill by providing a ceiling of \$80,000, but by September of 1950 the financial limitations had risen to \$150,000. On June 14, 1951, after the supplementary appropriation bill had been passed by Congress and deposit had been

6. "Master plan for George Washington Carver National Monument" 1965 is in the D18 file at the Region. Herein cited 1965 master plan. A copy of the bill can be found in History Data Files, in the Region.

made in registry of the court of monies in condemnation of the land, the George Washington Carver National Memorial actually was established.^{6a}

The Park's First Year: Planning Without Funds

Although Congress had passed into law the establishment of the nation's first memorial to the achievements of a Negro, no funds were appropriated for the first fiscal year so that a park staff could be appointed. Consequently, the Park Service issued a one-year revocable agricultural permit to the George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation, whose founder, S. J. Phillips, had been consulted in all the initial planning for the park.

The Service's lease, in lieu of having Park Service personnel on the monument grounds, worked well on account of the Foundation's continued financial and managerial protection of the farm. As Phillips explained to Regional Director Baker in the fall of 1950, the Foundation had been leasing the farm from the Derfelts for over a year, and had spent approximately \$10,000 "in furnishing the quarters, purchasing farm equipment, fertilizer, seeds, and labor." By March 1950 the Foundation's representative, B. B. Gaillard, had begun residence with his wife in the stone farm house.

As a graduate of Tuskegee Institute and a former student of Dr. Carver's, Gaillard possessed exceptional credentials for the guardianship of the monument. Even more, he showed "a deep personal interest in the historical aspects of the area." Regional Historian Mattes reported that he had been favorably impressed by his "graciousness, alertness, and intimate knowledge of the place and the achievements of Dr. Carver." Gaillard was also well qualified to manage and protect the monument effectively. As Landscape Architect Gratton remarked, "Gaillard seems well informed on matters of agricultural practice and conservation; also has been a county agent and has taught agriculture." On the basis of these impressions, Mattes recommended that Gaillard be considered for the position of Superintendent of the park when funds became available for an administrative staff.

Despite the fact that no funds were anticipated for the monument until July 1952, the Service completed advanced planning for the 19-structure farm. An inventory in October established that all but one of the farm buildings were constructed by Stratton

6a. 1965 Master Plan, n.p. In February and March of 1943 the Park Service sent Charles W. Porter III, Chief, Planning and Interpretive Section, to the Carver birthplace to investigate the property and history. His report can be found in Part II of "The Early Life of George Washington Carver". The Park Service chose not to purchase 30 acres leased to a large Eastern mining company. All the above information relating to the negotiations for land purchase and the details of the condemnation suit come from the L1415 file, Acquisition of Land, at the park. Howard W. Baker, "Planning Report Covering Boundary and Development Recommendations for Proposed George Washington Carver National Monument, April 1943."

Shartel after the historic period. Visitor interpretation was to begin at a self-guiding orientation shelter where panel exhibits would show available trails to the principal historic sites. Visitors would be distracted as much as possible from Mr. Gaillard's residence in the main farm house.⁷

Research to document the historic resources of the birthplace site also commenced during the 1951 fiscal year. Regional Historian Mattes collected the available information on the cemetery and welcomed any additional data which Mr. Gaillard might uncover in the Diamond vicinity. Inquiries were sent out to Iowa State College and Simpson College for any information on Carver. Recollections from "old timers" of Diamond began to be received.

Working out of the Midwest Region, Service representatives also were in communication with local and national cooperating agencies. Dr. Hobday of the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute received permission in the spring of 1952 to erect a statue to Dr. Carver at the site, and the Carver Day Committee of the Joplin Chamber of Commerce expressed their interest in working with the Service to organize the park's dedication.

With all the preparations, however, a staff for the park had still not been arranged by the end of the fiscal year, so the Park Service signed another year's lease to the George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation to operate the farm. The Foundation hired Robert Fuller, a black history teacher from Oklahoma, as the custodian for the memorial. In July 1952, Fuller applied to Director Tolson for the position as historian at the park and his application was accepted. By the time the first superintendent and staff were expected on duty in the fall of 1952, Fuller had become well acquainted with the farm and its surrounding community.⁸

The First Administration: Plans for the Dedication

On September 25, 1952, Superintendent Arthur Jacobson and his staff reported for duty at the monument. Historian Fuller moved from the main residence to make room

7. The Revocable Permit gave the Foundation the right to use the land for farming but also required the Foundation provide protection and interpretation for the area. L3015, Land Use, Agriculture, in park files. Phillips to Baker, Oct. 29, 1950; Reg. Dir. to Phillips, Oct. 19, 1951; Reg. Dir. to Pennington, Kansas City Star, Jan. 25, 1952; and, Reg. Hist. To Reg. Dir., Oct. 12, 1952, KCRC, Accession no. 65A719, FRC 150203. Vicinity Data, Master Plan Development Outline, n.d.; Gratton to Reg. Chief, Land and Recreational Planning, Oct. 11, 1951, KCRC, Acc. no. 67A153, FRC 570262.
8. Asst. Reg. Dir. to B. B. Gaillard, Nov. 2, 1951; Reg. Dir. to Secretary, Iowa State College, January 1952; Reg. Dir. to Secretary, Simpson College, January 1952; Act. Reg. Historian to Asst. Reg. Historian, May 15, 1952; Forbes H. Brown to Aubrey Neasham, Reg. Hist., July 16, 1952, H2215 file, Research, NPS to December 1953, at the park. L3015 file, Land Use, Agriculture; P14, Personnel, Fuller, at park.

for the superintendent's family. For the next 9 months park affairs focused on the upcoming dedication planned for July 1953. Considering that it was the Service's first memorial to a Negro, the dedication took on special meaning. Sensitivity towards the planning and invitations became a matter of policy.⁹

Multiple factors complicated the arrangements. Exhibits, additional staff, programs, invitations, park signs, seating, a speaker's platform, loud speaker equipment, publicity, refreshments, fire and police protection, all had to be arranged for in an efficient manner to keep within the time schedule. By June a cooperative agreement had been made with the Carver Day Committee of the Joplin Chamber of Commerce to handle most of the preparations locally with exception to the interpretive exhibits, the approach signs, and the additional ranger staff, Mrs. Phillips, Pilant, and Hobday, representing their Carver associations, were all invited to participate in the planning.

The original list of invitations agreed upon between the Service and the Carver Day Committee included 500 persons, 100 of which were asked to send R.S.V.P.'s. The cautious planning backfired, however, when Senator Wennings of Missouri notified the Director of the Park Service that he had received a telegram from Missouri's American Legion unit, and other unidentified sources, complaining about discrimination. The Legion accused the Park Service of not inviting Negroes to participate in the program. Regional Director Baker argued in the Service's defense that over 1,000 invitations had been sent out after the collaborators, Pilant and Phillips, as well as Hobday, had contributed to and approved the list.¹⁰

The Dedication of the George Washington Carver N.M., July 14, 1953

Despite the jarring complaint, the dedication came off smoothly and impressively. Publicity for the event included Governor Donnelly's announcement declaring July 14 as Carver Day in Missouri. Regional Historian Mattes prepared a 15-minute address for the Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, who was the principal speaker before the estimated 1,000 to 2,000 in attendance. Transportation to the monument was provided for the speakers and visitors, a picnic lunch was served on the lawn, music was provided by the 317th Army band, and exhibits, prepared in the Service's museum lab in Washington and flown in for the dedication, offered a capsule evaluation of Carver's early life and significance. A traveling exhibit entitled, "The National Park Service Brings History to the People," set the Carver Monument in context with the National

9. "Master Plan for Preservation and Use of George Washington Carver National Monument, Volume II, Section D," p. 36, P14, Fuller file, at park.

10. A detailed list of the points agreed upon in the cooperative agreement can be found in a memorandum for the Asst. Reg. Dir. to Ayres, of the Carver Day Committee dated June 2, 1953. Reg. Dir. to Director, June 23, 1953, A8215 file, Special Events, at park. The approach signs were provided by the State Highway Department. Supt. to Reg. Dir. July 20, 1953, KCRC, Accession no. 69A1227, FRC 44746, Book 1.

Park System, helping the community to understand the comparative status of the Negroes. That night the Joplin Chamber of Commerce added the final touch by hosting a banquet in Secretary McKay's honor.

Negroes both participated in and received awards at the ceremony. Carver's former student, Dr. T. M. Cambell of Tuskegee Institute, received the George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation award, as did Willie Duckworth, the composer of the Army marching song, "Sound Off." S. J. Phillips presented a bronze plaque from the Peanut Company to the national monument in honor of Carver, and Robert Hobday, in behalf of the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute, presented a bust of Carver sculptured by Audrey Corwin. Special guests included Mrs. C. W. Cuther, chairman of the Missouri Association of Colored Women, and James E. Cook, in behalf of Missouri Negroes.

Representation from all the surrounding communities also turned out for the dedication. The principal of a Joplin high school, the president of the Joplin Chamber of Commerce, the presiding judge of the Newton County Court in Neosho, and the chairman of the Carver committee, which represented the towns of Sarcoxie, Joplin, Neosho, Diamond, Carthage, Granby, and Seneca, all participated in the dedication and gave the memorial their endorsement. And Richard Pilant presented to the Park Service the pen with which Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the first bill to establish the Carver National Monument in 1943. For Pilant the dedication held special meaning as it symbolized the realization of his mission to honor Carver and promote race relations throughout the world.

CBS radio broadcasts and Voice of America transmitted the news of the dedication, as did newspapers from many sections of the country. To prepare for the anticipated visitor increase from this publicity, the Park Service staff at the monument and Midwest Region began preparations for a new master plan to develop the park resources.¹¹

11. Clippings from *The Kansas City Times*, July 9, and 15, 1953, *Neosho Daily News*, July 12, 1953, *Kansas City Star* July 15, 1953, *Joplin Globe*, July 14 and 15, 1953, *Joplin News Herald*, July 13, 1953, in Midwest Region's Historical Data Files. Regional Historian Mattes prepared the Secretary's address for the dedication. Chief, Museum Branch to Reg. Dir., June 11, 1953, KCRC, Accession no. 69A1227, FRC 44743, Museum and Exhibit Activities, 1959-62. Ironically, the attendance at the park dedication was largely white. Pilant's promotion of the park idea did not allow for the possibility that the superintendent be black. He argued that a Negro superintendent would create friction in the local vicinity, as the community had already voiced accusations that the park was regarded as a "Jim Crow" area - a place by and for Negroes, rather than by and for American people. Reg. Hist. to Reg. Dir., Feb. 16, 1953, H2215, Book 1, MWRO. The Carver bust recieved a bronze coat by a local artist contracted by the park in May 1964. Supt. to Director, June 2, 1964, A2823 file, GWCA.

Interpretive and Physical Development

From the outset every aspect of planning for a park had to be considered by the Service for the Carver monument, since little or no visitor facilities or interpretation had been provided at the area prior to the dedication in July 1953. By 1962 most of the planning and development for the park had been completed and since that year very little change has occurred in the interpretive and physical facilities.

Staffing

The original staff authorized for the park in 1952 has remained the norm to the present. The permanent positions authorize a superintendent, park historian, administrative assistant, caretaker, and clerk-stenographer. Seasonal employment for the summer originally provided for a ranger-historian, caretaker, and laborer, and presently provides for three park aids and two tractor operators.¹²

Research

Prior to the 1953 dedication, research was geared to the identification of tangible historic resources on the monument grounds. The existing farm contained 19 farm buildings, only one of which — the second Moses Carver dwelling — proved to have any historic merit. Regional Historian Mattes and Park Historian Fuller conducted numerous interviews with elderly residents of Diamond in an effort to determine the appearance of the Moses Carver farm during George Carver's boyhood. In particular, they aimed at establishing the location of the slave cabin where Carver was born. In the spring of 1953 Archeologist Paul Beaubien made digs on and near the site identified by local testimony, the results of which confirmed the probable location of the birthplace cabin.¹³

Research revealed that the Carver family cemetery remained as the only historic structure dating to George's boyhood. The prevailing natural features on the farm in 1952, however, were readily identified as typical of the historic groundcover. Local testimony revealed that other characteristic features of the Carver farm had either been moved or removed from their original location by subsequent owners of the property. While such general information about the historic appearance of the grounds prepared the Service for the dedication ceremony in July 1953, it could not provide adequate

12. "Master Plan for George Washington Carver National Monument, Mission 66 Edition, Volume I, Master Plan Narrative," Chapter 3, p. 3. A copy of this master plan can be found in the D18 file at the park. Herein cited as Mission 66 Master Plan. Memorandum from Superintendent, GWCA, to Regional Director, Midwest Region, Aug. 30, 1973. For a list of principal personnel at the park since its establishment, see Appendix A.

13. Architect Roberson to Reg. Architect, Dec. 18, 1952, KCRC, Acc. No. 65A719, FRC 150203; Reg. Historian. to Supt., GWCA, July 31, 1953, H2215 file, Book 1, Regional files. Mattes and Beaubien, "The Archeological Search for George Washington Carver's Birthplace," *The Negro History Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, (November 1954), pp. 22-38.

data on the intangible resources of Carver's boyhood experiences nor on the specific historic grounds and structure data needed for an interpretive prospectus and museum plan for the park.¹⁴

Considerable research remained to be completed on Carver's birth, boyhood, and adulthood, not to speak of his contributions to mankind. In April 1953 the Region sent the first priority research list to the superintendent. From 1953 through 1957 Regional Historian Mattes continued to supervise and work closely with Park Historian Fuller in the compilation of information, notably from elderly persons who had known Carver, but also from the records in county, State, and institutional depositories. The research included Carver's travels and schooling as a young man in the States of Missouri, Kansas, and Iowa. Documentation for many points made in the popular biography of Carver by Rackham Holt accumulated in the park files. Simultaneously, Fuller was interviewing friends and relatives of Moses Carver for the first project he was to complete "Moses Carver and His Family," which he submitted in October 1955.¹⁵

As early as April 1953 research was underway to determine from documentable sources Carver's birthdate. Staff Historian Porter in Washington, D.C., Regional Historian Mattes, Park Historian Fuller, former Historian and Superintendent of the monument, Clarence Schultz, and Staff Historian Roy E. Appleman, all entered into the debate. Based on the census records of 1860, 1870, and 1880, conflicting arguments developed. The culmination of research on the subject resulted in three diverse opinions: that Carver was born in 1859, 1860, and 1861. In the spring of 1958, for the purpose of establishing a date for the dedication of the park's visitor center, the year 1860 was adopted, with the understanding that none of the evidence definitely verified the date.¹⁶

14. Transcriptions of interview with Elza Winter, Sr., Nov. 15, 1952, in H2215 files, GWCA; Reg. Hist. to Asst. Reg. Dir., Nov. 20, 1952 and Supt. to Reg. Dir., Dec. 5, 1952, H2215, Book 1, MWRO.

15. Acting Assistant Reg. Dir. to Superintendent, GWCA, April 30, 1953, H2215 file, Book 1, Regional files. Book 1 also gives a sequence of interviews taken in 1952-53. A copy of Fuller's report can be found in the library of the Regional offices. See Appendix D for a copy of the priority research list for F.Y. 1954.

16. Assistant Dir. to Reg. Dir., April 22, 1953, Act. Dir. to Reg. Dir., May 20, 1953, Reg. Hist. to Dir., May 25, 1953; Act. Chief Hist. to Reg. Dir., June 3, 1953; Reg. Hist. to Dir., June 18, 1953; Act. Chief Historian to Reg. Hist., July 16, 1954, H2215 file Book 1. Historian Appleman to Chief Hist., Mar. 25, 1958; Staff Hist. to Chief Hist., April 10, 1958; Reg. Chief of Interpretation to Supt., April 10, 1958; Reg. Chief of Interpretation to Dir., May 20, 1958; Supt., GWCA, to Reg. Dir., June 16, 1958, H2215 file, Book 3, in Regional files, give the main arguments of this debate.

Following Historian Fuller's completion of project No. 4, "Moses Carver and His Family," efforts were stepped up to assemble all available information on George Carver's early life for project No. 3. The records at Tuskegee Institute had not yet been examined and they appeared to be of prime value. Historian Fuller had visited Tuskegee in 1952 with Mr. Phillips but had been denied access to any Carver papers. In July 1955, President Foster of Tuskegee participated in the Carver Day ceremonies at the park and agreed to let Service historians see the records. In September, Superintendent Schultz stopped at the Institute en route home from his vacation, only to find that the agreement no longer was being honored. Early in 1957 the Region arranged for Dawson Phelps, Park Historian at Natchez Trace, to spend 10 days at Tuskegee to examine the records. Phelps' research trip also proved disappointing as President Foster again blocked access to the 18 unsorted file boxes of Carver papers. Finally, in the spring of 1958, President Foster put in writing that the records would be opened, but when Superintendent Schultz arrived on the campus, only the results of the 1948 seminar trip on Carver's life and a portion of correspondence in the Carver files were made available. As a perfect anti-climax, Schultz reported that none of these records provided information not already established by Service historians.¹⁷

If Tuskegee Institute impeded Park Service research efforts, other repositories fully cooperated. Historian Fuller continued his research to locate and interview individuals who had known Carver and to find hidden leads in newspaper files, county deeds, tax and school records, and personal letters to and from Carver.¹⁸

In November 1957 Fuller submitted the report which he and Mattes had collaborated on, "The Early Life of George Washington Carver, Part I." By the spring of 1958, after more research had been carried out, Fuller completed Part II which contained exhibits of relevant documentary evidence. With the construction of the visitor center due to begin in 1959, the Region arranged for additional archeological probes to collect any residual evidence of structures and objects of historic value before all was lost in the razing and construction projects. Robert Neuman, a Smithsonian Institution archeologist, directed the dig in December of 1958. His team recovered very little. At the same time the Region sent Fuller to the Library of Congress to examine the Booker T. Washington collection of some 1,900 boxes of material. In November 1958 Fuller reported he had investigated 77 folders related to Carver, and that no other research in that collection would be necessary.¹⁹

17. Supt. to Reg. Dir., April 10, 1958, H2215 file, Book 3; Supervisor, Natchez Trace Parkway, to Reg. Dir., Region Two, April 3, 1957, H2215 file, Book 2; Supt. to Reg. Dir., June 16, 1958, H2215 file, Book 3, all in Regional files.

18. Much of the data collected has been entered in the H2215, Book 2; and other data has been filed loosely in folders at the park.

19. Supt. to Reg. Dir., Nov. 26, 1957, H2215 file, Book 2, Regional files. Supt. to Reg. Dir., Apr. 2, 1958, H2215 file, Book 3; Ibid.; Supt. to Reg. Dir., Dec. 17, 1958; Hist. to Supt. Nov. 17, 1958, H2215 file, Book 3; Ibid.

In March 1959 the Region identified only one project for the Mission 66 research program: that of establishing Carver's scientific contributions. But the production of reports took on secondary importance in the midst of the final preparations for the 1960 dedication of the visitor center which included another trip by Fuller to research in the Capital. In 1961-62 the research program resurfaced to produce an historic structure report on the Moses Carver farm house, and a report completed by contract with the University of Missouri entitled, "The Scientific Contributions of George Washington Carver." Although the park and Region acknowledged that staff historians would continue to seek any information that might become available relevant to Carver or his boyhood home, no further research projects were programmed for the park until an Historic Resource Study received funds in the 1973 fiscal year.²⁰

Although no formal research project was approved, members of the park, Region, and Eastern Design Office (EODC), participated in a study of the exterior and interior structural fabric of the Moses Carver Second Period Dwelling in order to prepare for its restoration and refurnishing which had been approved by June 1964. From 1963 to 1965, investigations and recommendations were made for the structure and included in the 1965 Master Plan, but in the following year the project was completely abandoned, and instructions made to interpret only the exterior of the building.²¹

Interpretation

The first interpretation for the monument was provided by Mr. B.B. Gaillard even before the Service had any staff at the park. Mr. Gaillard apparently possessed his own personal collection of Carver memorabilia which he would show to the visitors. In expectation of the official dedication of the park in July 1953, the Museum Branch in

20. Act. Reg. Chief of Interpretation to Supt., March 27, 1959, Historian to Supt., Feb. 20, 1960; H2215 file, Book 3, Regional file. "Historic Structure Report, Moses Carver Late Period Dwelling, Building Number 5," submitted by Midwest Region, National Park Service, October 1963. William R. Carroll and Merle E. Muhrer, "The Scientific Contributions of George Washington Carver," Study supported by Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1962.
21. In 1963 Francis R. Roberson, Regional Architect, Newell Joyner, Regional Museum Curator, and Nan Carson, Furnishings Curator, EODC, visited the park to study the house. Regional Historian Mattes discussed the program with Superintendent Schultz the following July and agreed that the study of the structure would be excluded from the formal program as the house had already been approved for restoration and refurnishing. On September 3, 1964, the park completed the furnishings plan and submitted it to the Midwest Region for review. The plan had incorporated comments and suggestions from the Missouri Historical Society, and from Nan Carson. In 1966 Jim Askins and Orville Carroll spent a week studying the structure and submitted recommendations to revise the plan which no doubt prompted the memorandum cancelling the restoration. Supt. to Dir., July 3, 1963, July 7 and October 1964, March 9, 1966, A2823 and A2615 files (filed together), Monthly Reports.

Washington, D. C., prepared a special exhibit panel which most likely was the same display which hung on the wall in the Superintendent's office during the first years of the park.²²

From the outset the Region recognized the need for a modern museum building to replace the makeshift display area provided in the farmhouse where the superintendent lived and had his office. By March 1954 the Region and park were exchanging ideas for a museum prospectus for the park. In the fall of the year the superintendent was able to report that a panel on Carver's education was in process and would be completed in the 1955 fiscal year. At the same time, the superintendent reported that he and Historian Fuller were preparing a museum exhibit for the 3-year program, a predecessor of Mission 66's 10-year thrust to improve the National Parks.²³

As of April 1956 the museum prospectus for the Carver National Monument was referred to as the Mission 66 prospectus. The first draft of the prospectus had been submitted late in 1955 by Superintendent Schultz and in March of 1956 had been sent on by the Region to the Washington Office for review. For the next 2 years, until April 1958, memoranda and revised prospectus drafts passed back and forth between the park, Region, and Division of Interpretation in the Washington Office. Staff Historian Appelman's comments in January 1957 called for considerable revision, and in May of the same year the Regional Director visited the park and added his own observations for revision. In January 1958 Superintendent Schultz and Regional Historian Mattes submitted a final draft which received approval from the Chief, Division of Interpretation, in April, subject to some needed changes suggested by Staff Historian Appelman in March 1958. During that summer further revisions were made, so that in its final form the museum prospectus represented nearly 3 years of team effort.²⁴

22. Reg. Historian to Reg. Dir., Oct. 12, 1952, KCRC, Acc. No. 65A719, FRC 150203; Reg. Dir. Howard Baker to Curtis, Feb. 10, 1954, KCRC, Acc. No. 69A1227, FRC 44743.

23. Asst. Reg. Dir. to Supt., March 23, 1954, Reg. Hist. to Supt., June 11, 1954, Supt. to Reg. Dir., Oct. 15, 1954, KCRC, Acc. No. 69A1227, FRC 44743.

24. Act. Reg. Dir. to Supt., Oct. 18, 1955; Assoc. Dir. to Reg. Dir., Feb. 20, 1956; Act. Reg. Dir. to Supt., Feb. 24, 1956; Chief, Div. of Inter. to Reg. Dir., Jan. 30, 1957; Staff Hist. to Chief, Div. of Inter., Jan. 28, 1957; Reg. Dir. to Supt., March 20, 1957; Act. Reg. Chief of Inter. to Supt., Sept. 18, 1957; Reg. Dir. to Supt., Nov. 7, 1957; Supt. to Reg. Dir., Nov. 15, 1957; Reg. Chief of Inter. to Supt., Dec. 5, 1957; Museum Curator to Chief, Div. of Inter., Mar. 20, 1958; Chief, Div. of Inter. to Reg. Dir., April 2, 1958, KCRC, Acc. No. 69A1227, FRC 44743, Memorandum from Director, April 19, 1956, gives objectives, precepts, and recommended program for Mission 66, A98 file, Mission 66, in park. Notes on conversation between Superintendent Schultz and Regional Office Staff, Jan. 25, 1957; Chairman, Region Two Mission 66 Committee to Director, May 17, 1957, and June 12, 1957; Act. Reg. Dir. to Dir., Oct. 24, 1956; Supt. to Reg. Dir., Aug. 28, 1957; Chief, Mission 66 Staff to Reg. Dir., May 22, 1957; Chairman, Region Two Mission 66 Comm. to Supt., Dec. 12, 1957 and March 19, 1958, and Sept. 23, 1958, A98 file, Mission 66, at park. Clarence H. Schultz and Merrill J. Mattes, "Museum Prospectus, George Washington Carver National Monument," January 1958. Staff Historian Appelman to Chief, Museum Branch, March 14, 1958 and Chief, Div. of Inter., to Reg. Dir., Reg. 2, April 2, 1958, as cited in "Visitor Center Exhibit Plan, George Washington Carver National Monument," November 1958.

Following a planning meeting for the museum layout on October 30, 1958, the history exhibits planning team composed of Alan Kent and Daniel Feaser visited the park for 10 days to prepare an exhibit plan for the 1,100-1,200 square feet of museum space allocated in the new visitor center. The exhibit plan, approved in November, followed quite closely the Schultz-Mattes museum prospectus which Dr. Kent praised as an extremely helpful tool and a model of its type.²⁵

With a prospectus and exhibit plan approved, the park was ready for its first real museum. In March 1958 the collection of artifacts which Superintendent Schultz and Historian Fuller had avidly collected over the years was properly catalogued by a museum curator from Washington. The list of exhibits approved for the museum became a guide for further collecting in the area of the park. Part of this collection went into the museum's 19 dioramas and exhibits installed in May 1960, a list of which has been appended to this report.²⁶

Planning for the interpretation at the park also included the residual historic resources on the farm grounds. A self-guiding nature trail was laid out to relate the stories behind the hanging tree, the site of the original slave cabin, the open fields that Moses Carver once farmed, the Moses Carver spring and branch (of Shoal Creek), the late period Carver dwelling, the restored walnut trees Carver planted in a hedge row, and, finally, the Carver family cemetery. The trail also identified over 200 native species of wild flowers and trees as well as commemorated Carver with a bronze statue of him as a boy by Robert Amendola, and with a plaque and bust. The 3/4-mile trail looped through the woods from the north side of the visitor center and wound back to the west side.²⁷

25. The October meeting was attended by Messrs. Doerr, Lessig, Appleman, Lafayette, Feaser, and Kent in the office of the Acting Chief of Interpretation as noted in the preface to the "Exhibit Plan." Supt. to Reg. Dir., Nov. 14, 1958, KCRC, Acc. No. 69A1227, FRC 44743.
26. Museum Curator to Reg. Chief of Interp., Mar. 20, 1958; Chief, Div. of Interp. to Reg. Dir., Nov. 20, 1958; Chief, Museum Branch to Reg. Dir., Dec. 10, 1958; Supt. to Reg. Dir., June 1, 1960, KCRC, Acc. No. 69A1227, FRC 44743. The Reg. Museum Curator, Newell Joyner, also contributed to the proper cataloguing of the park collection in April 1960. Supt. to Dir., May 13, 1960, A2615 file, Monthly Reports, Jan. 1959-Dec. 1961.
27. Mission 66 Master Plan, August 1962, to October 1963, Vol. 1, Chapter 2, pp. 2-3, and Chapt. 5, p. 1, 1965 Master Plan, n.p. The park had two other mini-folders for interpretation to visitors prior to 1962, one in 1943 and another in 1953 at the authorization and establishment of the park. Copies of these early mini-folders can be found in the History Data Files at the Region. A written text for the Carver Childhood Trail, 10 pages long, directs the writer's attention to 27 points of interest. A copy can be found in the History Data File at the Region. The park transplanted many young walnut trees in the spring of 1964 to continue the Moses Carver walnut fence row. Supt. to Dir., April 6, 1964, A2823 file, GWCA. The park also has collected over 600 species and varieties of plants native to the area, as well as, insects, reptiles, and amphibians. The collection is not part of the visitor experience, however, as it is housed in the utility building. Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. 3, Section D, p. 3; 1964 Highlight Briefing Statement, A2621 file, Annual Reports, June 1960-January 1968, GWCA. In the summer of 1962 the park received an engraving sign machine so that the botanical and interpretive signs could be replaced with permanent plastic white on green signs. Supt. to Dir., Aug. 2, 1962, A2615, GWCA.

Since the completion of the interpretive facilities in 1962, (when an admatic projector was added to the museum and a brochure for the monument was published by the Park Service), no substantial changes have taken place in the interpretation of the area other than the addition of a demonstration garden in April 1963 to illustrate the plants most famous in Carver's life work. New audiovisual equipment is presently being planned for the museum and a painting by Carver has recently been acquired as a gift to the park. None of the more recent changes, however, have altered the main interpretive thrust set down in the 1958 prospectus and exhibit plan.²⁸

Although the park interpretation has not changed in substance since the completion of the museum and boyhood trail, Historian Fuller drafted an interpretive prospectus in 1964, and a revised version in 1965. To this writer's knowledge, this prospectus did not receive approval. In addition, in 1964 and 1965, Park Planners Rickey and Hirst of the Midwest Region, and J. W. Stewart, Landscape Architect and P. A. Kourey, Civil Engineer, from the Eastern Design Office, proposed additional interpretive aids for the park in the 1965 master plan, but these were rejected as noted in a memorandum from Acting Regional Director Baggeley to the Director in 1966. The 1965 master plan is the current approved plan for the park.²⁹

Construction Program: Administrative and Staff Facilities

In order to make room for the new visitor center 18 farm buildings constructed by Stratton Shartel had to be removed, which task was completed by contract during the spring of 1960. In April 1959 bids were opened for the construction of the visitor

28. Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. 1, Chapt. 5, p. 3; 1965 master plan, Chapt. 3, n.p. The park log noted that in June 1972 Heath Pemberton in Harpers Ferry was planning the publication of a booklet and new minifolder, but this writer does not know the present status of these. A2615 file, Monthly log, GWCA. In October 1963 the park modified the admatic from sound to silent with captioned slides. Supt. to Dir., Oct. 3, 1963, A2823 file, Monthly Reports, GWCA. Supt. Rumberg noted that the demonstration plot was approximately 16 feet by 25 feet, and included peanuts, cotton, and soybeans. These are still being planted on the west side of the visitor center. Supt. to Dir., May 2, 1963, A2823 file, GWCA. Two minor changes were made on the grounds between 1964 and 1966. First, in May 1964, the park relocated the Carver bust, which had been donated in 1953 by Robert Hobday in behalf of the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute, and contracted with a local artist to apply a bronze-tone finish to the concrete bust. In 1966 the park relocated the Commemorative plaque donated in 1953 by S. J. Phillips, President of the George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation, to a point on the Carver Boyhood Trail, near the site of the birthplace cabin, as a permanent marker for the site. Supt. to Dir., June 2, 1964, and June 2, 1966, A2615 and A2823, GWCA (filed jointly).
29. Supt. to Dir., July 7, 1964, Sept. 1, 1964, Mar. 2, 1965, A2823 file, GWCA. 1965 master plan, D18 file, Region. The master plan team recommended the replanting of the historic apple orchard, an audiovisual program for the visitor center, and the restoration, interior and exterior, of the Moses Carver Second Period Dwelling, all of which were deleted.

center, and in May the contract was sealed with Jones Brothers Construction Company of Joplin, on the lowest bid of \$152,465. The contract included the construction of a utility building adjoining the visitor center and required the installation of a 20,000-gallon water storage tank and a 3,000-gallon septic tank. In February 1960 the Park Service formally accepted the completed administrative facilities.

As early as May 29, 1959 the staff facilities, consisting of two 3-bedroom residences and one 4-unit apartment building with a separate driveway and parking area, were completed by contract. Also in 1959-60 contracts were let with Weidman Industries Inc., for the construction of an entrance driveway to the visitor center and a parking lot, as well as for planting and miscellaneous construction, and with Jones Construction Co. for an entrance gate, signs, and fencing. All the above facilities were completed in time for the July 1960 dedication of the visitor center. The last major construction carried out at the park, the erection of three firehouses, was completed in April 1961, and since that date little has been done to change the physical layout of the park.³⁰

Utilities

To accommodate the new administrative and staff facilities at the area, the Park Service contracted to place a 500-gallon gasoline tank underground, and provide utilities covering water storage, sewage, electricity, air conditioning, heating, and telephone. Since the installation of these utilities in 1960 such changes as the addition of LP Gas Lines in 1961, the recent closure of the sanitary landfill, and the purchase and relocation of the two 1,000-gallon gas tanks to a fenced enclosure in the residential area have been accomplished. In lieu of the sanitary landfill, the park now contracts with a local sanitation company which hauls away the trash on a daily basis. For a list of the park utilities, refer to Appendix F.³¹

30. The Visitor Center contains offices for the superintendent, administrative assistant, and historian, the museum of 1,200 square feet, a reception area, and comfort station facilities. The Utility Building consists of a four-stall garage, heated workshop, museum preparatory room, paint storage room, and a water pump room which also houses the water softener and standby water supply. Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. 1, Chapt. 4, p. 4. In 1963 the park staff installed machinery and tapes to provide background music in the visitor center. Supt. to Dir., Sept. 9, 1963, A2823 file. The parking area holds 50 cars and 3 buses. Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. 1, Chapt. 5, p. 2. Supt. to Director, April 14, 1959, May 11, 1959, June 12, 1959, Oct. 12, 1959, Dec. 15, 1959, March 11, 1960, April 15, 1960, May 13, 1960, May 3, 1961, A2615 file, Monthly Reports January 1959-December 1961, at park.

31. Supt. to Dir., Jan. 5, 1961, A2615, GWCA. Superintendent, George Washington Carver N.M. to Coxey Toogood, July 23, 1973, in latter individual's files. In March 1963 Superintendent Rumberg report that the heating system had been replaced with a new one, but presumably its description remains the same. D3415 file, Book 6, 1961-66.

Access Provisions

The location of the park in a rural community, 2.7 miles from the nearest highway, created certain problems of access for visitors. Not only was it difficult to find the farm on account of poor signs, but the roads were not in good condition. To remedy this problem the Service made cooperative agreements with State and local authorities.

For the Mission 66 Master Plan the park noted that virtually all visitors came in their own automobiles. Since much of the area traffic arrived by Interstate 44 east and west, or by State Highway 71 and its Alternate North and South, signs for these access roads, to notify the public of the national monument, became an early subject for negotiation. Superintendent Rumberg noted in April 1962 that he had contacted the State concerning better signs for both highways, and by June the Missouri State Highway Department had erected an 18" x 30" black-on-white sign at the intersection of 71 and county road "V", which leads to the park entrance road. Rumberg proclaimed this addition "a vast improvement," but also noted that the road construction on Alternate 71 near Joplin was impeding park visitation. This seemed to be the case throughout the year.³²

In the spring of 1963 the Missouri State Highway Department again cooperated with the Park Service by erecting a 6' x 16' white-on-green directional sign on Interstate 44 for eastbound traffic. Within a few months, the Superintendent noted that it made a noticeable difference in visitation. At some later date, the State provided a westbound sign as well. But even today, according to this writer's experience, the directional signs are inadequate for the tourist who is not at all familiar with the area.³³

The local county and town authorities needed to be prodded in 1966 to improve their maintenance of county roads which led to the park. In the fall of the year the superintendent met with the Newton County Court and Mr. F. S. Dunaway, representing the Diamond Special Road District, to discuss the problem, and concluded that the County and Road District would blacktop the road to the southeast corner of the monument and chip seal the entire mile stretch both that year and the following. In his annual report for the 1967 fiscal year, the superintendent remarked as how the resurfacing of the road had enhanced the public access to the park. From this writer's observation in fiscal year 1973, however, the maintenance of these county roads once again has been neglected by the local authorities.³⁴

32. Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. III, Sec. B, p. 2; Supt. to Dir., April 4, July 5, October 3, 1962, A2615 file, GWCA.

33. Supt. to Dir. Mar. 6, and May 2, 1963, A2615 file, GWCA. The State road maps misdirect the visitor as do the poorly placed road signs.

34. Supt. to Dir., Oct. 6, 1966, A2615 file, GWCA; Highlight Briefing Statement, 1967 F.Y., A2621 file, GWCA.

Protection and Maintenance of Facilities and Grounds

Structural Facilities

As a general policy of maintenance and protection for the buildings the park made routine inspections on a regular basis. A complete fire protection system had been installed in 1960 which provided each building with a full complement of fire extinguishers in addition to three small hose houses which accommodated 300 feet of 1½" hose. A 20,000-gallon emergency water reservoir stood ready to supply hydrants placed adjacent to the buildings. An auxiliary booster plant located in the well pump section of the utility building was also installed in case the reservoir required use. This emergency pump has received weekly inspections while the pressure in the fire hoses has annual testing.

On occasion some of the utilities installed in 1960 burned out completely or proved to be inadequate to the park needs. In 1963 the apartment units received two new heating units, each consisting of 85,000 b.t.u. output, to replace the furnace which proved faulty and inadequate. The same year the air-conditioning and central heating systems in the visitor center received a complete overhaul and maintenance job. In 1965 and 1966 the Fullerton Plumbing and Electric Company constructed an L.P. gas system in the area so that the park could benefit from a metered service. In the former year new hose houses were installed, and in the latter year the superintendent and historian's residences received new furnaces and air-conditioning units.³⁵

The one historic structure standing in the park, the Moses Carver Second Period Dwelling, also received maintenance attention, even before the proper authorization from the Region had been given. The superintendent realized that a crisis was at hand and that the postponement of much needed maintenance on the structure, in abeyance of a proper restoration program, would spell the ultimate ruin of the resource. Consequently, in the summer of 1963, he authorized the reshingling and replacing of rotten beams for the roof, the application of three coats of oil paint and minor repairs to the exterior, and the temporary repair of brick flues. Exterior maintenance for the house since that time has been continued.³⁶

The Grounds

Protection for the grounds, as well as the buildings, has been maintained by locking the buildings and gates each evening. Signs and markers in the park have received annual inspection, while the grounds have received regular landscaping from the caretaker and

35. Highlight Briefing Statement, 1961, 1963, and 1965 F.Y., A2621 file, GWCA; Supt. to Dir., April 3, 1963, Aug. 10, 1965, and Nov. 3, 1966, A2615 file, GWCA. 1965 Master Plan n.p., D18 file, MWRO.

36. Supt. to Dir., Aug. 5, 1963, A2823 file, GWCA; Highlight Briefing Statement, 1964 F.Y., A2621 file, GWCA.

his staff. Also on a regular basis, the caretaker's staff has accomplished roadside mowing, cleaned up the surface of the park entrance road, and sealed cracks as they have appeared. The unpaved section of the Boyhood Trail has been kept mowed and stabilized, while the trail bridges over the Carver branch have been treated with preservatives for wood surfaces.

In the first decade of park administration, certain measures were taken to protect and conserve the soil and moisture of the farm. Native fieldstone revetments were laid along the stream banks for stabilization. To prevent the sheet erosion of the thin topsoil on cropped fields, as well as the erosion from gully and small stream flow, the Service in 1953-54 laid out a series of rock, rock and brush, and stake and brush check dams. For 5 additional years this stabilization system, along with proper grass planting to stabilize the fields, carried the program to completion.

Noxious and exotic plants, such as poison ivy, have been eradicated or controlled along the interpretive trail by regular applications of approved chemicals at the proper times. Native plant species, as mentioned earlier, have been regularly reintroduced.

Since the majority of the visitors walk the Boyhood Trail, its maintenance and protection has been an important matter, especially in regard to the safety of the individual. In 1964 the park constructed a rustic bridge over the Carver branch to provide safe crossing for elderly persons and an elevated surface during periods of high water. The same year the Service paved the nature trail from the Visitor Center to the Carver branch to protect the visitor from the wash outs and slippery surfaces down the stream embankment.

Probably the most persistent maintenance problem for the park staff has been the control of the Dutch elm disease which struck the area in 1961 and has since infected hundreds of these historic ground features. Although the Service has called in State conservation experts, has sprayed in late winter and early summer with approved chemicals, and has consulted with local foresters, the trees have been lost by the disease. In 1961 the park removed 10 elms, in 1965 40 large elms, and in 1966-67 over 100 more elms. In their place the staff has planted a comparable number of black walnut, oak, maple, black gum, oak, yellowwood, and Kentucky coffee tree, all reportedly native to the area. Other minor problems of defoliation have occurred from tent caterpillars and bagworms, but of no consequence in comparison to the tragic loss of the major grove of elm which stood adjacent to the visitor center.

Another historic resource of considerable value on the grounds is the "hanging tree," a walnut on which guerilla raiders supposedly strung up Moses Carver during the Civil War to make him divulge where his gold was hidden. The tree died in the first years of the park administration, and has been treated with chemicals and preservatives when

needed to keep it standing as long as possible. Although the trunk of the tree still stands, its removal will at some time in the near future be necessary.³⁷

Recreation Management and Visitor Use

Since its establishment the park has been operated for day use only, with limited accommodations for picnicing made available. The main purpose of visitor use has been to learn and benefit from the historic and natural resources in the museum and along the grounds. Of the 210 acres within the park administration, approximately 74 percent has been left as open fields, while the Carver branch and tributary contain approximately 55 acres sustaining an open grove of trees and abundant flora. At least one environmental study area has been set up by the present superintendent, while the park has consistently invited school, civic, Boy Scout, and church groups to benefit from the resources of the park.

With only four picnic tables near the parking area, the visitor use has necessarily been restricted in time and numbers. For the 1965 Master Plan, figures were computed on the type of activity the visitor of 1959 and 1964 experienced: in 1959, 150 picnicked, 15,000 took the self-guiding tour, 23,779 visited the attended stations, and 1,182 participated in conducted tours of the park. In 1964 the figures showed that many more visitors were coming to the monument: 2,800 were picnicking, 58,680 were taking the self-guiding trail, 66,310 were stopping at the attended station, and 5,445 were being given a conducted tour. The average traveler has spent an average of one hour in the park.

About 75 percent of the annual visitation has been recorded in the park between April and September. Although until recently no other national parks have been within a close radius to the area, the park stands within day use of three counties — Newton, McDonald, and Jasper — and lies near the towns of Neosho, Joplin, Carthage, and Springfield. A record of annual visitation has been appended to this report.

Due to frequent public relations efforts by the park staff, noticeably by the superintendents during the first two decades of administration, the surrounding community has shown increased interest in the park's educational facilities, and has increasingly called on the two park professionals to give off-site lectures, speeches, and appearances within the area. The introduction of the captioned slide show from the admatic machine in 1963 has also prompted an unusually good visitor reaction at all age levels.³⁸

37. 1965 Master Plan, n.p.; Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. III, Sec. E, p. 2; Supt. to Dir., Sept. 11, 1959, A2615 file, GWCA; Supt. to Dir., July 7, Nov. 3, and Dec. 2, 1964, A2823 file, GWCA; Highlight Briefing Statements, F.Y. 1961, 1965, 1966, and 1967, A2621 file, GWCA.

38. 1965 Master Plan, n.d., D18 file, MWRO; Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. III, Sec. D, p. 2, and Sec. B, p. 3, D18 file, GWCA. Supt. to Dir., Oct. 3, and Nov. 4, 1963, A2823 file, GWCA, provide insight to Superintendent Rumberg's contributions to promoting the park. For examples of efforts by Superintendent Schultz's 6-year term, during the period of crucial development in the park, see the H2215 file, Books 1 and 2, GWCA.

Land Use

Special land use permits for agricultural purposes have been continuously issued since the establishment of the park. Between 115 and 126 acres have been leased for pasture, forage, and hay production, often under 5-year contracts. The Winter family, who historically have lived on and presently own the neighboring farm to the east, have often been recipients of these contracts. The cattle grazing, and grain crop production perpetuate the historic scene of the 19th century.³⁹

Special Events & Cooperative Activities

From 1953 to 1960, each of the special events at the park was proclaimed "Carver Day," and each was organized as a cooperative activity with local, county, and State groups. Beginning with the first Carver Day gathering for the 1953 dedication of the park, observances were held annually on the grounds around mid-July. The principal group and co-sponsor of these yearly events was the District Carver Association composed of various members of the State legislature, as well as representatives from the towns of Carthage, Diamond, Granby, Joplin, Monett, Neosho, Sarcoxie, Webb City, and Seneca, and later, Cassville. The main features of these annual celebrations were as follows:

1954 Carver Day

Only 100 attended the first anniversary of the dedication, which somewhat supported the Joplin Chamber of Commerce's position in March of discouraging another observance.⁴⁰

1955 Carver Day

Despite the fact that Regional Director Howard Baker at first discouraged plans for the 1955 celebration, the superintendent worked closely with enthusiastic local Carver Day committees to present an observance with 1,000 in attendance, with seven rangers from nearby park areas in assistance, and with guest speakers, the Regional Director himself, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, and President of Tuskegee, Luther H. Foster. The Diamond American Legion group served as the only concessioner for the sale of refreshments, and area newspaper, radio, and T.V. covered the event which this year was also called, "American Agriculture Day." Richard Pilant, the National Park Service's collaborator for the area, received an award of merit for his contributions to the monument's establishment and development.⁴¹

39. Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. III, Sec. E, p. 2; 1965 Master Plan, n.p., both in D18 files. Supt. to Dir., Dec. 6, 1966, A2615 file, GWCA.

40. Reg. Dir. to Director, June 18, 1954, *Joplin Globe* July 15, 1954, p. 2; Act. Reg. Dir. to Supt., Mar. 25, 1954, A8215 file, Special Events, July 1, 1953-Dec. 31, 1954.

41. Reg. Dir. to Supt., Dec. 20, 1955; Reg. Dir. to Director, July 20, 1955, A8215 file, Special Events, July 1, 1955-Dec. 31, 1955. "American Agriculture Day," Pamphlets, GWCNM, Historical Data Files, MWRO.

1956 Carver Day

The 1956 celebration was deliberately played down by the regional director who made none of his staff available for the occasion and made no provisions for extra rangers to assist. Only local publicity and local visitation was encouraged. The addresses were given by Harry Hatcher, Senator, 28th Missouri District, and Honorable Justin Roark, Judge of Springfield Court of Appeals. As in all the annual events, the day was co-sponsored by the Carver Day Committee representing surrounding villages and towns. One beneficial side-light from the celebration was the improvement of the roads approaching the monument by the Diamond Special Road District.⁴²

1957 Carver Day

Even though the regional director notified Superintendent Schultz in March 1957 that the Region's superintendents felt that efforts to observe special days in the park every year were "not effective since local newspapers and communities feel them...repetitious and not particularly newsworthy," the local Carver Day Committee could not be discouraged from its plans for an annual celebration at the park. According to the *Joplin Globe*, 1,000 people came to hear W. C. Markwardt, Joplin civic leader and Boy Scout leader, give the principal address. In the pattern of previous years, nationally prominent figures were invited to attend, and the Diamond American Legion provided the concessionaire services.⁴³

1958 Carver Day

With 5 years of involvement and an official organization into a permanent group in 1957, the Carver District Association again set up most of the arrangements for the annual Carver Day. Evidently the plans were not extensive, as the principal speaker was Dr. Elmer Ellis, President of the University of Missouri.⁴⁴

42. Act. Reg. Dir. to Supt., July 25, 1956, Supt. to Reg. Dir., July 6, 1956; Minutes, District Carver Association, June 26, 1956; Supt. to Reg. Dir., May 29, 1956, A8215, GWCA.

43. *Joplin Globe*, July 16, 1957, p. 3; Supt. to Dir., July 19, 1957; Supt. to Cong. Charles H. Brown, July 3, 1957; Reg. Dir. to Superintendents, Region 2, March 27, 1957; Harry Truman to Supt. Schultz, May 21, 1957, A8215, GWCA.

44. "Carver Day, July 13, 1958," A8215 file, GWCA. In October 1960, the President of the George Washington Carver District Association gave Juanita Wallower a written account of the history of the association. She noted that in June 1957 the committee met in Neosho and elected two delegates from each of the towns of Carthage, Cassville, Diamond, Granby, Monett, Neosho, Sarcoxie, Seneca, Webb City, and four delegates from Joplin, which formed the first permanent organization. The mayors and representatives from each of the Chambers of Commerce, also were members of the organization, as were the superintendent and historian of the monument.

1959 Carver Day

The celebration in 1959 more than made up for the low-key event in 1958, for the attendance reached 1,570 visitors, a total second only to the dedication observance in 1953. A ranger from Hot Springs, the Jasper County Mounted Sherriff's Posse, and the Joplin Band were called on to assist in the program. Congressman Charles Brown of the Seventh Missouri District gave the main address, and shared the platform with George Wallace, a representative of the Washington Educational Touring Club, and the only Negro on the speaking program. The park staff was called into action by an unfortunate accident when a 76-year-old visitor ran his car into a tree, but the efficient rescue served to assure the success of the program notwithstanding.⁴⁵

1960 Carver Day

As early as May 1959 the Park Service announced the \$151,402 contract to construct a visitor center at the Carver Monument, and public interest in the area noticeably began to pick up. The Carver District Association entertained grandiose expectations for the annual celebration, especially with the foreknowledge that it would also be a centennial commemoration of Carver's birth. By January 1959 the Association attempted to get President Eisenhower and then Vice-President Nixon to make an address in order to appease racial tensions in southwest Missouri and in the entire country. The list of invitees drawn up included prominent figures in the arts, education, and government. While the dedication did attract some national figures, the Association had to accept a program greatly toned down from their initial anticipations.

The ceremony attracted over 2,200 visitors, which disappointed the superintendent who had anticipated 3,500. The air-conditioning broke down in the visitor center, which caused considerable discomfort in the hot, humid weather. The Director of the National Park Service, who had been expected at the program, did not attend.

Despite the disappointments, the program went smoothly. Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Roger C. Ernst, gave the principal address, while Regional Director Baker served as the master of ceremony. Assisting with the day's operations were eight rangers from other park areas, the Jasper County Mounted Posse, the Missouri State Highway Patrol, the Diamond American Legion outfit, and the Boy Scouts. As for each of the earlier celebrations, financial contributions were raised in the towns represented by the Carver District Association. Considerable propogandizing for the Service's Mission 66 program was carried over local radio, newspaper, and T.V.⁴⁶

45. Supt. to R. Pilant, July 17, 1959; Supt. to Reg. Dir., July 14, 1959, A8215, GWCA.

46. Reg. Public Officer to Asst. Reg. Dir., Aug. 1, 1960; Reg. Dir. to Dir., March 16, 1960; Proposed Invitation List, Department of Interior, National Park Service; Dedication Program, July 12, 1960; Department of Interior News Release, July 18, 1960; Minutes, District Carver Committee Meetings, May 3, 1960, A8215, GWCA.

1962-1966 Carver Days

After this key celebration in the centennial year, planning for Carver Days became considerably more relaxed. At the suggestion of Mrs. Wallower, of the Carver District Association, the Service dropped formal programs with speakers, bands, and the other trimmings, and began to co-sponsor an "Open House" program each mid-July.

This type of event occurred from 1962 to 1966, at which time annual observances were discontinued. After 1962 the co-sponsoring public organization became the George Washington Carver Birthplace District Association, Inc., when the two principal cooperating agencies, the Carver District Association, and the Carver Birthplace Memorial Associates joined forces legally.

The 1962 "Open House" invited visitors to enjoy the completed Mission 66 development program at the monument. The event must have been a success, for the following year the open house attracted even more people — over 1,500 — from the immediate area. That year the Service invited the visitors to commemorate the 12th anniversary of the establishment of the park, and again aimed at acquainting the public with the accomplishments of the Mission 66 program.

The open-house program won popularity, if the attendance figures give a fair indication of public opinion. In 1964 the *Neosho Miner-Mechanic* noted that a record attendance of 2,139 people represented the second largest crowd ever assembled at the monument. The superintendent attributed the improvement to advanced planning and the publicity from the T.V. appearances of State Representative Robert Young and State Senator Harry Hatcher, announcing the open-house program. News releases heralded the Service's new long range program, "The Road to the Future," and the renovation in the park of the bust of Carver, donated originally by the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute.

Perhaps the local community began to lose interest in this annual event, however, for the attendance in 1965 dropped to 1,600, and the next year to 700. The latter figure apparently also reflected the hot weather, but it appeared to Service officials that the time had come to discontinue the Carver Day observances, so that to date no other large-scale programs have been sponsored at the park.⁴⁷

George Washington Carver Birthplace Memorial Associates

In 1941 Richard Pilant visited Carver at Tuskegee Institute and received permission from him to go forward on a program to purchase the birthplace home to

47. Supt. to Dir., Nov. 3, 1961, A2615, GWCA; Carver Day Program, 1962; *Neosho Daily News* July 15, 1963, p. 1; NPS News Release; Juanita Wallower to Reg. Dir., Mar. 15, 1961; Supt. to Reg. Dir., Mar. 8, 1963; Press Release, 1964; *Neosho Miner-Mechanic*, July 16, 1964; Supt. to Dir., July 16, 1964, A218 file, GWCA.

commemorate and promote race relations in the country. Pilant returned to southwest Missouri and collected a number of civic leaders from St. Louis and elsewhere into a non-profit lobbying outfit called the George Washington Carver Birthplace Memorial Associates. Pilant, however, carried all the financial expenses, and did most all of the work. His zealous pursuit of a Carver memorial included traveling distance of perhaps 100,000 miles, to several continents, and writing over 700 letters to influential persons. Pilant apparently persuaded Dewey Short, the Congressman for the Diamond district, to introduce the bill for the monument in the House, and Senator Harry Truman to do the same in the Senate. During the decade between the establishment of the monument in 1943, and the dedication in 1953, Pilant's Associates had expanded to represent over 300 educators, scientists, clergymen, and public spirited citizens throughout the country. After the dedication, however, the group more or less represented Pilant, who served several years as a collaborator for the park. To date the Memorial Associates has provided the park with literature for sale in the visitor center.⁴⁸

District Carver Day Committee & Carver Birthplace Memorial Associates

As indicated above, the District Carver Day organized the annual Carver Day celebrations in collaboration with the park from 1953-1966. With strong support from Superintendent Schultz, the committee formed into an organization in 1957, after receiving the consent of seven local mayors and the park professionals to serve on the advisory board. By 1961 the committee members began to contemplate joining forces with the other principal cooperating agency, the George Washington Carver Birthplace Memorial Associates. The legal joining of the two groups into the George Washington Carver Birthplace District Association, Inc., in 1962 has until the present provided the park with one principal cooperating agency, with one primary function, to provide concessioner book sales service in the visitor center.⁴⁹

Other Cooperating Agencies

The other cooperating agencies listed in Appendix G have been mentioned above in context with their cooperation, advice, and assistance in the Carver Day observances, in the control of fires and Dutch elm disease, in soil conservation, or in road and interpretive improvements for the park.

Proposed Legislation

Three bills related to the park were debated on in Congress between 1960 and 1962, promoted by Robert Hobday and S. J. Phillips, the presidents of the Washington-based George Washington Carver Memorial Institute and the George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation. Hobday introduced the first bill for a nonsectarian

48. *Diamond News*, July 9, 1953, Clippings, Historical Data Files, MWRO.

49. See ft. nt. 44 above.

chapel and shrine as a memorial to Carver and as a museum of Negro art, with an adjoining coffee shop. The bill proposed an appropriation of \$250,000 to go to the Carver Memorial Institute for the construction of the building.⁵⁰

Also in 1961 S. J. Phillips proposed that a George Washington Carver Commemorative Commission be formed which would assist the Carver Foundation to plan an appropriate celebration in connection with the commemoration of Carver's life work. Necessary expenses would be covered by an appropriation from Congress of \$249,000.⁵¹

Finally, in 1960, Hobday proposed in a bill to Congress that a Carver Memorial Library be built under the direction of the Memorial Institute in collaboration with the Commissioner of Education. This library would be erected in the vicinity of the monument and would be devoted to the history of the Negro race and related purposes.⁵²

None of these bills received Congress' concurrence, possibly because of some question about their sponsors. In a memorandum of considerable confidence, the regional historian explained the delicate problem with the two men, both of whom in some fashion has caused embarrassment to the Service through their financial dealings with the public. Possibly, for this reason, the legislators chose to squelch the bills, and since then no other legislation pertaining to the park has been introduced into Congress.⁵³

Current Events

Since 1960, when Superintendent Schultz proclaimed the completion of the Mission 66 program in the park, the activities of the monument staff have been more or less geared towards publicity for the park as well as continued maintenance and improvement of visitor facilities. In December 1960 Jack Anderson transferred to the monument to become its superintendent, and the next year also assumed responsibility

50. A copy of H.R. 11314 can be found in the History Data Files, File II, MWRO.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Mr. Mattes' memorandum addressed to the Regional Director on November 22, 1960, may have had a long-range effect, but did not stop the proposed bill from being introduced in the Senate in September 1961. A copy of the memo can be found in the History Data Files, File II, MWRO. Superintendent Schultz felt even more strongly on the subject, and particularly criticized Mr. Phillips' activities relating to financial and publicity matters. He spelled out his arguments against the Centennial Commission in a memo to the Reg. Dir. on Nov. 14, 1960, KCRC, Acc. No. 69A1227, FRC 44722.

as liaison field officer for Wilsons Creek Battlefield outside of Springfield, Missouri, about an hour's drive east of the monument. The work of establishing the Wilsons Creek area became increasingly time-consuming throughout the following decade, so that it grew to take a substantial percentage of the park manpower and man hours. Since 1965 the superintendent at the Carver Monument has served a dual role as superintendent of Wilson's Creek. The formal establishment ceremony of the battlefield in September 1972 has not to date changed this joint-superintendency. The continuation of Mrs. Helen Dixon as administrative assistant throughout this period no doubt facilitated many of the complications of such a disjointed responsibility. At the same time, Mrs. Dixon's active participation in the operation of the Birthplace District Association and the Joplin Historical Society helped to keep the park in close cooperation with local community interests.

Since the establishment of the Wilsons Creek area last year, Superintendent Colbert has deliberately set his sights on events at the monument. His first activity, setting up an Environmental Study Area for 40 teachers, received special commendation in the State Coordinator's Report to the Director in April 1972. Plans for other educational and public relations activities are presently in consideration at the park.⁵⁴

54. Although the monthly reports officially were discontinued in 1967, the superintendents at the monument have informally maintained a monthly log which is filed A2615, GWCA. The reports of Ivan D. Parker, Superintendent of Jefferson National Expansion Monument, and Coordinator for the State of Missouri, can be found in the MWRO. Supt. to Dir., Sept. 6, 1961, A2615, GWCA; Highlight Briefing Statements for 1964 and 1965, A2621, GWCA. The 1962 program for Carver Day lists Mrs. Dixon as the Secretary of the District Carver Association. Supt. to the files, July 5, 1967, A2615, GWCA.

APPENDIX A

Permanent Park Staff, 1952-73

Superintendents

Arthur Jacobson, September 25, 1952-June 1954
Clarence H. Schultz, June 1, 1954-December 1960
Jack Anderson, December 8, 1960-February 1962
Joseph C. Rumberg, February 15, 1962-May 20, 1965
David L. Hieb, June 23, 1965-September 1971, Joint Superintendent
with Wilsons Creek National Battlefield
Eugene J. Colbert, October 3, 1971-present

Historians

Robert P. Fuller, 1952-1960
Terry Maze, 1960-1972
Eldon Kohlman, 1971-present

Administrative Assistant

Helen Dixon, September 21, 1960-present

Caretaker, or Chief of Maintenance

Glenn Hough, December 9, 1962-present

Clerk-Typist

Connie Beard, June 20, 1962-present (with temporary assignment
at Wilsons Creek National Battlefield)

APPENDIX B

Legislation

To Establish:

July 15, 1942	H.R. 7391	Missouri Representative Short	77th Congress
Oct. 13, 1942	S. 2848	Missouri Senator Truman	77th Congress
Jan. 6, 1943	H.R. 647	Missouri Representative Short	78th Congress
April 1, 1943	S. 312	Missouri Senator Truman	78th Congress
July 14, 1943	Public Law 118 Bill authorizing \$80,000 for the purposes of establishing the George Washington Carver National Monument		

To Raise the Ceiling:

February 14, 1950	H.R. 7302	Florida Rep. Peterson	81st Congress
Feb. 20, 1950	H.R. 7361	Idaho Rep. White	81st Congress
Sept. 9, 1950	Public Law 780 Bill amended ceiling to \$80,000		
Sept. ? 1950	Amendment introduced to raise ceiling to \$150,000		
June 14, 1951	Amendment passed, condemnation monies payed, memorial established.		

Condemnation

June 12, 1948	Condemnation suit filed by the U.S. for 210 acres more or less in U.S. District Court, Kansas City, Missouri.		
July 23, 1949	District Court awarded amount of \$78,895 to following:		
	Dawson and Nell Derfelt for 210 acres		\$48,000
	Empire District Electric Co. for easement occupied by a high voltage transmission line crossing the property, covering cost of relocation outside the property.		\$29,000
	New Mac Electric Cooperative, Inc., for easement on east side of property, covering cost of relocation		\$ 1,500
	Shartel family for mineral rights		\$ 320
	Carver descendents for interest in one acre of family cemetery.		\$ 75

APPENDIX C

Structures Obliterated and Standing at George Washington Carver National Monument, 1952-73. *

Number	Name and Capacity	EXISTING	PROPOSED	NPS	ADMINISTRATION	RESIDENCES	UTILITY	VISITORS	NOTES
1	Main House - 7rms., bath (4 br's)								a
2	Utility Storage Bldg. - 1 room								a
3	Spring House - 2 rooms								a
4	Tenant House - 5 rooms, bath (2 br)								a
5	Moses Carver (2nd period) House (3 rooms)								b
6	Garage - 1 room								a
7	Main Barn								a
8	Loafing Shed - 7 stalls								a
9	Feed Storage & Brooder House (2 rooms)								a
10	Chicken House & Machine Shed (3 rooms)								a
11	Chicken House - 1 room								a
12	Pig sty - 1 room, pen								a
13	Granary - 2 rooms								a
14	Cowshed and Feeder Barn								a
15	Bull pen - 1 room								a
16	Rabbit House - 1 room								a
17	Pump House - 1 room								a
18	Rock Shed - 1 room								a
19	Pit Toilet								a
20	Shed - 1 room								a
21	Visitor Center	x		x	x			x	
22	Utility Bldg.	x		x	x		x	x	c
23	Superintendent's residence (3 br's)	x		x		x			
24	Historian's residence (3 br's)	x		x		x			
25	Seasonal Quarters (4 unit)	x		x		x			

Notes:

- a. Obliterated
- b. Historic Structure
- c. Limited use for herbarium and historical study

* Taken from 1965 Master Plan

APPENDIX D

Research Program, Fiscal Year 1954

1954 Fiscal Year Priority List for Research Program at George Washington Carver National Monument

Priority	Project No.	Name of Project	Technicians' Names
1	1	Archeological exploration of Carver Birthplace Cabin Site	Beaubien
2	2	Interpretive Section for Master Plan Development Outline (revised)	Mattes
3	3	Story of Carver's Early Boyhood	Fuller
4	4	Moses Carver Family	Fuller
5	5	Early History of Newton County	Fuller

APPENDIX E

George Washington Carver National Monument

LIST OF EXHIBITS

Museum Room

1	Introductory Panel	Free-standing panel 3'10"
2	Turbulent Era	5' Case
3	The Birth of Carver's George	6' Panel
4	The Birthplace Cabin	5' Case
5	Life on the Carver Farm	8' Diorama
6	The Green Years	6' Case
7	Carver's Quest (Map)	4' Panel
8	Struggle for an Education	6' Case
9	Bedroom Scene	Alcove 10'x12'
10	Homesteading on the Sod-House Frontier	6' Case
11	College Life in Iowa	6' Panel w/ab
12	The Call to Tuskegee	5' Panel
13	Talking Argiculture	6' Panel
14	Research Chemist	6' Panel
15	Carver's Influence on S. Ag.	6' Panel w/shadow box
16	Promoter of Good Will	5' Panel
17	According to Carver. . .	6' Special Panel
18	The Carver Heritage	6' Long x 4' Wide Panel
19	Carver Coins, Stamps, First-Day Covers	Small Shadow- Box Case
20	Carver Painting	

Lobby

Mural (Suggested), NPS Exhibit	5' Panel*
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*Not installed.

APPENDIX F

Utilities*

Water System

Source: A well, drilled in June 1957.

Ownership and Operation: Government

Location and Nature: The well, located in the utility building, was drilled to a depth of 852', entering the roubidoux formation. It was tested 30-37 GPM at 200' pump setting, and will supply all needs within the foreseeable future.

Pump, Motor, and Controls: Pump, submersible with 2" discharge pipe, 3-1/4" shaft is a semi-open impeller motor, 5HP, 3 Phase, 230 volt, 20 stage.

Quantity Available: The pump delivers 35 GPM at 50 PSI. A 575 gallon hydropneumatic pressure tank maintains 50 PSI line pressure.

Distribution: 1,150' of 4" asbestos cement main lines 180' of 1" copper residential service lines and four 4" fire hydrants with 4" and 2-1/2" outlets.

Storage: A 20,000 gal. reinforced concrete reservoir for fire control and other emergencies.

Fire Pump: A 20 HP gasoline-operated engine with pumping capacity of 150 GPM at 27 PSI direct from the storage tank into the main distribution system.

Treatment: Chlorination by a heavy duty midget chlor-o-feeder, 1/4 HP, 110 volts, 60 cycle, single phase, chlorinator, purification by Culligan Automatic commercial water softener, with 24"x 48" brine tank.

Consumption: Estimated (not metered) average use is 1,200 gal. per day.

Sewerage

Ownership and operation: National Park Service.

Collection & Disposal Systems:

Sewer Lines. 712" of 6" vitrified clay pipe and 595" of 4" v.c. pipe.

Treatment. A 2,000 gal. septic tank in the residential area and a 3,000 gal. tank in the visitor center area. The sludge is pumped and removed when required.

Disposal Systems.

Liquid. Effluent from the residential area septic tank is absorbed in a leaching field consisting of five 90" long laterals of 4" open-joint vitrified clay tile, totaling 450". Effluent from the visitor center septic tank is flowed through a sub-surface sand filter, chlorinated and discharged into the Carver Branch.

Storm Drainage and Flood Control: Three storm drains provide parking area drainage.

*As described in 1965 Master Plan and Mission 66 Master Plan, Vol. III, Sect. 1, pp. 2-4.

Refuse

Collection. Eight 30 gal. cans are hauled in service trucks to the disposal area three times a week.

Disposal. Sanitary landfill on monument land, as indicated on plan.

Power System

Source and Supply Lines: New-Mac Electric Cooperative, Inc., of Neosho, Missouri, and REA Cooperative.

Length: The Residential area is served by 1,120' of primary 7,200 volts, single phase, overhead, distribution line and overhead secondary service drops. The visitor center-utility area is served by 1,700 feet of overhead, primary 14,000/7,200 volt, 3-phase distribution line.

Voltage and Phases: From two transformers on a pole near the southwest corner of the utility yard, 120/220 or 120/208, 3-phase power is carried underground to the main entrance panels in the visitor center and utility buildings, the building service lines totaling 1,920' in length. One transformer on a pole behind the apartment building and another behind the two residences serve these three buildings with 120/240 volts, single phase.

Overhead or Underground: Underground to utility building and visitor center. All others overhead.

Local Distribution: Individual meter located on the rear of each residential building. One meter located on pole south of utility building serves both the visitor center and utility building.

Communication Systems

Telephone: Diamond telephone exchange, Diamond, Missouri, supplies modern dial telephone service. Telephones are located in the two private residences and in other offices of the superintendent and administrative assistant.

Fuel Systems

Type: LP gas, now used for heating all buildings and for residential water heaters and dryers.

Delivery: By local vendor as ordered.

Storage:* Above-ground tanks owned by the vendors; a 500-gal. tank and 1,000 gal. tank at the visitor center and maintenance area and another 1,000 gal. tank in the residential area.

*See next section on recent changes in utilities.

Recent Changes as noted by Superintendent Colbert:

Refuse

Collection: A local sanitation company makes regularly scheduled pickups of trash at the area; the trash is removed from the area by the private hauler.
Disposal. The sanitary landfill is closed.

Fuel Systems:

Storage: Above-ground tanks are owned by the Government. Two tanks, each with 1,000 gallon capacity, are located in a fenced and locked section in the residential area. A 500-gallon underground gasoline tank.

APPENDIX G

Cooperating Agencies & Individuals

Collaborators:

Richard Pilant & Robert Hobday

District Carver Association

George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation, S. J. Phillips

George Washington Carver Memorial Institute, Robert Hobday, 1943-?

George Washington Carver Birthplace Memorial Associates, Richard Pilant, 1943-1962

George Washington Carver Birthplace District Association, 1962 Inc.

George Washington Carver Day Committee, Joplin Chamber of Commerce

Missouri Federation of Colored Women

Missouri State Highway Department

Missouri State Conservation Commission

Newton County Court

Diamond Fire and Police Departments

Diamond Special Road District Committee

Diamond American Legion

Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

APPENDIX H

Recorded Annual Visitation

1972 - 43,989
1971 - 50,742
1970 - 45,511
1969 - 43,103
1968 - 43,985
1967 - 38,381
1966 - 41,036
1965 - 48,313
1964 - 66,310
1963 - 46,583
1962 - 35,488
1961 - 32,935
1960 - 46,433
1959 - 23,779
1958 - 16,711
1957 - 9,847
1956 - 9,194
1955 - 12,053
1954 - 9,197
1953 - 11,681
1952 - no records available

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Book 3, January 1958-December 1961
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L1415 Land Acquisition

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A98 Mission 66

A2621 Superintendents' Annual Reports

D18 Master Plans

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"Historic Structure Report, Moses Carver Late Period Dwelling, Building No. 5," submitted by Midwest Region, National Park Service, 1959.

Pilant Collection

Federal Record Center, Kansas City, Missouri

Accession No.	65A719, FRC 150293
	Laws and Legal June 1951-June 1952
	Research, October 1951-June 1952
	Proposed Area Files, August 1941-June 1951
Accession No.	67A153, FRC 570262
	Master Plans, 1951-52
	Boundaries, 1952
	Private Holdings, 1951
Accession No.	69A1227, FRC 44746
	Signs, Markers, and Memorials, January 1954-Dec. 1962
	FRC 44743
	Museum and Exhibit Activities, January 1959-Dec. 1962

1. George and Jim Carver.

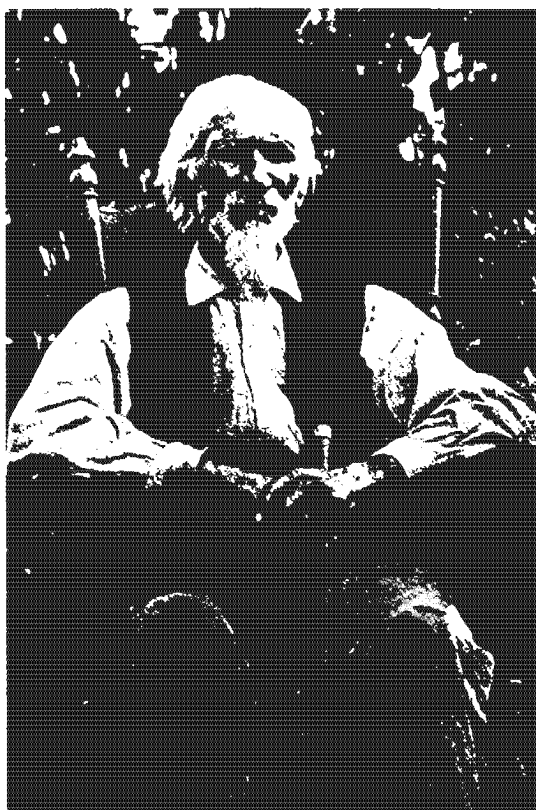
This photograph of George and Jim lends support to the possibility that the two brothers were four years apart in age.

Photo from Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver, An American Biography*.

2. Moses Carver in later life.

Moses apparently detested having his picture taken so that this photograph represents one of the only existing shots of George's Missouri "father."

Photo from Rackham Holt, *Ibid*.

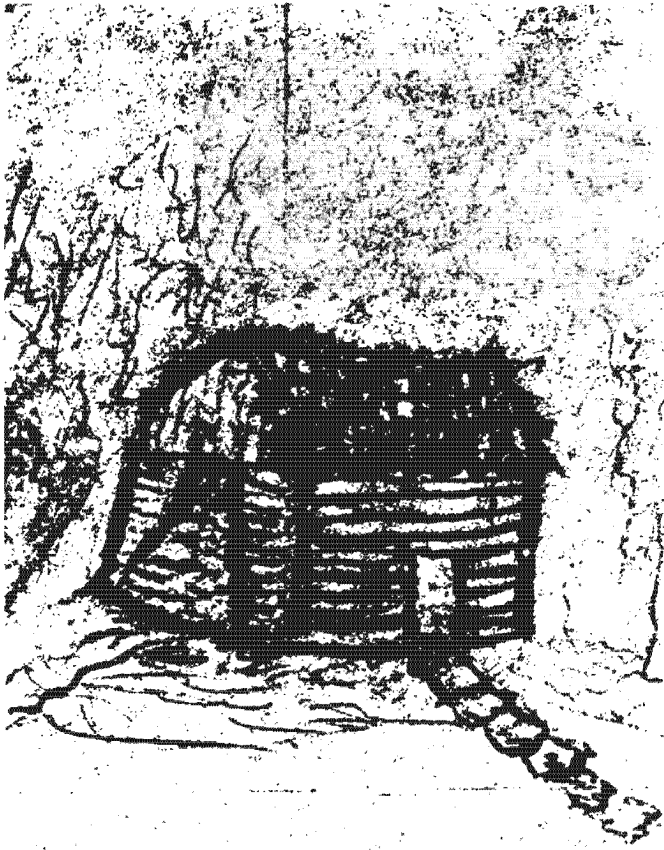


3. George Washington Carver's Sketch of His Birthplace Cabin.

Photo donated by Rackham Holt.

4. Second Period Moses Carver Dwelling.

Photo by G. Grant, April 6, 1952.



5. Archeological Investigation, 1953.

Excavation of Area North of Stream Bed
where Historian Porter Had located Cabin
Site on information supplied by Shartel.

Photo and Data by Paul L. Beaubien,
April-May, 1953. Neg. No. 14366, MWRO.

6. Archeological Investigation, 1953.

North Along R11 Square during excavation
of first trench across flower garden.
(Southwest corner of tool house in Square
12 r 17.)

Photo and Data by Paul L. Beaubien,
April-May 1953. Neg. No. 14345, MWRO.



7. Artifacts from Archeological Dig, 1953.

From probable cabin site: a clay pipe;
a harness ornament; a piece of whetstone;
a screw cap to a metal container; a piece
of calcite; two marbles; a ferrule of a
penholder; a crockery plug.

Photo & Data by Paul L. Beaubien,
April-May 1953. Neg. No. 14361, MWRO.

8. Old Timers at 1953 Dedication.

Childhood Contemporaries of George
Washington Carver: From left to right:
George W. Jackson, Neosho; Parris Boyd,
Joplin; JJ Brown, Granby.

Photo and Data by Merrill J. Mattes, July 14,
1953. Neg. No. 14439, MWRO.



9. 1953 Dedication Participants.

From left to right: Robert Fuller, Monument Historian; Howard Baker, Regional Director; unidentified Negro; James T. Blair, Lt. Gov. of Missouri; S. J. Phillips, George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation; Mr. Hathaway, designer of the Carver coin; Secretary of the Interior McKay; Robert Hobday, George Washington Carver Memorial Institute; and Conrad Wirth, Director of the National Park Service.

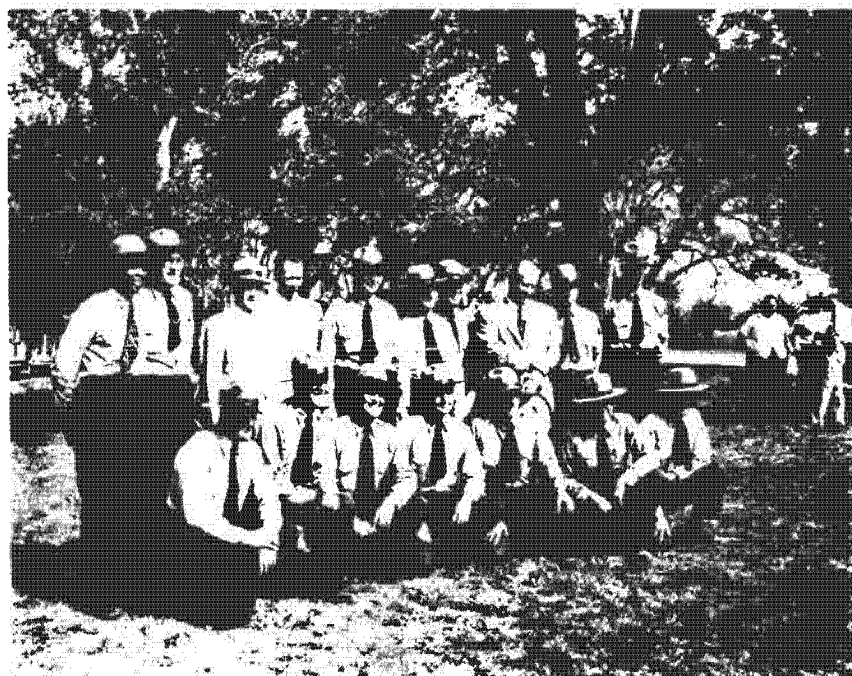
Photo and Data by Merrill J. Mattes, July 15, 1953. Neg. No. 14447, MWRO.

10. Rangers at 1953 Dedication with Notables

From left to right, top: Robert Fuller, Historian; Arthur Jacobson, Superintendent; Douglas McKay, Secretary of Interior Department; Howard Baker, Regional Director, Region Two; Dean Weber and J. Estes Sutter, Wind Cave NP; Harry Hull, Mt. Rushmore NM; Conrad Wirth, Director of the National Park Service; Larry Quist, Hot Springs NP; Ernest Lampi, Wind Cave NP.

From left to right, bottom: Clarence Johnson, Historian, JNEM; Loren Lane, B. H. Mead, George Goick, and Stanley Browman, Rocky Mountain NP; Charles E. McManus and Hardy H. Culliver, Hot Springs NP.

Photo and data by Merrill J. Mattes, 7/14/53. Neg. No. 14586a, MWRO.



11. Notables at 1955 Carver Day Celebration

From left to right: Historian Fuller, Steve Parker, Chairman Carver Day Committee; Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Benson; James T. Blair, Jr., Lt. Governor of Missouri; and Juanita Wallower, Program Chairman.

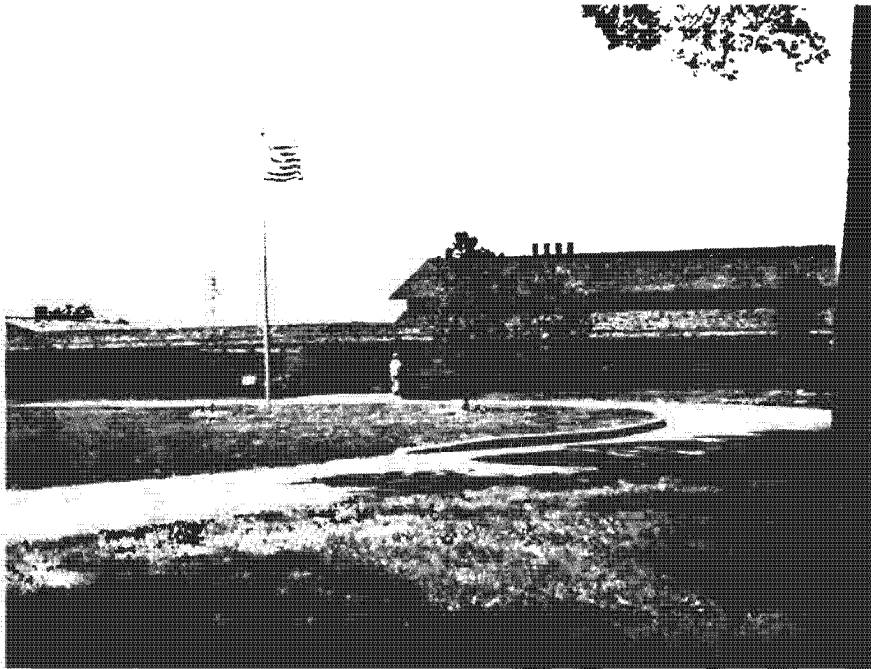
Photo and Data by Merrill J. Mattes, July 1955.
Neg. No. 15094, MWRO.

12. 1955 Carver Day Celebration

From left to right: Merrill J. Mattes, Regional Historian; Juanita Wallower, Carver Day Committee; Robert Foster, President, Tuskegee Institute; Richard Pilant, Collaborator for the park.

Photo and Data by Merrill J. Mattes, July 1955. Neg. No. 15115, MWRO.





13. Visitor Center, 1960.