

George Lloyd Johnson, Jr. JAMES YADKIN JOYNER: THE EARLY AND FORMATIVE YEARS, 1862-1907. (Under the direction of Dr. Mary Jo Bratton) Department of History, East Carolina University, September 1985.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the early life and career of James Yadkin Joyner from his birth in 1862 through his service as State Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1902 to 1907. Although he continued to serve as superintendent until his retirement in 1919, his five years of service to the state that included the year 1907 represented a significant period of progress and reform for the public schools of North Carolina.

Joyner was born in Davidson County in 1862, where his family temporarily resided as refugees during the Civil War. Joyner's parents died in his infancy, and his grandfather, Council Wooten, a prominent state senator and planter from Lenoir County prior to the Civil War, reared Joyner. When Joyner was only ten years old his grandfather died and his uncle Shadrach Wooten then cared for him on his farm near La Grange. He attended La Grange Academy and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1878-1881). At the University Joyner became a close friend of Charles Duncan McIver, a friendship that lasted until McIver's death in 1906. At Chapel Hill Joyner also developed close friendships with Charles Brantley Aycock and Edwin Anderson

Alderman, men who later had a profound influence on public education in North Carolina, as well as the South.

After graduating from the University of North Carolina, Joyner for three years served as headmaster and teacher at La Grange Academy, and also as superintendent of Lenoir County Schools. In 1884 due to the influence of his close friend McIver who taught at the Winston graded schools, Joyner left La Grange and began teaching with McIver at the graded school in Winston in piedmont North Carolina, now Winston-Salem. He also spent the summer of 1885 as a normal institute conductor in Washington, North Carolina.

In the fall of 1885, Joyner gave up his teaching career in order to study law in the Dick and Dillard Law School in Greensboro. In February 1886 he passed the North Carolina Bar and for three years practiced law in the law firm of Allen, Faircloth and Joyner in Goldsboro. While practicing law, he renewed his friendship with Aycock who had been his classmate at the university. At that time Aycock also had a law practice in Goldsboro and on some occasions they jointly prepared cases for court. During the summer months when his legal practice was slow, Joyner resumed his teaching duties as an institute conductor for the State Department of Public Instruction.

He gave up his law practice in the spring of 1889 and returned to the field of education by being elected superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools, a position

vacated by Alderman, his former classmate at the university. As superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools, he took pride in securing the best teachers for his schools. During the summer months he helped to supplement the work of Alderman and McIver by conducting summer institutes on a weekly basis in order to certify teachers for the state's public schools. After four years as a successful superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools, he resigned and accepted McIver's appointment to the faculty of the Normal and Industrial School at Greensboro. There, he served for nine years as professor of English and dean of the faculty. During that tenure he also served on the Board of Trustees of the Baptist Female University, now Meredith College and the Agricultural and Mechanical Institute for blacks, now North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University in Greensboro. In 1896, he was elected president of the North Carolina Teacher's Assembly, an emerging professional association.

In 1902, Joyner reluctantly accepted Governor Aycock's appointment to become State Superintendent of Public Instruction. As superintendent, he promoted educational rallies for the purpose of stimulating public sentiment for local taxation in order to build public schools, consolidating school districts, enforcing compulsory attendance laws, lengthening the school term; increasing state aid for public schools, and training and certifying more teachers

for the public schools. His most outstanding accomplishment during this period was to write and secure passage of the State Public High School Act of 1907. Before that time there had been no statewide system of public high schools in North Carolina.

His service to the state as superintendent continued after 1907, and in 1910 he was the first North Carolinian to ever be elected president of the National Education Association. He retired as superintendent in 1919 at the age of fifty-six and returned to his farm in La Grange. His retirement, however, was very brief. For many years he remained active in civic, agricultural, and educational affairs until his death in 1954.

JAMES YADKIN JOYNER:
THE EARLY AND FORMATIVE YEARS, 1862-1907

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has been noted that the public school system in North Carolina was more developed in 1860 than it was in 1900, or until the coming of James Yadkin Joyner as superintendent of public instruction. The Civil War and Reconstruction left the public education system prostrate to the backwardness that engulfed the entire state. Not only did the schools regress after this great conflict, but the existing social order also suffered. "Extravagance, lawlessness, fear, ignorance, emancipation" and prejudice toward the black race added to the chaos that had already been brought about by the war. Public education in North Carolina in the latter years of the nineteenth century was in a wilderness prior to the progressive administration of Governor Charles Brantley Aycock and Superintendent Joyner.¹

The task of bringing the public schools out of the wilderness could not have been done without money from northern philanthropy. The philosophy of redemption through philanthropy was conceived in Walter Hines Page's speech "The Forgotten Man" delivered in 1897 at the Normal and Industrial College in Greensboro. His speech advocated modernizing the South with northern philanthropy. He exclaimed, "What an interesting field for sociological experiment."² Page's speech created a stir throughout the

South and caught the interest of northern philanthropers who were willing to aid Page's sociological experiment to redeem the South of ignorance.

The northern philanthropers were aided by the South's own southern wing of reformers. These men were not of wealth but instead were middle class professional people.³ In North Carolina these men included Charles Duncan McIver, Charles Brantley Aycock and James Yadkin Joyner.

The major issue faced by these southern reformers was the issue of raising local and county taxes for the public schools, and North Carolina became the first southern state to initiate this noble experiment. For this experiment to work, public sentiment had to be changed in favor of raising taxes for the public schools and Joyner became a master at stimulating a change in public attitudes. According to Josephus Daniels, Joyner "was one of the half-dozen educators with vision and constructive ability, who made the late eighties and nineties and the period covered by the Aycock administration the most revolutionary in changing public sentiment and strengthening it for the public schools."⁴

The public sentiment that Joyner had nurtured provided him with a foundation to build, expand and strengthen the public school system. As a reformer for the public schools, he accomplished much during the period between 1902 and 1907. The noted southern historian Dewey W. Grantham noted

Joyner's achievements during this period when he wrote:

In 1907 the reformers successfully challenged a court decision of 1886 which had restricted public support of the schools. . . . In 1907 the general assembly authorized the establishment of rural high schools, and within a year 157 such schools were begun in eighty one counties. The old literary fund was reorganized in 1903, and a permanent loan fund was created from which local educational authorities were able to borrow money to build or improve school houses. . . . Beginning in 1903 when the functions of the state superintendent were increased, the legislature enacted a modern school code that strengthened the state role in the operation of the public schools.⁵

Indeed Joyner was an educational progressive in every sense of the word, while he was superintendent during the first decade of the twentieth century nearly one school building was built per day. During this decade R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe wrote: "Whoever writes the educational history of this decade will be the biographer of James Yadkin Joyner."⁶

This study is concerned with Joyner's development from his birth in 1862 to the role he played as State Superintendent of Public Instruction during the years 1902 to 1907. This thesis reveals Joyner's personal qualities that were undoubtedly responsible for his success and advancement. He was an energetic and forceful individual who possessed a keen mind and a rare sense of humor. His oratorical and analytical abilities enabled him to withstand and overcome many hard fought contests. The Joyner Papers in the East Carolina Manuscript Collection reveal many of

Joyner's personal qualities that represent the backbone of this study. It has only been recently that these papers have become available to scholars for research purposes.

Joyner, throughout his life, was associated with men of influence. During his early years, he grew up in rural eastern North Carolina, and his grandfather instilled in him the essential values of living a life of a "southern gentleman." Growing up during Reconstruction, Joyner witnessed the backwardness and corruption that engulfed the entire state. While attending the University of North Carolina, he became associated with Charles Duncan McIver, Charles Brantley Aycock, and Edwin Anderson Alderman. At Chapel Hill, these men discussed the issues that plagued North Carolina, and became interested in finding a remedy to cure the backwardness that delayed the progress of many North Carolinians. The solution was public education.

After his graduation at Chapel Hill, Joyner returned to La Grange and for several years he earned his living as a teacher. Apparently dissatisfied with the low salaries of teachers, he gave up that career to study law. After only three years as a practicing attorney in Goldsboro, he left the legal profession and returned to the field of education. His decision to give up law came from the influential southern educator, Edward Pearson Moses and his close friend McIver. As superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools, and summer institute conductor, he developed a statewide

reputation as an educator.

Joyner's close friendship with McIver led him to his next position. In 1893, he joined the faculty as professor of English at the State Normal and Industrial Institute in Greensboro. For nine years he faithfully served that institution before being appointed by Governor Aycock to the state superintendency.

In any consideration of educational reform in the New South and its impact on North Carolina, it is evident that Charles Brantley Aycock, Charles Duncan McIver, Edwin Anderson Alderman, and James Yadkin Joyner, together stand out as leaders of the movement. Of these outstanding men, the man most directly responsible for bringing public education closer to the people of this state was Joyner. He was a progressive reformer in the mainstream of the social justice movement, and he met the challenges of his time with patience, tact, and confidence.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY AND COLLEGIATE YEARS: 1862-1881

Early in the Civil War, Federal troops, realizing the significance of North Carolina's Sound region, made plans and successfully invaded that region.¹ On March 14, 1862 the town of New Bern fell to the Federals causing many families in the surrounding areas to abandon their homes and flee to the central counties of the state. With the exception of this group of refugees, it has been noted, "there was no large or continuing displacement of people" in North Carolina "as there were in many other southern states."²

Council Wooten, a prominent state senator and planter living in the village of Moseley Hall,³ now La Grange in Lenoir County, located thirty-five miles west of New Bern, "deemed it safest to move the women and the slaves out of the reach of the Union army," since the men in his family were in the Confederate army.⁴ Henry Walser, a close friend and a distinguished state senator residing in Davidson County, provided Wooten, his family and slaves refuge in this western county. They remained in Davidson County during the duration of the war.⁵

At Yadkin College in Davidson County, Wooten and his family resided in an abandoned classroom building. It was not unusual for Confederate refugees to convert school

buildings into living quarters; any community having an "academy or college was almost certain to attract the homeless."⁶

It was under such circumstances on August 7, 1862 that Wooten's oldest daughter, Sarah, gave birth to a boy named James Yadkin Joyner. His middle name Yadkin, indicates that his parents named him after the place of his birth. The youngest of five children, he had two brothers and two sisters, John, Cornelia, Clara and Council.⁷

Joyner's ancestors were of English and German stock. "The Joyners came directly from England and settled in Pitt County." On his mother's side "the Wootens were also English having come through Wales to Maryland and from there" they migrated to North Carolina. His maternal grandmother, Eliza De Graffenried Wooten was of "German descent and her ancestors came over with Baron Von De Graffenried to New Bern."⁸

His father, John Joyner, graduated from Wake Forest College and before the Civil War, established himself as a cotton planter near Moseley Hall. He moved to that area from Pitt County, after marrying Council Wooten's daughter, Sarah, in 1853. Joyner's paternal grandfather, John Pugh Joyner, was a planter and represented Pitt County at the State Constitutional Convention of 1835. He also served as a leading lay minister in one of the primitive Baptist churches of Pitt County. John P. Joyner was denied his

church membership by upsetting the elders in his church when he sent his sons to Wake Forest College. At that time the church did not promote higher education missions or Sunday Schools.⁹

Joyner's mother attended the Episcopal School in Raleigh, now St. Mary's College. While at the school, she wrote her father that she had "been through" her "philosophy and chemistry and nearly through the history of England."¹⁰ Less than eight months after Joyner's birth, Sarah died; those that remembered her said she was a "woman of rare gifts of mind and soul." When Joyner was only fourteen months old, his father also died. Joyner's grandfather, Council took the orphaned child into his home to raise.¹¹

Immediately after the Confederate surrender in April, 1865, Council Wooten and his remaining family members "returned to the old homestead at Moseley Hall."¹² Joyner later recalled that his grandfather Wooten "reflected the old school of Southern gentlemen." A prominent man and public favorite, he took an "active part in the affairs of Lenoir County and the state." For six terms the voters of Lenoir County elected him to be their representative in the House of Commons of the General Assembly. Like Joyner's paternal grandfather, John P. Joyner, Wooten also served as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1835. Prior to the Civil War, Wooten, being a personal friend of Governor John Ellis, served in his Council of State.

In the days of traveling by stage-coach, Wooten's home became a popular meeting place for judges, state officials, and other prominent men. Guests at his home in Moseley Hall "always found a cordial welcome and generous hospitality."¹³ Wooten owned fifteen thousand acres of land and one hundred and forty four slaves. Before the Civil War the value of his entire estate exceeded \$123,500.¹⁴

Joyner began his formal education by attending La Grange Academy, a school that initially began in Council Wooten's home. Certainly in this respect, Wooten was concerned about providing his family with a formal education. Dr. Preston W. Woodley became the academy's first teacher and Joyner's grandfather Council provided him with room and board. The living conditions in Wooten's home must have certainly been overcrowded due not only to the growing academy but also to his large family which consisted of eleven family members. In less than two months members of the community of La Grange joined together to provide a classroom building for their children to attend. This relieved the overcrowded condition the academy had imposed upon his home.¹⁵ As a private school, La Grange Academy charged tuition and only those parents who could afford to pay were able to send their children there.

In Lenoir County, as well as elsewhere in North Carolina, the public schools were extremely inadequate during the last decades of the nineteenth century. During

Reconstruction many North Carolinians did not concern themselves with public education. Due to this lack of interest only a small group of people remained loyal to the cause of the public schools. Their efforts became frustrated by poverty stricken people who were unwilling and unable to pay taxes to support the schools.¹⁶ In 1873 only 150,000 out of the 350,000 school aged children actually enrolled in the state's public and private schools.¹⁷ Henry S. Nunn, editor of the Kinston Journal, pointedly described the situation saying, "The unsuccessful system of public schools in this state for a number of years has produced such strong prejudices that hard work is necessary to accomplish much good in the way of education." He added that "Education is like some other things, the less you have the less you want."¹⁸

Council Wooten died when Joyner was ten years old. Joyner later regarded his grandfather's influence upon his young life as "perhaps the most potent force in the shaping of his character." After Wooten's death, Shadrach I. Wooten, Joyner's uncle, reared him in his home on a farm located three miles from La Grange. Joyner later said, "Shadrach Wooten cared for him as though he had been his own child."¹⁹ Shadrach's niece Eliza Wooten, the sister of Joyner's mother lived in her Uncle Shadrach's home. Eliza, whom Joyner called Aunt Ebb, cared for him as though he were her own.

The community of La Grange had a population of five hundred in the early 1880s. It boasted a town council, mayor and policeman; it also had three physicians but no lawyers. Being a rather religious community, it had a Methodist, Baptist and Disciples of Christ Church.²⁰ William N. Nettles, editor of "La Grange Items," a column that appeared bi-monthly in the Kinston Journal, illustrated the religious fervor of the community when he wrote: "The driving of horses twenty or thirty miles these hot Sundays in pursuit of pleasure cannot be regarded as anything less than Sabbath breaking."²¹ Nettles further reported: "An unusually large congregation met at Hickory Grove last Sunday for preaching. No minister, and the congregation were disappointed. The pastor, however is not to blame having given previous notice that he could not attend."²²

Despite its size, La Grange was far from being a sleepy little village. In August, 1879 the town commissioners passed an ordinance prohibiting hogs, geese and goats from running at large in the streets. This action did not satisfy all the citizens. Many of them met before the mayor to get the ordinance dropped, but they were without success.²³ Popularity at the bars and the consumption of alcohol affected some of the citizens, particularly during election time. Typical of these elections, drunkenness kept one policeman quite busy: Nettles reported that "Policeman Albritton escorted a man to the lock up on Friday for trying

to bring about prohibition in his own way, by drinking it all." Nettles added: "the policeman only received two cussins within the last month."²⁴

Joyner enjoyed growing up in La Grange; and it appears that he, along with his aunt, uncle, brothers, sisters and cousins formed a very close knit family. Unlike most families stricken with poverty in North Carolina during Reconstruction, his family was among the wealthiest of property owners in Lenoir County. Therefore, when compared to the many poverty stricken families living in this state after the Civil War, Joyner spent his boyhood years in relative affluence.

Joyner spent much time during his youth doing farm work on his Uncle Shadrach's farm. He recalled that while growing up he "learned to do all sorts of farm work." He noted that he "not only learned to do it but" he "did it." He counted it as being "one of the chief blessings of" his life to be "reared in the country on a farm" with the "privilege of living and laboring in the open air, and of leading a free and happy life in the fields and forests, with the birds and animals, the flowers and plants." He added that growing up on the farm was "a free, peaceful, happy, healthful life."²⁵

While Joyner studied at La Grange Academy he made an outstanding record. Woodley left the academy after serving as headmaster for three years and Joseph Kinsey replaced

him. During Joyner's last year at the academy, Kinsey noted that he had received all fives in his subjects. All fives on a report card from the headmaster denoted excellence, and to receive a one in any subject indicated that a student had done poorly. Joyner received no ones. A year before, however, he did get a four in Latin, but the record he achieved at La Grange Academy was still impressive.²⁶

In August 1878, at the age of sixteen, with only six years of formal education, Joyner left La Grange with his brother John. At Goldsboro they boarded a train for Durham. From there, they travelled by horse and buggy to Chapel Hill, their final destination. This was the only means of transportation available until 1882, when the State University Railroad opened, linking Chapel Hill to the major railroad lines of the state.²⁷

Joyner and his brother were among the sixty-six freshman to enter the University of North Carolina in the fall of 1878. Joyner, his brother and the other freshman probably spent their first two days at the university taking examinations in order to meet the requirements of the school.²⁸ Upon their arrival, the Joyner brothers could have been greeted by Charles Duncan McIver and Charles Brantley Aycock, two outstanding members of the sophomore class. During that time it was a tradition at the university for the upper classman to cheer the incoming freshman's arrival: "Welcoming new students to the

university was one of Charles B. Aycock's special interests." Many of the new students considered the welcome by Aycock to be an honor in itself since he was the recognized student leader.²⁹ Both Aycock, later governor of North Carolina, and McIver, later founder and president of the Normal and Industrial College for Women at Greensboro, were among Joyner's closest friends while he attended the university. But of the two, McIver became his life long friend and associate.³⁰

Chapel Hill was a small rural academic village in 1878. It had a population of no more than five hundred; and among those, two hundred were male students enrolled at the university. The faculty had grown from eight members in 1877 to eleven in 1878.³¹

When Joyner arrived on the campus, public higher education in the state remained in a precarious condition. The school was only beginning to recover from its collapse of the early 1870s, during the administration of David Lowry Swain. In 1875 the General Assembly provided the funding to reopen the school. In 1876 the university resumed operations under the presidency of Kemp Plummer Battle. He was a capable educator devoted to rebuilding the university.³² It has been noted that the General Assembly might not have funded the school without the "pioneering efforts of Cornelia Phillips Spencer, a life long resident of Chapel Hill, who successfully lobbied the General

Assembly to appropriate money to the university."³³

The curriculum at the university had been reorganized in 1875 and included more scientific and linguistic courses which complemented the classical studies in Latin and Greek. The university offered two bachelors degrees, the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Philosophy. The Bachelor of Arts envisaged both Latin and Greek and the Bachelor of Philosophy included French, German and scientific studies. The university also offered masters and doctoral degrees. According to Battle, the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy, Master of Arts and Master of Science "are conferred upon students who have completed post graduate studies prescribed by the Faculty." The university also conferred law degrees, and a medical school opened on the campus in 1879.³⁴

Due to the efforts of Battle, the university established a summer normal school in 1877, "the first venture of its kind in the South."³⁵ The normal school's purpose was to train both men and women for the schools of the state. Battle said, "the school was to teach the latest and most improved methods of managing classes, arousing interest, imparting knowledge and developing the minds of the pupils," as well as providing instruction in the subjects taught in the state's schools.³⁶

Student living conditions on the campus according to Joyner were "simple, rugged--even primitive."³⁷ One student who graduated in the 1880s said, "there were only eight

college buildings" on the entire campus. Those buildings included: Old East, Person Hall, South Building, Gerrard Hall, Old West, Smith Hall, New East and New West. The student body consisted entirely of males, and if "a female were seen on campus she would likely hear the words 'Calico on Campus' shouted from a dozen windows." The furnishings in the dormitory rooms "consisted of a wash bowl and pitcher, water bucket and slop bucket, a well worn bedstead and mattress, a small pine table, book shelves suspended from the wall, two split bottom chairs and a rocker." Students were responsible for getting their own firewood, which they purchased from farmers in the surrounding vicinity. Kerosene lamps provided the only source of light for students who studied at night.³⁸

During Joyner's freshman year he stayed in Old East and roomed with his brother, John. In his sophomore year he roomed with Edwin Anderson Alderman, later president of the University of North Carolina, Tulane University and the University of Virginia. They boarded at Mrs. Craig's boarding house; Mrs. Craig was a widow and "the mother of Locke Craig, later governor of the state and then a student" a year ahead of Joyner.³⁹ In his senior year he roomed with Charles Randolph Thomas, who became a lawyer in New Bern. They were roommates in an office on Franklin Street in downtown Chapel Hill.⁴⁰

Compulsory religious services formed a major part of

student life and were regularly conducted in Gerrard Hall. According to Battle, "two students one for each aisle," reported the number of empty chairs at each service. "The penalty for non-attendance" was "first the loss of character as an orderly student, and second being reported to superiors at home."⁴¹

Joyner evidently enjoyed the religious services at the university. While there, he and Charles B. Aycock were baptized by the Reverend Amzi Clarence Dixon, brother of the novelist Thomas Dixon. Joyner later recalled their baptism. He wrote: ". . . in a meeting conducted by A. C. Dixon in the Old Baptist Church of the little village" of Chapel Hill, . . . "a number of students thirty or forty, according to my recollection professed conversion and connected themselves with the various churches in the village. Aycock and I were among the number that joined the Baptist church in that meeting." Joyner added that the two "were baptized one Sunday by Mr. Dixon in Purefoy's mill pond, about two miles from the little village of Chapel Hill."⁴²

After the reopening of the university in 1875, a new era in collegiate athletics appeared on the campus. The students, however, had little desire for intercollegiate contests. Many of the "students exercised in their own rooms with dumbbells and Indian clubs." Other students went on long walks in small groups in the surrounding countryside. The Young Men's Christian Association became a

part of campus life in 1876; and a year later, the university built an outdoor gymnasium to meet the students' growing athletic needs.⁴³

Concerning student involvement in sports activities, Walter Lee Phillips, a member of Joyner's class later recalled that the students "had no training in athletics of any kind." Students "played games just for the exercise and the sport" of it, "and nearly every student played in one kind or other of them."⁴⁴ From Phillips' assessment it is perhaps evident that Joyner participated in athletics, but perhaps did not excel in them as did his friend Charles D. McIver. According to Joyner, "McIver, due to his size, could bat a ball the farthest and holler the loudest."⁴⁵ Due to Joyner's small size his Aunt Ebb had to order him a youth's frock coat from Baltimore, because the suit she sent him was too large for him to wear to the university's commencement in May 1879. Concerned for the new suit, Joyner's Aunt Ebb warned him, "don't you and John travel in your new suits, but wear some of the old clothes. You will ruin the new ones on the train with dust and smoke so don't wear them."⁴⁶

During Joyner's student days the university prohibited hazing as a part of campus activities.⁴⁷ Sometimes, however, hazing did occur. One incident witnessed by Joyner involved a student named William George Randall who was "being forced to dance naked on a barrel in front of his

tormentors." Joyner's friend McIver quickly intervened and stopped the students from hazing Randall.⁴⁸ Noah J. Rouse, Joyner's cousin, while attending law school at the university in 1882, described the hazing of freshmen by the upperclassmen. He told Joyner, "I don't think I have ever seen freshmen so roughly handled. Some students were swift of foot and one had to spend the night in the ditch."⁴⁹

The university also discouraged students from drinking alcoholic beverages. Battle said, "Lager beer salons are prohibited at Chapel Hill." He further added, "Whatever the argument was used for them by those who declaimed this popular beverage was rendered futile by the potent fact that the beer could be and would be adulterated with additional measures of alcohol."⁵⁰ Despite the enforcement of prohibition, Rouse described to Joyner an incident where a student had been drinking on campus. Rouse said, "A student who had been drinking beer, seized a hat in his hands and exclaimed with all his lung power 'Hurrah for the Philanthropic Cox.'" Rouse added, "I only relate this to show you that Chapel Hillians have not ceased to be Chapel Hillians."⁵¹

In the spring of 1879, Joyner became a member of the Philanthropic Society, a literary society whose members came only from the eastern part of the state. The Dialectic Society, the Philanthropic Society's counterpart, admitted members only from the western part of the state. Commenting

on the societies' geographic boundaries for membership, Battle said: "The dividing line is not fixed, but well enough understood to prevent disputes."⁵² These literary societies originated at the university in June of 1795 and "were modeled after the Whig Society at Princeton University."⁵³ According to Battle the activities of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies "consist in debating, declamation, and English composition. The meetings are secret. They are conducted as a rule with great decorum, and the members perform their duties with much diligence and spirit."⁵⁴

These societies "collected and maintained substantial libraries to aid members in their literary exercises." They also provided their members an escape from the "dullness of college life," by allowing them to participate in debates which offered them valuable training in public speaking.⁵⁵ Joyner borrowed many books from the Philanthropic Society library while at the university. He read orations, essays, novels, poetry, as well as studies in geography and history. Among the magazines he read were the Knickerbocker, Spectator and Littell's Living Age.⁵⁶

According to the Philanthropic Society minutes Joyner received no major fines for tardiness or for non-attendance while attending the society's meetings.⁵⁷ During his sophomore year he did, however, participate in a so called "sophomore brawl" that occurred among members of the

Philanthropic Society in the Philanthropic Hall. While the brawl continued a bowl was broken, and the students accused Joyner. One of his classmates, Henry Faison teased him for breaking the bowl. Joyner then got angry at Faison and provoked him to a fight, during which Joyner was beaten up rather badly. A few months later, Joyner received a letter of apology from his opponent. Faison told Joyner, he was "heavily ashamed" of himself "for beating you as I have done, but I pray your forgiveness on the pleas that such will not be the case again." Referring to the fight Faison stated, "It was my opinion that you were a little mad, and what I said to you about it was merely to tease you."⁵⁸

Joyner participated actively in the Philanthropic Society debates. In response to his public speaking ability Nathan Wilson Walker, later a professor at the university said, "As a speaker he is very deliberate, but direct and forceful. His ideas are always expressed clearly and logically and in a pleasing language." Walker noted that Joyner had a keen appreciation for humor, but seldom used humor while illustrating his speeches. He noted that Joyner was "a lover of literature" and "a diligent student of its masters. Having their best thoughts at his ready command, he is never at a loss for an apt quotation when needed."⁵⁹

Joyner delivered a speech to the Philanthropic Society in 1880 entitled "Shall Capital Punishment Be Abolished?" In this speech he came to the conclusion that, "All nations

and all ages bear witness to the fact that capital punishment is a necessity." Joyner continued, "What other punishment can give to law to guard the sacredness of universal life so majestic. Capital punishment preserves government and society."⁶⁰

In 1880 Joyner addressed the Philanthropic Society on the liberal subject of educating women. His speech entitled "What Shall We Do With Our Girls?" revealed certain aspects of Joyner's wit, as well as his progressive views toward educating women. In this speech he said in part:

. . . Today the queens of society are little more than painted toys--things beautiful to be looked at--so are waxen images--more things of art however than nature . . . She who is followed by the most numerous train of beaux attracted not by intellectual superiority, but by tinsel and show just as moths are attracted by a little light. No wonder there are so many female butterflies.

We shall need a system of education that shall render woman independent just as man's education does him . . . Why should woman be precluded from all vocations save two or three? What right has a man to stand at the entrance of all lucrative fields of action and when woman does approach ware her back, and inform her she is out of her sphere.

God has made woman in a certain form. Fashion steps in and says your Creator has not made you right. I can improve upon the form and would you believe it, thousands of Anglo-Saxon women are compromising their bodies between boards of steel in obedience to the edict of the Baal of fashion.

The days are coming when women will lead the by the paths of learning and life and enter the highways along side of man.⁶¹

When Joyner wrote that speech, the state provided no

public higher education for women. But eleven years later the state offered such education when the Normal and Industrial College for Women opened at Greensboro. Charles D. McIver became that school's first president. Both Joyner's and McIver's views on education were reflective of Cornelia Phillips Spencer's opinions. She had a great deal of influence on the university students. Spencer made the statement that men are made by their mothers, "thereby antedating the slogan of McIver 'Educate a woman and you educate a family.'"⁶²

Joyner participated actively in debates as McIver did his best to avoid them. Joyner recalled that many discussions between him and McIver took place in McIver's dormitory room in Old West. McIver preferred to pay his fine to the Dialectic Society in order not to debate. Despite this reluctance, McIver had many outstanding ideas concerning the improvement of literacy in this state. Of their private sessions in Old West it has been noted, "No matter how these discussions ranged over the whole of the state's problems, it came back to the same starting point. North Carolina could make no progress whatever until it had thrown off illiteracy."⁶³

Rose Holder, in her biography of McIver, noted that the names of Joyner, McIver, Alderman, Aycok and Marcus Cicero Stephens Noble "were written high across the page of a more enlightened North Carolina." Holder further added that

these individuals while at the university "formed a tight little circle and it would remain so, the hard inner core of a large undertaking."⁶⁴ Edwin A. Alderman, a graduate of the class of 1881 said, "There was no better place, I think for the making of leaders in the world than Chapel Hill in the late seventies."⁶⁵ Moreover, Dumas Malone in his biography of Alderman wrote, "More extraordinary it is that this small group of college boys contained so many who were destined to play a dominant part in the political life and educational revival of their commonwealth."⁶⁶

Joyner's senior grade report of December 22, 1880 indicated that he was absent from recitations ten times, and eight of those he gave no excuse. His grades were: political economy, 95; German, 90; psychology, 98; English literature, 86; geology, to be examined, and astronomy, 76. Concerning his report Battle commented that he was "a faithful and exemplary student."⁶⁷ Furthermore, his grade reports from the university never indicated that he owed the bursar of the school any money, or got behind in paying his tuition.

Joyner spent most of his time studying and participating in the Philanthropic Society debates. Due to his preoccupation in his studies, he hardly took time to write home. Joyner's Aunt Ebb provided him with news from his family in La Grange; on one occasion she said, "We hardly ever hear from you or your brother John. The least you can

do is send us a telegram to let us know how you are doing."⁶⁸ His studious efforts certainly paid off, and as a result he completed a four year degree in only three years. His brother John did not graduate from the university. After he studied there for two years, he returned to La Grange and worked in one of the local stores as a merchant.⁶⁹

In May 1881, a month before Joyner was to graduate, he received a letter from his brother John indicating that he was much pleased to learn that Joyner had been one of the speakers selected to deliver an address at the commencement. He told Joyner that he had written a letter to him "but had not mailed it advising" Joyner "to come home and not accept their old diploma since they would not allow" Joyner "to speak." Concerning this matter John told him, "All is well that ends well."⁷⁰

Joyner was one of ten of the speakers chosen by the faculty from the graduating class of thirty-one.⁷¹ On commencement day he delivered a speech entitled "Self Government." In this speech he presented a very arousing and patriotic discourse in defense of a democracy. He declared: "The progress of society has been the purpose of government . . . All government is or should be, the servant of the people--not the master."⁷²

General Edward Mallet of Fayetteville, a member of the class of 1818, delivered the commencement address. In this

speech he said, ". . . the most miserable and useless position a man can be placed in is when he has nothing to do."⁷³ Apparently Joyner was impressed by Mallet's observation. After leaving Chapel Hill, he began a career that gave him plenty to do.

CHAPTER III

FROM HEADMASTER TO BARRISTER: 1881-1889

James Yadkin Joyner returned to La Grange after graduating from the University of North Carolina. Before he left Chapel Hill, however, he persuaded Kemp P. Battle to deliver the commencement address at La Grange Academy. On May 5, 1881 the Kinston Journal reported that Battle planned to address the academy on the 9th of June.¹

Attending the commencement at the academy with Battle were Joyner and his cousin, Noah J. Rouse, who graduated with Joyner at the university. Before Battle addressed the audience of two hundred at the school, Joyner had the opportunity of introducing the university president. Joyner said: "It is my pleasing duty to introduce to you, one who has for many years been thoroughly identified with the educational interests of North Carolina." He pointed out that Battle "fought so valiantly and successfully for the State Normal Schools" which has "done and will continue to do a great and noble work for our teachers." Joyner further recognized his interest in bringing new life to the state university after the Civil War. He also noted Battle's achievements in agriculture: "To his untiring efforts the farmers of North Carolina owe the establishment of the Agricultural Experiment Station." After Joyner's introductory remarks, Battle gave a very brief speech on the

subject of farmers educating their sons not simply for the professions but also for "education to make their sons good farmers." After Battle's speech the headmaster, Joseph Kinsey announced that he planned to retire after sixteen years of teaching, and turn the management of his school "over to Messrs. J. Y. Joyner and N. J. Rouse, formerly his pupils and now graduates of the university,"² as well as the University Normal School.

It must have certainly been an honor for Joyner and Rouse that Battle traveled seventy-five miles from Chapel Hill to La Grange, to take part in the commencement exercises of the academy. Undoubtedly, Battle's presence helped Joyner to enter smoothly into teaching as he left his student days at the university behind him.

Although Joyner might have gone into teaching because it was an easy thing for a college graduate to do, his enrollment at the University Normal School gives evidence of his desire to become a professional educator. He and Rouse attended the normal school at the university in the summer of 1881.³

The University Normal School has been described as the "mother of educational ideas and movements in North Carolina." The faculty at the school effectively instilled in their students the "compulsion to teach."⁴ During its entire existence at Chapel Hill from 1877 to 1884 it had a combined enrollment of around 2,500 teachers. The school

gave a "boost to the weak teaching profession in the state and served as a model invitation in other states."⁵ Among the students who attended the school with Joyner were: Charles B. Aycock, Edwin A. Alderman and Charles D. McIver. They also began their careers by entering the teaching profession.⁶

While these students attended the normal school, the most influential and enthusiastic member of the school's faculty was Edward Pearson Moses. A native of Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1881 he became superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools. He later had a profound impact on Joyner, McIver, Alderman and others with regard to their careers in public education.⁷ Evaluating Moses's influence as a teacher, Philander Priestley Claxton, a prominent Southern educator, said: "Alderman, McIver and I and the other men of our ages including J.Y. Joyner . . . owed our inspiration and our zeal to the cause of public education to Edward Pearson Moses." Claxton added: "Moses was a modern Pestalozzi the most enthusiastic and inspiring man" he had "ever known."⁸

Regarding Joyner's ability to teach, Battle considered that he had "excellent talents, habits and character . . . well fitted for the conduct of a school of high grade." Joyner's former mathematics professor, Robert H. Graves noted that "his thorough preparation and high moral character fit him in an especial manner for the work of a

teacher." And, George T. Winston, Joyner's Latin professor at the university said, "his scholarship is very good, and he possesses a very clear and strong intellect." Winston added that "he looked forward to his future with great success" and he considered "a school fortunate to secure his services."⁹

La Grange Academy was a "spacious two story building, well plastered and furnished with wall maps and 'triumph study desks.'" It opened its doors to students for the fall session on August 1, 1881 with Joyner and Rouse serving as the school's principals. In addition to their administrative duties, they taught courses in English, Latin, German, French, mathematics and surveying. The music teacher, Miss Louise M. Daniel, taught in a separate building so that the other students might not be distracted by the sounds while they were preparing their lessons.

Although the school was coed, it did require a division between the sexes; the males occupied the first floor and the females the second floor. When it came time for daily recitations, the male and female students recited together in the large hall on the first floor.

Charges for tuition ranged from ten to twenty dollars; music, room and board were extra. Music, including piano, ten dollars; board, including lights and fuel ranged from six to ten dollars. The school did not have a dormitory, but room and board could be obtained in the hotel, or in the

homes of private families in the community.¹⁰

Joyner and Rouse had a successful fall term when the school closed on Friday, December 16, 1881.¹¹ It reopened for its spring session on Monday, January 1, 1882 "with an increasing number of pupils." The editor of the Kinston Journal wished the academy "success to all good enterprises."¹²

Besides being a principal and teacher at the academy, Joyner also delivered speeches to the citizens of La Grange, in order to raise funds for the school. Joyner told the citizens: "Good schools add greatly to the prosperity of any coin and is a proposition which needs no demonstration." He added: "It is then the duty of every good citizen of this community to do what he can to build good schools here."¹³

Joyner enjoyed his administrative and teaching duties at the academy. He later recalled that many of his pupils at the academy had been his "schoolmates in former days and some of whom were older and much larger than" he. He commented that due to those factors anyone could "well imagine the embarrassment" of his position as teacher of those pupils.¹⁴

In 1882, due to the success he had achieved as headmaster of the academy, the voters of Lenoir County elected him to become their county superintendent of public instruction. Only twenty years old, he became the youngest

superintendent of the public schools in Lenoir County, succeeding William N. Harper, the county's first superintendent. Joyner easily served as headmaster of the academy and superintendent of Lenoir County schools, since the public school system was almost non-existent at that date.¹⁵

When the academy began its fall session in 1882, Noah J. Rouse, Joyner's colleague, began studying law at the University of North Carolina.¹⁶ Joyner then secured Henry Horace Williams, later a professor at the University of North Carolina, to assist him in his teaching duties at the academy. That same year La Grange Academy changed its name to the Collegiate Institute, in order to indicate that the school was preparing its pupils not only for life but also for college.

While Joyner was teaching at the school he fell in love with Effie Rouse, one of his pupils, who was also his childhood sweetheart in La Grange. In a letter to Effie he recalled their courtship:

I was a teacher and you were my pupil. Soon it began to dawn upon me tht you were the teacher and I was the pupil. . . . When as guileless children we used to trudge to school. Even then considerably older than you, still whenever I gazed into your liquid eyes, or heard your musical laughter, or listened to the soft sweet melody of your voice my heart beat faster and faster as if new life had been imparted to it. The reasons for this I did not then know. Time passed on, I then entered college. I did not think that I loved anyone, but I found myself thinking of thee frequently. I was the pupil. Unconsciously,

unintentionally, you were teaching me the lessons of love.

Joyner and Effie Rouse had a beautiful courtship that lasted six years, culminating in marriage in December, 1887. During their courtship, the two corresponded often and expressed their views about many issues that affected them.

In 1883 Effie attended the Peace Institute, now Peace College in Raleigh. While a student there, she wrote Joyner: "It is useless to tell you, but contrary to my wishes, but final duty directs my actions. Ma says I must not correspond with any young man while I am at school." She added: "Ma has no idea how much pain she has caused me."¹⁸ In response to her letter, Joyner replied: "My heart overflowed with joy when I learned that your heart was still faithful, and that in stopping our correspondence you were but acting in obedience to the highest earthly authority." He went on to say, "I wonder if elderly people forget that they too were young once."¹⁹ Despite Effie's mother's warning that she should cease writing to Joyner, the two continued their correspondence.

After teaching at the academy and serving as superintendent of the schools in Lenoir County for two years, Joyner had doubts about remaining in the field of teaching. He told Effie, "Somehow or another I can't get the consent of my mind to live the life of a teacher." During his leisure time he read Blackstone and other legal

works. Contemplating the decision to give up teaching in order to study law, he told Effie that "even though the field of law is overcrowded, just as every field is overcrowded," but he believed that true success depended on hard work and if applied correctly, it could be achieved in every field.²⁰

Although Joyner had an interest in studying law in the fall of 1884, in October of that year he accepted a teaching position at the graded schools in Winston, now Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Joyner's old classmate and friend Charles D. McIver was a superintendent and teacher at the school. Calvin Henderson Wiley, North Carolina's first superintendent of public instruction was chairman of the school board. Undoubtedly Joyner accepted the position due to the fact that McIver taught at the school. Wiley's assistant Julius Tomlinson wrote: "Mr. Charles D. McIver whom I think you know is my only male assistant and I desire another."²¹ Tomlinson taught at the normal school at Chapel Hill before joining Calvin Wiley in his work at the Winston graded schools.²²

On October 14, 1884 Joyner sent Calvin Wiley a telegram stating that he planned to "report for duty Monday morning, business prevents earlier arrival until absolutely necessary."²³ Although he arrived in Winston after a tiresome journey, his initial impressions were very favorable. His first thrill of joy occurred when McIver

told him that the graded schools planned to take vacation days on Thursday and Fridays so that pupils and teachers could attend the state fair in Raleigh. This trip also gave him the opportunity to see Effie Rouse, who also planned to be at the fair.²⁴

The graded schools originated in the large cities throughout North Carolina. The first graded school in this state perhaps started in Greensboro in 1875, but it continues to be a debatable proposition. The dubious origin of these schools arises from the fact that initially many of them existed only temporarily. The support for the graded schools came directly from taxes levied in the cities, and some cities supported both black and white graded schools. Graded schools opened in Raleigh in 1875; in Goldsboro, Durham and Wilson in 1881; and Winston in 1884. By 1900 only thirty graded schools existed in the cities and towns throughout the state. Usually, the term for these schools ran for about eight months. The teachers assigned the pupils to each grade according to their achievement and age. Therefore these schools represented dramatic educational progress and success to the pupils enrolled in them; and contrasted sharply with the average rural single room school which had only one teacher to teach all the pupils.²⁵

The school term at the Winston graded schools ran for nine and a half months, and the length of the school day was seven hours. Teachers taught academic subjects for five

hours, and during the remaining hours students participated in recreational activities. Recreation was an important activity of these graded schools, and many educators often observed the pupils perform calisthenics in the school's auditorium, "as though it were a novel scene."²⁶

While at the Winston graded schools, Joyner taught classes in mathematics and German and received a salary of fifty-six dollars per month. Even though he enjoyed teaching there and working with his close friend McIver, he still had ambitions to attend law school. In February 1885 William R. Allen, an attorney in Goldsboro who later became a State Supreme Court Judge,²⁷ told Joyner that together they could "work up a good practice." He added: "We would not step into a fortune but I see no reason why we could not finally command a leading practice."²⁸

Joyner's Aunt Ebb was married to William Turner Faircloth, an attorney in Goldsboro, who also practiced with Allen. Faircloth later became a chief justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court.²⁹ While teaching in Winston, Joyner's Aunt Ebb supplied him with news from home, and gave him advice as to what to read in the legal field during his spare time. On one occasion she wrote: "Have you read Judge Read's address before the Bar at Asheville last Summer? If you have not get it from some of the Lawyers in Winston. There is some good advice in it for young Lawyers."³⁰

In March 1885 Joyner received an offer from Charles O. Daniels to buy the Kinston Free Press. Daniels wrote: "I write to sell out the Free Press and I write to know if you would not like to buy . . . The Free Press has 1200 circulations, an advertising patronage of about \$1,000 a year; a fair office, a good power press and type for a first class newspaper." He said Joyner had nothing to lose if he bought the Kinston Free Press. Daniels added that Joyner could practice his "profession and run the Free Press too."³¹ The Kinston Free Press began operating in Kinston in April 1882. The editors of the newspaper were two brothers, Josephus and Charles O. Daniels. Josephus later obtained fame when he became the editor and publisher of the Raleigh News and Observer. In 1886 William S. Herbert purchased half interest in the Kinston Free Press.³² Even though Charles O. Daniels offered Joyner the opportunity to buy the newspaper, his reason for declining Daniels' offer stemmed perhaps from his plans to study law.

In the summer of 1885 Joyner left Winston and accepted the job of training teachers in the summer normal school in Washington, North Carolina. [The legislature in 1885 discontinued the summer normal school at the University of North Carolina, and with its two-thousand dollar appropriation it helped create four additional normal schools at Boone, Asheville, Winston and Washington. By doing this the legislature "expanded its commitment to

teacher education without a concurrent increase in financial support" for the normal schools.³³

In July, Joyner received the following letter from McIver: "I wanted you to know that the board elected you to your former salary. . . . Come and be here at my marriage on the 29th." He added: "Everybody is anxious for you to return to Winston and even if you do not return here the expense of a visit will be well invested."³⁴ Unfortunately, Joyner could not make it on time to McIver's wedding due to delayed trains. He did, however, have the pleasure of seeing McIver and his new bride in Greensboro before they were to leave on their honeymoon to Sanford. Joyner told Effie that he was doubly glad to see McIver, he "was glad to see him for his own sake and more so because he bore a letter from" her. In reference to his re-election at the Winston graded schools he told Effie that he feared that "they will make" him teach there "another year by main force" notwithstanding the fact that he declined the position. He added that "the board re-elected" him "to a considerably increased salary" and when he still declined the board wished to know what he would return for. Joyner hoped that Effie would not think him conceited if he did not return to Winston.³⁵

Despite his refusal to return to Winston, Calvin Wiley and Julius Tomlinson continued to pressure Joyner to return. Together Wiley and Tomlinson hoped to induce him by offering

more money. Tomlinson said: "It is needless for me to repeat to you that I am highly pleased with your work and with yourself as an associate. I think you can let law wait a year or so longer."³⁶ Wiley told Joyner that he had "a personal as well as a strong public reason for wishing to retain" him. He stated that one of his sons was bent on the decision to be in Joyner's room, and Wiley commented that he "would either prepare him at home than send him to an indifferent teacher. We have fixed the beginning of next session for September 14th and have not filled your place at my suggestion, your name will be put on our records and a copy sent. When shall we mail it to you? Professor Tomlinson is very anxious to hear from you and offers twenty dollars out of his own pocket towards your salary."³⁷

Joyner must have been flattered by Wiley's and Tomlinson's interest in retaining him. However, even Tomlinson's offer to give him a twenty dollar per month salary increase had no effect as far as influencing him to return to the Winston graded schools.

In the fall of 1885 Joyner began studying law in the Dick and Dillard Law School in Greensboro, North Carolina. As a proprietary law school, it was typical of the majority of law schools throughout the country in the nineteenth century. Even so, many of the other professional schools including medicine, dentistry and pharmacy existed as proprietary schools, and were slow in developing educational

reforms.³⁸

Judges Robert Paine Dick and John Henry Dillard conducted the school in their law firm located on North Elm Street in Greensboro. It has been noted that while the school existed it offered the best legal training of any law school in that section of the state. The school operated for twenty years and prepared over three hundred young men for the North Carolina bar examination. The school closed at the death of its leaders, Dillard, who died in 1896, and Dick, who died in 1898.³⁹

Judge Dick was a staunch Republican and he told his law students that "order was heaven's first law." He often said that "no amount of undigested information could take the place of clear and serious thinking."⁴⁰ Judge Dillard, on the other hand, was a Democrat. Both he and Judge Dick served for many years as judges of the North Carolina Supreme Court and the District Court of the United States.⁴¹

During Joyner's first week at the law school he told Effie that he had "two recitations daily six days in the week." Concerning these recitations he said he recited only passibly. He then recounted for Effie a compliment that Judge Dillard paid him concerning his recitations: "By the way I must tell you a compliment old Judge Dillard paid me the other night--in talking with Harris. It is so characteristic of this man. Said the Judge: Harris whose this fellow Joyner anyhow? Were you in college with him?"

Good student ain't he? He's going to be a bad colt in the law after he stays here awhile."⁴²

While studying law in Grensboro, Joyner gave up pipe smoking at Effie's insistence. He told her that for nearly three weeks he had "not touched a pipe." He said: "Was it for your sake that I abandoned the habit." He then described to her the scene of throwing his pipe into a blazing fire in the fireplace in his room. "The victim was placed upon the funeral pile, the torch was applied and in the burried glare of the hissing crackling flames appeared the dim outline of a wasted wierd ghastly 'pipe stem'. It was mine, without a sigh or a moan, I saw it reduced to ashes, and turned away a wiser and a better man." He then composed an epitaph:

Here lies the pipe of J. Y. J.
It will never be smoked another day.
Gently it dropped from the₄₃reed root stem,
a victim of a ladies whim.

Joyner enjoyed studying law and due to his success Fannie B. Cox, a teacher in the Winston graded schools wrote: "It is pleasant to know that you are so well satisfied with your profession, my earnest hope is that it may lead you to wealth, fame and happiness."⁴⁴ On another occasion William R. Allen, an attorney in Goldsboro wrote: "I have been hearing good reports from you lately and have no doubt you will bring your license with you week after next. Keep cool and you have nothing to fear."⁴⁵

After only five months of studying law in the Dick and

Dillard Law School, Joyner passed the North Carolina bar, administered by the State Supreme Court in Raleigh. He then became associated with the law firm of Faircloth and Allen in Goldsboro. Hence the firm became known as Faircloth, Allen and Joyner. He argued his first case, which dealt with assault and battery, before Mr. Murchison, the Justice of the Peace in La Grange. Concerning his first legal case he said: "I defended and won. The town turned out to hear my maiden speech. Luke Russell was my client. He was jubilant over the victory. It was an amusing case. I began with the constitution and came down with the code for which I knew anything about."⁴⁶

Goldsboro, the seat of Wayne County, had a population between three and four thousand while Joyner lived there during the 1880s.⁴⁷ His law practice in that town kept him quite busy since the law firm had eight cases before the North Carolina Supreme Court. Being so busy, he spent many days in the courtroom representing clients.⁴⁸ Although, the partners won most of the cases they represented, sometimes they were not so lucky. Joyner commented to Effie that "the Judge and Allen have been sick in body and mind ever since their return from Snow Hill. Their defeat in the McDougald suit was a severe blow to them. . . . Uncle William and Allen are somewhat more cheerful now." According to Joyner they became cheerful when they "won a big suit against the Wilmington and Weldon R.R. . . . obtaining judgement for

"their client for \$2,850 dollars, a penalty for the railroads failure to ship twenty seven bags of rice for their client."⁴⁹

Joyner, being sympathetic toward his clients, took on some cases that many of the lawyers in Goldsboro desired not to handle. One such case involved a black farmer who could not get any attorney in that town to represent him. Joyner was his last resort. The farmer had about eighty acres of land about to be sold under a mortgage. "The mortgage was given to secure the payment of about two hundred dollars, a good part of which" his client "claimed had been paid." The client "was willing to sell part of the land and settle the claim but the holder of the mortgage brought up some old notes against" his client. The client then wanted to sell his land and "take out of the proceeds which of course he had no right to do." Joyner added: The mortgagee was an oppressive Shylock and was bent upon gobbeling up the negro's land." Joyner then presented the mortgagee with these facts and convinced him not to sell his client's property. The black farmer was then able to keep his property without sacrificing any of it toward the mortgagee's fictitious claim.⁵⁰

Although Joyner could be sympathetic to his clients, he indicated to Effie that he was becoming mean since he joined the "much cussed profession. Took a warrant out on a client who failed to pay a claim owing to the firm. When the

warrant was served on the client, the client then decided to pay."⁵¹

While practicing law, he kept his sleeping quarters in the rear of the office. He told Effie that "I commenced keeping house . . . or rather I have had my sleeping apartment fixed up in the rear of the office and shall spend my nights there in the future."⁵² He was an early riser, and most of the time the town had not fully awakened when he began preparing his cases.⁵³

Charles B. Aycock practiced law in Goldsboro along with Joyner. Aycock was a very good lawyer and when they were on a case together, the expression they often used when they got through with a case was "we cleaned them up."⁵⁴ On one occasion, Aycock and Joyner took time from their busy law practices to see the circus that was in town. Joyner remarked: "Aycock came along and he and I were the only lawyers left in lawyer's row accept Uncle William." Aycock persuaded Joyner to go with him to the circus so that Joyner could "keep the anxiety of animals off Aycock."⁵⁵ One night when Joyner and Aycock arrived from a trip late in the evening, they discovered an intoxicated man in front of Joyner's law office. Joyner told Effie that "with Aycock's assistance I have just been extricated from a peculiar predicament. When we returned, behold a drunken fellow beastly drunk was stretched across my office door. Fortunately the door was locked. They then persuaded the

man to seek other quarters."⁵⁶

Joyner became a member of the prohibition club in Goldsboro in May 1886. He joined the club expecting to do what he could for the expulsion of liquor from Goldsboro. He told Effie that "after due consideration he took the stand on the side of prohibition." He added: "It may not be the popular side with the masses but it is the right side. It is a moral question that must be met."⁵⁷ When the town of Goldsboro voted on local option. "It was a hard fought battle resulting in a majority of forty nine for liquor." Therefore Goldsboro stayed wet. Concerning Goldsboro's failure to pass local option, Joyner commented to Effie that, "in meeting it there is but one question for a gentleman to ask himself--is it right or wrong? I shall ever strike liquor a blow whenever the opportunity presents itself."⁵⁸

Joyner served as a marshall in the Spring Races held in Goldsboro in May of 1886. Over three hundred people were present at the event to see all types of carriages and buggies race. With respect to his duties as marshal, Joyner said: "I was there assigned the highly honorable duties of keeping the rings in position." He told Effie: "I am truly glad you did not come to see me make a dunce of myself. I never wore a ribbon before and if I retain my senses I'll never wear another."⁵⁹

He delivered political speeches for the Democratic

party in the surrounding towns of Goldsboro. He gave one of these speeches to the citizens in Grantham township. Joyner told Effie that "there was a big crowd present. The crowd was generous enough to give three cheers for Joyner at the close of my speech."⁶⁰ Concerning his political ambitions he told Effie that he was "ready and willing . . . to do what lies in" his "power for the causes of the grand old Democratic party," but he did not expect his speeches "to make a single vote for two reasons. Nobody knows me and not one political speech in a hundred makes a political convert."⁶¹

He also had the opportunity to deliver the commencement address at some of the surrounding high schools. D. T. St. Clair, the principal at Jones County High School invited Joyner to speak at his school's commencement. St. Clair wrote: "You have been a school man and no doubt law does not take your thoughts entirely away from the educational interests of our country so I invite you to deliver the address before my school."⁶² Joyner accepted. Referring to the speech he delivered at the school, he said, "It seems to me the babies must have cried out all the good there was in my speech."⁶³

Although Joyner enjoyed practicing law, he was beginning to miss the classroom. In June of 1886 he saw some of his old friends from his teaching days stop in Goldsboro on their way to the North Carolina Teachers'

Assembly to be held at Black Mountain, North Carolina. In a letter to Effie, Joyner wrote: "Saw the Black Mt. crowd. Good to see old acquaintances, but they were leaving without me. . . . In closing my letter I return to the dull routine of office life."⁶⁴

Joyner continued to practice law with enthusiasm. The editor of "La Grange Items" noted that "Mr. J. Y. Joyner of your city was in town last week. We were requested to state, that Mr. Joyner was prosecuting a suit [sic] with much enthusiasm--several miles from town."⁶⁵ He found the summers to be dull. Concerning this fact, he said, "Quiet reigns in our city now. It is unusually dull here in all circles." The lawyers "are not annoyed now by clamoring clients. There is already a distressing lull in legal circles, foretelling what the summer will be."⁶⁶

Since Joyner was not very busy in the summer months, he started working as a normal school conductor. Sidney Michael Finger, state superintendent of public instruction wrote: "I am glad you accept the place of instruction to the normal not alone because of your efficiency in such work but because I think it will be pleasant for you and Prof. Kennedy to work together."⁶⁷ He conducted the Franklin normal school along with Edwin W. Kennedy, superintendent of the Durham graded schools. The school started on July 6 and ended August 2, 1887; it enrolled a total of 386 teachers and had an average daily attendance of 127. Joyner taught

courses in mathematics, reading and elocution.⁶⁸

While at the institute Joyner presented a lecture to the citizens of Franklin. The editor of the Franklin Press reported, "Prof. Joyner read well. It is not often one has the opportunity to listen to one who brings out so handsomely and distinctly the sense of the author."⁶⁹

In the summer of 1887 Joyner became a member of the North Carolina Teacher's Assembly. The president of the organization was Edwin A. Alderman; he resided in Goldsboro, where he served as superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools.⁷⁰ In the fall of 1887, due to Joyner's growing interest in education, the voters of Wayne County elected him to serve as chairman of the county board of education. He held this position from 1887 through 1889.⁷¹

Joyner and Effie began making plans to marry in the fall of 1887. Joyner wrote Effie concerning their plans: "I heard from Kinston through a reliable source that Miss Effie Rouse was to be married to a young lawyer of Goldsboro on the 14th of December."⁷² Three weeks before the wedding date Joyner wrote: "You ask if I still think it best that we marry, this winter. My darling, I can not answer for you, but I know it to be the best for me."⁷³

On December 14, 1887 James Yadkin Joyner and Effie Rouse were married in the Baptist Church in La Grange. Effie was the daughter of Noah H. Rouse, a prominent farmer in Lenoir County. She was also the sister of Noah J. Rouse

and Tom J. Rouse, who were also Joyner's classmates at the university.⁷⁴

One year after their marriage Effie gave birth to a boy named James Noah Joyner. When his son was less than one day old, Joyner wrote: "Kiss mama for me and tell her to take good care of herself and you."⁷⁵

CHAPTER IV

A RETURN TO EDUCATION: 1889-1902

After only three years as a practicing attorney, Joyner left the Goldsboro law firm of Allen and Faircloth in the spring of 1889. He also resigned his position as chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Wayne County public schools in order to seek election to the superintendency of the Goldsboro graded schools.¹ Edwin A. Alderman had recently vacated the position as superintendent of the schools and became a full-time institute conductor for the Department of Public Instruction.²

Charles B. Aycock, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Goldsboro graded schools, undoubtedly had Joyner in mind for the superintendency. In any case, he received letters of recommendation on Joyner's behalf from Charles D. McIver, a professor at Peace Institute, Sidney M. Finger, state superintendent of public instruction, and George T. Winston, professor of Latin at the University of North Carolina. McIver wrote: "It is a pleasure to teach pupils prepared for our institution by Mr. Joyner, and I can say that his old pupils have always shown that their early instruction was of the very best kind."³ Finger wrote: "I do not think that any mistake will be made if he is put in charge of the Goldsboro Schools."⁴ Winston's favorable recommendation characterized Joyner not only as a successful teacher of

youth but also as a scholar.⁵

Concerning Joyner's decision to give up the practice of law and return to teaching McIver wrote, "It is with pleasure that I see a prospect of you coming back to our good old profession. I am satisfied that you are coming into the profession again, it would be for the good of education in the state." McIver then told Joyner that he was delighted in hoping that the school board elect him.⁶

On April 28, 1889, the Raleigh News and Observer reported that Joyner had been elected superintendent of the graded schools at Goldsboro.⁷ [Edward Pearson Moses, superintendent of the Raleigh graded schools, upon hearing the news that Joyner had been elected to that position, wrote: "I can with all good faith extend to you the hand of fraternal greeting and assure you of my very best wishes for your new field of labor." He added that the "public school efficiently conducted is the greatest instrument for elevating humanity ever devised by human thought. But very much is still to be done everywhere. All of us young men who are called to take responsible positions in such work certainly have cause to feel honored."⁸]

It was [Edward P. Moses'] zeal and enthusiasm for public education that caused Joyner to give up his law practice and return to teaching. Moses also influenced Charles D. McIver to give up the study of law and he began teaching in the schools in Durham. [It has been noted that no man in the

South besides Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry influenced more men and women to go into school work other than Moses. He also influenced Alderman, Aycock, Noble, Philander Priestley Claxton, and Julius Issac Foust to work toward building up the public schools of North Carolina when for men the teaching profession was hardly considered respectable.⁹ Concerning Moses' enthusiasm, Joyner told Effie a few years earlier that he had seen Moses in Raleigh and upon seeing him his heart was beating "faster and faster."¹⁰

Not only did Moses win men and women over to public education but he was also the first superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools, having been called there from Knoxville, Tennessee by J. L. M. Curry. Curry, a member of the Peabody Board, was instrumental in establishing the Goldsboro graded schools. He attended the Baptist Convention that met in Goldsboro in 1880. While there, he delivered a firey speech on education that deeply stirred the people. Julius A. Bonitz, editor of the Goldsboro Messenger, heard Curry's speech and led the campaign for the graded schools in the city. (The General Assembly in 1881 approved a special act that enabled towns and cities to develop graded schools.) Therefore the General Assembly's decision made it possible for Goldsboro to levy a tax which resulted in the development of the town's graded schools. At twenty-four Moses began his four year tenure as superintendent of the schools. While he was there the

Goldsboro Graded Schools developed statewide attention. In 1885 Moses' success led him to Raleigh to help build up the graded school system in the state's capital city.¹¹

Edwin A. Alderman, a teacher at the Goldsboro graded schools, became Moses' successor, and when Alderman resigned in 1889, the board of trustees of the graded schools attributed him "with having placed the schools of Goldsboro, among the first of their kind in the country."¹² When Joyner became superintendent of the graded schools, he evidently knew that filling Alderman's position would not be an easy task. Joyner, however, was quick to try. Shortly after taking office, Andrew Roscower, energetic editor of the Headlight, a popular Goldsboro newspaper noted for its coverage of the local news characterized him as an "efficient superintendent."¹³

The graded school facilities consisted of three school buildings, one for the whites and two for the blacks. The value of the school property in 1888 exceeded twenty-five thousand dollars. The tax levied to support these schools was three-fifths of one percent per one hundred dollars property evaluation, and a poll tax also contributed to its support. In 1888 the school officials raised over six thousand dollars through the taxes to support the schools.¹⁴

Besides Joyner's yearly duties as superintendent of the graded schools, he began working as a state institute conductor in the summer of 1889. That year the General

Assembly abolished the summer normal schools for white teachers in which Joyner had taught during the summers of 1885 and 1887. County institutes replaced those normal schools and the state employed Edwin A. Alderman and Charles D. McIver as two full-time institute conductors. They were responsible for conducting an institute every year for the white teachers in each of the state's ninety-six counties.¹⁵

These county institutes had five aims according to S. M. Finger, state superintendent of public instruction: (1) to improve teachers mainly in the methods of teaching; (2) to improve school houses and furnishings; (3) to inspire confidence and make friends for public education; (4) to secure the help of influential friends in the neighborhoods; (5) to induce the people to give aid to their school funds through private or public subscription.¹⁶

Other institute conductors who helped supplement the work of Alderman and McIver between the summers of 1889 and 1892 included: E. P. Moses, Alexander Graham, John J. Blair, Edward Hughes and Edwin W. Kennedy, as well as Joyner. These men often worked in teams of two men each. Sometimes a team only conducted two institutes, and other times a "team might conduct as many as eight" institutes in one summer.¹⁷

Joyner conducted teacher training institutes in Currituck, Camden and Pasquotank counties during the summer of 1889. While he worked in these northeastern counties,

his wife wrote: "I have been very much displeased since you left by being told that those counties to which you go to are not healthful. I think it would be an excellent idea if you would take hot lemonade every morning before breakfast."¹⁸

Joyner taught his sessions on a weekly basis in the county courthouses. On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, he taught courses in school administration, classroom discipline and methods of teaching history, geography, reading, spelling, arithmetic and English. On Thursday he spent his time examining those teachers who desired three-year state teacher's certificates. [The most important day of institute week was Friday when the people in the community flocked to hear speeches concerning ways they could improve, as well as support, their public schools. This day was the "people's day." Joyner and the other conductors tried to get as large an audience as possible to receive the gospel of public education.¹⁹]

[With regard to the teacher's examination, Finger told Joyner to obtain the results in any way he chose. "The applicants must satisfy you then they are sufficient." He added: "Moses, Alderman, McIver and Noble" were "all encouraged by good attendance."²⁰]

Naturally Alderman and McIver conducted the greatest number of institutes. Although they differed greatly in public speaking and personality, together they complemented

one another. Joyner, a friend to both men, assessed the differences in their speaking results: "A charmed audience came away from an Alderman speech nodding its head and saying 'What a wonderful address.' An aroused audience came away from a McIver speech figuratively rolling up its sleeves and saying 'What can we do to help Professor McIver?'"²¹

Joyner earned two hundred and fifty dollars for his institute work in the summer of 1889; out of his total earnings he had to pay his room, board, and travel expenses. Finger acknowledged Joyner's success by saying, "Accept my thanks for the excellent work you did."²²

The Goldsboro graded schools opened for the fall session on the 20th of September. Joyner reported to the local newspaper that "it is very important that all children attend on Friday and Monday, and parents are urged to see to it that their children attend on those days."²³

While Joyner was superintendent of the graded schools he made it his duty to hire the best teachers. He also spent most of his time holding meetings for the teachers. Regarding these meetings he said:

* . . . we have discussed and studied the best methods of teaching the different branches of study, and of developing the child's mind and character, and the principles underlying these methods. Our aim has been to discover true principles and to build for ourselves methods based upon those principles that were adapted to our environment. We have not insisted on cut and dried methods, but we have insisted rather upon

the recognition of certain great fundamental principles that underlie all true methods of teaching, giving latitude for the display of the teacher's individuality in methods. Destroy the teacher's individuality, and you transform her into a mere machine, and she, in turn, will transform the children into machines, and in the school-room will be lacking the breath of life.²⁴

It was Joyner's opinion that many people misunderstood the worth of a teacher. He also believed that teaching was not a job that just anyone could do. According to Joyner, a true teacher "taught with his life. Like the great teacher he must give his life, in love, for the children." Illustrating his position on the true teacher he stated, "Upon the altar of the heart of such a teacher, there burns the fire of that almighty love, whose only thought is the uplifting of the ignorant and suffering masses of his fellowmen to a higher plane of usefulness and happiness, through the beneficent power of education."²⁵

He believed that a school without a good library was inadequate. Therefore, he raised money for the graded school's library by soliciting the support of prominent citizens of Goldsboro. Among the citizens who gave generously to his library fund was Henry Weil, a wealthy Goldsboro businessman. With Weil's and other citizen's contributions, he was able to purchase two hundred volumes each year for the school's library.²⁶

Joyner also made a special effort to involve prominent North Carolina citizens in the activities of the Goldsboro

graded schools. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, at Joyner's request, wrote a special cantata for the children to sing at the decennial celebration of the graded schools in May 1891. Joyner then thanked Cornelia Spencer for the songs, and recognized her as being for many years "a staunch and able friend of public education, of everything that makes for the good of the 'Old North State.'"²⁷ He also extended an invitation to Judge Walter Clark of the North Carolina Supreme Court, to attend the school's Columbus Day celebration. Joyner wrote Clark: "I write to earnestly request that you will assist us by giving us an address on some appropriate subject of your own selection."²⁸

Besides his duties as superintendent, Joyner actively participated in civic and social organizations in Goldsboro. He became a deacon at the First Baptist Church in 1888,²⁹ and he also served for a number of years as a member of the town council. In 1890 he served as secretary to the Goldsboro alumni group of the University of North Carolina. In May 1891, only ten years after he graduated from the university, Kemp Battle invited him to deliver the University Address at Chapel Hill. The subject of his address was "Edgar Allan Poe."³⁰

In the summers of 1890 and 1891, Joyner continued his work as an institute conductor, but took a vacation in the summer of 1892. He told McIver: "Mrs. Joyner and I spent the past month in Lenoir. I have taken more rest of mind

and body this summer than for years and I have thoroughly enjoyed it."³¹ By this time the Joyners were the parents of two sons. The younger, named William, was born the previous spring; the elder son named James was born in the winter of 1888.

[While Joyner worked as an institute conductor in Duplin County during the summer of 1890, he received a very encouraging letter from Superintendent Finger: "No doubt you have noticed that the state Farmers' Alliance passed a resolution to increase the school fund 25%, and that the Democratic State Convention moved in the same direction."³²]

Indeed it was the Farmers' Alliance and the teacher institutes that centered their attention in the neglected needs of rural North Carolina. [Counties that had strong Farmers' Alliance chapters provided support and encouragement to the cause of public education. Conversely, counties having no chapters provided the least support.] The Farmers' Alliance also began to exert its political influence in the General Assembly in 1891; this session became known as the "Farmers' Alliance Legislature."³³

Certainly [February 18, 1891] represented a milestone for McIver, Alderman, Joyner, and the other institute conductors, when the [General Assembly] approved a resolution to establish the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial School for Women. The idea to develop a state-supported institution to educate women came from the North Carolina

Teachers' Assembly which met at Black Mountain in the summer of 1886. In 1889 the Teachers' Assembly presented a bill to establish a state normal to the General Assembly. The Senate approved the bill by a large majority, but it failed in the House only by a few votes. In 1890 the Farmers' Alliance expressed interest and passed a resolution recommending that the state make provisions to provide higher public education for women. Undoubtedly the Farmers' Alliance provided the necessary support to get the General Assembly to establish the State Normal and Industrial School for Women.³⁴

Charles D. McIver and Edwin A. Alderman, as institute conductors, achieved statewide attention in their efforts to bring the issue of the state normal school to the people. In June of 1882 the state Board of Directors met in Greensboro where the school was to be built and unanimously elected McIver president of the school. The Board of Directors also selected Alderman to become the school's first professor of English and history. Thus, the state recognized the hard work these two men had done for North Carolina in getting the State Normal and Industrial School established.³⁵

A few months before the State Normal and Industrial School was to open in October 1882, Joyner wrote McIver: "Several Goldsboro girls expect to enter your institution. If I had the money several others would go." He added:

"Mrs. Joyner sent by mail a bundle of sundry articles of apparel to Mrs. McIver" to add to the supplies of the school.³⁶

When the State Normal and Industrial School opened it was not without critics. One such critic was Eugene G. Harrell, editor of the Teacher, "who had worked along-side of McIver for the new institution." But later Harrell became critical of the school and the work McIver was doing there.³⁷ Harrell's discontent for McIver increased and he then tried to gain support from the superintendents in the state's graded schools to discredit McIver. Harrell wrote Joyner: "The directors of the Normal and Industrial School at Greensboro state that the institution is doing only the normal and industrial work which it was chartered to do, by the legislature; which statement is denied by many friends of the school." Harrell then wanted Joyner to give his views on the matter.³⁸ Joyner heatedly replied:

I desire to say that I believe that The Normal and Industrial School of Greensboro is doing all that its most sanguine friends could expect of it and all that its bitterest critics and enemies could demand of it at this early period of history.

I believe that the work of the institution has been started along the right lines to accomplish the purpose of its creation and to carry out the spirit of the law creating it.

I have confidence enough in the ability and conscientiousness of the President of the institution and the trustees to believe that it will continue to be conducted in such a manner as to accomplish the purposes whereinto it will be

enlarged and its usefulness increased as circumstances and funds permit.

We teachers have labored long and hard for the establishment of such an institution, let us not now cripple it in its very infancy by premature critics. Give it a chance to live and grow.³⁹

Harrell never published Joyner's letter in the Teacher. In June, the matter came to a halt when Harrell stated in the Teacher, "We have closed our discussion of the Normal and Industrial School for the present."⁴⁰ Joyner later recounted the situation to McIver, "What I did was a pleasure. I felt that it was a duty to an institution that promises so much for our profession and for the young women of our state." In response to Harrell's statement in the Teacher Joyner added, "I suppose the fight is off now. Harrell seems to have slipped out of a hole which he made for himself by lying. It seems to me that he has stultified himself. He has no sympathizers here."⁴¹

Joyner's close friendship with McIver led him to his next position. In June, 1893 Alderman resigned his position as professor of history and philosophy of education to become a professor of history at the University of North Carolina.⁴² The board of directors of the State Normal and Industrial School met and, upon McIver's recommendation, they elected Joyner to serve as professor of English at the Normal and Industrial School. Once again Joyner followed in Alderman's footsteps, as he had done when he became

superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools.⁴³

Charles B. Aycock, chairman of the Board of Trustees acknowledged Joyner as being "an ideal superintendent, and he carries with him from us all, not only our respect and best wishes, but our sincere affection." Upon Joyner's resignation, the board of trustees of the Goldsboro graded schools unanimously adopted the following resolutions in his honor:

RESOLVED 1. That while the board congratulates the people of North Carolina upon securing the services of one so well fitted to discharge the responsible and delicate duties of the position to which Mr. Joyner has been elected, yet it can not abstain from expressing regret at the loss the people of Goldsboro has sustained in losing the superintending care over their children of one so ripe in experience, so rich in endowments, and so devoted in aim, as is Mr. Joyner.

RESOLVED 2. That during the years that Mr. Joyner has been Superintendent of the Goldsboro Schools his intercourse with the board of Trustees has been uniformly pleasant, he has, by his kindness and consideration endeared himself to the children and the teachers, he has by his scholarship, good judgement and tact kept the school upon the high plain upon which it was pitched, and added to its popularity; and, has in all respects, worthily worn the mantle of his distinguished predecessors.⁴⁴

When Joyner left Goldsboro with his wife and two young sons to begin his duties as professor of English at the State Normal and Industrial School, his loss was deeply felt by the citizens of Goldsboro. Editor Roscower reported in the Headlight that the loss of Joyner "will be Greensboro's gain."⁴⁵

In 1893, the year Joyner arrived at the State Normal and Industrial School, Charles D. McIver had been busy with strengthening the school by getting "the best personnel obtainable." The new faculty, besides Joyner, included Mrs. Lucy H. Robertson, a graduate of Chowan Baptist Institute. She served as Joyner's assistant and later she became president of Greensboro Female College, now Greensboro College. Philander Priestley Claxton, superintendent of the schools at Asheville, and later United States Commissioner of Education, taught pedagogy. Miss Mary Petty, a graduate of Wellesley College, taught chemistry and physics. Dr. Anna M. Grove, the college physician, was a graduate of the Woman's Medical College in New York and was often referred to as "the female lady doctress."⁴⁶

The Normal and Industrial School consisted of three departments in 1893: the normal department, the business department and the domestic science department. The normal department provided courses in English, history, mathematics, natural science, in addition to the courses in pedagogy or teacher training. The business department offered courses in bookkeeping, typewriting, telegraphy and stenography. The domestic science department offered courses in general household economy, cooking, sewing, cutting and fitting and care of the sick. In addition, other special departments included Vocal Culture, Physical Culture, and Industrial Art. Vocal Culture provided

instruction in reading, elocution and vocal music. Physical Culture included courses in gymnastics, calisthenics, and personal and public hygiene. Industrial Art provided instruction in freehand drawing, architectural and mechanical drawing, the history of art, modeling in clay and decorative art.⁴⁷

[Students could gain admission to the State Normal based on county representation in North Carolina's ninety-six counties. The quota was made up according to each county's white school enrollment. When a county reached its quota, the applicants were then administered an exam by the county superintendent, McIver graded the papers and admitted the applicants based on their scholarship.⁴⁸ In addition to the residence requirements, students had to be at least sixteen years old and "be in good health" and able to complete an application in their own handwriting. Along with the application, a statement of recommendation from the student's last teacher had to be submitted with it. In addition, students had to be able to analyze arithmetical problems, "read any English page fluently at sight," express thoughts accurately in writing, and answer questions "fairly well" on English Grammar, Geography, History of the United States, and the history of North Carolina. The cost for attending the school according to McIver was "low enough for anybody." The total fees which included tuition, room, board, books, and a physicians and contingent fee amounted

to \$128.26 a year.⁴⁹

At the time that Joyner arrived, the school conferred diplomas and certificates, but no bachelor's degrees. The diplomas were "life licenses" that entitled a student to teach in the public schools of North Carolina for five years before getting the license renewed.⁵⁰

By 1893, the school had two principal classroom buildings: Main Building and Brick Dormitory. Both buildings had brick walls trimmed in granite, and each was three stories tall. Main had six large recitation rooms on the first floor; both Joyner's and McIver's offices were located on that floor. From this arrangement it would appear that they had almost daily contact with each other.⁵¹

As professor and chairman of the English department, Joyner described the course of study in English as embracing four years of study that required students to recite three times each week. He added that the masterpieces of English literature served as a source "of inspiration and models for the student." Courses of instruction also included English composition which began with "the simplest forms of composition; and progressed "with the more complex forms of essay writing." The Second Annual Catalogue outlined his courses of study:

First Year. -- A Brief Review of the Essentials of English Grammar and the Laws of Sentence-structure; Exercises in Letter Writing, Dictation, Reproduction of Short Stories, etc. with Special Attention to Sentence-structure,

Capitalization and Punctuation; Study of Certain Masterpieces of Irving, Hawthorne, and other prose writers of this century.

Second Year. -- Rhetoric; Parallel Readings; Trent on Words; Critical Readings; Expository Essays from Various Authors . . . the Names, Character, and Influence of their Principal Works; Morgan's History of English and American Literature.

Third Year. -- Study of the Elizabethan Era; History of the Gothic Drama; Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, Macbeth, with Guides to Study; Critical Theses; Tennyson's In Memoriam.

Fourth Year. -- Critical Study of Representative Works of Representative Authors of Each Important Era, Observing the Development of the English Language and Literature; Essays of Macaulay⁵², De Quincey, and Carlyle; Essay Writing.

Joyner derived much satisfaction from teaching English literature at the Normal; but he also enjoyed taking advanced course work. In the summer of 1895 he studied English literature on the graduate level at Cornell University in New York. In his letters to his wife, Effie, he spoke of Cornell as having splendid scenery and a delightful climate. He described Ithica, the city where Cornell is located as being "a beautiful little city of twelve thousand inhabitants, picturesquely situated at the head of Lake Cayuga in a circular valley and on the sides of the high circling hills."⁵³ He described his English professor, Dr. Corsou, as being "stimulating, suggestive and exceedingly entertaining. He is the best reader I have ever known. His reading is not elocution. It is spiritual

interpretation. It is vocal expression of the indefinite, in literature."⁵⁴

While he attended Cornell, he described to Effie the shock of stumbling into a "beer garden" with some other North Carolina teachers who were also studying there, "Mrs. Robertson, Miss Boddie and Miss Moore of Greensboro Female College" were all in Renwick Park outside a suburb of Ithica. "We took our seats in what we supposed to be an innocent pavilion, but soon found from the beer drinking engaged in by both men and women about us that it must be a beer garden." He added: "We kept our seats but ordered no beer."⁵⁵

He also corresponded frequently with his sons while he was away. On one occasion he wrote, "Papa wishes he could see his baby boy tonight. I expect though little William is tucked away fast asleep from long ago. . . . If you and James were just here with papa, he would take you with him tomorrow, and instead of riding on the train or the street car on the land, we would ride on the nicest little steamboat on the water."⁵⁶

From Cornell, Joyner also wrote to McIver: "I really miss you very much Mac. I miss our delightful old fashioned chats and I am hungry for some of your jokes." Joyner then wanted McIver to tear himself away from pressing business cares and run up to Ithica and spend the rest of the time with him and the other teachers.⁵⁷

In the summer of 1896 the members of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly elected Joyner to serve as their president. The Teachers' Assembly met at the Park Grove Hotel in June of that year in Asheville. In his presidential address before the teachers, Joyner said in part:

. . . It is not our purpose today to speak of education in the abstract, for that subject has been worn threadbare but as education you can not bestow too much attention upon the method of education. . . .

We are modern in our views. We believe in progress provided it is of the proper sort, but we believe there is such a thing as being too modern, if you will excuse the expression. We do not believe in rejecting the old simply because of its oldness nor in adjusting the new simply because of its newness. . . .

There too, there is too much theorizing. New methods are often set forth and recommendations whose results have never been fairly tested. . . .

This is a faster age. We have faster horses, faster men, yes and faster girls too at the present day than any previous of our history. . . . The chief aim of the teacher's work should be to make the pupil work. . . .

Teachers, falter not. What though your profession has its trials, its troubles, its disappointments, it has its pleasures and its joys. What though your salaries be limited, there are far nobler objects to live for than mere acquisition of wealth. Yours is one of the grandest fields of action on earth. Upon you rests duties, the most sacred, responsibilities the most solemn.⁵⁸

Joyner was also very active in the Baptist State Convention. Regarding an address he gave to the Baptist

Association that met on August 9, 1896 at Morehead City, Joyner wrote McIver: "My paper was well received and provoked considerable discussion, public and private." He added that McIver would "find a very complimentary notice in Sunday's News and Observer."⁵⁹ The notice read:

Prof. J. Y. Joyner of Greensboro read a very fine essay, "Is there need for secular teaching in the Sunday School?" It was in truth a very fine and scholarly effort. Prof. Joyner is a man of much fluency and power, and one of the most powerful and captivating readers. Really, I have not heard such reading since the days of the late Major Senator Gales, who was one of the finest readers and talkers the State ever had.⁶⁰

While Joyner resided with his family in Greensboro, he achieved statewide recognition as an educator. For several years he served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Agriculture and Mechanical College, now North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University at Greensboro. He also served as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Baptist Female University, now Meredith College in Raleigh. His civic duties in Greensboro included serving on the Board of Alderman and mayor protem.⁶¹

In 1897 the General Assembly increased financial support for the State Normal by putting it on equal funding as that of the University of North Carolina. In addition to the increased appropriations, the General Assembly voted to change the name of the school to the Normal and Industrial College.⁶²

Although the Normal received additional money from the

state and a new name, the local school tax that Joyner and McIver had worked hard to attain was becoming uncertain by the summer of 1897. [Due to a solid black vote, the Fusionists were gaining political control in many of the eastern counties, towns and cities. This had the effect of causing many whites to oppose local school taxes when the blacks were in control of the government.] In June of 1897, Joyner wrote Effie, "We think the prospects good for local taxation in Guilford."⁶³ Joyner was wrong. Guilford County voters rejected the local tax.⁶⁴

In November 1898 a typhoid epidemic struck the college campus. By the time the epidemic ended, twenty-two girls had died from the dreadful disease.⁶⁵ Joyner, who served as dean of the faculty and students, had the responsibility of "accompanying the bodies home." Many years passed before he overcame the horror of it.⁶⁶

To add insult to injury, the Biblical Recorder reported that the officials "of the institution, the pupils and their parents deserve unspeakable sympathy. In such a time no one can be hasty in judgment. . . . The epidemic was not necessary. Some one has blundered sadly." This attack from the Baptist newspaper upon the defenseless institution was more than Joyner could take. Even though he was a devout Baptist, Joyner immediately cancelled his subscription.⁶⁷

The typhoid epidemic had little if any impact on the enrollment when the school reopened a year later on January

30, 1900.⁶⁸

Besides Joyner's administrative and teaching duties with the college, he worked as chairman of the North Carolina Textbook Commission, which was responsible for selecting books for use in the state's public schools. The commission he chaired met at Yarrow House in Raleigh in 1901. Concerning his work on the commission he told Effie that it had "been a busy week with us. We have been working day and night on striving to finish our work early next week." He added that he had "not retired before twelve o'clock any night" and that he was planning "to retire early tonight and rise about five tomorrow."⁶⁹

When McIver began working with the newly developed Southern Education Board in 1901, his duties often took him away from the campus. In his absence Joyner, as dean of the faculty, was left in charge. On one occasion Joyner wrote McIver in reference to a campus social: "I have very serious doubts about the merit of the entertainment. . . . I do not much believe that a man could get anything great of 'To Have and To Hold,' but we will do the best we can with it."⁷⁰

Joyner's close association with McIver at the State Normal and Industrial College in Greensboro made him more keenly aware of the mission to improve the educational needs of North Carolina. Without realizing what the future held for him, Joyner's work at the State Normal was providing him

with a foundation for becoming an educational leader in North Carolina.

CHAPTER V

NORTH CAROLINA CRUSADER FOR UNIVERSAL EDUCATION: 1902-1907

At the turn of the twentieth century North Carolina witnessed an educational awakening that changed the entire course of education in the state, as well as the South. This southern education movement was generated through the efforts of Robert Curtis Ogden, a Northern philanthropist and businessman who became a leader in the campaign after attending the First Conference for Education in the South, held at Capon Springs, West Virginia in 1898. Annually until 1914, Ogden conducted a conference which addressed the education problems confronting each state. Also in attendance at these conferences was a "train load" of wealthy Northerners who brought journalists along to report and cover the proceedings. From throughout the region, Southern educators, businessmen, politicians, and school teachers also flocked to these conferences. It was in fact a meeting of the North and the South below the Mason-Dixon line. The Southerners, however, exerted primary influence and control over these conferences, and the Northerners provided the capital to execute the conference recommendations and goals. ¹

¹In April, 1901 the Fourth Conference for Education in the South was held in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Here, the delegates organized the Southern Education Board to

conduct educational campaigns throughout the South.² Also, at this conference the General Education Board was created, with the extensive financial support of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Unlike the Southern Education Board, organized to influence popular support for public education, the General Education Board provided money directly to public and private schools throughout the United States.✱

With the help of the Southern Education Board, Charles Dunçan McIver, Chairman of the Southern Education Board Campaign Committee and president of the North Carolina Normal Industrial College, and Charles Brantley Aycock, a strong supporter of universal education undertook "a vigorous educational campaign for the public schools in North Carolina."³ North Carolina initiated the first statewide campaign for the promotion of public education. This campaign, conceived by these two men was launched in Raleigh on February 13, 1902. Over forty-three educators from across the state attended the meeting. James Yadkin Joyner, dean of the faculty and professor of English at the State Normal and Industrial College at Greensboro, was among those educators who adopted a "Declaration Against Illiteracy." The purpose of this declaration was to promote universal education through oratory and the printed word.⁴ This declaration also had an evangelical appeal and requested ministers to preach one sermon a month on the subject of education. The platform also urged authorities:

(1) To consolidate small school districts; (2) To build comfortable school houses; (3) To lengthen the public school term through local taxation.⁵★

Within a few days after the opening of the Raleigh conference, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Colonel Thomas F. Toon died suddenly of a heart attack, after only one year's service in that office.⁶ Colonel W. H. Osborne of Greensboro advocated that the office, vacated by Toon's death, be filled with a representative from Guilford County, a county that led the state in public education, but had no office holders in Aycock's administration. Osborne then met with McIver and Joyner at the State Normal and urged Joyner to let him go to Raleigh and advise Governor Charles Brantley Aycock to appoint Joyner as State Superintendent. Joyner realizing that, indeed, Aycock might appoint him to the office, listened reluctantly.

Joyner's friendship with Governor Aycock went back to their student days at the University of North Carolina. In the 1880s, the two had separate law practices in Goldsboro, and when Joyner served as Superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools, Aycock was chairman of the school board. During the meeting with Osborne and McIver, Joyner told them that "Aycock will smoke his old long-stem clay pipe and listen to the Greensboro delegation," and when they are finished Aycock will say, "Gentlemen, I agree with all you

say and especially with what you say about Guilford County's being entitled to the appointment. How about appointing Jim Joyner?"⁷

Joyner predicted exactly what occurred between the Greensboro delegation and Governor Aycock. In fact, shortly after the Greensboro delegation returned from Raleigh, Joyner received a telegram from Aycock asking him to come to Raleigh for a conference. Joyner went, and according to his account, they "argued for hours." He pleaded with Aycock to find someone better qualified. He then told the governor that he "was most happy in his work and associations where he had built his own home and family around him." Joyner continued, saying that he "believed he was doing a useful service through teaching and other useful pursuits."⁸ Moreover, the superintendency paid less than his present salary as dean and professor of English at the State Normal.

Joyner, after being out argued by Aycock, accepted the superintendency because the governor "made education the slogan of his campaign and election and the chief aim and purpose of his administration." When Joyner accepted the position, he saw himself giving more to the people of North Carolina through wider service. This decision was one of the greatest struggles of his life, it was also one that he never lived to regret.⁹

On Sunday February 26, 1902 Joyner took the oath of office as State Superintendent of Public Instruction,

administered by Justice Walter Clark, of the Supreme Court, in the presence of Governor Aycock, F. A. Woodward, the treasurer, B. F. Dixon, the auditor, and R. D. Gilmer, the attorney general. From the brief ceremony at the state capital building, "Joyner entered immediately into his work in the office of the department."¹⁰ When Joyner left Greensboro, the editor of the Greensboro Telegram said, "everybody in Greensboro regrets the loss of Professor Joyner from active citizenship here but a city loses nothing, all things considered by contributing such a man to the entire state."¹¹

Joyner had excellent qualifications to serve North Carolina as state superintendent. He was a teacher and superintendent of Lenoir County schools before he reached the age of twenty-one. He taught under Calvin Wiley at the Winston graded schools. In Goldsboro, he became a successful attorney and later superintendent of the Goldsboro graded schools. During the 1890s, he was a summer institute conductor. Later, he became dean of the faculty and professor of English at the Normal and Industrial College for Women. In 1896, he became president of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly. He served as alderman in Greensboro and later mayor pro-tem. In 1901 he became chairman of the North Carolina Textbook Commission. Joyner's friendship with Aycock, McIver, and Alderman went back to his student days at the University of North

Carolina. Rose Holder, in her biography of Charles D. McIver, observed that these men belonged to the "inner circle" and "no matter that members of the 'inner circle' shifted their positions now and then. They remained the inner circle!"¹²

[When Joyner became superintendent the situation of the public schools looked bleak. Moreover, teachers had little, if any, professional training and the public had scant interest in raising taxes for the public schools. "Only thirty districts in the entire state, all of them in towns and cities had levied a tax for the support of schools." Furthermore, "the state had nine hundred and fifty public school districts" in which a school house did not even exist. Where schools existed children were "taught in poorly ventilated rented buildings" and those "in 1,132 districts sat on rough pine boards chinked with clay."¹³ With respect to this situation, Joyner wrote Dr. James Lamar Monroe Curry, who worked in the Department of Education in Washington, D.C., and since 1886 had been a crusader for the public schools of the South. Joyner advised him that he could not "tell what the future" held but he was certain that, "duty clearly led me here and I am content to leave the unknown to that Power that molds men's lives in spite of their puny efforts." He would, Joyner continued to Curry, do the best he could "for the little children of this state."¹⁴]

Indeed Joyner had very little to build upon when he became superintendent. The salaries for the county superintendents were so low that those who accepted the office received it as a "political or a charity job."¹⁵ Moreover, some county superintendents never visited the public schools or ever stepped foot into a classroom.¹⁶ Despite these negative factors, Joyner was optimistic.

Moreover, Joyner and Aycock shared the same simple educational philosophy. They both believed in "educating everybody and educating everything."¹⁷ Horace Mann, American educator and philosopher "insisted that the discipline of a free school must be the self-discipline of the individual." Mann strongly advocated self-government and self-control.¹⁸ Joyner held a similar view, "universal education and democracy, the twin spirits that direct the destiny of the age. . . . The power and the necessity of education, the right of every child to have a chance to get it." Furthermore, Joyner believed it to be the duty of every state and each community to give all children the chance to get an education.¹⁹ Like Horace Mann, Joyner believed it was the duty of the state and the communities to provide tax money for the purpose of educating all children.

Joyner's main concern during every year that he served the state was the issue of local taxation. Local taxation was the major question presented to all the rallies held in the counties and school districts throughout the state.²⁰

Joyner firmly believed local taxation to be the only means of providing a system of universal education for all the children of North Carolina. Joyner strengthened his argument for local taxation by pointing out that "sixty-nine percent of all the money raised by public schools in these United States is raised by local taxation." In North Carolina the only system that provided "a system of schools running for eight or ten months in the year supplied with excellent houses and teachers are the cities, the larger towns and the rural districts that have supplemented their general state and county tax by local taxation."²¹

Towns and cities having graded schools fared much better than the rural areas of North Carolina where the public schools were mainly log cabins or dilapidated buildings. Through the efforts of the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board the public campaign began with a rally in Greensboro on April 3, 1902 to raise money for the rural schools in Guilford County. State and educational officials attending the rally were "Governor Aycock, McIver, and Dr. Buttrick, the executive secretary of the General Education Board, and the new state superintendent of public instruction, Joyner." A member from nearly every college in the state also attended this rally, as did numerous county superintendents, whose railroad fares were paid from the campaign fund of the Southern Education Board. At this rally "four thousand

dollars was raised," through private subscription and the General Education Board added four thousand.²² In all, this rally raised eight thousand dollars for the rural schools of Guilford County.

Joyner praised the "example set by Greensboro in bringing about a closer union and sympathy . . . between town, city and county" in combating the perplexing school problem "existing in the rural schools throughout Guilford County."²³ Joyner hoped the Greensboro rally might lead other communities to follow suit. After the Greensboro rally the towns of Goldsboro, Fayetteville, Hickory, Washington, Henderson and Oxford requested Joyner's office to conduct rallies in their towns and cities.²⁴ As a result of the rallies, Joyner optimistically asserted that, "The day is dawning, the educational forces are rallying around the common standard, the battle is on the victory sure." Likewise, the rallies gave credence to Joyner's assertion that "Illiteracy is doomed in North Carolina."²⁵

To successfully coordinate the rallies conducted in the summer of 1902, Joyner appointed Eugene Clyde Brooks to the position of executive secretary of the Central Campaign Committee. Before becoming secretary, Brooks had successfully directed the Monroe graded schools.²⁶ As secretary of the Central Campaign Committee, Brooks' main concern "was to find outstanding speakers" to address "rural gatherings for the purpose of inducing a vote for the local

taxes and for the consolidation of small school districts."²⁷

Rockingham County was the setting for the first rally held that summer and twenty-nine others were conducted in quiet succession. The speakers for the first rally included Thomas J. Jarvis, a former governor of the state, and Dr. Charles D. McIver. Over "one hundred school committeemen and every teacher in the county, besides hundreds of other citizens were present." Speaking for two hours, Jarvis made an emotional plea for education that "few could resist." In the afternoon Dr. McIver delivered a speech on "local taxation and the consolidation of districts, in a practical, strong and convincing manner."²⁸

Many of the rallies that followed were typical of the first one held in Rockingham County. Not all rallies, however, were as successful as that one. Opposition to local taxation hindered the success of many rallies. Joyner's friend, McIver, was quite perceptive about the situation: "It does not seem practicable for us to send anyone to Buncombe County who would be of service to the cause of education." There was no local tax election in Buncombe County and for that reason McIver believed that no local tax rally should be conducted there.²⁹

J. B. Carlyle, a professor of Latin at Wake Forest College, presented a realistic yet cautious view of the rally scheduled for Robeson County. He indicated to Joyner

that the meeting at Back Swamp had been "well advertised" but the "delay in farm work will make it impossible to get good crowds." He added that "the failure of the elections at Rowland and Ashpole makes it important that we should proceed with caution at other points in the county."³⁰ Even Joyner's colleague, Brooks, told Joyner at one of the rallies, "I hear you had a bum meeting even if you did orate."³¹

Despite the criticism, the News and Observer reported that there was an "Educational Awakening" in North Carolina which was developing into a permanent fixture: "The people are thinking about this great problem of universal education--not the few--but the many and they will solve it."³²

Certainly not all the rallies advocating the adoption of local school taxes were met with success. The fact remained, however, that by the end of the summer of 1902, with over thirty rallies covered by the Central Campaign Committee, "only fourteen counties adopted local taxation," but elections were still pending in many other districts. Probably Joyner was not overly pleased with these results, but despite discouragement, he never gave up hope. Commenting on his perception of North Carolinians, Joyner understood their initial caution, "because they move only from conviction but it is their history that they take no backward step in any great movement for good once begun. He

further believed "that the movement will gather momentum with the passing years."³³

~~X~~The race issue became a tenacious issue for Joyner and Governor Aycock. An ominous undercurrent of the entire educational campaign was due primarily to white opposition to black schools. Moreover, the majority of whites wanted tax money to be distributed only to support white schools, and opposed the idea of having their tax money used to support black schools. Governor Aycock, however, opposed distribution of taxes based on race. When the issue came before the General Assembly, "Aycock's opposition to the measure determined its fate." Although it was defeated by the General Assembly in 1901 and 1903, it reappeared in 1905. Aycock appealed to the "people's sense of right and justice had found a responsive chord; the amendment" to divide taxes among the races "could not muster a corporal's guard in 1905."³⁴~~X~~

[Like Governor Aycock, Joyner also advocated education for blacks. Believing the white race must help the black race through education, Joyner maintained that if, [we do not our race will pay the heaviest penalty for the failure."³⁵] Joyner further believed that at the present time the best education for blacks was in the field of agriculture, since the majority of blacks in North Carolina worked on farms: "There is greater demand on the farm for the negro in the South at present." He indicated that

strides were being made in regards to black agricultural education under the supervision of Charles Lee Coon, who was the new superintendent of the state black normal schools. Joyner noted that through Coon's efforts industrial and agricultural training was being developed at the four black normal schools to give "training to the teachers of the race," and to instill "into them right ideals."³⁶ Governor Aycock further refuted arguments that education was harmful to blacks. He did so through the use of "statistics from the penitentiary records to support his contention that education was beneficial to Negroes." He cited statistics showing that "less than half (47.6 percent) of the Negro population was illiterate." He also emphasized that "illiterates comprised well over half of the Negro inmates of the penitentiary."³⁷ ✱

The ambiguity of the race issue existed in the "grandfather clause" of the Constitutional Amendment of 1899 making "intelligence an absolute qualification for suffrage after 1908."³⁸ ✱ In 1900, this literacy amendment became part of the white supremacy campaign as a means of disfranchising blacks from voting. Moreover, this amendment did bar many blacks from voting, as well as prohibiting them from entering politics.

✱ Although black education did improve from 1900 to 1905; advancement of black public schools still ranked far below the progress of the white public schools. Joyner

pessimistically observed the situation of the black public schools and indicated that "more was spent on rural Negro schools in 1895 than in 1905." Joyner added that if "our white schools showed the same results for the past twenty years, would we not be necessarily alarmed at that evidence of lack of progress?"³⁹

Another problem facing Joyner was the issue of child labor in cotton mills and factories. The cotton mills and other factories throughout North Carolina employed young children at low wages. Many of these children never had the opportunity to attend school on a regular basis. In Joyner's Biennial Report of 1902, he cited statistics indicating the severity of the problem: "Reports from twenty-three counties in which cotton mills are located, show, in the cotton mill districts a total white school population of 33,280 and a total enrollment of 14,499 white children in the schools of these districts, and a total average daily attendance of 9,014." Joyner believed that the time for the state to take action on the matter had come. In view of these facts, "legislation upon this question should be delayed no longer."⁴⁰

In 1903, Joyner recommended that the General Assembly adopt a child labor law that prohibited: (1) children under twelve from employment in any cotton mill or factory; (2) children under fourteen years of age who cannot read or write from employment in any cotton mill or factory;

(3) children under fourteen years of age should not be employed in any cotton mill or factory. He believed that since mill owners had built schools within their factory towns that "mill owners will heartily co-operate with the state in all reasonable efforts to educate these children."⁴¹★

Josephus Daniels, the editor of the Raleigh News and Observer, strongly favored the adoption of a child labor law "forbidding the employment of children in factories where they work indoors." Moreover, a bill of this nature had been proposed in the General Assembly for the past ten years and each time it had been proposed it "has been defeated." Finally, in March, 1903 the General Assembly agreed to a partial solution to this problem by enacting a law "forbidding the employment of children under twelve years of age and regulating the hours of labor."⁴² This modest child labor law enacted by the General Assembly in 1903, hardly met the standards that Joyner advocated in 1902, but it represented a first step in the right direction in reaching a partial solution to the child labor problem.

Despite the many problems confronting public education in North Carolina in 1903, the Central Campaign Committee, comprised of Joyner, Aycock and McIver conducted a broader and considerably more organized campaign than the one conducted in the summer of 1902.⁴³ Moreover, by June over "seventy-eight of the ninety-seven counties of the State had

planned educational rallies in connection with the township meetings" to bring the issue of local taxation before the voters. [By the end of the campaign of 1903 more than 350 rallies had been held: in over seventy-eight of North Carolina's ninety-nine counties. Local tax districts increased "from 56 to 181, more than 300 districts had been abolished by consolidation, and 676 new school houses had been built."44]

Joyner attributed the success of the 1903 campaign to the efforts of the Southern Education Board in providing funds to conduct rallies and to the numerous individuals volunteering their time to speak at these rallies. Joyner also attributed the success of these rallies to volunteer organizations, such as the [Women's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses.] In the last decade of the nineteenth century, this association came into being through the efforts of Charles D. McIver, at the State Normal in Greensboro. [The association "represented women teachers and citizens in various sections" of the state. These women worked "for building new school houses and remodeling old ones, for equipping them and improving them." This association's work was more than just simply beautifying school grounds and applying paint on buildings to make them look better. Likewise, the women organized school libraries and looked after health and sanitation in the schools.45]

Joyner also recognized that the press played a vital role in promoting public sentiment for education: "The relation of the Press to public education is the relation of the Press to the freedom, the safety, the prosperity and the happiness of our people." Therefore, Joyner recognized the press, more than any other factor as being a potent force "in the great revival of educational interest in North Carolina, and in the recent rapid educational progress of the state." Not only was the press dependent upon an intelligent reading public for financial support, but it was "also dependent upon readers and the avenue of intelligence for the promotion of every other interest."⁴⁶★

Due to the growing public sentiment for public schools, Joyner urged the General Assembly to enact the State Literary Fund in 1903. The sum of \$200,000 that had accumulated from the sale of swamp lands was made into "a separate fund to be used as a loan fund for building and improving public school houses."⁴⁷ Under the ruling of the State Board of Education, "only one-half of the cost of new school houses and grounds or the improvement of old school houses was lent to any county for any district." Preference was given to rural districts of less than one thousand inhabitants that supported its schools through local taxation, private subscription and to large districts formed by consolidation of small districts.⁴⁸★

According to Joyner, the educational legislation passed

by the General Assembly in 1903 was "liberal and progressive" and at the same time "wise and conservative."⁴⁹★ The most liberal and progressive was the State Literary Fund. [In 1904, the State Literary Fund distributed loans amounting to \$120,500 to over seventy counties. "The money helped improve 325 existing buildings and build 288 new school buildings." Joyner declared that "the value of these school buildings amounted to \$349,406 just by lending \$120,500."⁵⁰ With the help of this loan fund, Joyner was happy to report that 694 new school houses were built in the years 1903 and 1904 "more than one new schoolhouse a day for every day in two years."⁵¹ Despite all the success in building schools during this period, Joyner realized that the schools were still "inefficient and unequal to the educational demands of this century."⁵²]

Together, Joyner and Aycock continued to work hard in order to make the public schools more efficient and equal. Time, however, was running out for Aycock; he could not seek reelection in 1905, because the state constitution prohibited governors from serving a second term. [By the close of Aycock's term, the state school system had improved remarkably since 1900. "School districts for white children were reduced by 86 and the number for black children by 171."⁵³ Public sentiment favoring school advancement and expansion strengthened. Dual financial support by local and state funds increased. The supervision of schools became

more centralized. State institutions of higher education improved.⁵⁴

When Aycock ended his term as "education governor" in 1905, he still had Joyner as state superintendent to continue his policies in the years ahead. To a remarkable degree the "views of Joyner and Aycock were similar and at times their language was much alike."⁵⁵ When Aycock left the state's highest office, he continued to participate in the educational awakening by serving as an advisor to Joyner and the Central Campaign Committee, until his death in 1912.⁵⁶

In September and October, Joyner took a break from his duties as superintendent to go on a trip to Europe with his closest friend, Charles D. McIver. When McIver first tried to persuade Joyner to accompany him, Joyner declined, "not wishing as he said to leave Mrs. Joyner for so long a time." She insisted, however, that her husband go on the trip. It was her insistence, plus the effect Joyner's first refusal had produced on McIver that "caused Joyner to change his mind."⁵⁷ Before Joyner and McIver departed from New York on the German steamship, the Blucher, the two were invited to have dinner at the Century Club with Robert Ogden, president of the Southern Education Board, who resided in New York. At the dinner Joyner drank his first bottle of champagne, and he later reflected that "had this occurred in North Carolina and had it been circulated through the newspapers

the state would have been shocked."⁵⁸

On the trip to Europe, Joyner kept a daily journal for Mrs. Joyner. McIver reported to his wife, Lula McIver, that Joyner "is writing a volume to Mrs. Joyner. I think he is spouting poetry."⁵⁹ Joyner reported to his wife that "McIver and I are enjoying this trip like two boys. We have talked and thought of no business in fact we have imposed a penalty of one dollar on the one that mentions business."⁶⁰ Indeed Joyner and McIver did not discuss business on the trip. Joyner did, however, reveal to his wife that, after seeing a man in the boiler room of the ship shoveling coal in the furnace, that capital should provide labor's children the right to an education. (Joyner believed universal education was the only equalizing force between the rich and the poor.)

While in Europe the two visited Paris, Berlin, Edinburgh and London. Joyner reported that Paris was a "wonderful city" but he was "glad to get out of it." He summed up his impression of Paris in two words: "artistic and artificial."⁶¹ Of all the European cities Joyner was most impressed with London, due "to the closeness of language and customs with our country." London was a city Joyner became enchanted with. As a former English professor he loved English literature and remarked, "we saw Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice and it was delightful and enjoyable."⁶²

Upon his return to Raleigh, he was more energetic than ever to handle the tasks that awaited him. In 1905 the new governor, Robert B. Glenn, an "anti-organization" governor, championed organized labor.⁶³ Speaking before the General Assembly, Governor Glenn noted that in his opinion "Joyner was the ablest and most efficient" superintendent "the State has ever had."⁶⁴ Even so, the General Assembly with the exception of the State Public High School Act of 1905 made few material changes in education. Governor Glenn's administration witnessed the "South Dakota bond" controversy, the state's regulation of railroads, and prohibition competed with educational progress for the attention of politicians and citizens.⁶⁵ Even though the momentum for educational improvement continued, educational "accomplishments received less public notice and acclaim."⁶⁶

Before 1905, the only public high schools existing in North Carolina were in the large towns and cities, and the majority of those were basically inadequate. Many of the teachers were improperly trained and lacked the skills necessary to teach on the high school level. Joyner recognized this problem and advocated the improvement of teachers, for "without the vitalizing touch of a properly qualified teacher, houses, grounds and equipment are largely dead mechanisms."⁶⁷ But before Joyner could recommend to the General Assembly that more public high schools be built throughout North Carolina, he had to provide teachers with

more training. During 1902 and 1904, 128 white and 79 black teacher's institutes "were held in which 7,923 white teachers and 3,287" black teachers attended. By the summer of 1904, 4,866 were enrolled in county institutes and Joyner was pleased that "so large a number of public school teachers" had attended "institutes and summer schools in one summer."⁶⁸☆

By getting more teachers trained in the institutes and summer schools, Joyner was beginning to lay the foundations for public high schools throughout North Carolina. As early as 1902 Joyner promoted the establishment of public high schools. "North Carolina cannot command the full confidence and patronage of the people or hope" to provide her children with "educational opportunities equal to those offered by the public schools of most of the States of the Union, unless instruction in the higher branches is provided in these schools."⁶⁹ Furthermore, Joyner believed that the public high schools constituted a modern progressive system of public education.⁷⁰

Due to the sparsity of public high schools in North Carolina before 1905, the private sector flourished with hundreds of private high schools and academies throughout North Carolina. The majority of these high schools and academies were denominationally supported, mainly by the Baptists and Methodists. Students who attended these schools had to pay tuition and those students whose parents

could not afford to pay the tuition rarely attended high school unless they lived near a public high school. Few did.

The most strongly outspoken of the denominations were the Baptists who staunchly opposed the establishment of public high schools.⁷¹ The Baptists, however, did favor common schools supported by the state and the localities. By 1900, the Baptists throughout North Carolina were "coming to the conviction that it was their responsibility to fill the gap between elementary schools and the colleges."⁷² J. W. Bailey, the editor of the Biblical Recorder, wanted the Baptists to develop a system of Christian schools in every Baptist association in North Carolina. Bailey wrote in the Biblical Recorder in July, 1903: "The denominational colleges must get in touch earlier with a supply of students" and "this must be done by the secondary or high school. Nothing can shake a Christian system of higher and secondary education."⁷³

Bailey was wrong. Something did shake the denominational high schools and academies; "in 1905, a movement was started which in the next quarter of a century proved the utter undoing of every private and denominational and secondary school in the state."⁷⁴ The movement that put an end to these denominational schools and academies occurred when Joyner's plan for a statewide system of township public high schools received approval by the

General Assembly in 1905. The amendment the General Assembly approved did not provide for rural high schools, but marked the modest beginning of a statewide public high school system in North Carolina.⁷⁵*

Although Joyner was a staunch Baptist, and a member of the board of trustees at the Baptist Female University in Raleigh, he maintained a strong position favoring the separation of church and state. In a letter to the superintendent of Rutherford County schools, Joyner expressed his feelings about this sensitive issue. The state could make no contract "with the teacher of any sectarian or denominational school and no part of the school fund could be used in connection with a denominational school." Joyner declared: "I had rather be damaged than be coward enough to be driven to do what I do not believe the law and my conscience approve by threat of damage by exposition."⁷⁶*

Moreover, the conflicts between the church and the state were less frequent than those conflicts that occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A reflection of this good will between the church and the state is due to the fact that the Baptist State Convention of 1905 commended the efforts of "our Christian Superintendent of Public Instruction in making possible the educational awakening."⁷⁷ Still dogmatic criticism concerning the public schools emerged. John C. Kilgo, president of Trinity College, felt

the "child at school is valued in terms of the market. . . . Religion with all that the term should mean, is left to the accidents of circumstances or the spontaneity of dispositions."⁷⁸

Funds for the public schools in North Carolina continued to increase in 1905 and 1906. By 1906 there was over two million dollars in the school fund, "besides a considerable sum contributed by individuals to lengthen the rural school term," and more funds were available to provide better equipment for the schools. School funds also increased through local taxation, indicating that the educational rallies conducted every summer since 1902 were achieving marked success. LThe entire amount raised by local taxation in 1906 was \$448,610.35, of that amount \$61,307.96 went to the rural schools and \$387,467.01 went to the city schools.⁷⁹ J

The North Carolina Journal of Education became a permanent education journal in North Carolina in September 1906. Eugene Clyde Brooks became editor of this journal after resigning the superintendency of the Goldsboro city schools. LThis journal represented a milestone for professional educators and revealed the growing professionalism educators were achieving in North Carolina.⁸⁰ J

As this journal came into being Joyner and other educators throughout the state received a serious blow.

Charles D. McIver died suddenly of a stroke on September 17, 1906, while accompanying William Jennings Bryan on a political "whistle-stop" tour through North Carolina.⁸¹ McIver's death was felt not only by his close friend Joyner but by the state and the Southern Education Board. The state had lost one of its most dedicated workers and outstanding champions of public education.

Joyner, busy filling appointments in the mountain districts of the state, did not have "the sad satisfaction of a last look at the face of his dead friend." McIver's death severely affected Joyner and he could not see how he could adjust himself to the change.⁸² Concerning McIver's death, Rev. Henry W. Battle, of Greensboro, Joyner's former pastor wrote Joyner: "It seems to me that you are Dr. McIver's logical and most appropriate successor in office (or should be), and it would give the the greatest happiness to welcome you and your dear family back home."⁸³ Joyner loved his home in Greensboro and two years before McIver's death he revealed to his wife that "I do feel that we will come back home in less than two years."⁸⁴

Indeed in November, 1906 Joyner had been tempted to leave the office of state superintendent and succeed Charles D. McIver as president of the Normal and Industrial College. Former Governor Aycock urged Joyner not to accept the position but remain state superintendent: "If you will remain in your present position for the next eight or twelve

years," Aycock told Joyner, "illiteracy will be practically destroyed among us."⁸⁵ Joyner, still perplexed about the situation answered, "All I can say Charles, is I am seeking to see my duty clearly and if I can see it with God's help, I shall try to do it."⁸⁶ After much painful deliberation about the situation Joyner decided to decline the offer, with the assurance that the Southern Education Board would continue to supply funds for his work in North Carolina.⁸⁷ Joyner's decision to remain as state superintendent was certainly in marked contrast to his reluctance in accepting the position in 1902. Perhaps Joyner's dedication to the principle of wider service to the state led him to decline the offer. Furthermore, public education was more popularly accepted among the public, and due to this popularity politicians were showing more respect to the state's chief school officer.

During the fall of 1906, Joyner prepared some of the most liberal recommendations for the public schools to be considered by the General Assembly. Among those recommendations Joyner urged the adoption of an annual appropriation of \$100,000 for urban and rural public high schools, the continuation of the \$200,000 appropriation for elementary schools, an annual appropriation of \$10,000 for the State Colored Normal Schools, and a compulsory attendance law. Joyner further urged that the General Assembly enact a law declaring schools to be a necessary

expense of the state in order for the constitutional limitation on taxation to be exceeded.⁸⁸★

When the General Assembly convened in January, 1907 many of Joyner's recommendations were approved. The General Assembly adopted the State Public High School Act by appropriating \$45,000 in the establishment of rural high schools.⁸⁹ According to Joyner, "this was the first step in the direction of placing high school instruction, for preparation of life or for college within easy reach of the masses of country boys and girls" and he further hailed this act to be the most significant result of "educational progress of this period and perhaps of this decade."⁹⁰★

[The bill declaring education to be a necessary expense did not gain approval by the senate. Since the legislature failed to declare education a necessary expense, Joyner decided to seek a reversal of Barkesdale v. The Commissioners of Sampson County.⁹¹ In the Barkesdale decision the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1885 ruled two to one that education was not a necessary expense. Therefore, maximum county property taxation could not exceed 66-2/3 cents per \$100 assessed value, and this was insufficient to maintain the schools for four months.⁹²★

Concerning the situation Joyner wrote Alderman that he could not "help believing that the present enlightened court, consisting of five of the best lawyers of the state will over-rule the old decision. . . ." Joyner felt

confident that he could win the case due to "the changed conditions, the changed demands of civilization, the increased need for education, the increased ability of every county" to provide public schools with good buildings and equipment.⁹³

Joyner selected Franklin County for the test case due to its accessibility to Raleigh. The Southern Education Board provided the money for Joyner to employ F. S. Spruill, a prominent attorney, to represent the commissioners, R. B. White, another prominent attorney, to represent the county board of education and former governor C. B. Aycock to represent the school children of the state in support of the tax.⁹⁴ The case was heard before the Supreme Court in October, 1907. In J. R. Collie v. The Commissioners of Franklin County, the Supreme Court reversed its 1885 decision. Justice Walter Clark in one of the concurring opinions said:

It may be a question worthy of serious reflection whether, by recent amendments to the constitution, which relate to suffrage and which are adopted for the purpose of securing an intelligent electorate, and prescribing an educational test for the voter, it has not become the duty of the state to educate her people, and by reason thereof, such education has become a necessary expense, to be met by appropriate taxation.⁹⁵ J*

Indeed this victory for Joyner represented one of the greatest educational victories of the decade. After the victory, Joyner wrote Wycliffe Rose, a member of the

Southern Education Board in Nashville, Tennessee: "I suppose you have noticed from the papers that we have won and this is a great victory for the cause of education." Joyner declared that the decision "involves to a great extent the whole question of better salaries, better equipment, better houses, and better supervision, especially in the weaker counties."⁹⁶

Due to Joyner's successful leadership as state superintendent, the students at his alma mater, the University of North Carolina, recognized his success by dedicating the student yearbook, The Yackety Yack to Joyner. According to the editors of the 1907 yearbook "it seems as though there is something in the life here at Chapel Hill that breeds in one a desire to champion the cause of popular education." This spirit will always "live here and impress itself upon our students, and in all the fights," Joyner "shall make for the children of our state."⁹⁷

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

James Yadkin Joyner's early and formative years were greatly influenced by men destined to become educational and political leaders in North Carolina, as well as the South. These men included Edwin Anderson Alderman, Charles Brantley Aycock, and Charles Duncan McIver. As students at the University of North Carolina, their friendships developed into a clique that has become more commonly known as the "inner circle." Indeed it was the "inner circle" that influenced Joyner and the others throughout their careers, but the man having the most influence upon Joyner was his close friend McIver. Concerning Joyner's career decisions, especially in education, McIver played a major role, as evidenced in his decisions to become a graded school teacher, institute conductor, graded school superintendent, college professor, and state superintendent of public instruction.

Besides the "inner circle" there were other prominent educators that influenced Joyner. These men were Kemp Plummer Battle, Edward Pearson Moses, and Calvin Henderson Wiley, but of these three men, the man most directly responsible for Joyner's decision to teach was Moses. Indeed, in North Carolina in the latter part of the nineteenth century it was Moses perhaps more than any other

educator that influenced more young men and women to become professional educators.

As an educator Joyner's most outstanding contribution to public education in North Carolina occurred when he reluctantly accepted Governor Aycock's appointment to become State Superintendent of Public Instruction. His appointment to this office occurred at a time when North Carolina was experiencing an educational awakening. [As superintendent, he undoubtedly enabled this education movement to strengthen and run on a much smoother course. He promoted educational rallies for the purpose of stimulating public sentiment for local taxation in order to build public schools, consolidate school districts, enforce compulsory attendance laws, lengthen the school term, increase state aid for public schools, and train and certify more teachers for the public schools. His most outstanding accomplishment during this period was to write and secure passage of the State Public High School Act of 1907. Before that time there had been no statewide system of public high schools in North Carolina.]

Joyner's service to the state did not end in 1907; as the state's highest school officer he continued to serve the state until his retirement in 1919. Following 1907 his achievements broadened when he received national recognition by being the first North Carolinian to ever be elected president of the National Education Association in 1910.

Although Joyner did not witness as many educational

changes in the second decade before World War I, some innovations were obtained. Among these were the State Farm Life School Law of 1913 that provided rural farm boys and girls practical training in the areas of farming and homemaking. These schools had accommodations for boarding students and each school had a farm that provided the students practical experience in farm work.¹

In 1913 Joyner advocated the development of the State Equalization Fund. This fund supported the establishment of the six month school term in counties that had a four month term. By 1918 the State Equalization Fund was made mandatory in all the state's counties. By 1913 the General Assembly also passed an act that made compulsory attendance mandatory between the ages of eight and twelve years. A companion to this act was the enactment of a child labor law that excluded children under twelve years of age from being employed in factories.²

During Joyner's final years as state superintendent he persuaded the General Assembly to provide the funding to strengthen the six month school act, as well as increase the salaries for teachers and county superintendents. He also advocated that the state provide more funds to the black normal schools. Joyner firmly believed that "If the state fails to perform its duty in the proper education of its negro citizens, the white race as well as the black will pay the penalty."³

When Joyner retired as superintendent in 1918 at the age of fifty-six, he returned to spend his years in retirement on his farm in La Grange. The postwar agricultural depression of the 1920's, however, brought Joyner out of his retirement in an effort to help the farmers of North Carolina improve their economic condition. From 1922 to 1926 Joyner worked with the Tobacco Growers Co-operative Association in Raleigh, and for a few years served as that organization's president. This "co-op" association enabled the farmer to obtain better prices on the tobacco auction market than the farmer would have otherwise obtained had he not been a member of the association. For a few years this "co-op" did help the tobacco farmer in eastern North Carolina survive some of the worst economic effects of the post World War I depression.⁴ From 1926 to 1932 Joyner worked as an assistant manager of the Prudential Life Insurance Company in Raleigh.

At the age of seventy Joyner retired to his 1,200 acre farm in La Grange but he continued to serve actively in local county and state affairs. He served on various state commissions and committees. Under the administration of Governor Cameron Morrison, Joyner served on the State Ship and Water Transportation Commission, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad and the Finance Committee.⁵ During Governor Angus W. McLean's administration he served on the Commission of Adult Education.⁶ Governor O. Max Gardner

appointed him to the Aycock Statue Committee, the Adult Illiteracy Committee and the Committee on Agricultural Credit Corporations.⁷ During the second world war Joyner served on the District Three Appeal Board for the State Selective Service System under the administration of Governor J. Melville Broughton.⁸ During the administration of Governor Robert Gregg Cherry he served on the Commission to Consider Provisions for a Suitable Memorial for Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson.⁹

In addition to Joyner's service to various governors of the state of North Carolina after his retirement as state superintendent, he continued to serve on the Board of Trustees of private and public colleges and universities throughout North Carolina. These institutions included Meredith College, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical State University at Greensboro and East Carolina University. Throughout the many colleges of this state that Joyner had been associated with there are buildings that bear his name. These campuses include East Carolina University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Western Carolina University and Meredith College. Many elementary and junior high schools, as well, have been named in his honor throughout the state.

Joyner was always loyal to the Democratic party and as late as 1952 he strongly favored the election of Adlai

Stevenson for the presidency.

A few days before his death in Lenoir County on February 23, 1954, he had been "vigorously alert and mentally keen."¹⁰

During the ninety-one years that he lived, he gave unselfishly in service to his native state. He was a dreamer who lived to see his dream for a much better and progressive system of public education come true for all North Carolinians.

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⁵³ James Y. Joyner to Effie R. Joyner, 9 July 1895, Joyner Papers, ECMC.

⁵⁴ James Y. Joyner to Effie R. Joyner, 4 August 1895, Joyner Papers, ECMC.

⁵⁵ James Y. Joyner to Effie R. Joyner, 20 July 1895, Joyner Papers, ECMC.

⁵⁶ James Y. Joyner to Master William Joyner, 19 July 1895, Joyner Papers.

⁵⁷ James Y. Joyner to Charles D. McIver, 22 July 1895, McIver Papers.

⁵⁸ James Y. Joyner, "Address Delivered before the Teachers' Association," 1896, Joyner Papers, ECMC.

⁵⁹ James Y. Joyner to Charles D. McIver, 11 August 1896, McIver Papers

⁶⁰ News and Observer, 9 August 1896.

⁶¹ James Y. Joyner to Master Stephen E. Eure, Jr., 10 December 1907, Joyner Papers, SEB.

⁶² Holder, McIver, pp. 161 and 177.

⁶³ James Y. Joyner to Effie R. Joyner, 13 July 1897, Joyner Papers, ECMC.

⁶⁴ Holder, McIver, p. 176.

⁶⁵ Bowles, A Good Beginning, pp. 124 and 128.

⁶⁶ Holder, McIver, p. 193.

⁶⁷ Holder, McIver, p. 194.

⁶⁸ Holder, McIver, p. 194.

⁶⁹ James Y. Joyner to Effie R. Joyner, 28 April 1901, Joyner Papers, ECMC.

⁷⁰James Y. Joyner to Charles D. McIver, 13 November 1901, McIver Papers.

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43. ¹Dabney, Universal Education in the South, vol. 2, p.

²Grantham, Southern Progressivism, p. 247.

³Grantham, Southern Progressivism, p. 250.

⁴Grantham, Southern Progressivism, p. 250.

⁵James Y. Joyner to Charles D. McIver, 7 April 1902, James Y. Joyner Superintendent of Public Instruction Papers, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Joyner Papers, SSPI.

⁶News and Observer, 20 February 1902.

⁷Autobiographical account of James Y. Joyner's appointment to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction; 4 February 1943, James Y. Joyner Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as James Y. Joyner, "Appointment to the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction."

⁸James Y. Joyner, "Appointment to the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction."

⁹James Y. Joyner, "Appointment to the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction."

¹⁰News and Observer, 27 February 1902.

¹¹Greensboro Telegram, 7 April 1902.

¹²Holder, McIver, p. 215.

¹³Dabney, Universal Education in the South, vol. 2, p. 337.

¹⁴James Y. Joyner to J. L. M. Curry, 26 February 1902, Joyner Papers, SSPI.

¹⁵Dabney, Universal Education in the South, vol. 2, p. 337.

¹⁶Grantham, Southern Progressivism, p. 247.

¹⁷ Connor and Poe, Charles B. Aycock, p. 138.

¹⁸ Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957 (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1964), p. 11.

¹⁹ Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, for the Scholastic Year 1900-01 and 1901-02, J. Y. Joyner Superintendent of Public Instruction (Raleigh: State Printers and Binders, 1902) iii, hereinafter cited as Joyner, Biennial Report, 1900-1908.

²⁰ Dabney, Universal Education in the South, vol. 2, p. 341.

²¹ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1900-1902, p. XLIV.

²² H. Leon Prather, Sr. Resurgent Politics and Educational Progressivism in the New South, North Carolina, 1890-1913 (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1979), p. 217, hereinafter cited as Prather, Resurgent Politics.

²³ News and Observer, 8 April 1902.

²⁴ Charlotte Daily Observer, 8 April 1902.

²⁵ News and Observer, 7 April 1902.

²⁶ Willard B. Gatewood, Jr. Eugene Clyde Brooks Educator and Public Servant (Durham: Duke University Press, 1960), p. 35, hereinafter cited as Gatewood, Eugene Clyde Brooks.

²⁷ Gatewood, Eugene Clyde Brooks, p. 39.

²⁸ Edgar W. Knight, Public Education in North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1916), pp. 334-335, hereinafter cited as Knight, Public Education.

²⁹ Charles D. McIver to James Y. Joyner, 22 July 1902, James Y. Joyner Papers, Southern Education Board, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Joyner Papers, SEB.

³⁰ J. B. Carlyle to James Y. Joyner, 7 June 1902, Joyner Papers, SEB.

³¹ Eugene Clyde Brooks to James Y. Joyner, 16 June 1902, Joyner Papers, SEB.

✧³² News and Observer, 4 June 1902.

³³ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1900-1903, pp. 92-93.

✧³⁴ Connor and Poe, C. B. Aycock, p. 136.

³⁵ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1902-1903, p. 75.

³⁶ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1902-1903, p. 80.

✧³⁷ Orr, Aycock, p. 240. For more on Charles Lee Coon's contribution to education in North Carolina, see George-Anne Willard, "Charles Lee Coon: North Carolina Crusader for Social Justice" (unpublished Masters thesis, East Carolina University, 1966) I-VII.

✧³⁸ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1900-1902, p. LXi.

✧³⁹ Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), p. 106.

✧⁴⁰ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1900-1902, pp. L-Li.

✧⁴¹ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1900-1902, pp. L-Li.

⁴² News and Observer, 8 March 1903.

⁴³ News and Observer, 26 March 1903.

⁴⁴ Knight, Public Education, p. 336.

✧⁴⁵ Dabney, Universal Education in the South, vol. 2, p. 341. For more on the woman's association, see James L. Leloudis, "School Reform in the New South: The Woman's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses in North Carolina, 1902-1919," Journal of American History, VIIIX (March 1983): 886-909.

✧⁴⁶ J. Y. Joyner to J. B. Sherill, 14 July 1904, James Y. Joyner Papers, East Carolina Manuscript Collection, Joyner Library, East Carolina University, hereinafter cited as Joyner Papers, ECMC.

⁴⁷ Dabney, Universal Education in the South, vol. 2, p. 342.

⁴⁸ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1903-1904, pp. 19-20.

- ★⁴⁹ News and Observer, 22 March 1903.
- ★⁵⁰ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1903-1904, p. 19.
- ★⁵¹ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1903-1904, p. 5.
- ★⁵² Joyner, Biennial Report, 1903-1904, pp. 90-91.
- ⁵³ Orr, Aycock, p. 332.
- ⁵⁴ Orr, Aycock, p. 333.
- ⁵⁵ Orr, Aycock, p. 333.
- ⁵⁶ Orr, Aycock, p. 335.
- ⁵⁷ Holder, McIver, p. 247.
- ⁵⁸ J. Y. Joyner to Mrs. J. Y. Joyner, 10 September 1905, Joyner Papers, ECMC.
- ⁵⁹ Charles D. McIver to Mrs. C. D. McIver, 14 September 1905, McIver Papers.
- ⁶⁰ J. Y. Joyner to Mrs. Effie R. Joyner, 14 September 1905, Joyner Papers, ECMC.
- ⁶¹ J. Y. Joyner to Mrs. Effie R. Joyner, 25 September 1905, Joyner Papers, ECMC.
- ⁶² J. Y. Joyner to Mrs. Effie R. Joyner, 1 October 1905, Joyner Papers, ECMC.
- ⁶³ King, "The Era of Progressive Reform," 274.
- ⁶⁴ Samuel A. Ashe, Stephen B. Weeks, Charles L. Van Noppen, eds. Biographical History of North Carolina, vol. 6 (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1907), p. 339.
- ⁶⁵ News and Observer, 19 March 1905.
- ★⁶⁶ King, "The Era of Progressive Reform," 275.
- ⁶⁷ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1902-1904, p. 56.
- ⁶⁸ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1903-1904, p. 6.
- ⁶⁹ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1902-1903, p. 46.
- ⁷⁰ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1902-1903, p. 48.

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80 Gatewood, Eugene Clyde Brooks, pp. 92-93.

81 Holder, McIver, p. 256.

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91 King, "The Era of Progressive Reform," 281-282.

92 Prather, Resurgent Politics, p. 69.

93 James Y. Joyner to E. A. Alderman, 17 July 1907, Joyner Papers, SEB.

94 James Y. Joyner to E. A. Alderman, 17 July 1907, Joyner Papers, SEB.

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97 Yackety Yack 1907. Vol 7. (Chapel Hill: The literary societies and fraternities, 1907), p. 5.

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¹ Joyner, "The County Farm-Life School Law and Explanations," (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell and Company, State Printers, 1913), pp. 1-2.

² Johnson and Holloman, Kinston and Lenoir County, p. 242, also see Johnson "James Yadkin Joyner," 377.

³ Joyner, Biennial Report, 1917-1918, p. 48.

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⁹ D. L. Corbitt, ed., Public Addresses and Papers of Robert Gregg Cherry, Governor of North Carolina, 1945-1949 (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1951), p. 987.

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