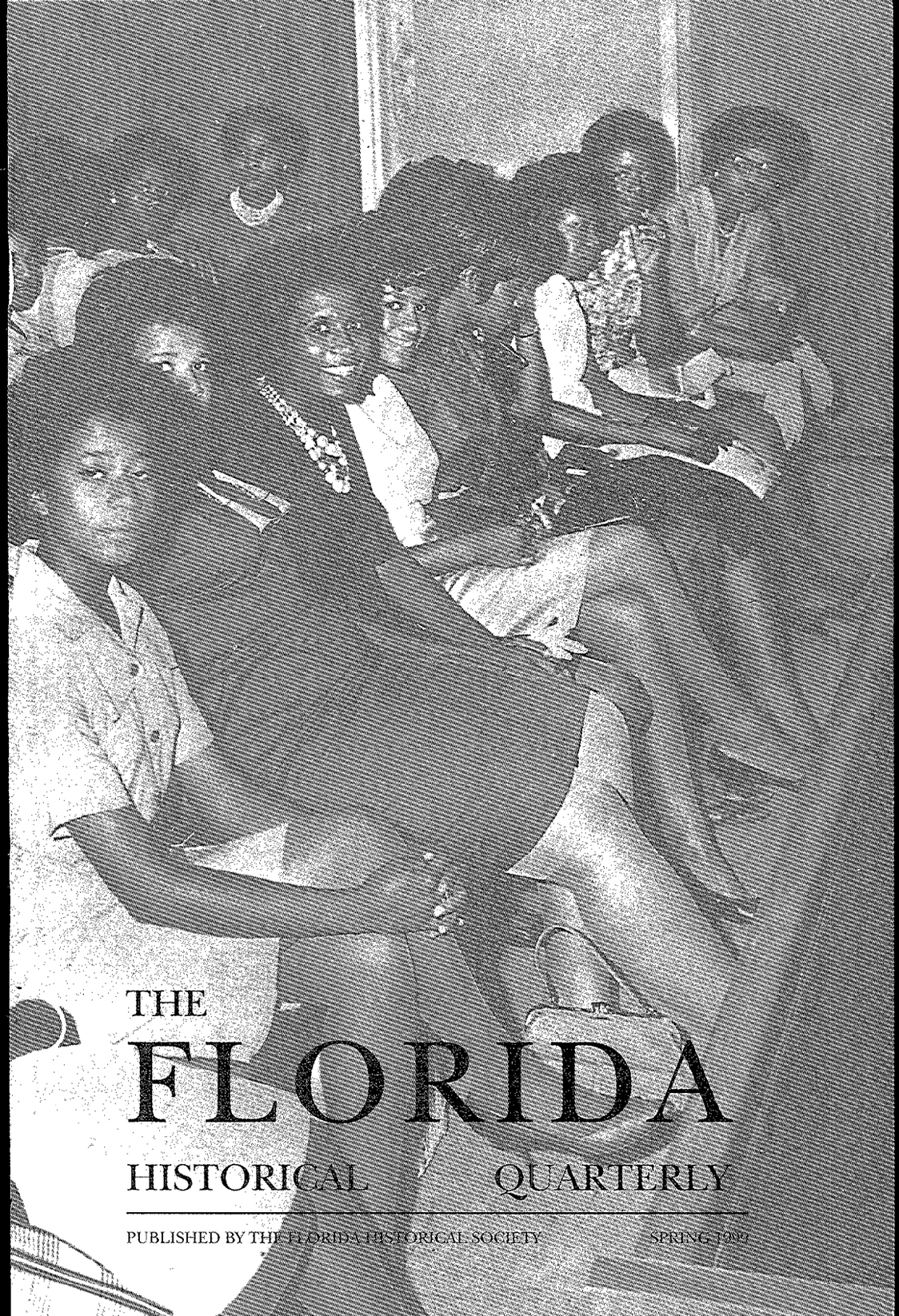

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

Co-eds from Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University await sentencing after being arrested and charged with contempt for picketing in front of a segregated movie theater in Tallahassee in 1963. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

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Special Issue
Women's Activism in Twentieth-Century Florida
Table Of Contents

REVIEW ESSAY

ARTICLES

REVIEW ESSAY

From the Margins to the Center: Southern Women's Activism, 1820-1970

by JEAN GOULD BRYANT

In 1988, participants in the First Southern Conference on Women's History lamented the neglect of southern women's history. Despite the rich research possibilities suggested by Gerda Lerner's 1967 biography of the Grimké sisters of South Carolina and her documentary history, *Black Women in White America* (1972), and by Anne Firor Scott's *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (1970), only a small fraction of the new scholarship on women's history dealt with the South.[1] Women's historians focused largely on women in the North, while southern historians examined race, but not gender, and African American historians generally ignored black women in their analyses.

The 1988 conference, however, marked a significant turning point. In the last decade, research in southern women's history has exploded, and the field has taken its place as a central component of women's history, southern history, and African American history. Among the most exciting developments in the field is the increasing attention paid to the public activities of southern women. Studies of female activism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have illuminated similarities as well as differences between the South and the North and enhanced our understanding of the complex interrelationships among race, class, and gender. They have

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1. Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "Partial Truths: Writing Southern Women's History," in Virginia Bernhard et al., eds., *Southern Women: Histories and Identities* (Columbia, 1992), especially 11-15, 19, 22; Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition* (Boston, 1967); Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York, 1972); Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970).

also shed new light on the nature of southern Progressivism and suggested new analyses of political behavior that enrich political history. Equally important, they have shown that southern women were active players, not merely observers or pawns, in the unfolding drama of history.

It has been widely assumed that, with rare exceptions such as the expatriate Grimké sisters, antebellum southern women eschewed the reform causes that mobilized thousands of northern women in the antebellum decades. Tantalizing pieces of evidence from a number of communities, however, suggest otherwise. Driven by the same religious and moral fervor that motivated northerners, southern women engaged in benevolent, missionary, and educational work to aid the deserving poor. By the 1830s women of Charleston, Baltimore, Richmond, Fredericksburg and Petersburg, Raleigh, Wilmington, Nashville, New Orleans, and other communities had organized benevolent societies to distribute Bibles to the poor, run Sunday schools for disadvantaged children, and coordinate aid for orphans, elderly widows, and distressed women. Baltimore and Wilmington women operated charity schools for girls, Nashville women ran a school for orphans and a house of industry for women, and Charleston's elite worked with lepers, nursed the poor, and attempted to rescue children from houses of prostitution. By the 1850s the women of Petersburg, Virginia, operated two female orphan asylums and a house of industry to assist working women. While most of their efforts seem to have been focused on poor white women and children, benevolent societies occasionally aided free blacks as well.[2] Moreover, despite laws prohibiting black organizations, free black women created clandestine mutual aid societies to aid their poor.[3]

Elizabeth Varon's study of white women and politics in antebellum Virginia reveals that southerners were also involved in more controversial reforms. Temperance, for example, was popular among Virginia's women and remained so even after the mid-1830s

2. Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1998), chapter 1; Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana and Chicago, 1991), 19-21; Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York, 1985), chapter 7; Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, *Ladies, Women, and Wenches: Choice and Constraint in Antebellum Charleston and Boston* (Chapel Hill, 1990), 118-24.
3. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted,* 7.

when temperance to many southerners had become linked with abolition.[4] She also found that contrary to the assumption that southern planter women were either "closet" abolitionists or strong pro-slaveryites, Virginia women participated in a meaningful debate about slavery that included advocacy of a moderate anti-slavery position. Among the many white women who expressed their views publicly in newspapers and petitions and in private correspondence, there was strong support for the American Colonization Society.[5]

After 1828, when the Virginia Colonization Society broke with the national American Colonization Society and began to focus solely on the removal of free blacks, women founded a separate Female Colonization Society of Virginia and petitioned the state legislature to end slavery. They monitored the legislative debates over slavery in 1831-32 and continued their lobbying efforts for the colonization agenda after the legislature enacted more restrictive laws. Even after the male-dominated Virginia Colonization Society shifted to a pro-slavery stance in the 1840s the Female Colonization Society of Virginia continued to contribute funds to the American Colonization Society and to advocate gradual emancipation.[6]

Southern women, like their northern counterparts, found themselves engaging in political activities to further their reform objectives. In addition to signing and circulating petitions written by their male reform colleagues, women initiated their own petition campaigns and lobbying efforts to get municipal and state funding for the schools, orphan asylums, and other welfare institutions they had created and managed. Fredericksburg women petitioned the legislature for permission to hold a lottery to raise money for their charity school, and other women's organizations petitioned for charters for their reform associations. As early as 1812, Petersburg women whose society ran the orphan asylum petitioned the general assembly for legal incorporation to insure their control over their finances and the girls in their asylum. Southern women also lobbied for the regulation of alcohol.[7]

4. Ibid., chapter 1. Lebsock notes women's involvement in temperance, but only in an auxiliary relationship to the male Sons of Temperance. Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg,* 229-30.
5. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted,* chapter 2.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 11-12, 18-20, 35, 39-40; Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg,* 200-201.

Reform activism paved the way for women's entry into partisan politics, albeit in a highly gendered fashion. In their 1840 Log Cabin campaign, Whigs made a concerted effort to involve women. Women, many of whom no doubt had privately shared their husband's partisan sentiments, responded enthusiastically. Some women, primarily in Kentucky, Baltimore, and New Orleans, also enlisted in the third party crusades of the nativist American Republican, or Native American, Party in 1844-46, and its successor, the American, or Know-Nothing, Party, ca. 1854-58. By the 1850s Democrats had adopted their rivals' tactics, and women were routinely included in campaign rituals and pageantry. Women's participation in Whig and nativist party campaigns was facilitated by the parties' links with evangelical Protestantism and benevolent reform causes such as temperance and Sabbath laws. In each case, both female and male partisans could justify women's involvement as disinterested benevolence and patriotism, not partisanship.[8]

Having once crossed the threshold of politics, many seemed to relish the opportunity to assume a new civic role and gradually expanded their partisan activities. At first they were content to lend their presence to party functions by waving hankies from their windows as partisans paraded past and joining the throngs at torchlight gatherings and picnics. They marched in processions and presented homemade banners to men's ward organizations. Soon, some were writing songs and poems for the party, submitting letters (under pen-names) to local newspapers, attending formal party meetings, and even giving short speeches when they made banner presentations. Occasionally, female partisans debated the merits of women's political activism with critics through exchanges of letters in newspapers.[9]

Female political activism continued through the secession crisis. Many rallied around the secession movement, leading and supporting boycotts of northern goods, financing volunteer companies

8. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted,* 71-95; Robert Gray Gunderson, *The Log-Cabin Campaign* (Lexington, 1957), 4, 7-8, 135-39; Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore, 1990), 135-38; Jayne Crumpler DeFiore, "COME, and Bring the Ladies: Tennessee Women and the Politics of Opportunity during the Presidential Campaigns of 1840 and 1844," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 51 (Winter 1992), 197-98; Jean Gould Hales, "'Co-Laborers in the Cause': Women in the Ante-bellum Nativist Movement," *Civil War History* 25 (June 1979), 127, 130-34, 136, 138.

9. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted,* 95-101; Hales, "'Co-Laborers in the Cause,"' 134-35.

and militia, and organizing and participating in secession rallies. They attended secession conventions and sometimes prepared written commentaries of proceedings. Some women, however, assumed new roles as sectional mediators, accepting the notion that it was woman's patriotic duty to promote sectional peace. Virginians were active in the Mount Vernon Association, hoping thereby to foster national sentiments. Some also supported the Constitutional Union Party in 1860, participating in rallies and disseminating campaign literature.[10]

Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland is a prime example of the intense interest some southern women had in party politics. Carroll was a propagandist for the American, or Know-Nothing, Party in 1856-57 and the Unionist cause in 1860. From 1856 through the Civil War, she corresponded with politicians about party strategy, tried to influence the selection of party candidates, and sought patronage for friends. She wrote pamphlets denying the constitutionality of secession and justifying the use of presidential power to end the rebellion, proposed colonization options to Lincoln, and claimed to have devised military strategy adopted by the government. Throughout her life, Carroll asserted a woman's right to engage in serious political discourse and participate in partisan and national affairs.[11]

Historians of the renewed struggle for woman's rights after the Civil War have focused on the controversy over the Fifteenth Amendment, namely whether women or black men should receive the vote first. Few have asked if or how southern black women made their claims to citizenship or if they followed their newly enfranchised men into the political arena. Southern blacks did not adopt the model of rugged individualism in their quest for either economic or political freedom after the war, for they recognized that no one could be truly free unless all of the race enjoyed autonomy. Instead, a sense of collective responsibility to kin and the en-

10. Varon, We *Mean to Be Counted,* 102-104, chapter 5.

11. Janet L. Coryell, *Neither Heroine Nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland* (Kent, Oh., 1990); Hales, "'Co-Laborers in the Cause,'" especially 121-22, 126, 136-38; Janet L. Coryell, "Duty with Delicacy: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland," in Edward P. Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders* (Wilmington, Del., 1992), 45-65; James Biser Whisker, ed., *Anna Ella Carroll (1815-1893), American Political Writer of Maryland* (Lewiston, 1992). For another example of women's continuing partisanship, see Christopher J. Olsen, "'Molly Pitcher' of the Mississippi Whigs: The Editorial Career of Mrs. Harriet J. Prewett," *Journal of Mississippi History* 58 (Fall 1996), 237-54.

tire community shaped their political behavior. Political decisions, thus, were communal decisions that required the input of all, voters and non-voters alike.[12]

Black women's post-bellum political activism was driven by this collective race consciousness, rather than the gender-based notions of female morality, patriotism, and motherhood that mobilized white women. Virginia's black women, including domestic servants and factory workers, participated in debates at open air meetings and shouted down conservative proposals. At the state constitutional convention, black women (along with men and children) participated in debates from the gallery and, during voice or standing votes, stood or yelled their responses as astonished white women silently observed the proceedings from their gallery seats. During South Carolina's constitutional debates over suffrage qualifications, they argued for woman suffrage at African American mass meetings, and, in 1869, gave suffrage speeches on the floor of the House.[13]

Throughout Reconstruction, black women in Virginia, Mississippi, and South Carolina actively tried to shape political decisions despite the danger of physical and economic retaliation from whites. They organized political societies to raise money for candidates, mounted voter education and get-out-the-vote campaigns, wore Republican campaign buttons, spoke out at party meetings, and petitioned local officials protesting policies they disliked. During the last years of Reconstruction, women guarded and sometimes carried guns to protect their men from armed Democrats during political meetings and at polling sites, and engaged in mob action after electoral defeats. They also developed sanctions, such as expulsion from black churches and mutual aid societies, against black men who deserted the Republican Party, and personally shunned, and even left, men who became Democrats. By such action, women asserted their contention that the vote was not an in-

12. Elsa Barkley Brown, "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History, 1865-1880," in Ann Gordon et al., eds., *African-American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (Amherst, 1997), 68-72. Also see Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "African American Women and the Vote: An Overview," in ibid., 10-15.

13. Brown, "To Catch the Vision of Freedom," 73-74, 77-79.

dividual male right but a collective power that had to be cast in the interest of wives, children, and the community.[14]

A number of black women, including Ida Wells Barnett, individually pursued their citizenship rights through litigation. They challenged discriminatory treatment and Jim Crow laws on railroads and steamboats, anti-miscegenation laws, and property laws that inhibited their ability to acquire and pass estates to heirs. Sometimes they received favorable rulings in lower courts, but such victories were inevitably reversed by state or federal appellate courts. Nevertheless, they left an important legacy of legal activism.[15]

A large proportion of works on southern women's activism have focused on the period between 1880 and the mid-1920s when black and white women created a host of voluntary associations across the South, championed a wide variety of local and state reforms, entered the public arena in unprecedented numbers, and became involved in the woman suffrage question. Anne Scott first called attention to women's significant role in southern Progressivism and delineated a pattern of women's gradual progression from church-based activities to political activism on their own behalf.[16] Since then, scholars have tested her model with state, local, regional, and biographical studies, and have added new dimensions by delineating black women's activism and developing profiles of leaders and rank-and-file activists.

14. Ibid., 81-84. Also see Anastatia Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880-1930* (Columbia, 1997), 157; Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted,* 172-73. Black women also engaged in a form of political activism when they engaged in benevolent activities and created autonomous institutions to ensure the welfare of their communities and speed the transition from slavery to free citizenship. See Kathleen C. Berkeley, "'Colored Ladies Also Contributed': Black Women's Activities from Benevolence to Social Welfare, 1866-1896," in Walter J. Fraser Jr., R. Frank Saunders Jr., Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education* (Athens, 1985), 181-203.
15. Janice Sumler-Edmond, "The Quest for Justice: African American Women Litigants, 1867-1890," in Gordon, et al., eds., *African-American Women and the Vote,* 100-119; Alfreda M. Duster, ed., *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago, 1970), xvi-xvii, 18-21.
16. Scott, *Southern Lady,* especially 140-41, 150-51, 158-63.

The wave of female association building began in the 1870s and continued into the early 1900s.[17] Three clusters of religious-based associations were among the first to appear. White and black Protestant women in each southern denomination created separate female missionary societies to give themselves more control over the benevolent and educational work they were underwriting through their fund-raising efforts for the church and opportunities for women to do missionary work. These societies quickly shifted their focus from foreign missions to needs in their own communities. Women interested in nondenominational, ecumenical work organized Women's Christian Associations (WCA) and YWCA chapters, and in the 1880s, southern temperance advocates began to form local affiliates of the national Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The religious nature of these groups and the additional

17. The information about the emergence, evolution, and activities of the Progressive era women's voluntary societies that follows is drawn from the following works: Scott, *Southern Lady,* 111-63; Scott, *Natural Allies,* chapters 4-7; Dorothy Salem, *To Better* Our *World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920* (Brooklyn, 1990); Mary Martha Thomas, *The New Woman in Alabama: Social Reforms and Suffrage, 1890-1920* (Tuscaloosa, 1992); Mary Martha Thomas, "White and Black Alabama Women during the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," in Thomas, ed., *Stepping Out of the Shadows: Alabama Women, 1819-1990* (Tuscaloosa, 1995); Marsha Wedell, *Elite Women and the Reform Impulse in Memphis, 1875-1915* (Knoxville, 1991); Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, *Pioneer Educator: The Progressive Spirit of Annie Webb Blanton* (College Station, Tx., 1993); Jacqueline Masur McElhaney, *Pauline Periwinkle* and *Progressive Reform in Dallas* (College Station, Tx., 1998); Elizabeth York Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920* (College Station, Tx., 1998), chapters 6-8, and 174-80; Elizabeth York Enstam, "They Called It 'Motherhood': Dallas Women and Public Life, 1895-1918," in Virginia Bernhard et al., eds., *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South* (Columbia, 1994), 71-95; Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville, 1989); Jacqueline Anne Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reform* (Athens, Ga., 1989); Gerda Lerner, "Community Work of Black Club Women," in Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York, 1979), 83-93; Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (February 1990), 3-22; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1888-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, Gender and *Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1996); Audrey Thomas McCluskey, "'Most Sacrificing' Service: The Educational Leadership of Lucy Craft Laney and Mary McLeod Bethune," in Christie Anne Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South: A Multicultural Reader* (New York, 1997), 189-203; Sims, *The Power of Femininity* in *the New South;* Nancy A. Hewitt, "Politicizing Domesticity: Anglo, Black, and Latin Women in Tampa's Progressive Movement," in Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, eds., *Gender, Class, Race and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, 1991), 24-41; Linda D. Vance; *May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist* (Gainesville, 1985), especially chapters 49.

home protection theme of the WCTU enabled traditional women to engage in activities beyond the home and to begin to grapple with social problems they would not otherwise have dared to address.

Women also created secular voluntary organizations. Female patriotic societies, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, Colonial Dames, and United Daughters of the Confederacy, offered southern white women an acceptable outlet. The last major female voluntary associations to be formed were literary and cultural clubs, which appeared in the 1890s. Although generally formed to satisfy the social and educational aspirations of urban women, most clubs soon became involved in community projects. These were the most controversial organizations because they were neither religious nor patriotic, and hence seemed designed to take women out of their proper sphere.

These groups shared a number of common features, with some variations. Their leaders were largely urban middle-class and elite women who, particularly after 1880, had attended a ladies seminary, normal school, or college. Members of white societies were typically middle class or elite women, while black organizations had a broader cross-class membership. All the societies were racially segregated, but, with the exception of the patriotic societies, virtually all engaged in some interracial work. Local organizations were linked with larger statewide or regional networks or federations, and affiliated with a national organization: the YWCA, WCTU, or for club women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC). In 1896, black club women created their own national umbrella organization, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).

These broader ties were important in the development of southern activism for they brought southern women into contact with northerners who had a decade or more of organizational experience and activism behind them. National organizations and leaders also often encouraged southerners to pursue a more advanced agenda. Equally important, national, state, and regional networks facilitated interracial contact between black and white organizations, in part by providing arenas removed from local pressures where women could interact.

It was soon evident that male critics of the various female associations had been correct: membership in such organizations did cause women to question their limited sphere; it did make them more independent and assertive; and it did cause them to invade the public arena. What often began as traditional benevolent work among the

unfortunate and efforts to control men's consumption of alcohol quickly mushroomed into a comprehensive reform program.

The following list, which is by no means complete, only hints at the scope and magnitude of their contributions. Southern women, black and white, provided essential social services for the needy in their communities. In addition to traditional charitable work, they built and funded institutions to care for orphans and elderly women, low cost boarding houses for poor working women, and day care centers for children of working mothers. In the area of moral reform they fought for the prohibition of alcohol, regulation of gambling and prostitution, and laws raising the age of consent to protect young girls from sexual assault. They developed sex and alcohol education programs, created and funded refuge houses for prostitutes. Like northerners such as Jane Addams, southern women also established settlement houses that offered comprehensive services to urban residents. And they developed innovative programs to serve the needs of the rural poor. Southern women also worked for labor and municipal reforms.

They contributed significantly to the development of public health services and education. They held community clean-up days and public health awareness campaigns, instituted programs of visiting school nurses, supported vaccination programs and anti-tuberculosis campaigns, and created mothers clubs to improve child care and nutrition. They established and funded well-baby clinics, hospitals, and neighborhood health centers. In addition, they documented patterns of infant mortality, inadequate sanitation, and poor housing conditions, then pushed for city inspections and regulations. Finally, they fought for pure food and drug laws. To advance education, female associations created kindergartens, established and funded public libraries and "traveling" libraries, and fought for additional resources for black schools. They pushed for extension of the school year and compulsory attendance laws, established school lunch programs, and created parent and teacher associations. They also funded new schools and college scholarships for women, and fought for improved teacher training, higher salaries for female teachers, and the election of women to school boards.

These women also helped reshape the justice system. Their achievements included the sex segregation of prisoners in local jails, the appointment of female matrons in jails and prisons, and the creation of a separate juvenile justice system. Their juvenile

programs included reformatories and half-way houses for girls and programs such as industrial schools to combat juvenile delinquency. In addition, they worked for abolition of the convict-lease system and began anti-lynching efforts.

To enhance the quality of life, women's associations engaged in local beautification projects and created parks, playgrounds and recreation centers. Some also began to study conservation issues. Florida club women were especially active in the conservation movement and played a key role in the establishment of highway beautification projects, state forests and parks, and the creation of the Everglades National Park. They also worked to set aside land for the Seminole Indians.

It is clear that women, black as well as white, shaped southern Progressivism in significant ways. Their concepts and programs of "municipal housekeeping" and social justice changed the role of government and helped create the modern welfare state. By focusing on human needs, they brought much needed balance to the male progressive emphasis on efficiency, expertise, and economic interests. It is equally evident that black women did not simply accept and support white reforms (which were often targeted at African Americans). Instead, they pursued their own agenda and adapted progressive programs to meet the needs of their people.

Black women's approach to reform was informed by the same sense of collective responsibility and race consciousness that had shaped black women's political behavior throughout Reconstruction. Adopting the NACW motto, "Lifting as We Climb," they sought to impose middle-class values and behavior patterns on their people knowing that only by challenging the insidious stereotypes of black inferiority and immorality could they hope to advance the race. To achieve their reforms, they successfully mobilized the entire female community, not just the small middle class. Their programs were funded by small donations from domestic servants, laundry and factory women, as well as teachers and well-to-do wives. They also learned how to chart a circuitous course to circumvent the sexism of black men and the racism of white women. They collaborated with black men on reforms when possible but often found more support from both northern and southern white women. Northern Baptist women, for example, were the most important supporters of black women's efforts to build and fund schools and colleges for black women. They also hired black women for southern missionary work and teachers for their white-

run schools. White southern Methodist women contributed money to support a black Methodist settlement in Nashville, and some white women directed charitable work to aid the black community.[18]

Black women seized every opportunity to engage in interracial projects with white women and hoped that common class values and links might help to overcome the racial divide. They retained their affiliation with the WCTU and YWCA despite the patronizing attitudes of many white members, and continued to initiate and participate in joint temperance and reform projects. Local clubs found common ground with white women in city-wide clean up days, sanitation reform, public health campaigns, and efforts to develop public playgrounds and day care centers. They also collaborated in joint charitable efforts. The Atlanta Neighborhood Union, for example, persuaded white club women to investigate conditions in the city's black schools and, as a result, won their support for needed city-funded reforms. Black women also cultivated white allies in their effort to get female matrons in jails and reformatories and preventative industrial schools for black girls, while recognizing that the two groups of women had very different reasons for supporting such reforms. During World War I, black and white women collaborated in the farm demonstration program that employed both white and black agents, and after the war, some women's clubs began serious interracial work to combat lynching. Finally, some black women cultivated contacts with white women and accepted invitations to speak to white conventions and meetings where they articulated black aspirations, vividly described life under Jim Crow, urged their audiences to begin anti-lynch efforts, and spoke of the progress made by southern blacks, despite the odds, since emancipation. In their capacity as grass roots activists, black women gained a reputation for being able to get things done. As a result, they emerged as informal power brokers or "ambassadors" to the local power structure. They could help the city achieve its goals, for example, by turning out workers for city clean up days, getting children to meet state attendance and educational require-

18. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent,* especially 20-31, 59, 67-69, chapter 4, 186-92, 198-200. Also see Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* chapter 5; Thomas, "White and Black Alabama Women during the Progressive Era," in Thomas, ed., *Stepping Out,* 87.

ments, and getting citizens to health clinics for treatment to eradicate hookworm.[19]

The woman's suffrage movement was slow to emerge in the South.[20] Some white women began to enlist in the suffrage cause and to form suffrage clubs in the 1890s, but the leaders had difficulty attracting followers, and suffrage activity largely disappeared between 1897 and 1910. A movement finally emerged between 1910 and 1913, when many of the women's voluntary societies embraced the cause. The movement was exclusively a white woman's affair, for the triumph of white supremacy with the disfranchisement of black men and institution of Jim Crow laws in effect drove black suffragists' activism "underground" in the black community and precluded any interracial efforts. Women's experiences in the reform movement turned many into suffragists. Some first awakened to the value of power as opposed to feminine influence during their struggles to create independent female missionary societies and to obtain a greater voice in the affairs of their respective churches. The WCTU's portrayal of the ballot as a "weapon for home protection" converted others. Reformers recognized the need for the vote when male voters and politicians rejected their

19. Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope,* 74-5, 99-103; Salem, *To Better Our World,* 107-13; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* chapters 6 and 7; Higginbotham, *Righhteous Discontent,* 169; Sims, *The Power of Femininity,* 56-57,94, 190-91.

20. The information that follows on the southern suffrage movement is drawn from the following sources: Scott, *Southern Lady,* 164-83; Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill, 1997), especially chapters 1-3, 6, 7, and conclusion; Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York, 1993); Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent,* chapters 3, 5, 6, and 226-29; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* 10-19, 203-18; Adele Logan Alexander, "Adella Hunt Logan and the Tuskegee Woman's Club: Building a Foundation for Suffrage," in Thomas, ed., *Stepping Out,* 96-113; Darlene Clark Hine and Christie Anne Farnham, "Black Women's Culture of Resistance and the Right to Vote," in Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South,* 104-14; Wedell, *Elite Women and Reform,* 98; Thomas, *New Woman in Alabama,* chapters 6-9, and 205; Sims, *The Power of Femininity,* chapter 5, especially 156-85; Thomas, "White and Black Alabama Women during the Progressive Era," in Thomas, ed., *Stepping Out,* 87-95; Mary Martha Thomas, "The Ideology of the Alabama Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920," in Bernhard et al., *Southern Women,* 109-28; Elizabeth Hayes Turner, "'White-Gloved Ladies' and 'New Women' in the Texas Woman Suffrage Movement," in ibid., 129-56; Vance, *May Mann Jennings,* 88, 90, 92-100, 105-6; Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life,* chapter 9; Jacqueline Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York, 1993), 19-45; Lee Ann Whites, "Rebecca Latimer Felton and the Problem of 'Protection' in the New South," in Hewitt and Lebsock, eds., *Visible Women,* 41-61.

reform proposals. Male criticism of women's activism fueled a growing gender consciousness, as did the growing self-confidence women gained through their voluntary efforts and the sense of sisterhood that developed within the close women's networks. Virtually all suffragists were reform activists in women's voluntary societies, although not all members of the WCTU, women's clubs, or other organizations became suffragists. Some, in fact, became anti-suffrage activists.

Suffragists appear to have been the quintessential New Women of the New South. They were among the best educated women in the region and more likely than others to have completed four years of collegiate education.[21] Many went north to college and even more traveled, worked or attended conventions in the North. A number of southern suffrage leaders (and reform activists) were originally from outside the South. They were members of the new urban middle class, whose parents were primarily merchants and professionals, well removed from the planter elite. Another distinguishing characteristic of suffragist leaders and movement members is the unusually large number who were employed as teachers, clerical workers, and journalists. They knew the difficulties working women faced and were well aware of the problems facing booming towns and cities. Like middle-class women in the North, southern suffragists saw the need to reform both the industrial elite and the poor.

By 1910, these New Women had more than a decade of experience in reform and the organizational skills necessary to mount a vigorous suffrage campaign. They were energized by the revival of the national movement, victories in some southern states, and the militant tactics of the Congressional Union. Southern suffragists mounted lavish parades, hired professional lobbyists, established permanent headquarters from which to direct their activities, published journals, and sponsored suffrage plays and essay contests. Adopting northern tactics, they delivered public speeches at street corners and from cars, and mobilized college students. Suffragists also split into competing factions, thus stimulating more debate. All southern states by 1913 had organizations affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and two alternative groups: affiliates of the more radical National Woman's

21. Scott, *Southern Lady*, 115, noted that half of the members of the Southern Association of College Women in 1913 were educated in the North or West.

Party (NWP) and the states' rights Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference (SSWSC) led by Kate Gordon. Contrary to much of the historical literature, southern suffragists avoided the race issue and refused to portray woman suffrage as a weapon to insure continued white supremacy. Instead, they used the same arguments employed by northerners: municipal housekeeping, home protection, and woman's moral leadership.

The growth of the suffrage movement spawned a well-organized anti-suffrage movement led by wealthy women and men from the traditional ruling elite. Although they shared many traits of their opponents, female "antis" generally were educated in the South in seminaries that stressed traditional roles, were members of voluntary societies that were less involved in reform causes, and were not working women. More importantly, their opposition to suffrage reflected their gendered class interests. They were daughters of the Old South, whose fathers, husbands, brothers and friends were members of the planter elite or new industrial and professional elite that was deeply linked with the plantation economy and social structure. They were also former secessionists, Redeemers who restored the South to Democratic rule, and leaders of the movement to disfranchise black men in the 1890s and implement Jim Crow. When these women argued that woman suffrage would destroy women's influence in society and leave them powerless, and that it was a threat to white supremacy, they were voicing real fears. Their own power was based on their unique access to the men who held power as long as the Democratic Party and white supremacy ruled. The reforms suffragists championed, particularly labor and political reforms, threatened their economic position and their power. It was the anti-suffragists, not the suffragists, who persistently raised the race issue to scare voters, particularly in the black belt and among the planter-industrial elite.[22]

The phenomenon of women anti-suffragists in the South as well as the North raises important issues. It suggests we err in equating female activism with liberal or feminist causes and in assuming that women's participation in female voluntary associations will in-

22. Green, *Southern Strategies*, chapters 4, 5, 7, and conclusion; Thomas, *New Woman in Alabama*, 195-203; Suzanne Lebsock, "Woman Suffrage and White Supremacy: A Virginia Case Study," in Hewitt and Lebsock, eds., *Visible Women*, 62-100; Elna Green, "Ideals of Government, of Home, and of Women': The Ideology of Southern White Antisuffragism," in Bernhard et al., eds., *Hidden Histories of Women*, 96-113.

evitably create a sense of sisterhood that fosters feminist consciousness. It also suggests we need to examine conservative and radical right women to ascertain what motivates them and what issues and experiences divide and unite women. Recent scholarship on women in the Ku Klux Klan, as well as that on anti-suffragists, has begun to illuminate this other side of female activism.[23]

With the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in July 1920, a new chapter began in southern women's activism.[24] Even before the final vote by the Tennessee legislature, suffragists had begun organizing chapters of the League of Women Voters (LWV) in anticipation of victory. Throughout the South, LWV members pressured governors and legislators to call special sessions to enact "enabling" legislation to provide for the registration of women voters.

23. It is clear that we also err in assuming that conservative or right wing women are necessarily exclusively traditionalist and anti-feminist; many pursue political and personal agency and their own women's rights agenda. Kathleen *M.* Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley, 1991); Nancy MacLean, "White Women and Klan Violence in the 1920s: Agency, Complicity and the Politics of Women's History," *Gender History* 3 (Autumn, 1991), 285-303.

24. The material that follows on women's activism in the 1920s is drawn from the following sources: Sims, *The Power of Femininity,* 185-88, 196-98; Thomas, *New Woman in Alabama,* chapter 10; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "Clubwomen and Electoral Politics in the 1920s," in Gordon et al., eds., *African American Women and the Vote,* 134-55; Hine and Farnham, "Black Women's Culture of Resistance," in Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South,* 214; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discontented Black Feminists: Prelude and Postscript to the Passage of the Nineteenth Amendment," in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen, eds., *Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement, 1920-1940* (Boston, 1987), 261-78; Barbara Blair, "Renegotiating Liberty: Garveyism, Women, and Grassroots Organizing in Virginia," in Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South,* 220-49; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* 217-24; Wheeler, *New Women,* 181-82, epilogue; Anne F. Scott, "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the 1920s," *Journal of Southern History* 30 (August 1964), 298-318; Scott, *Southern Lady,* 188-209; Scott, *Natural Allies,* 157, 171-72, 180-81; Salem, *To Better Our World,* chapter 8; Neverdon-Morton, "Advancement of the Race," 125, 129-32; Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator,* chapters 4, 5; Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope,* 83-87, 91, 96-121, 124-25; Vance, *May Mann Jennings,* 107-113, chapters 9, 10; Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South;* Joanne Varner Hawks, "Stepping out of the Shadows into Politics: Women in the Alabama Legislature, 1922-1990," in Thomas, ed., Stepping *Out,* 154-57; Marion W. Roydhouse, "Bridging Chasms: Community and the Southern YWCA," in Hewitt and Lebsock, eds., *Visible Women,* 270-95; Lynne A. Rieff, "'Go Ahead and Do All You Can': Southern Progressives and Alabama Home Demonstration Clubs, 1814-1940," in Bernhard, et al., eds., *Hidden Histories,* 134-49; Joanne V. Hawks and Mary Carolyn Ellis, "Heirs of the Southern Progressive Tradition: Women in Southern Legislatures in the 1920s," in Caroline Matheny Dillman, ed., *Southern Women* (New York, 1988), 81-92; Dolores E. Janiewski, *Sisterhood Denied: Race, Gender, and Class in a New South Community* (Philadelphia, 1985), 4, 83-95; John A. Salmond, *Miss Lucy of the CIO: The Life and Times of Lucy Randolph Mason, 1882-1959* (Athens, Ga., 1988), chapters 1-5.

Concurrently, the non-partisan League organized voter registration drives and created citizenship schools in county and congressional districts, voter demonstration programs, and educational material to prepare women to exercise their newly won right. As fall elections approached, the League and other women's organizations mounted get-out-the-vote campaigns. Black women's clubs also orchestrated voter registration efforts. Of the large numbers of black women who tried to register throughout the 1920s, probably only a few thousand succeeded, but they set an important precedent.

Southerners also entered party politics, forming white Democratic women's clubs and Republican Colored Women's clubs. In the 1920s and 1930s, southern Democratic women were active in party affairs at the local, state, and national levels. They ran for public office, were delegates to party conventions, created and served in the party's Women's Division, and campaigned for Democratic candidates. Some southern black women who were leaders in the national League of Republican Colored Women participated in meetings of the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee.

Southern women continued to be a force for progressive reform throughout the 1920s and 1930s, working through their traditional networks of clubs, missionary societies, the WCTU, YWCA, and PTA, and a number of new organizations. The new groups included the LWV, National Woman's Party (NWP), Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW), American Association of University Women (AAUW), Federation of Colored Parent Teachers Clubs, Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, and the National Council of Negro Women. To coordinate and enhance their lobbying efforts, white women in each state created a new umbrella organization, a women's joint legislative council, and affiliated with the Women's Joint Congressional Committee in Washington, D.C.

They used their new political power to push through reforms that recalcitrant politicians had ignored or rejected before 1920, and to champion even more advanced programs. Women lobbied for ratification of the federal child labor amendment and, when it failed, for passage of similar state laws. They pressured Congress to pass the Sheppard-Towner Act, a state-federal maternal and infant health program, and lobbied their states to implement and fund the new law. Reformers also pushed for state protective labor laws for women that would establish an eight-hour day, prohibit night work, and set a minimum wage, and they pushed for federal and state investigations of factory conditions. They supported creation of local and state child welfare departments, and lobbied for laws

to allow women to serve on juries and gain coguardianship rights over children. Some southerners supported the Equal Rights Amendment, proposed by the National Woman's Party in 1923.

Women were also active on behalf of peace. Some lobbied for American membership in the League of Nations and prodded President Warren Harding into calling the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921. Black women created the International Council of Women of the Dark Races to promote peace and worldwide harmony, and worked with whites in the bi-racial International Council of Women. More importantly, southern women worked for peace and justice at home. In the 1920s they created women's committees affiliated with local and state Commissions on Interracial Cooperation, providing a forum in which black and white women could confront racism together. In 1930, Jessie Daniel Ames founded the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which drew significant numbers of white women into the crusade for the first time. This white organization created some interracial forums and lobbied for state anti-lynch laws. Some whites joined black women in lobbying for a federal anti-lynch law in the 1930s.

As a result of the expertise they developed in welfare, health, education, and labor conditions and the administrative and political skills they acquired, southern women were able in increasing numbers to affect social and political change from inside the political system. Local and state governments appointed prominent suffragists and reformers to advisory boards and jobs created to implement and oversee the welfare and justice programs they had helped create. During the depression, southern women, including Floridians Ruth Bryan Owen and Mary McLeod Bethune, were appointed to a number of significant positions in the Roosevelt administration.[25]

25. Martha H. Swain, "Loula Dunn: Alabama Pioneer in the Public Welfare Administration," in Thomas, ed., *Stepping Out,* chapter 8; Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope,* 124; Wheeler, *New Women,* 194-95, 197; Martha H. Swain, "A New Deal for Southern Women: Gender and Race in Women's Work Relief," in Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South,* chapter 15; Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). Ware includes nine southern women in the New Deal Women's Network: Mary Anderson (Washington, D.C.), Marion Glass Banister (Va.), Emily Newell Blair (Mo.), Daisy Harriman (Washington, D.C.), Lucy S. Howorth (Miss.), Lucille F. McMillin (Tenn.), Ruth Bryan Owen (Fl.), Sue Shelton White (Tenn.), and Ellen S. Woodward (Miss.). She notes that Mary McLeod Bethune, despite holding a job that was more important than that held by many other women, was excluded from the network. Because of her race, she was seen as a representative of black people, rather than of women. See pp. 12-13.

Black women have been nearly invisible in most literature on the twentieth-century civil rights movement, but they were at least as central to the story as the male leaders and northern volunteers who command the most attention. Southern black women were important in the growth and successes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League in the South. Both organizations, for example, built local chapters on the foundation of existing female community networks and organizations, and relied heavily on women's grass roots leadership. They also embarked on social welfare efforts because of pressure from female leaders. Women were particularly active in the NAACP as founders of southern chapters, fund-raisers, field workers, activists, and officers.[26]

African American women frequently rejected the accommodationist position taken by male leaders and adopted a more assertive stance in pursuing equality. In the half-decade before *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954), women such as Lugenia Burns Hope, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Ida B. Wells, and Mary Church Terrell, to name a few, spoke out forcefully against lynching and openly critiqued racism and segregation. In 1949, Terrell pushed the white AAUW of Washington, D.C., to integrate, and, in 1950 (at age 87) she spearheaded a drive to desegregate the restaurants of the Capitol, using direct action such as picketing, boycotts, and sit-ins. Some, including Terrell, and Septima Clark and Modjeska Simkins of South Carolina, brought lawsuits challenging the white primary, inequities in black teachers' salaries, Jim Crow, and segregated schools. During the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, women refused to end the boycott and accept a compromise solution when urged to do so by the clergy, and instead kept the protest alive until they won complete bus desegregation. In 1964, Tennessee Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) member Diane Nash mobilized students to continue the freedom ride after Martin Luther King and other leaders had decided to halt the ride because of the violence that threatened the lives of the participants. Likewise, Fannie Lou Hamer and other women in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegation rejected the com-

26. Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope,* 118-21, 125; Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South,* 223-26; Salem, *To Better Our World,* chapters 5, 6; Barbara A. Woods, "Modjeska Simkins and the South Carolina Conference of the NAACP, 1939-1957," in Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods, eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965* (Bloomington, 1993), 99-120; Rosa Parks, with Jim Haskins, *Rosa Parks: My Story* (New York, 1992), chapters 5, 6, 7.

promise seating arrangement negotiated by male civil rights leaders and the Democratic Party leadership at the 1964 Democratic convention and insisted that the MFDP delegates deserved to be seated in full.[27]

But black women (and men) were not the only ones to challenge race and class oppression with increasing militancy after 1930. Some white southern women also increased their anti-racist activities. From the 1920s through the 1940s white Methodist women had continued interracial work. In fact, nearly one-half of southern white women involved in such efforts were Methodists. In 1952, the Methodist Women's Board of Missions embarked on efforts to end segregation in schools and colleges, focusing first on Methodist institutions, then on public schools as well. They disseminated facts about the impact of segregation and the inequities in facilities, instructional materials, and teacher salaries. They brought parents and teachers of both races together to exchange views and find common ground. After *Brown* they worked with biracial groups to facilitate peaceful integration and to insure that integration did not cause black teachers to lose their jobs. They also lobbied the federal government to cut aid to schools that refused to desegregate.[28]

White women were also active in early civil rights work through the Highlander Folk School (HFS) in Tennessee. Founded by Lillian Johnson of Memphis as a center to advance union efforts in the South, it became a center for interracial meetings and activism in the early 1950s. HFS pushed for integration of labor unions, trained black and white civil rights workers (including Rosa Parks), and developed educational programs for the movement. White

27. Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope,* see especially chapter 5; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* 185; Duster, ed., *Crusade for Justice;* Jones, *Quest for Equality,* 38-42, 44, 64-86; Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent,* 221-26; Grace Jordan McFadden, "Septima P. Clark and the Struggle for Human Rights," in Crawford et al., eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement,* 86-89. Clark was fired from her teaching position in South Carolina for her NAACP activism; Woods, "Modjeska Simkins," in ibid., 107-10; Ella Baker consistently challenged male leaders because of their conservatism. See Carol Mueller, "Ella Baker and the Origins of 'Participatory Democracy,'" in ibid., 51-70; Mamie E. Locke, "Is This America? Fannie Lou Hamer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party," in ibid., 32-33; Belinda Robnett, "African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Spontaneity and Emotion in Social Movement Theory," in Kathleen M. Blee, ed., *No Middle Ground: Women and Radical Protest* (New York, 1998), 79, 82-85.

28. Alice G. Knotts, "Methodist Women Integrate Schools and Housing, 1952-1959," in Crawford et al., eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement,* 251-58.

women were among Highlander's key financial supporters, and women of both races were among its field organizers, teachers, and strategists.[29]

From 1954 through 1965, black women were the heart and soul of the civil rights movement. Although they were not the public spokespersons, women often outnumbered male participants in demonstrations and campaigns and were among the first to enlist in the movement, frequently defying church leaders who urged caution. They were organizers and motivators who effectively utilized existing women's networks and kin connections, and inspired others through words, songs, and action with their faith and courage. Women were, as Belinda Robnett convincingly argued, charismatic bridge leaders whose spontaneous decisions and actions kept the momentum of the movement going at critical times. Excluded from formal leadership in the movement, they were free to remain loyal to their community constituents at times when the male leaders felt it necessary to compromise with civic and national authorities to maintain their influence.[30]

Members of the Montgomery Women's Political Council (WPC) mobilized the community and organized and funded the 1955 bus boycott after Rosa Parks' decision to challenge the discriminatory bus policy. Since its founding in 1946, the WPC had engaged in voter registration and education projects (sometimes with assistance from the League of Women Voters), organized block voting drives, and desegregated public parks. WPC strategists and the black working women who comprised the bulk of the bus riders were primarily responsible for keeping the boycott going until the company and city government capitulated. They received behind-

29. Donna Langston, "The Women of Highlander," in ibid., 145-67.

30. Robnett, "African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement," in Blee, ed., *No Middle Ground,* 65-95; Charles Payne, "Men Led, but Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta," in Crawford et al., eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement,* 1-11; Vicki Crawford, "Beyond the Human Self: Grassroots Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement," in ibid., 13-26; Anne Standley, "The Role of Black Women in the Civil Rights Movement," in ibid., 183-202; Bernice Johnson Reagon, "Women as Culture Carriers in the Civil Rights Movement: Fannie Lou Hamer," in ibid., 203-17; Jacquelyn Grant, "Civil Rights Women: A Source for Doing Womanist Theology," in ibid., 39-50; Hine and Farnham, "Black Women's Culture of Resistance," 205, 215-16.

the-scenes support from some white women who employed black domestics and from some courageous individuals who boldly spoke out for desegregation.[31]

Women were central to the success of the voter registration effort that culminated in passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Septima Clark masterminded the creation of citizenship schools to educate illiterate rural and small town blacks, and prepare them to pass voter registration tests and assume full citizenship. Working first through Highlander and, after 1961, as field organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), she ultimately directed a massive eleven-state project of voter education. The strategy and philosophy that guided the citizenship school project differed markedly from that of the male civil rights leadership. Where they focused on mobilizing urban middle-class African-Americans in particular, women organizers and the young people in SNCC believed illiterate and poor rural and small town blacks were key to the success of the voter registration drive. If the black belt could be organized, the system of white supremacy could be toppled. More importantly, Clark and others sought to train local leaders, thus empowering the people to continue the struggle long after outside organizers had left the area. Local women defied the system and housed civil rights workers during summer voter registration drives. But they did much more. Sharecroppers and women in small towns risked their lives and precarious livelihood by participating in marches and repeatedly attempting to register to vote. Fannie Lou Hamer and others returned to the registration lines after being jailed, beaten, fired from jobs, and driven off the land they had share cropped for a generation, proclaiming that they had nothing to lose and everything to gain for their grandchildren.[32]

31. Mary Fair Burks, "Trailblazers: Women in the Montgomery Bus Boycott," in Crawford et al., eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement,* 71-83; Parks, *Rosa Parks,* chapters 8-10; David Garrow, ed., *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Made It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson* (Knoxville, 1987); Sheryl Spradling Summe, "'Alive to the Cause of Justice': Juliette Hampton Morgan and the Montgomery Bus Boycott," in Thomas, ed., *Stepping Out,* 176-90.

32. McFadden, "Septima Clark," in Crawford et al., eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement,* 85-97; Langston, "The Women of Highlander," in ibid., 153-58, 162-66: Sandra B. Oldendorf, "The South Carolina Sea Island Citizenship Schools, 1957-1961," in ibid., 169-82; Locke, "Is This America?" in ibid., 27-37; Mueller, "Ella Baker," in ibid., 51-70.

Black and white female students throughout the South were among the organizers of and participants in bus boycotts, sit-ins to desegregate local lunch counters, voter registration drives, and freedom rides. Some spontaneously became activists, others entered the fray through campus SNCC chapters or through the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), organized by white students in 1964. The SSOC fought to desegregate college campuses and worked to organize African American students from black colleges and create a biracial leadership in the organization. Although most freedom workers in the 1960s were northern whites or blacks, among women, the majority prior to 1964 were southern. The SSOC engaged in community organizing efforts to combat poverty as well as racial oppression, and opposed the Vietnam War. Women were much more effective than men in the SSOC community organizing projects. Southern black women, such as Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, were equally important as leaders, organizers, and activists in SNCC.[33]

Despite women's vital roles in the SSOC and SNCC, they were increasingly excluded from the male-dominated leadership circles after 1967, and their concerns as women were ignored. These organizations thus became the incubators of the women's liberation movement in the South. SSOC women founded the first women's liberation group in Gainesville in 1968, and by 1969, the movement had spread to southern campuses across the South. The rest of the story remains to be told.[34]

The civil rights movement was a major impetus for the emergence of the contemporary feminist movement, however, this movement and many other areas of southern female activism re-

33. Cynthia Griggs Fleming, "'More Than a Lady': Ruby Doris Smith Robinson and Black Women's Leadership in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," in Bernhard et al., eds., *Hidden Histories,* 204-23; Christina Greene, "'We'll Take Our Stand': Race, Class, and Gender in the Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1964-1969," in ibid., 173-92; Cynthia Griggs Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry: The Liberation of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson* (Lanham, Md., 1998); Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York, 1980), chapters 2 and 3; Glenda A. Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Tallahassee, Florida* (Athens, Ga., forthcoming 1999).

34. Greene, "'We'll Take Our Stand,"' in Bernhard, et al., eds., *Hidden Histories,* 192-203; Evans, *Personal Politics,* chapters 4 and 5, 183, 204-5; Jane Sherron De Hart, "Second Wave Feminism(s) and the South: The Difference That Differences Make," in Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South,* 273-301, especially 273-76, 278, 284-85, 291-92.

main nearly unplowed fields for women's historians. Scholars can build on the foundation laid by studies on working women's activism, women in the Farmers' Alliance and Populist movement, women in southern politics, and conservative or right-wing female activism.[35] Much also remains to be learned about women's activism in the colonial, revolutionary, and antebellum South, as well as in the period since World War II. The four articles that follow provide case studies of some of the major themes in southern women's activism and demonstrate the value of exploring these issues and dynamics through local and state history, biography, and studies that focus on black women and ethnic groups. They also raise new questions and suggest new directions for research on Florida's activist women.

35. DeHart, "Second Wave Feminism(s) and the South," in Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South,* 273-301; Janiewski, *Sisterhood Denied,* especially 150-77; Dolores Janiewski, *Subversive Sisterhood: Black Women and Unions in the Southern Tobacco Industry* (Memphis, 1984); Sally Ward Maggard, "'We're Fighting Millionaires!' The Clash of Gender and Class in Appalachian Women's Union Organizing," in Blee, ed., *No Middle Ground,* 289-306; Salmond, *Miss Lucy of the CIO;* Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "O. Delight Smith's Progressive Era: Labor, Feminism, and Reform in the Urban South," in Hewitt and Lebsock, eds., *Visible Women,* 166-98; Nancy A Hewitt, "In Pursuit of Power: The Political Economy of Women's Activism in Twentieth-Century Tampa," in ibid., 199-222; Marion K. Barthelme, ed., *Women in the Texas Populist Movement: Letters to the Southern Mercury* (College Station, Tx., 1997); Hawks, "Stepping Out of the Shadows into Politics," in Thomas, ed., *Stepping Out,* 154-75; Pamela Tyler, *Silk Stockings and Ballot Boxes: Women and Politics in New Orleans, 1920-1963* (Athens, Ga., 1996); Kathleen Blee, "Introduction: Women on the Left/Women on the Right," in Blee, ed., *No Middle Ground,* 1-15.

Clubwomen and Civic Activism: Willie Lowry and Tampa's Club Movement

by PATRICIA DILLON

In 1900, only six years after moving to Tampa, Florida, Willie Miller Lowry spearheaded a drive to solicit funds from Andrew Carnegie to build a public library. Throughout her correspondence with Carnegie, Lowry repeatedly described Tampa's rapid development and the need for new educational facilities. She argued that the library would not only provide improved educational standards but would also help to cultivate middle-class American values in the city's immigrant population. Lowry reported that "one to one-half of Tampa's population are Cubans and Spaniards, who, though fast becoming Americanized, stand in dire need of uplifting and educational advantages."[1]

This event illustrates a common theme among Progressive clubwomen: a desire to expand beyond their private spheres into the public realm of civic improvement. Tampa's unique ethnic composition, however, extended clubwomen's activities beyond "municipal housekeeping" to encompass the socialization and Americanization of their immigrant neighbors. Furthermore, Tampa's clubwomen not only extended their sense of *noblesse oblige* to the city's immigrant population; they also addressed the needs of African Americans and lower- and working-class Anglo Americans. As a leading clubmember, Willie Lowry actively participated in Tampa's Urban League, constructed Tampa's first Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and campaigned for free kindergartens. Nevertheless, she, along with other white middle-class clubwomen, often failed to address such controversial issues as segregation, labor unions, and immigration restrictions. The divergent factors of race, class, and ethnicity that characterized

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1. Willie Lowry to Andrew Carnegie, March 30, 1900, folder 1, box, 13, Willie Miller Lowry Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida.

Tampa's club scene, along with the personal liberation that club activities provided for Progressive women, will interest both historians of women and of the South. This article explores these various themes by examining the life of Willie Miller Lowry and her role in Tampa's club movement.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women's participation in clubs and organizations directly altered their ascribed roles in American society. Social, religious, and later political organizations afforded women new opportunities to expand their influence beyond their own homes and into the wider world. As these women strove to improve their communities by such civic endeavors as constructing public libraries, campaigning for pure food and drug laws, and sponsoring beautification projects, they also reaped incalculable personal benefits. Club activities provided women with an enhanced sense of self-esteem and leadership experience. Public recognition of clubwomen's abilities and accomplishments, in turn, served to broaden societal acceptance of women's expanding roles.[2]

Initially, women's clubs often took the form of self-improvement or literary societies where members explored ways to uplift their individual homes and families. Clubwomen's concentration on personal duties readily corresponded with the prevailing rhetoric emanating from church pulpits and popular literature that urged women to adhere to their proper roles as moral defenders and guardians of their "private sphere." However, with the rapid rise of industrialization in the years following the Civil War, and with corresponding increases in population, pollution, crime, and other social ills, many women began to challenge their narrowly defined societal roles as they increasingly equated the sanctity of their own familial realm with the purity of the larger public world.[3]

Initially, Florida and other southern clubwomen lagged behind their northern counterparts in creating organizations to change, improve, or challenge their communities.[4] As northern women ventured into civic affairs they drew upon a long history of

2. Anne Firor Scott, "Women's Voluntary Associations: From Charity to Reform," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (New Brunswick, 1990), 48.
3. Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York, 1980), xii.
4. Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Chicago, 1993), 152.

public debate stemming from the abolitionist and women's rights movements while also benefiting from a relatively open social atmosphere. Northern society, while not always condoning or praising women's expanded public role, nevertheless allowed a relatively wide latitude for female behavior. Women served as important contributors to the expanding industrialization as workers and as entrepreneurs in the burgeoning northern business community. Southern women, on the other hand, faced intense opposition to any deviation from the traditional characteristics of the southern lady– docility, submissiveness, and morality. In the Reconstruction-era South, the image of the southern lady provided an important sense of pride and heritage, while also shoring up traditional racial and economic class structures. Many women also upheld their traditional role by advancing the myth of the Lost Cause, primarily through the United Daughters of the Confederacy, as a way to protect their perceived privileged role in an ever-changing society.[5] Despite the efforts by many white southerners to cling to traditional and mythical ideals of a glorious Old South, by the turn of the century the New South had emerged, accompanied by changes and uncertainties.

Willie Miller Lowry combined the characteristics of both the Old and New South throughout her life. While she continually upheld the ideology of the "Lost Cause" through her membership in the Daughters of the Confederacy and in her own private memoirs, she also attended college, worked at various jobs, campaigned for female suffrage, and managed her own money even after her marriage. Throughout her long history of club activity she constantly drew upon these experiences and ideals.

"If there was ever a true child of the South in every sense, I was that child," Lowry later recalled.[6] On July 15, 1862, Willie Louise was born to Dr. William Robarbs Miller and Mary Frances Britton in Raleigh, North Carolina. Willie, however, knew her mother for only a brief time. Only two months after her fourth birthday her mother died from consumption at the age of thirty-two. Willie Louise then spent the majority of her childhood and adolescence in the home of her older sister and brother-in-law, Isabelle and Black-

5. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York, 1993), 6-7.

61. Willie Miller Lowry, "A Daughter of Dixie: A Post-War Memoir of a Little Girl of the Old South," unpublished manuscript, August 1941, p. 1, Lowry Papers.

burn Wilson, who lived in Rock Hill, South Carolina. Despite the upheaval of her early childhood, Lowry fondly recalled her father's plantation. "My father's house was a giant old fashioned one, of no particular model . . . just old timey and ample" with extensive land divided by Marsh Creek, a tributary of the Neuse River.[7] Willie, a product of Lost Cause sentimentality, reminisced about her father's black laborers, former slaves who remained on his plantation following the Civil War. "How well I recall those kindly pleasant black shiny faces of our colored friends . . . Especially dear was my mammy . . . It was on her kindly lap that I was nightly regaled with the weird and compelling negro folk stories and lulled to sleep with the never to be forgotten crooning of that strange and musical race."[8] This idyllic version of post-bellum plantation life proved an enduring image for Willie Louise and other southern women born in a time of rapid social and economic change.

While Willie Miller and her southern counterparts often bemoaned the changes wrought by the Civil War, they did, however, enjoy wider opportunities than their mothers and grandmothers had experienced. Following the loss of thousands of men during the war, southern women left their private familial spheres and entered into public employment to save their families from economic destruction. Women who grew up during the turbulent post-Civil War years benefited from their mothers' acts of public necessity by enjoying enhanced educational and employment opportunities.[9] According to historian Karen Blair, changes in women's roles following the Civil War "produced a new woman who was more confident and aggressive because she had alternative channels through which she could express her energies and talents."[10] Willie exemplified the new woman by enrolling in Salem Female Academy at Raleigh, North Carolina, where she mastered secretarial and accounting skills. After graduation, she worked as a secretary for a variety of employers, including the chairman of North Carolina's Democratic Party. She later served as an instructor of typing and shorthand at the Peace Institute in Rock Hill.[11] In the following

7. Ibid., 2.
8. Ibid., 3.
9. Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist,* 99.
10. Ibid.
11. "Biographical Sketch of Willie Miller Lowry," Lowry Papers.

years, Willie utilized her educational and occupational experiences in her work within Tampa's various female associations.

Willie Louise moved to Tampa after her marriage to Sumter de Leon Lowry on December 18, 1890. Lowry, a graduate of Kings Mountain Military Academy and the Medical and Pharmaceutical College in Charleston, South Carolina, first moved to Palatka, Florida, in 1886 to open a drugstore. After their marriage, Willie joined Sumter in Palatka, but the family soon moved to Jacksonville, then to St. Augustine, and in 1894, to Tampa. By the time they had settled in Tampa, Sumter had resigned from the pharmaceutical business and had entered the field of insurance sales. Lowry later emerged as a leading figure in both the insurance profession and Tampa city politics where he successfully campaigned for the commission form of city government and served as a commissioner for eight years.[12] During their marriage Sumter and Willie had five children: Willie Louise, Sumter de Leon Jr., Blackburn Wilson, Loper Bailey, and Isabelle Willis.[13]

When the Lowrys moved to Tampa they encountered a dynamic and growing "New South" city. In an 1898 letter to his wife, Sumter Lowry described Tampa as "one of the best towns in the State and . . . fast improving."[14] Since its founding, Tampa had developed rapidly from an isolated gulf coast town of small merchants and cattlemen to a bustling commercial port city and the leading exporter of phosphate and luxury cigars.[15]

Although Tampa was originally chartered in 1834, only 720 people resided in the isolated community by 1880. Initially Tampa's early entrepreneurs envisioned steady economic development for their community by serving as the major suppliers for military troops who were stationed in the area during the Seminole Wars. However, yellow fever epidemics, isolation, and primitive living conditions hampered Tampa's development. By 1870 only 796 people lived there, and ten years later the population had declined to 720.[16] The city "took off in the 1880s and by 1890 had bur-

12. The American Historical Society, Inc., "Sumter de Leon Lowry: Man of Affairs," April 8, 1937, Lowry Papers.
13. Margaret Wooten Collier, *Biographies of Representative Women of the South, 1861-1920,* vol. 1 (College Park, Ga., 1938), 89-90.
14. Sumter Lowry to Willie Lowry, June 21, 1898, folder 9, box 12, Lowry Papers.
15. Durward Long, "The Making of Modern Tampa: A City of the New South, 1885-1911," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (April 1971), 334.
16. Ibid.

geoned to 6,000 inhabitants. The construction of Henry Bradley Plant's South Florida Railroad, which connected Tampa to Jacksonville, served as the major catalyst for the city's phenomenal development. The discovery of phosphate deposits in the Hillsborough Channel also contributed to Tampa's economic base. By 1900, Tampa boasted two city newspapers, telephone and telegraph services, two railway lines, an electric and water company, a sewage system, a street railway system, and the famous Tampa Bay Hotel and Tampa Bay Casino.[17]

While Tampa's urban and economic growth resembled that of other New South cities like Atlanta and Birmingham, the city's ethnic composition set it apart. By 1910 the city's population had reached 56,000, 12,000 of whom were Spanish, Cuban, and Italian immigrants.[18] The majority of Latins immigrated to Tampa to work in Ybor City's cigar industry. Don Vincente Martinez Ybor founded the company town of Ybor City in 1886 (which was soon incorporated into Tampa) when he relocated his cigar industry from Key West to Tampa. Ybor chose Tampa because the city readily met his production and product requirements– access to transportation facilities, cheap land, and excessive humidity. By 1900 the city's two hundred cigar factories had transformed Tampa into the "cigar capital of the world," expanding its economy and permanently altering the area's ethnic composition.[19]

While most of Tampa's Anglo population benefited from and approved of the economic contributions of Ybor's cigar industry, some felt uneasy about the city's rapidly rising immigrant population and its enhanced political power. To combat this perceived threat, male community leaders, often in tandem with clubwomen, strove to design social programs and civic improvements to reinforce middle-class values of virtuous behavior, hard work, and thriftiness. Although at times Anglo clubwomen joined with their Latin and African American counterparts on civic projects, the

17. Charlton Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 285-86; Long, "The Making of Modern Tampa," 336; Gary R. Mormino and Anthony P. Pizzo, *The Treasure City: Tampa* (Oklahoma City, 1983), 86-89, 94.
18. Nancy Hewitt, "Varieties of Voluntarism: Class, Ethnicity, and Women's Activism in Tampa," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., *Women, Politics, and Change* (New York, 1990), 67.
19. Gary R. Mormino, "Tampa: From Hell Hole to the Good Life," in Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice, eds., *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II* (Austin, 1983), 139.

boundaries of race and class hindered full cooperation.[20] Throughout Willie Lowry's involvement in Tampa's club movement, women's organizations remained strictly segregated.

One of the first clubs Willie Lowry joined upon her arrival in Tampa was the Tampa Woman's Club, organized in 1900 "for the exchange of intellectual work among Tampa women." Members of the club included women from the upper and middle classes who were well educated and well informed of current events.[21] Embodying these characteristics, Willie Lowry quickly emerged as one of the club's principal leaders.[22]

With the inception of the Woman's Club, Tampa joined a growing number of Florida communities that benefited from the growth in women's civic participation. By 1883, so many Florida towns included women's clubs that members of Green Cove Spring's Village Improvement Association called for the creation of a united organization "to bring the women's clubs into acquaintance and mutual helpfulness."[23] Two years later, delegates from Tarpon Springs, Crescent City, Orange City, Jacksonville, and Green Cove Springs organized the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs (FFWC) . Tampa's Woman's Club eventually joined the state federation in 1912.[24]

By this time, Tampa club members had expanded their original goals of concentrating solely on their own intellectual improvement and initiated studies concerning the enhancement of public education and the development of charitable municipal institutions. In 1913, as chair of the club's Literature and Library Extension Department, Willie Lowry created the Storyteller's League, which offered prizes for public schoolchildren who told the best story on any historical subject. Lowry reported that the storytelling

20. For further information concerning Tampa's Latin and African American women's clubs see Nancy Hewitt, "Politicizing Domesticity: Anglo, Black, and Latin Women in Tampa's Progressive Movement," in Nancy S. Dye and Noralee Frankel, eds., *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, 1991), 24-41.

21. Mary Katharine Hansbrough, "History of Tampa's Woman's Club to the Present Time," unpublished manuscript, 1913, Lowry Papers; Maryclaire P. Crake, "In Unity There is Strength: The Influence of Women's Clubs on Tampa, 1900-1940" (master's thesis, University of South Florida, 1988), 35-36.

22. Tampa Woman's Club to Willie Lowry, November 21, 1900, folder 1, box 13, Lowry Papers.

23. Jessie H. Meyer, *Leading the Way: A Century of Service, The Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, 1895-1995* (Lakeland, 1994), 6.

24. Ibid., 8.

movement represented a national phenomenon "and especially has its appeal to the responsive and romance loving nature of the southerner."[25] Throughout the next twenty years, the Tampa Woman's Club raised thousands of dollars for the city's Children's Home, Old Folks' Home, YWCA, and the Women's Exchange. Club members also helped to establish Tampa's public library, a kindergarten association, and, through the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, endorsed a variety of statewide social programs and legislation.[26]

The Tampa Woman's Club's literary activities stemmed from its members' belief in the importance of education. The club initiated a campaign to solicit funds from the Carnegie Educational Foundation to construct a public library. One of the earliest projects undertaken by women's clubs across the nation was the sponsorship of local and traveling libraries. In fact, a report by the American Library Association credited women's clubs with responsibility for initiating seventy-five percent of the public libraries in existence in the United States in 1933.[27]

Educational institutions, whether public libraries or public schools, provided an important venue for white middle-class clubwomen to socialize minorities, immigrants, and members of the lower classes. Often, however, these endeavors encountered opposition from the groups they were intended to help. In the case of the construction of Tampa's public library, the Latin community balked at the original proposal to locate the library in an upscale neighborhood, and they also criticized the diversion of public funds from other civic needs such as ambulance service to Ybor City.[28] Tampa's laborers also denounced the construction of the public library, although their opposition stemmed from the source of the library's funding rather than from the proposed location. Workers publicly criticized Carnegie's financing public libraries as a means of "erecting temples to himself' rather than as a way to support educational projects.[29] Many white citizens also questioned the construction of a public library fearing that it would lead to in-

25. Willie Lowry, "Report of the Work of the Literature and Library Extension Department," in the *Florida Federation of Woman's Club's 1914-1915 Manual,* 75-76, Lowry Papers.
26. Hansbrough, "History of Tampa's Woman's Club," Lowry Papers.
27. Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist,* 101.
28. *Tampa Tribune,* October 29, 1912.
29. *Tampa Tribune,* January 22, 1902.

tegration. While library proponents adamantly denied this possibility, these divergent issues of ethnicity, race, and class continually manifested themselves throughout the library controversy.

The library project began in March 1900 when Willie Lowry sent a letter to Andrew Carnegie requesting a donation for the construction of a public library in Tampa. In the letter, Lowry contended that "having read of the magnificent gifts of public libraries . . . which you have recently bestowed upon various cities of our country . . . we, the undersigned, have determined to plead for the needs of this community– the city of Tampa, Florida." Lowry continued by extolling the virtues of Tampa while also explaining the city's lack of resources to keep up with its expansion. "Tampa today claims twenty-six thousand people. Her population having trebled within the last five years, her needs have naturally far out stripped her facilities. This is particularly the case in educational matters. Her schools are inadequate and poorly equipped." Lowry also justified the importance of a public library as a means to "Americanize" the city's large Cuban and Spanish populations.[30]

Through the assistance of A. E. Dick, manager of the Tampa Bay Hotel, and his wife, Helen, president of the Tampa Woman's Club, Lowry's letter reached Andrew Carnegie's office. Following two years of negotiations, Carnegie offered $25,000 to Tampa for the construction of a public library on the condition that the city provide a site for the library and an annual monetary allowance for building maintenance and book purchases.[31]

Despite Carnegie's generous offer, Tampa officials and business leaders disputed the acceptance of the gift for the next ten years. One of the major controversies revolved around Andrew Carnegie's reputation as a "robber baron." In a series of editorials in the *Tampa Tribune,* one discontented Tampa resident, writing under the pseudonym "Honest Injun," characterized the planned library as a perverse tribute to an unscrupulous businessman. In a 1902 article, "Honest Injun" argued that "none of us can accept Mr. Carnegie's money, for no intelligent person will claim that a man can honestly earn $200,000,000 in a little more than a quarter of a

30. Willie Lowry to Andrew Carnegie, March 30, 1900, folder 1, box 13, Lowry Papers.

31. Willie Lowry to A. E. Dick, April 10, 1900, and A. E. Dick to Willie Lowry, May 16, 1900, both in folder 1, box 13, Lowry Papers; *Tampa Tribune,* January 17, 1902.

century. "[32] The editorialist also denounced the proposed financial plan for the library, fearful that Tampa's residents would be forever indebted to their benefactor: "Think of it a moment: Mr. Carnegie gives Tampa $25,000 on condition that Tampa will tax her citizens $25,000 per annum in perpetuity! When infant Tampaites get to be fifty years old we will have paid a tribute of $125,000 to this canny Scotchman's memory!"[33] Many of Tampa's labor organizers backed "Honest Injun's" scathing attacks against Carnegie and his "gift." Repulsed by Carnegie's earlier repression of steel mill strikers in Homestead, Pennsylvania, they denounced Carnegie and accused him of funding city libraries solely as a public relations ploy. Carnegie's detractors, however, failed to mention that the businessman never demanded that any of his libraries or other charitable buildings be named after him or in anyway recognize his largesse.[34]

The location of the library further fanned the flames of controversy. Members of the Library Association, including Sumter Lowry and other leading Tampa middle- and upper-class businessmen in Tampa, recommended a site in the upscale Hyde Park neighborhood where the majority of them resided. This proposition quickly drew the ire of "Honest Injun" who sarcastically characterized the plan as a way to increase property values and add "to the swellness of the neighborhood."[35] Representatives of Ybor City also questioned the Hyde Park location. Proponents of the library paid more attention to the residents of Ybor City because they realized that they might need the support of the immigrant community in the upcoming vote on the library issue. Therefore, the site of the library was changed to a more central location, and promoters promised the Latin community that "if the library is secured" it will include "books in Spanish and Italian . . . with a special librarian to have charge of them."[36]

Along with male political officials, Tampa's clubwomen launched a decisive effort to gain support for Carnegie's grant by organizing the Women's Library Association. The Association included four hundred clubwomen, including members of the Tampa Woman's Club, the United Daughters of the Confederacy,

32. *Tampa Tribune,* January 27, 1902.
33. *Tampa Tribune,* January 22, 1902.
34. *Tampa Tribune,* October 15, 1983; Foster Rhea Dulles and Melvyn Dubofsky, *Labor in America: A History* (Arlington Heights, 1984), 158-62.
35. *Tampa Tribune,* January 22, 1902.
36. *Tampa Tribune,* October 25, 1912.

the Daughters of the America Revolution, and the American Women's League. Willie Lowry also belonged to the Association. In 1912, when the city again voted on the acceptance of Carnegie's gift, Lowry along with other Association members, although lacking the suffrage themselves, tirelessly and successfully campaigned for the public library. The library bill passed, but it was another five years before the building opened to white patrons.[37]

Throughout the library debate, detractors raised the specter of interracial mixing and "of whites bumping up against negroes and their using the same books." Library supporters continually assured the general public "that no Southern city," Tampa included, "has ever, or would ever, permit the negro to use the same books as the whites."[38] In accordance with this pledge, African Americans were barred from using the main library. However, in the 1920s Tampa's Urban League, in cooperation with several prominent Anglo business leaders, successfully petitioned the city commission to construct the African American Harlem Branch Library.[39]

Although Tampa's Anglo clubwomen firmly supported segregation, they at times worked with the African American community, primarily the Urban League, on various civic projects. The Urban League's commitment to interracial cooperation and muted criticism of segregation laws prompted several clubwomen, including Willie Lowry, to cooperate with the organization. By 1923, a year after the founding of the League in Tampa, Willie Lowry served on its board of directors and worked with one of its leading members, Blanche Armwood.[40] Armwood, a member of the National Association of Colored Women, the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, and first president of Tampa's Negro Woman's Club, served as the League's Executive Secretary and was later appointed supervisor of Hillsborough County's Negro Schools. In her continued fight to improve education for black schoolchildren, Armwood, working with the Tampa Woman's Club, successfully campaigned for the exten-

37. *Marine News,* October 24, 1912; *Tampa Tribune,* October 15, 1983.
38. *Tampa Tribune,* October 20, 1912.
39. Keith Halderman, "Blanche Armwood of Tampa and the Strategy of Interracial Cooperation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 74 (Winter 1996), 302.
40. Ibid., 297-99; Tampa Urban League to Willie Lowry, October 20, 1923, folder 17, box 17, Lowry Papers; Crake, "In Unity There Is Strength," 73-74.

sion of the school year for black children from six months to eight months, equal to the white school term.[41]

Although Tampa's Anglo and African American clubwomen cooperated on other projects, including an anti-tuberculosis campaign and the construction of the Florida Negro World War Memorial, racial prejudice served to circumscribe their joint endeavors. This limitation was especially apparent during the fight for female suffrage. Similar to other southern white women, Tampa suffragettes often promoted the franchise as a way to counteract the influence of black male voters, and Florida's suffrage organizations remained strictly segregated.[42]

As exemplified by the foray of Lowry and other Women's Library Association members into political campaigning, clubwomen continued to expand their role in the public sphere and soon demanded the right to full political participation. As early as 1892, under the leadership of Ella C. Chamberlain, Tampa women had organized an equal suffrage association which developed into the statewide Florida Women Suffrage Association (FWSA). Although the FWSA lasted only five years, Florida women later rejoined the suffrage crusade through the development of the Florida Equal Franchise League (FEFL).[43]

In November 1913, the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs held its annual meeting in Orlando, Florida. During the convention, local suffragists and federation members formed the FEFL. Representing the Tampa Woman's Club, Lowry attended the Orlando conference and joined the FEFL, serving as a member of the press committee.[44] Until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, Lowry remained active in the suffrage crusade. Sumter Lowry even addressed letters to his wife by opening with the affectionate term, "My Dear Suffragette."[45] Although the Florida legisla-

41. Crake, "In Unity There Is Strength," 74.
42. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South,* 101-102.
43. Kenneth Ray Johnson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1966), 25, 38-39.
44. Hansbrough, "History of Tampa's Woman's Club," Lowry Papers; Johnson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement," 187.
45. Sumter Lowry to Willie Lowry, November 18, 1914, folder 9, box 16, Lowry Papers.

ture failed to vote on the amendment, Florida lawmakers allowed women to vote in the 1920 general election and the following year passed a law allowing all citizens over twenty-one to participate in state elections.[46] The Florida legislature failed to formally approve the Nineteenth Amendment until 1969.[47]

Even before the granting of suffrage, Willie Lowry expanded her activities beyond the Tampa Woman's Club by focusing on improving child education and creating social and volunteer organizations for local youth. In 1897, Lowry and a group of local Tampa women formed the Free Kindergarten Association, which later enrolled twenty-two pupils including Lowry's son, de Leon.[48] To provide further social activities for her own children, Lowry established the "Would-Be-Good" club for her daughters and the "Merry Makers" club for her sons. Both clubs included her children's neighborhood friends ranging in age from nine to fifteen. Club members enjoyed a variety of social events while also engaging in charitable functions. In a brief sketch detailing the activities of "Would-Be-Good" members, Lowry stated: "I wanted to teach them the joys of service to others with this a philanthropic feature. They saved their out grown clothing, broken toys in their treasure box and about twice a year we gathered them up and distributed them among poor families."[49] Club members also held meetings where they elected officers and formulated club rules and by-laws. Lowry contended that by learning the "simple rudiments of conducting club meetings," members "can feel at ease in a club when they grow up."[50]

Lowry's concern for the welfare and development of Tampa's youth, especially young women, led to her involvement in the formation of the city's first Girl Scout troop. In March 1912, Juliette Low organized the first American Girl Guide troop, forerunner of the Girl Scouts, in her hometown of Savannah, Georgia. Following the English model, Low instructed her Scouts in such domestic skills as cooking and sewing, and in more non-traditional endeavors

46. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (July 1957), 60. Although Florida women participated in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Majorie Spruill Wheeler fails to discuss their activities in detail in *New Women of the New South.*
47. Crake, "In Unity There Is Strength," 58.
48. Willie Lowry to Sumter Lowry, September 13, 1897, folder 9, box 12, Lowry Papers.
49. Willie Lowry to Elizabeth Parkhill Lowry, March 20, 1937, folder 19, box 19, Lowry Papers.
50. Ibid.

such as marching and playing basketball.[51] After meeting Juliette Low, Willie Lowry corresponded with her concerning the establishment of a Girl Scout troop in Tampa. From Low's guidelines, Lowry and other Tampa clubwomen organized Tampa's Magnolia Troop, the second Girl Scout troop in the United States. Similar to the Savannah Girls Scouts, Tampa's Scouts learned a variety of traditional domestic tasks while also undertaking more traditionally masculine projects. For example, during World War I, as the influenza epidemic spread through Tampa, local Girl Scout troops delivered Western Union telegrams throughout the city. Many local residents, however, complained of the girls' activities, not out of fear that the scouts might catch or spread the deadly disease, but because "the girls are all over town, and they are wearing PANTS."[52]

While Tampa's girls benefited from Willie Lowry's development of local Girl Scout troops, the city's working women also gained from Lowry's involvement in the formation of a local Young Women's Christian Association. In 1913, Willie Lowry and other local Tampa women rented a small house with a kitchen, library, and rest room and opened the city's first YWCA. By 1920, the YWCA reported over a thousand members and boasted a budget of more than $70,000. Elected YWGA president in that same year, Lowry reminisced about the hard work she and other female board members faced as they raised money for the YWCA. "We women worked almost entirely alone in those days, of course the men helped us financially, but all our drives and campaigns were carried on by volunteer women workers."[53] Lowry further recounted how she had personally visited downtown businesses to convince local employers to contribute supplies and furnishings to the YWCA. "I told them they couldn't ignore the needs of the YWCA home, it meant money for them in the long run, citing the fact that their female employees could give them better service if they had proper living conditions– and I was turned down only once."[54]

Willie Lowry not only provided shelter and recreational facilities for working women, she also helped to establish the Tampa Women's Exchange as a way for all women to earn extra money. The Ex-

51. Daisy Gordon Lawrence and Gladys Denny Schultz, *Lady From Savannah: The Life of Juliette Low* (New York, 1958), 305-306, 345.
52. Patti Dervaes, "Girl Scouting in Tampa Is Seventy-five Years Old," *The Sunland-Tribune* 13 (November 1987), 32; *Tampa Tribune,* March 16, 1926.
53. *Tampa Tribune,* March 16, 1926.
54. Ibid.

change, charging only a ten percent commission, provided women a venue for selling their homemade articles. These products ranged from full-course dinners to fancy needle work and potted plants. The opening day of the Exchange received rave reviews from the city's newspapers and high praise for allowing women a way to earn extra money while not "interfering with their household arrangements."[55]

Tampa business leaders and local citizens not only gained from Willie Lowry's establishment of the Tampa Women's Exchange, YWCA, kindergarten association, Girl Scouts, and the public library, but they also received international recognition through Lowry's coordination of the city's 400th anniversary celebration of the Florida landing of Pánfilo de Narváez, a sixteenth-century Spanish military leader and explorer. Through her membership in the Colonial Dames, a national organization dedicated to the study of American colonial history, and while serving as state chair of the Dames' Historical Research Committee, Lowry wrote a paper detailing the landing of de Narváez near Tampa Bay. In 1528 Pánfilo de Narváez and his crew, the first white men to explore the west coast of Florida, traveled around the future site of Tampa and Hillsborough County and stayed in the region for about five months. To commemorate this achievement, Lowry successfully convinced city leaders to support a week-long celebration.[56]

Throughout the week of March 15-21, 1928, Tampa citizens enjoyed numerous parades, plays, and street dances all celebrating Spanish history and the city's Latin community. In a letter from Sumter Lowry describing the de Narváez celebration to a friend in Lakeland, Florida, he revealed that "the Spaniards were given all honor for the part their nation played, and were really the center of interest the whole week."[57] The Spanish Consul, located in Tampa, reported the celebration to Spain's King Alphonso. Impressed by Willie Lowry's dedication and enthusiasm for Spanish history, King Alphoriso awarded her the Royal Order of the Lace Isabelle Cathlica. This commemoration provided its recipients with entrance into all Spanish royal functions and the highest recognition in court circles. Willie Lowry was the second American ever to receive this award.[58]

55. *Tampa Tribune,* November 17, 1903.
56. "A Summary of the Histories of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America and of the Corporate Societies, 1891-1962," Lowry Papers; Sumter Lowry to Harvey Laird, November 7, 1928, folder 5, box 18, Lowry Papers.
57. Sumter Lowry to Harvey Laird, November 7, 1928, folder 5, box 18, Lowry Papers.
58. *Tampa Times Union,* September 9, 1928.

With or without international recognition, Willie Lowry's dedication and civic involvement still reverberates throughout Tampa. Its citizens still enjoy their public library, while young girls participate in local Girl Scout troops, and women continue to join the YWCA. As did other white middle-class women of her generation, Lowry took early advantage of expanding educational and employment opportunities for women and developed her own skills to advance female associations so they might transform and improve her community. She is one of a growing number of heretofore "invisible" women whose reform activities deserve full treatment in the annals of Florida history.

Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman and Lifetime Activist

by SALLY VICKERS

Good daughter of a good father, mistress of the spoken word, statesman of both achievement and promise, for your womanly service in the world crisis brought on by man's ignorance, obstinacy and folly; for your high concept of civic duty and for your many services to your state and nation, Rollins College bestows on you the degree of LL. D.

Rollins College President
Hamilton Holt to Ruth Bryan Owen
on awarding her an honorary
Doctor of Laws in 1927.[1]

When Ruth Bryan Owen was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws by Rollins College in 1927, she had yet to hold an elected office. A year before Owen won election as Florida's first congresswoman, her contemporaries were already commemorating her meritorious work on behalf of her state and her country. Public recognition of Owen's civic activism continued throughout a career that encompassed two terms in the United States House of Representatives, an appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to Denmark, and service to the United Nations as an advisor and alternate delegate to the General Assembly.

Indeed, much of Ruth Bryan Owen's life was spent in the public spotlight. As the daughter of William Jennings Bryan, Nebraska congressman, three-time candidate for president, and Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson, she was no stranger to public adulation. Born in 1885, the eldest of three siblings, Ruth

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1. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, "In Miniature– Ruth Bryan Owen: 'Good Daughter of a Good Father,'" *McCall's Magazine* (May 1929), 90.

Bryan's childhood and formative years centered around her father's causes and campaigns. This political activist training ground later proved invaluable for the daughter of the "Great Commoner." While her father engrossed himself in the timely issues of the Gilded Age, Ruth's mother, Mary Elizabeth Baird, went to law school at night. In 1887, she graduated third in her class, the only woman among her seventeen classmates and one of the first women admitted to the state bar.[2] Ruth later recalled "how my father's career was strengthened by my mother. She was the critical audience who helped to bring to fullest flower his gift of eloquence."[3]

When Bryan embarked on the political career that made him "the founder of the modern Democratic party," his daughter Ruth Baird Bryan was only five years old.[4] During Bryan's time in Congress from 1890-1894, the family joined him in Washington, D.C.[5] Life in Washington had a profound effect on young Ruth. The freshman representative often took Ruth to work with him, holding her hand or carrying her on his shoulders. Sometimes she went with her mother to the gallery and absorbed with "awed delight" the "Great Commoner's" spirited debates in Congress. Occasionally Ruth joined her proud papa on the House floor, attentively observing all the activities on the day's agenda. She also spent many hours playing in a park within sight of the classical structure. Forty years later, Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen recalled how the Capitol dome became both "an obsession and a symbol" to her. According to family legend, after the family moved back to the Midwest, nine-year-old Ruth pledged herself to public service, vowing to "someday . . . return and live where, from her windows, she

2. Frances Parkinson Keyes, "Some Are Born Great," *Delineator* 119 (November 1931), 48.

3. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde, "Let's Live With Our Careers," Bess Furman Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. According to Betty Bryan Adams, Ruth Bryan Owen's niece and granddaughter of Mary Baird Bryan, "It was Mary who counciled [sic] and advised and wrote William Jennings Bryan's speeches." Betty Bryan Adams to the author, July 21, 1993.

4. "Well before the days of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, Bryan brought it [the Democratic party] to champion the masses against the exactions of the classes, broadening the party's base to embrace the farmer, the city laborer, the immigrant, the small businessman, and to win the Negro." Louis W. Koenig, *Bryan: A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1971), 10.

5. Mary Baird Bryan, introduction to *The First Battle,* by Wiliam Jennings Bryan (Chicago, 1896), 63.

could always look at the snowy spherical shape that had made so significant an impression upon her childish mind."[6]

When Bryan was the presidential nominee for both the Democrats and the Populists in the national election of 1896, his family accompanied him on the campaign trial.[7] They traveled over 18,000 miles by train throughout the nation as the candidate gave more than 600 speeches (many times up to twenty a day) while speaking to a total audience of five million.[8] Mary and Ruth answered the campaign mail, which ranged from pleas for domestic advice to acknowledgments of naming children after the candidate, and even included demands for reimbursement on lost election bets. Sometimes the post contained gifts like a tremendous stuffed alligator, rabbit's feet, and four live eagles.[9] In spite of the good-luck charms and his massive popularity, Bryan was defeated by his Republican opponent, William McKinley.[10] Despite the disappointing loss, Ruth Bryan Owen never lost interest in her father's political career. She served as Bryan's campaign secretary in his unsuccessful 1900 campaign for president and again in his third attempt at the presidency in 1908. According to Owen, the 1908 campaign marked the actual start of her career in national affairs. When her father was nominated on the first ballot of the Democratic convention in Denver, twenty-two-year-old Ruth was cheering in the gallery with President Theodore Roosevelt's daughter, Alice Roosevelt Longworth. Ruth was later escorted to the platform where she immediately waved her scarf and a Colorado flag.[11] As in the past two contests, a typically vigorous Bryan campaign ensued,

6. Keyes, "Some Are Born Great," 14; and Louise M. Young, "Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde," *Notable American Women: The Modern Period* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 591.
7. At the 1896 Democratic Convention in St. Louis, William Jennings Bryan delivered his famous "Cross of Gold" speech. At thirty-six, he was the youngest man ever nominated for president. Paul F. Boller Jr., *Presidential Campaigns* (New York, 1985), 168-70.
8. Bryan's addresses often aroused his audiences to a fevered pitch. Conversely not all of the estimated five million who heard the nominee's rhetoric were impressed. At various times he was assailed as "a socialist, anarchist, communist, revolutionary, lunatic, madman, rabble-rouser, thief, traitor, and murderer." Ibid.
9. Bryan, *The First Battle,* 537.
10. Boller, *Presidential Campaigns,* 171. The final tally was 7,111,607 (50.88 percent) to 6,509,052 (46.77 percent). It was the largest voter turnout in the nation's history.
11. *New York Times,* July 9, 1908.

only to produce the same disappointing results. Ruth took the defeat in stride, soon thereafter telling a companion after barely catching a trolley, "I seem to be the only member of the Bryan family that ever ran for anything and caught it."[12]

Assisting in her father's campaigns gave Owen an insider's view of political themes, strategies, and public opinion. She also realized the physically debilitating effects of the campaign trail and the rigors of a crusader's vocation.[13] These insights cast a remarkable imprint on her future life choices.

In the interim between her father's political crusades, Ruth entered Monticello Female Academy (later Monticello College) in Godfrey, Illinois, in 1899.[14] Two years later she enrolled at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln. Few women of her era enjoyed the same educational opportunity. During her freshman year at Nebraska, only thirty-five percent of all college undergraduates were women.[15]

At the university Ruth participated in athletics and was inducted into Chi Delta Phi Honor Society. During the 1901 fall term she joined Delta Gamma sorority where she served as pledge class president and corresponding secretary. Among her sorority sisters was Grace Abbott, the future chief of the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor. Throughout her life, Ruth wrote articles for the Delta Gamma national magazine, *Anchora,* attended sorority conventions, and gave rousing keynote speeches to her sorority sisters. Her dedication to the Delta Gamma organization and the friendships forged as a member never wavered.[16]

12. Boller, *Presidential Campaigns,* 189-90; and Charles W. Thompson, *Presidents I've Known* (Indianapolis, 1929), 67. Republicans William H. Taft and James S. Sherman beat Bryan and John W. Kern in popular votes 7,677,788 to 6,407,982, and in electoral votes 321 to 162.
13. Samuel Johnson Woolf, "A Woman's Voice in Foreign Affairs," *New York Times Magazine,* January 5, 1930, 7.
14. In the early 1940s Ruth returned to her alma mater as a visiting professor of political science and guest lecturer. Box 70, Monticello College Records, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois.
15. In his last will and testament, Ruth's grandfather, Silas Bryan, bequeathed "that all my sons and daughters shall receive the highest physical, intellectual and moral education to be had. . . ." See Koenig, *Bryan,* 52; and Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven, 1985), 133.
16. Ruth Baird Bryan, "Corresponding Secretary's Report for Kappa; University of Nebraska, Lincoln," *Anchora* 19 (November 1902), 19. Abbott served as head of the Children's Bureau from 1921 to 1934.

The early sorority experience introduced Ruth to the powerful sisterhood bonds that provided the foundation for an expanding "women's network" at the turn of the century. Uniting women across the country who shared common experiences and common goals, the women's network, also known as the "old-girl network," became a pivotal tool in women's political empowerment by providing professional contacts, leadership training, and political initiation for its participants.[17] Owen's appointment as United States Minister Plenipotentiary to Denmark in 1933 can be traced to the powerful influence of the women's network.

Seventeen years old in 1903, the "Great Commoner's" daughter had matured into a tall, attractive, and articulate woman blessed with a quick smile and boundless energy. Through her encounters on the campaign trail and her collegiate studies, Ruth developed a keen interest in people and social questions.[18] She soon became restless at the university as her yearning for public service grew. In the summer of 1903, Ruth left college and went to work in Chicago at Jane Addams' Hull House. Her parents approved of the "meritorious work."[19] Addams founded the tenement project in 1889, and it soon developed as a base for large range reform programs. Settlement workers assisted recent immigrants, taught domestic skills, and provided nurseries, kindergartens, and medical services.[20] Ruth's formative time there "sharing the race life" provided her intimate insight into the increasing problems of a modern industrialized nation. She became intensely interested in the

17. Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage: Women In The New Deal* (Cambridge, 1981), 7. Ware has documented how the women's network would ultimately reach its zenith during the New Deal era by "recruit[ing] women for prominent government positions, demand[ing] increased political patronage, and generally foster[ing] an awareness of women as a special interest group with a substantial role to play in the New Deal."
18. William Lyon Phelps, "Prefatory Remark," in Ruth Bryan Owen, *The Elements of Public Speaking* (New York, 1931), 9; and "Ruth Bryan Owen," *Current Biography 1944* (New York, 1944), 522.
19. *New York Times,* August 24, 1903.
20. Jane Addams often said the settlement house experience benefitted "those who did it" more than "those they helped." For her pioneering work in social reform and international peace, Addams shared the Noble Peace Prize with Columbia University President Nicholas Murray Butler in 1931. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years At Hull House* (New York, 1910), 117-77; Lois W. Banner, *Women In Modern America: A Brief History* (New York, 1984), 105-108; and Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women,* 109-10.

problems of America's youth, a cause she would champion throughout her life.

After a troubled six-year marriage ended in 1909, Ruth found herself the young mother of two small children, Ruth and John, with no monetary support from her ex-husband or her family. Fortunately, she did not have to look very far past her own life experiences for the perfect career. Combining her heritage, political training, and her own ambition, Ruth Bryan began to accept speaking engagements for the Extension Department of the University of Nebraska and also substituted for her father on the national Chautauqua lecture circuit when he over-scheduled.[21]

Public speaking was a natural consequence of the Bryan family legacy. Yet to Ruth it also meant she had to leave her children to travel across the country. Often she lectured every night for several months, traveling to engagements in Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, and Ohio.[22] She also wrote articles for a national newspaper syndicate. Occasionally these journalistic assignments took her to exotic international locations.[23]

In 1910, Ruth Bryan remarried. Her second husband, Reginald Altham Owen, was an officer in the Royal Engineers Corps of the British Army.[24] According to prevailing American law, by marrying a foreigner, Ruth Bryan Owen forfeited her American citizenship. Her disputed election to the United States House of Representatives in 1928 would hinge on that very fact.

After two and a half years stationed in Jamaica, and a year in England where their son, Reginald Jr. (nicknamed Bryan), was born in 1913, the young couple's idyllic world changed dramatically in 1914 with the outbreak of World War I. Captain Owen was assigned to help train the British Army Signal Corps. In 1915, after Turkey allied with the Central Powers, he was sent with the first detachment to the Dardanelles in the Gallipoli peninsula, serving as

21. Ruth Bryan Leavitt to Carrie Dunlap, August 16, November 22, 1909, Carrie Dunlap Papers, Special Collections, Richter Library, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida; and *New York Times,* July 11, 1909.
22. See Ruth Bryan Leavitt to Carrie Dunlap correspondence generally, Dunlap Papers. Throughout this collection Ruth detailed her lecturing agenda.
23. Samples of Ruth's syndicated articles contained in the Dunlap Papers include: Ruth Bryan Leavitt, "In Damascus with Ruth Bryan Leavitt," *Illustrated Sunday Magazine of the New Orleans Daily Picayune,* October 11, 1908. In a similar article with the title torn off, Ruth wrote "personal glimpses" of the African continent which included essays on Egypt and the Sudan.
24. *New York Times,* May 4, 1910.

assistant director of army signals for Egypt, Palestine, and Salonika, Greece.[25]

Back in England, Ruth's transformation from officer's wife into wartime activist had begun. She joined the American Women's War Relief Fund Association in London. Along with Lou Hoover (wife of Herbert Hoover), Lady Astor, Lady Paget, the Duchess of Marlborough, and ten other women, Owen organized contributions for relief activities. For thirteen months, she worked jointly with Lou Hoover as secretary-treasurer while Herbert Hoover supervised the Belgian food relief effort.[26]

As war raged in Europe, Ruth Bryan Owen grew restless in London. After eight months of separation, she yearned to be near her husband. Just before all civilian travel was halted, Ruth and two-year-old Bryan left for Alexandria, Egypt, the closest city to the Dardanelles' base of supply, "on the chance of getting a glance at our soldier."[27] Never one to be idle, the thirty year old took a course in nursing and joined the British Volunteer Aid Detachment in Cairo. Ruth served for three years as a ward nurse, operating-room nurse, and surgical nurse in Egyptian war hospitals. In an ironic and unfortunate twist, her own husband became one of her patients. Reginald Owen contracted Bright's Disease but insisted on remaining in combat: "My friends are being shot down in the trenches. How could I stop and take sick leave?" In recognition of Owen's outstanding military record, he was promoted to major and received five citations, including the prestigious Military Cross.[28]

25. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 71st Congress, second session, January 17, 1930, Committee Print, Washington, D.C., 1930, 56-57; and Keyes, "Some Are Born Great," 50.
26. The American Women's War Relief Fund Association financed five workrooms for unemployed London women and a three-thousand-bed hospital in Paignton, Devonshire. The workrooms employed several hundred women who produced the socks, uniforms, pajamas, and sheets for the American Women's War Hospital. Eventually, in 1917, the American government assumed the hospital's administration. American Women's War Relief Fund File, Lou H. Hoover Papers, Herbert Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa; *New York Times,* August 8, 1914, and June 11, 1915; and Woolf, "A Woman's Voice in Foreign Affairs," 7.
27. Ruth Bryan Owen to Lou Hoover, September 8, 1915, American Women's War Relief Fund File, Lou H. Hoover Papers; and Ruth Bryan Owen to Carrie Dunlap, November 18, 1915, Dunlap Papers.
28. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 57; and Keyes, "Some Are Born Great," 50. Bright's Disease, also known as "trench nephritis," was an acute and chronic inflammation of the kidneys.

Ruth Bryan Owen's experiences in the Middle East prompted her lifelong involvement in the peace movement. She joined women such as Carrie Chapman Catt, Jane Addams, Crystal Eastman, Rheta Childe Door, Emily Green Balch, and Maud Wood Park in several peace organizations, including the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. These groups sought to promote peace by international agreement and disarmament.[29] To them, the First World War exemplified male aggression. Their pacifist rhetoric emphasized women's "peculiar moral passion against both the cruelty and the want of war," combined with an intimate sense of the value of life as moral redeemers– the pure mothers of civilization.[30] These female activists believed that by mobilizing women for peace and incorporating "feminine" values of cooperation and compromise, society could be transformed.[31]

Against the backdrop of the international tragedies of wartime, the Owen family suffered personal misfortune. After Major Owen's already weakened kidneys were further damaged by a case of scarlet fever in 1918, doctors gave him only ten more years to live. Heeding medical advice prescribing a warm climate for the ailing soldier, Ruth moved her family to Coral Gables, Florida, where her parents had retired. In 1920, after the birth of a daughter, Helen Rudd, thirty-five-year-old Ruth had to face the challenge of supporting her invalid husband and four children. As she "never had an income from [her] father" nor from Reginald's family, she turned once again to public speaking on the Chautauqua circuit.[32] During her summer and winter lecture tours, Owen spoke to more than a million people. Her topics included both antiwar and humorous themes: "A Great Avalanche of Peace," "Opening Doors,"

29. Martin Gruberg, *Women in American Politics* (Oshkosh, Wisc., 1968), 95-96.
30. Banner, *Women in Modern America,* 144.
31. Sara M. Evans, *Born For Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York, 1989), 170-71. Paralleling Owen's wartime activism and peace organization affiliations, her father served as United States Secretary of State from 1913-1915. As an ardent pacifist, William Jennings Bryan's primary diplomatic objective was restoring peace through mediation. He resigned his post to rally opposition against American intervention in the World War I "cataclysm." William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Chicago, 1896), 420-25.
32. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 58.

"The Fine Arts as an Influence in Americanization," "Pragmatic Philosophy," and "Profanity: Its History, Present Use and Future Possibilities."[33] Her schedule for one week in 1920 exemplifies the frenzied pace of the circuit: October 20th: Louisville, Kentucky; 22nd: Edinburgh, Indiana; 23rd: Canton, Ohio; 24th: Elyria, Ohio; 25th: Toledo, Ohio; 26th: Piqua, Ohio; and 27th: Streator, Illinois.[34]

Besides her work on the Chautauqua circuit, Owen participated in numerous community activities in the Miami area. She served as president of the Miami Women's Club, the Parent-Teachers' Association, the Theater Guild, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Episcopal Church Guild. She was regional director of the YMCA and a member of the Federation of Business and Professional Women, the League of Women Voters, the National Consumers' League, the National Council for Child Welfare, the League of American Pen Women, and the American Association of University Women.[35] As busy as these organizations kept Ruth, they offered her and other women the opportunity to break the bonds that traditionally limited their world to the home. Participation in the voluntary associations and clubs enabled women to widen their spheres of experience. Generally comprised of middle-class, white, college-educated women, these organizations, as one scholar has argued, "demonstrated how once-radical ideas about female benevolence and civic action had become embedded in a female subculture."[36] Members invoked the traditional images of women to win society's acceptance. They asserted that as mothers of humanity, they naturally knew what reforms were needed. In the process, participants learned important organizational, political, and motivational skills. Consequently, their concerns progressed from home to church to club to local community affairs, and then on to state problems and finally to national issues.[37] Combined with

33. Ruth Bryan Owen to Carrie Dunlap, January 10, 1920, Dunlap Papers.
34. Ruth Bryan Owen to Carrie Dunlap, October 17, 1922, Dunlap Papers.
35. Ruth Bryan Owen to Carrie Dunlap, June 13, 1921, Dunlap Papers; and Hope Chamberlin, *A Minority of Members: Women in the U.S. Congress* (New York, 1973), 78.
36. Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined,* 1868-1914 (New York, 1980), 84-85.
37. Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York, 1979), 35.

their new suffrage rights, women acquired the option to choose a productive existence instead of an exclusively reproductive one.[38]

In 1925, Owen joined the faculty of the University of Miami as a member of the speech department. As evidence of her financial success on the lecture circuit, she donated her teaching salary to scholarships for deserving students. The honorary public speaking fraternity honored her with their Greek letters, Rho Beta Omicron, after her initials. In addition, she served as vice president of the university's Board of Regents from 1926-1928.[39]

Ruth Bryan Owen established herself first as a leader among women in community activism. Through her experience, knowledge, and judgment, she became a leader among men as well. Her training and personality made politics the next logical step.

On April 8, 1926, Ruth Bryan Owen announced her candidacy for the Democratic nomination to the United States House of Representatives, Fourth Congressional District.[40] Owen's quest for elected office was the culmination of her heritage, travels, and her extensive civic involvement. Without false modesty, the forty-year-old Owen believed that she had much to offer Florida, just as she had derived many benefits and opportunities from the state. She relished the challenge and the possibilities Congress offered.

Despite Owen's ambitions and national popularity as a Chautauqua lecturer, the situation in Florida was not favorable for female political candidates. In a state that failed to ratify the suffrage amendment and defeated two women candidates for the state house of representatives in 1922, victory was elusive.[41] Nor was there any regional consolation: no woman from the thirteen states of the Old South had ever been successful in reaching Congress. "It is generally thought," the *New York Times* observed, "that Mrs. Owen will meet an over-whelming 'native son' sentiment. In addition the voters of Florida are notably opposed to accepting women in politics."[42]

38. Evans, *Born For Liberty*, 140, 150, 160, 188; and Blair, *The Clubwoman As Feminist*, 85-90.
39. Anne Hard, "The Three Ruths In Congress," *Ladies Home Journal* 46 (March 1929), 221.
40. *Miami Herald*, April 9, 1926.
41. Allen Morris, "Florida's First Women Candidates," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (April 1985), 410-13.
42. *New York Times*, April 9, 1926.

Regardless of the odds, Ruth remained convinced that her adopted state was ready for a congresswoman. The campaign was challenging. Florida's Fourth Congressional District was one of the nation's largest. It stretched over five hundred miles from Jacksonville to Key West and contained eighteen counties.[43] Ruth's opponent in the Democratic primary was William J. Sears of Kissimmee. He was a popular eleven-year incumbent who had lived in Florida most of his life.

Ruth Bryan Owen waged a strong campaign against Sears. The race developed into a novelty because of her gender and her father's legacy. Even before she officially announced her candidacy, the Miami *Herald* ran a series of articles on women and politics. In print, "representative citizens" generally expressed favorable opinions about Ruth, although several constituents brought up the issue of her political inexperience and her gender. Moreover, most people expressed their support for Owen as a candidate for the state legislature– not the national House of Representatives.[44]

Throughout the campaign, Owen traveled the district giving speeches and meeting potential voters.[45] She supported federal aid for agriculture and waterway improvements. The issue of her eligibility for office based on her marriage to an Englishman was raised by both the Republican and Democratic hierarchy. To counter the accusations, Owen hired a lawyer to certify her eligibility by illustrating that she had been a Florida resident for seven years prior to the election.[46] In addition, she took out half-page newspaper advertisements declaring "She Will Be Seated" if elected because she had regained her citizenship through the naturalization process in 1925.[47] Owen's offensive strategy deflected any potential controversy and prevented the issue of her citizenship from playing as major a role in 1926 as it would in the 1928 election.

43. The counties were Brevard, Broward, Clay, Dade, Duval, Flagler, Indian River, Martin, Monroe, Okeechobee, Orange, Osceola, Palm Beach, Putnam, Seminole, St. Johns, St. Lucie, and Volusia. *Official Congressional Directory, 1809-1934* (Washington, D.C., 1931), 277.
44. *Miami Herald* April 1-3, 1926.
45. Ibid., April 9, 17, May 8, and June 1, 1926.
46. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 15.
47. *Miami Herald*, June 6, 1926; and *New York Times*, January 24, 1925. The press insert also quoted section four of the 1922 Cable Act to support her qualification claims: "After her naturalization she shall have the same citizenship status as if her marriage had taken place after the passage of this act."

While Ruth Bryan Owen was better known in the Miami area, the electorate in other areas of the state remained wary of a woman candidate. The media often gave the incumbent more prominent coverage. Sears' prior experience and name-recognition, in addition to support from the state Democratic Party organization, proved formidable obstacles for the "newcomer" to surmount.

Even so, on June 8, 1926, scattered early returns gave Owen a five-hundred-vote majority. The suspense continued for three days as the lead flipped back and forth between the two candidates.[48] On June 11, William Sears was declared the winner with a 776-vote margin of victory.[49]

As she was recovering from the first real defeat of her professional life, Owen's personal world was rocked by tragedy. On December 12, 1927, Major Reginald Owen died.[50] His widow was devastated. It took the combined forces of the youngest of the Owen children and the oldest of the Bryan family to pull Ruth from her debilitating melancholy over Reginald's death.

Helen Rudd Owen galvanized in her mother the courage to surmount personal grief and to renew her life. Similarly, when she wavered in her political aspirations, it was Ruth's mother, herself a recent widow, who advised her daughter to fight for her professional goals.[51] Two-and-a-half months after Reginald's death, Ruth Bryan Owen began her second campaign for the United States House of Representatives.

In 1928 Owen fought against two familiar foes: the incumbent William J. Sears and the electorate's traditional disdain for female candidates. Her earlier defeat had demonstrated that "there was not the friendliest feeling toward any woman taking her place in political life."[52] That, she asserted, could be changed. Owen decided to take her campaign to the people.[53]

In addition to meeting with newspaper editors, the astute and tireless candidate sent them regular press releases on her activities. Owen also took out small ads in the newspapers mimicking Will Rogers' pithy and popular syndicated column. Entitled "Ruth

48. *New York Times,* June 9, 1926; and *Miami Herald,* June 9 and 10, 1926.
49. Election Returns, 1926, Department of State, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter FSA).
50. *New York Times,* December 13, 1927.
51. Keyes, "Some Are Born Great," 52.
52. Chamberlin, *A Minority of Members,* 75.
53. *Current Biography 1944,* 523.

Ruth Bryan Owen, *c.* 1928. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives,* Tallahassee.

Bryan Owen Says," they offered weekly "words of political wisdom" to readers. Two typical examples from the Miami *Herald* illustrate her tactics: "Ruth Bryan Owen Says: Some one said: 'The politician is concerned about the next election– the statesman is concerned about the next generation.' We need less politicians and more statesmen and stateswomen." And "Ruth Bryan Owen Says: Florida is learning cooperation. Not this town against that town– this section against that section, but all of us for Florida."[54] Like her father, Ruth understood the importance of public opinion. She knew that she had to arouse and mold it in her favor if she was to defeat an entrenched thirteen-year veteran.

Determined "to meet the voters personally," Owen campaigned in every precinct in her district. The Fourth Congressional District in 1928 was still bigger than some states. It included 588,286 residents– more than half of the state's total population. In order to cover such distances, candidate Owen purchased a green 1928 Ford coupe and christened it "The Spirit of Florida." She recalled, "When I started out with the car, it attracted so much attention whenever I pulled into a town that I got a crowd automatically."[55] Her entourage included a secretary and a driver. In true Chautauqua fashion, Owen logged 16,000 miles and delivered over six hundred speeches in three months. She often covered 250 miles a day, delivering as many as seven speeches. Owen ignored fatigue and its cumulative effect, and boasted proudly that she never once broke a speaking engagement or was late for an appointment? A dispassionate observer acquainted with her father's lungs of iron would have suggested that it was a question of genes. Ruth Bryan Owen's vigorous campaigning led one editor to comment:

> This weaker sex stuff is exploded for me forever. These men candidates, none of whom have traveled as much or delivered as many speeches as you have, come dragging in here with their voices gone and completely exhausted, while you blow in as fresh as a daisy, full of pep and your voice going as strong as ever.[57]

54. *Miami Herald,* May 23 and June 1, 1928.
55. Ibid., June 11, 1928; and *Current Biography 1944,* 523.
56. *New York Times,* November 11, 1928.
57. Frances Drewry McMullen, "The Three Ruths in Congress," *The Woman's Journal* 13 (December 1928), 18.

Large and enthusiastic audiences greeted Owen wherever she visited. On one occasion, the crowd drove their cars up to the speaker's platform, honking their horns in approval when the candidate delivered her congressional proposals. Another time at a construction site where there was no platform available, Owen spoke suspended above the ground on a huge crane.[58] In addition to the campaign rallies, Owen's female supporters formed "Ruth Bryan Owen Clubs" along Florida's Atlantic seaboard. Besides championing her bid for Congress, club members set up voter registration booths at courthouses and lobbied civic organizations on her behalf. They even wrote a campaign song, "Florida Is Calling," in her honor.[59]

A few days before the primary, the Miami *Herald* reported Owen's "whirlwind finish" when "from 2 p.m. to 10:30 p.m., she addressed seven meetings in five East Coast counties, with a total audience of 4,500."[60] On June 5, 1928, Ruth Bryan Owen's energetic, passionate, and ceaseless work on the campaign trail was rewarded when she won the Democratic primary. She carried every county in the Fourth District with the exception of Duval and Osceola, where Sears' margin of victory was less than 759 votes in both cases. The Miami *Herald* reported the largest voter turnout in history for the Democratic primary. The total vote count was 56,031 for Owen and 42,011 for Sears.[61]

An elated Owen took a few weeks off before the demands of the general election began. The respite was short-lived, however, as she once again lectured on the Chautauqua circuit throughout the summer. Returning to the campaign trail in the fall, Owen's platform revolved around four main topics: agriculture, economic renewal, citizenship, and political accountability. Her congressional agenda included support for a protective tariff, a call for federal aid to South Florida victims of two recent hurricanes, a pledge to take two high school students from each county to Washington, D.C., each year for a personal introduction to their government and the responsibilities of citizenship, and her promise to visit each

58. Ibid., 19.
59. *Miami Herald,* April 18 and 19, 1928.
60. Ibid., June 3, 1928. On election day, the *Herald* published their candidate recommendations on the front page. Owen's name was prominent in the listing, along with John Martin for U.S. Senator and Fons Hathaway for governor.
61. Election Returns, 1928, Department of State, FSA; *Miami Herald,* June 5-11, 1928; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* June 9, 1928; and *New York Times,* June 8, 1928.

of the Fourth District's eighteen counties every year to report on her congressional actions and other political developments.[62]

Despite these specific themes, Owen exhibited her political finesse by stressing the fluid element of compromise in most democratic initiatives. In one speech, she admitted, "just what type of legislation I shall vote for, I cannot say in advance." Owen maintained that "legislation in Congress, I have observed, is never the preconceived ideas of one person. It is a synthesis of the ideas of a number of people, worked out together, and representing a common judgement."[63]

The Republican state convention nominated William C. Lawson to run against Owen in the general election. A twenty-year resident of Florida from the Orlando area, Lawson suffered a tremendous defeat against then-incumbent Sears in the 1926 election. Similarly in 1928, state papers gave him little chance of victory against the increasing popularity of Owen. "We understand there is still someone running against her from the Republican side, but we do not know what his name is," quipped one editor. He concluded that "we have every reason to believe that in this respect at least, she will differ from her father and be elected."[64]

With her base of support growing along with her confidence, Ruth Bryan Owen began to speak on more controversial subjects. In several speeches, she talked about the importance of women's political involvement. Ruth stressed her belief that the "home is no longer bounded by four walls but stretches out to include the whole community. The woman who takes a hand in politics is only widening the walls of her own home."[65] Her message continued to work within the traditional sphere of women's domestic role. She only enlarged the domesticity to include politics because "modern mothers have found that laws come into the home, that laws affect the lives of the their children. It is a woman's duty to know the laws that touch her children."[66]

In these speeches Owen stressed the importance of women's unique perspective as the mothers of humanity. Consequently she saw "women's entry into politics as an enlargement of her home ac-

62. *Miami Herald,* May 23, 1928; and Marjory Stoneman Douglas, "Ruth Bryan Owen," *McCall's Magazine* 25 (May 1929), 7.
63. McMullen, "The Three Ruths in Congress," 221-22.
64. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* September 14, 1928.
65. *Miami Herald,* October 20, 1928.
66. Ibid.

tivity rather than a departure from it." According to Owen, women's political activity "merely means a wider spread of the wings of motherhood, rather than leaving the home behind."[67] This was bold rhetoric at a time when the conventional concept of women and politics was often more contradictory than complementary, especially so in a region of the county yet to elect a woman to a national office. But that fact would soon changed on November 6, 1928, when Ruth Bryan Owen was elected Florida's first congresswoman in a landslide. She carried every county except Orange, which she lost by only 178 votes. The final tally was 67,130 to 36,288.[68] The Bryan family legacy had come full circle. The "Great Commoner's" daughter was prepared to embark on a political adventure of her own.

Upon Representative Owen's arrival at Capitol Hill, she was "rushed like the most popular coed on campus" as "her male colleagues were daft about her." According to one contemporary writer, Owen "captivated Washington completely" with her engaging personality, compelling oratorical skills, and strong sense of political purpose.[69]

Just as Ruth Bryan Owen was beginning to lay the crucial foundation for her congressional career, the question of her own citizenship threatened to destroy her work and reputation. In a political manipulation of the law, Owen's former opponent, William C. Lawson, challenged the 1928 general election results. Republican Lawson and his team of lawyers claimed that her 1910 marriage to Reginald Owen, a British subject, had deprived Ruth of her American citizenship. Therefore, they claimed the 67,130 votes cast in her favor null and void because she had not been a United States citizen for seven years prior to the election. Lawson then declared himself "the only duly elected and qualified Member of the House of Representatives from the said congressional district."[70]

Lawson based his argument on two points of federal law. The first was Article 1, section 2, of the United States Constitution: "No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the

67. Ibid., April 10, 1926.
68. Election Returns, 1928, Department of State, FSA.
69. Duff Gilfond, "Gentlewomen of the House," *American Mercury* 18 (October 1929), 152-53.
70. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 147.

United States. . . ." Secondly, Lawson cited the Congressional Expatriation Act of 1907, sections 3 and 4: "Any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband." He also quoted several legal precedents regarding the ineligibility of certain candidates for office whose victories were later declared null and void.[71]

Warming to his quest, Lawson petitioned Florida's governor John W. Martin to withhold the certificate of election pending the settlement of the hearing. Martin refused on the basis that "the people in the Fourth District elected Mrs. Owen."[72] Consequently, the national chairman of the Republican Party, Glenn E. Skipper, disavowed himself and the national and state Republican organizations from "having anything to do with this contest nor will we. . . because Mrs. Owen was elected by a vote of the people in this district."[73]

On January 17, 1930, Congresswoman Owen went before the House Committee on Elections to defend her right to the Fourth District's seat. Owen appeared without an attorney because she believed "the elements we are considering are so simple that they do not require any legal representation."[74] She began her defense by asserting that section 3 of the Cable Act of 1922 reinstated her citizenship: "A woman citizen of the United States shall not cease to be a citizen of the United States by reason of her marriage after the passage of this act." Owen stressed that the intent of the Cable Act as defined by its author, Representative John L. Cable (D-Ohio), was to allow a woman who had lost her citizenship by marriage to reclaim it. She could resume her citizenship as if it had never been lost.[75]

With dramatic flair, Representative Owen argued for the "equality of citizenship." She emphasized that her citizenship was taken away not because she had married a foreigner, but because she was a woman. Never in the history of the United States had a

71. Ibid., 1617.
72. *New York Times*, November 30, 1929.
73. *Miami Herald,* November 30, 1929.
74. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 47; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* January 17, 1930; and Ruby A. Black, "The Case of Ruth Bryan Owen," *Equal Rights* 16 (April 5, 1930), 67.
75. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 54-55; and Black, "The Case of Ruth Bryan Owen," 67.

man lost his American citizenship by marriage to a foreigner. Owen added that the only way a man would lose his citizenship was by swearing allegiance to another country, and, she noted emphatically, "I have never taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign government."[76] "Never by word or act," Owen declared, "have I been anything but a loyal American citizen during my entire life."[77] Concluding with a plea for equal justice for women under the law, Owen asserted, "You cannot deny my claim without saying to millions of American women that they are not entitled to the same treatment as men."[78]

On March 1, 1930, the nine members of the House Committee on Elections unanimously agreed that Ruth Bryan Owen had been eligible as a candidate and was duly elected to serve Florida's Fourth District.[79] Soon after receiving the committee's report, the full House concurred without discussion or dissent.[80]

Despite the difficulties caused by her disputed election, Owen was anything but idle in the interim. She focused on Florida's economic and agricultural problems. Within the first months of her term, Ruth wrote to friend Carrie Dunlap about her "multiplicity of duties":

> I simply cannot convey in a letter all the interest and joy I am finding in my new "job." It is an extremely hard-working one but I love it all, and the best of it is that I am getting results. There have been four bills passed in the House this session, two of them mine, and one being an appropriation of Four and a quarter Million Dollars to eradicate the Mediterranean Fruit Fly which has appeared in my State.[81]

76. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 54; and J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Chicago, 1973), 235-36.
77. House Committee on Elections, "Arguments and Hearings in the Contested Election Case of William C. Lawson v. Ruth Bryan Owen," 54.
78. Ibid., 60-61; *Woman's Journal* 16 (February 1930), 25; and *New York Times*, January 19, 1930.
79. House Committee on Elections, "William C. Lawson-Ruth Bryan Owen Election Case," 71st Congress, 2nd session, March 24, 1930, House Report 968, 7; *Miami Herald*, March 2, 1930; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, March 2, 1930; and *New York Times*, March 2, 1930.
80. *Congressional Record*, 71st Congress, 2nd session, June 6, 1930; *Tampa Tribune*, June 7, 1930.
81. Ruth Bryan Owen to Carrie Dunlap, April 30, 1929, Dunlap Papers.

The fruit fly threatened widespread disaster to Florida's fragile fruit industry, which had recently been devastated by two hurricanes and a major freeze. Owen's appropriations bill, which funded federal experts, quaratine measures, and educational programs on eradicating the fly, helped not only farmers in her district but also those in other areas of the state. In addition, growers were reimbursed 75 cents per field box of produce.[82]

The other bill mentioned by Owen established a flood disaster program for farmers in the southeastern states. The measure authorized federal loans totaling six million dollars for flood stricken regions.[83] In Florida, the bill created drainage programs for Martin, St. Lucie, Okeechobee, Highlands, Lee, Collier, Dade, Palm Beach, Hendry, Glades, and Monroe Counties. The measure also initiated the Okeechobee Flood Control District to prevent future destruction similar to that caused by the 1926 and 1928 hurricanes.[84]

Mindful of Florida's maritime economy, the congresswoman secured eight million dollars in federal appropriations for developing the state's rivers and harbors.[85] Included in her efforts was the approval of Port Everglades, the continuation of Okeechobee flood control, and the improvement of the Miami River. The chairman of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, Joseph J. Mansfield, praised Owen: "I can truthfully say that no more capable and successful advocate of river and harbor legislation has appeared before our committee in the past thirty years. . . ."[86]

Owen's agricultural initiatives called for extensive federal aid in the midst of a crippling depression. It was remarkable that any of her bills passed considering the combined effects of the stock market crash on October 29, 1929, and the ensuing international economic stagnation. Yet when she was elected, Owen had pledged her loyalty to farmers: "I am going to Congress to represent the needs of an agricultural state. As my father used to say, only when agriculture is good can the city prosper."[87]

82. *Congressional Record,* 71st Congress, 3rd session, December 13, 1930, 315-22; House Committee on Agriculture, "Hearings on the Mediterranean Fruit Fly," 71st Congress, 3rd session, January 28, 1931, 4; and Ruth Bryan Owen to President Herbert Hoover, March 5, 1930, President's General File 107, Hoover Library.
83. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* January 21, 1930.
84. Ibid., May 6, 1929.
85. *Miami Herald,* June 3, 1932.
86. *Florida Times-Union,* June 3, 1932.
87. McMullen, "The Three Ruths in Congress," 221

Reflecting this commitment, she voted for the Smoot-Hawley Tariff in 1930. Historically considered one of the most restrictive and reactionary pieces of trade legislation, the six-cent import tax was heralded as a necessary action in the depression era.[88] Specifically, Owen feared that cheaper Cuban and Mexican products would threaten Florida's northern fruit and vegetable trade if left unprotected.[89] Owen went before the Senate Finance Committee in August 1929 to protest the inclusion of a seasonal clause in the tariff. She successfully argued that the clause denied protection for her constituents during the months of December, January, and February.[90] The congresswoman kept her promise to Florida's farmers even though protectionist tariffs reinforced isolationism and the contraction of the international market.[91]

Following the passage of Smoot-Hawley, a popular joke around Washington lambasted Owen's support of a tariff bill, a position that contradicted her father's unyielding support of free trade: "When Mrs. Owen's 'aye' resounded in the House chamber on the new tariff bill, one Democrat asked another if they'd heard that rumble. 'No, what was it?,' demanded the other. 'Why, that was William Jennings Bryan turning over in his grave.'"[92]

Another issue that understandably concerned Owen was a bill to amend the Cable Act. Her highly publicized citizenship hearing revealed defects in the original wording of the act. Speaking before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Representative Owen called for uniform application of the law regardless of gender. "We all should be considered as equal citizens," Ruth stressed, "not men citizens and women citizens."[93] Other groups whose members testified in support of the amendment were the National League of Women Voters, National Woman's Party, Na-

88. *New York Times,* June 29, 1930.
89. Ruth Bryan Owen to President Herbert Hoover, May 18, 1929, President's General File 107.
90. *New York Times,* August 17, 1929.
91. F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York, 1931), xv, 519-21. Ironically, as minister to Denmark in 1933, one of Owen's priorities would be to repair Danish-American trade relations damaged by protectionist policies like the Smoot-Hawley Tariff.
92. Gilfond, "Gentlewomen of the House," 152.
93. House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, "Hearings on the Amendment to the Women's Citizenship Act of 1922," 71st Congress, 2nd session, March 6, 1930, 16-18; *Congressional Record,* 71st Congress, 2nd session, April 18, 1930, 9315-9322; and *New York Times,* April 13, 1930.

tional Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Women's Christian Temperance Union, American Federation of Labor, and the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. These organizations hoped to insure a woman's right to independent citizenship based on equality, not contingency. President Hoover signed the Cable Act amendments into law on July 3, 1930.[94]

In the midst of her work on the Cable Act amendments, Owen ran for re-election to a second term in the House. She easily defeated her primary opponent, Dewitt T. Dean, and ran unopposed in the general election. Several state newspapers hinted that her next campaign should be for the United States Senate.[95]

Infused with great confidence from her congressional success, Owen introduced her most daring piece of legislation. She proposed the creation of a cabinet-level agency to be called the Department of Home and Child. The new department would "promote and foster education, home and family life, and child welfare."[96] Owen's idea had its origins in the Children's Bureau within the Department of Labor. She wanted powerful cabinet status to unify all government agencies dealing with children's issues.[97] Representative Owen lobbied, wrote articles, and delivered speeches on the issue for more than two years.[98] Her bill ran into opposition from members who objected to the unification of existing services under one omnipotent department. They cried "infringement of states' rights," and the measure floundered.[99] Evidently many politicians were not ready for a cabinet-level department dealing predominantly with women's issues. Whether the country was ready remains debatable. In addition, since the Great Depression occupied most lawmakers' agendas, a Department of Home and Child probably received low priority compared to legislation for economic survival.

94. *Equal Rights* 16 (March 15, 1930), 48; and Lemons, *The Woman Citizen*, 236-37.
95. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* May 21, 1930; and *Miami Herald,* November 5, 1930.
96. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* October 5, 1930, and January 28, 1931; and *New York Times,* September 22, 1930.
97. Ruth Bryan Owen, "Uncle Sam and the Children," *Good Housekeeping* 92 (January 1931), 25.
98. Ruth Bryan Owen, "A Department of Home and Child," *Women's Journal* 16 (February 1931), 8-9.
99. *New York Times,* May 21, 1931.

Opponents also defeated Owen's conservation legislation. In December 1930, she joined with other Florida conservationists, including her cousin May Mann Jennings, and feisty Marjory Stoneman Douglas, to advocate the preservation of the 2,000-square-mile Everglades as a national park. In her autobiography, Douglas related an example of Ruth's talents as a politician:

> During the debate in a House Committee [Public Lands], the landowners who didn't want to sell to the government argued that the Everglades was a swamp filled with snakes and mosquitoes. To prove it, they brought a big snake in a bag and dumped it on the table. Ruth Bryan Owen saw that something had to be done. She'd never picked up a snake in her life, but she grabbed this one, wrapped it around her neck, and announced: "That's how afraid we are of snakes in the Everglades."[100]

In addition to her reptile stunt, Ruth produced numerous experts who asserted unanimously that the Everglades had "educational, recreational, and inspirational value that entitled it to be preserved for the people of the United States."[101] One esoteric naturalist wondered who could object to a project that "would make the crocodile-waters and weird bird area accessible to week-enders from crowded centres, and startle them out of the ruts which an exclusive association with human animals produces on the mind of man."[102] The House Committee unanimously endorsed Owen's Everglades proposal.[103] But the bill was defeated on the House floor. The project's million-dollar price tag for road construction alone was considered too great an expenditure in the midst of the depression.[104] Nevertheless, the legislation that Owen set in motion ultimately culminated in the creation of the Everglades National Park in 1947.[105]

In August 1931, Congresswoman Owen announced her bid for a third term. Combined with depression-era economic issues, many

100. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, *A Voice of the River* (Englewood, Fla., 1987), 176-77.
101. *Congressional Record,* 71st Congress, 3rd session, January 13, 1931, 48.
102. *New York Times,* December 16, 1930.
103. *Miami Herald,* January 18 and 19, 1931.
104. *Official Congressional Directory,* 277.
105. Douglas, *A Voice of the River,* 194; and Linda Vance, *May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist* (Gainesville, 1985), 129-30.

voices were calling for either revision or repeal of Prohibition. Long recognized as a "dry" because of her father's fervent anti-alcohol stance and her own belief that her constituents supported the Eighteenth Amendment, Ruth underestimated the growing opposition. Instead she stated that unemployment would be the issue in the campaign because "there are plenty more hungry than thirsty people in the country just now."[106] Although her statement ended the persistent rumors that she would run for the United States Senate or the Florida governorship, it reflected a serious political miscalculation on her part.[107]

In the spring of 1932, J. Mark Wilcox, a West Palm Beach lawyer, suddenly announced his decision to seek the Democratic nomination. Wilcox, a Georgia native, moved to Florida in 1925 and served as West Palm Beach city attorney from 1928-1933. Wilcox aggressively campaigned on a platform advocating the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, declaring it a "farce and a failure."[108] Throughout the campaign, Wilcox continually assailed Owen as the daughter of the great "dry crusader."[109] His attacks put her in the difficult position of having to defend her own as well as her father's reputation. Wilcox challenged Ruth to several debates, but she refused knowing the discourse would revolve around the problematic prohibition issue. In addition, her opponent would never set times and dates for the debates to allow Owen to adjust her schedule accordingly.[110]

Repeating tactics from her past campaigns, Owen toured the district giving numerous speeches focusing on her congressional record.[111] Publicly, she did not directly criticize her opponent, although she did use newspaper ads featuring candidate comparison charts entitled, "What do they offer?" Contrasting her own numerous congressional initiatives with blank space for Wilcox's, the mes-

106. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* August 30, 1931.
107. Ibid., September 24, 1931; *Miami Herald,* September 24, 1931; and *New York Times,* September 24, 1931.
108. Ruth Bryan Owen to Corra Harris, May 26, 1932, Corra Harris Papers, Special Collections, Hargrett Library, University of Georgia; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* May 19, 1932; and *Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress, 1774-1989* (Washington, D.C., 1971), 2049.
109. *Miami Herald,* May 28 and June 1, 1932.
110. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* May 19, 1932.
111. Ibid., May 19, 1932; *Miami Herald,* May 31, 1932; and *Florida Times-Union,* June 7, 1932.

sage from Ruth Bryan Owen was clear: her opponent lacked a proven record and his campaign was short on substance.[112]

Despite large crowds at her appearances, praise from her congressional colleagues, editorial endorsements, and election-eve predictions of renomination, Owen lost, 48,049 to 60,246.[113]

Devastated by her defeat, tired and bitter from the negative campaign, Ruth offered to resign from Congress, explaining that she did not believe in "lame duck" office-holding.[114] But the Speaker of the House, John Nance Garner, induced her to remain. He declared that "'lame-duck' members did not apply to the quality of statesmanship which she represented."[115]

Ironically, during her "lame-duck" session of the 72nd Congress, Ruth supported the cause of her defeat. Abiding by her constituents' wishes to the end, she voted for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.[116] In an iconoclastic tribute to the dualities of political life, "the one so flattering, the other so pitiless," Ruth published a "Lady Lame Duck's Farewell":

To members in the coming session
We leave what's left of the depression
With Fifty thousand tomes appended
Telling just how it can be ended.
To Congressmen who'll draw our salary
We leave all gunmen in the gallery,
All Communists who march and fight
And threaten us with dynamite.
Those stalwart ones may have the onus
Of laying hands upon the bonus.
The currency– to them we hand it
To shrink, contract it, or expand it.
We'll let them exercise their talents
On making that thar budget balance

112. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* October 1, 1931; *New York Times,* November 4, 1931; *Miami Herald,* May 31, June 1, 1932; and *Florida Times-Union,* June 5-7, 1932. Candidate Owen also astutely included the fact that she voted to reduce her own salary.
113. *Florida Times-Union,* June 3 and 6, 1932; Election Returns, 1932, Department of State, FSA, *Miami Herald,* June 9 and 10, 1932; and *New York Times,* June 10, 1932.
114. *Miami Herald,* June 10, 1932; and *New York Times,* June 10, 1932.
115. *New York Times,* July 10, 1932.
116. Ibid., November 24, 1932.

And, pointing out, with no delaying
A tax the public won't mind paying.
To make this simple as can be
We leave to them Technocracy.
To them we're leaving the analysis
Of beer producing no paralysis.
To them we leave, with stifled sobs,
All persons who are seeking jobs.
Our pangs of exile 'twill assuage
To know we have no patronage.[117]

Despite her poetic repudiation of the patronage system, the remainder of Ruth Bryan Owen's political career hinged on that intrinsic element of American politics. Never again would she hold elective office. Yet she remained an important player in the political field because patronage insured Ruth Bryan Owen's legacy of continued public service.

Only five months after her disappointing loss, Owen emerged as an important member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal administration. Although Owen would have served ably in any number of New Deal agencies, President Roosevelt envisioned a more prominent position for her. The first indication of her assignment was an April 1, 1933, *Washington Post* article entitled, "Mrs. Owen Is Danish Envoy's Dinner Guest; Appointment Guessed." Owen dined with Danish minister Otto Wadstel and North Winship, counselor of the American legation in Copenhagen. The *Post* reported that "the dinner was regarded by political observers as clinching the conclusion that Mrs. Owen . . . soon would be wearing the title 'madame minister' in Denmark."[118]

The paper also mentioned a Denmark vacation Owen and her youngest children, Bryan and Helen Rudd, had taken two years earlier as a clue to her most likely diplomatic destination. On that trip, the Owen family traveled throughout Denmark in a car with a

117. Ruth Bryan Owen, "Lady Lame Duck's Farewell Verse," *Literary Digest* 115 (February 25, 1933), 32. The *New York Times* version of her poem included two additional stanzas: "To you dear ladies of the press; We leave unfeigned thankfulness. All you have done to give us pleasure; Are memories we will always treasure. While we roam that vast expanse; Where lame ducks seek their sustenance. When happy days are here again; Please let us know just where and when!" *New York Times*, February 1, 1933.

118. *Washington Post*, April 1, 1933.

trailer. Ruth called their adventure a "Denmark Caravan" because they traveled cross-country meeting the Danish face-to-face. Often they dined with families in small villages, learning the Danish language, traditions, legends, and recipes. On the Fourth of July, Ruth addressed a large crowd celebrating their Danish-American heritage at Rebild National Park. The trip was such a success that Ruth wrote an account of their excursion, *Danish Caravan,* which Dodd, Mead and Company published in 1936 as a children's book.[119]

On April 4, 1933, the *New York Times* reported: "Mrs. Owen to Be Envoy at Copenhagen; She Will Be First Woman Named Minister." According to the article, Owen preferred a domestic State Department position, but "by the insistence of President Roosevelt and the cordiality with which her suggested appointment was received in Denmark," she agreed to the foreign post "for which it is felt she is extremely well fitted both by personality and experience."[120] A few days later the King of Denmark, Christian X, officially endorsed Ruth Bryan Owen as minister to his country.[121] The United States Senate unanimously confirmed President Roosevelt's nomination of Ruth Bryan Owen to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Denmark on April 12, 1933. Duncan U. Fletcher, Florida's longtime Democratic senator, made the motion to his colleagues. As an indication of her popularity, the vote was taken without the traditional reference to the Foreign Affairs Committee.[122] Owen's public service reached new heights. Having already proven herself in state and national affairs, she confidentally met the challenges of the international arena.

As minister to Denmark, Owen became the first woman to represent the United States in a foreign country as the head of a diplomatic legation. Seeking to foster American-Danish good will, she toured the country, delivered speeches, entertained famous Americans, studied social welfare legislation, and promoted improved trade relations. According to prevailing opinion, Minister Owen

119. Ibid; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* May 29 and August 30, 1931; *New York Times,* July 27, 1931; and Ruth Bryan Owen, *Denmark Caravan* (New York, 1936), 10, 39, 58, 149-50, 156, 160-61.
120. *New York Times,* April 4, 1933.
121. Ibid., April 9, 1933; and "New Minister to Denmark," *Time* 21 (April 24, 1933), 13.
122. *New York Times,* April 13, 1933.

Eleanor Roosevelt and Ruth Bryan Owen, c. 1933. *Photograph courtesy of the Danish Royal Archives, Copenhagen.*

advanced "with conspicuous success, the real friendship and admiration of the Danes for the United States."[123]

Owen served in the diplomatic post for three years. She would have gladly continued in the position but for the reoccurrence of a problematic issue that had shadowed her career: her citizenship status. While in Denmark, Owen fell in love with Captain Borge Rohde, a member of the King's Life Guards. The couple married on July 11, 1936, in Hyde Park, New York, at President and Mrs. Roosevelt's family church. Prominent members in the administration, Secretary of State Cordell Hull in particular, felt her marriage compromised her diplomatic standing as well as her upcoming work in the president's re-election campaign.[124] Bowing to the pressure, Owen decided to sacrifice her diplomatic career for the overriding cause of Roosevelt's re-election. She resigned her post at the end of August.[125] The diplomatic double-standard was not lost on the media:

> [W]hile it is quite customary for men in the American diplomatic service to marry foreigners and while the wives of foreign envoys to this country are often Americans, a foreign husband for an American official abroad brings up questions for which there is no answer in the protocol . . . . It is also apparent that unless Washington follows the example of some of the other Governments in forbidding all diplomatic representatives to marry foreigners, in no sense can a woman appointee go as far as a man in the field of international relations.[126]

After her resignation, Owen's public activism centered around speaking tours, teaching, writing, and advisory boards. With the outbreak of World War II, she worked to establish a viable international arbitration organization. Based on her expertise in the area and the publication of her influential book on the subject, President Harry Truman asked her to participate in the 1945 San Fran-

123. Ibid., September 1, 1936.
124. Stephen Early to President Roosevelt, August 1, 1936, President's Personal File 2721, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
125. Ruth Bryan Owen to President Roosevelt, August 29, 1936, President's Official File 437, Roosevelt Library.
126. *New York Times,* September 1, 1936.

cisco Conference that formalized the United Nations.[127] In 1949, she served as an Alternative Representative to the Fourth Session of the U.N. General Assembly.[128]

Until her death in 1954, Ruth Bryan Owen continued to deliver the message of peace and global cooperation in her speeches, writing, and travels. While in Denmark to accept the Danish Medal of Merit, sixty-eight-year-old Ruth died of a heart attack.[129] She left behind a remarkable legacy of activism and public service. Her breadth of vision and unwavering dedication to the causes of education, child welfare, citizenship, diplomacy, and peace endure as gifts to the people of Florida, the American nation, and the global community.[130]

127. Ruth Bryan Owen, *Look Forward, Warrior* (New York, 1942); and *New York Times,* April 17, 1945.
128. *New York Times,* September 27, 1949.
129. Ibid., July 27, 1954.
130. Recognizing the importance of remembering and celebrating her life, the State of Florida inducted Ruth Bryan Owen into the Florida Women's Hall of Fame on November 17, 1992.

"Without Compromise or Fear": Florida's African American Female Activists

by MAXINE D. JONES

We must challenge, skillfully but resolutely, every sign of restriction or limitation to our full American citizenship . . . we must seek every opportunity to place the burden of responsibility upon him who denies it.

Mary McLeod Bethune[1]

In his study of the civil rights movement in Mississippi, historian Charles Payne observed that "men led but women organized."[2] With few exceptions the same could be said of African American activists in Florida throughout the twentieth century. Women played a major role in combating racism and discrimination, and in seeking first-class citizenship for black Floridians.

Hampered by racial and gender barriers, these women actively sought to secure for blacks the same educational, political, and economic opportunities that most whites enjoyed. They supported those in need by providing food, clothing and shelter, and by creating institutions to strengthen their communities. Students of Florida history are familiar with the names of prominent civil rights leaders C. K. Steele, Edward Davis, Virgil Hawkins, Harry T. Moore, S. D. McGill, C. Blythe Andrews Sr., and John Due. Yet often missing from the pages of journal articles and monographs are the names of the black women who were equally important in eradicating injustice and generating resources and opportunities within their respective communities, women such as Mary McLeod Bethune, Eartha White, Blanche Armwood, Alice Mickens, Viola Hill,

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1. Mary McLeod Bethune, "Viewing the Facts Objectively," Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection, Part I, Reel 2, Frame 612.
2. Charles Payne, "Men Led, but Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta," in Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods, eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965* (Brooklyn, 1990), 1-11.

Athalie Range, Fannye Ayer Ponder, Olive B. McLin and Patricia Stephens Due. They are just a few of the hundreds of African American women in the Sunshine State who made a difference. Some were known only within their communities and cities, while others were recognized on the state and national levels. They created educational opportunities and influenced federal policy; many worked within the system, others in spite of it. And some were more outspoken than others. Yet all challenged the system and were pro-active in meeting the needs of the black community and pointing out to the white power structure the inequities of segregation, racism, and discrimination. African American female activists and community leaders worked as strenuously and contributed as much to improving the condition of black Floridians as did African American men.

Black women in Florida followed a long tradition of female activism in the African American community. The condition of blacks in twentieth-century Florida required action, and those black women who were in a position to do so eagerly picked up the torch so bravely carried by Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Maria Stewart, and Ida Wells Barnett decades before. Throughout most of the twentieth century the majority of Florida blacks lived in poverty. Unequal educational, economic, and political opportunities contributed to illiteracy, unemployment, subsistence wages, poor working conditions, and poor health. In 1905 the death rate for black Floridians was 7.3 per 1,000; for whites it was 6.1 per 1,000. Typhoid fever, pneumonia, consumption, and heart disease killed hundreds of Floridians of both races annually. Only 2.2 percent of the state's white population above the age of ten was classified as illiterate in 1925. The black illiteracy rate topped 20 percent. The black illiteracy rate in Dixie County, an alarming 74.5 percent, was the highest in the state.[3]

Such conditions put Mary McLeod Bethune on the path to becoming Florida's most renowned African American activist. A South Carolinian by birth, Bethune adopted Florida as her home when she arrived in Palatka (Alachua County) in 1900. She left Palatka in 1904 to work among destitute blacks in Daytona (Volusia County) and to establish a school similar to the one she had attended in North Carolina-Scotia Seminary. In October 1904, Be-

3. *The Third Census of the State of Florida, 1905* (Tallahassee, 1906), 142, 144, 146-49; *The Fifth Census of the State of Florida, 1925* (Tallahassee, 1926), 94.

thune, with five students and even fewer dollars, opened the Daytona Educational and Industrial Institute.[4]

Mary McLeod Bethune left her mark on Daytona, Florida, and the nation. Clarence G. Newsome concluded that "more than any other black leader during the interregnum between Booker T. Washington and Martin Luther King, Jr., she stood at the helm of the Negro's struggle for racial justice."[5] A natural born and fearless leader, and an independent woman, Bethune quickly earned the respect of many area whites. She believed in racial integration and refused to succumb to southern racial mores. When whites attended events on her campus, which was renamed Bethune-Cookman College in 1923, they sat with African Americans. Harlem Renaissance author and poet Langston Hughes visited the college in 1934 and praised its president for not making "'special provisions' for local white folks." During his lecture there he noticed that "a great many whites were in the audience but they sat among the Negroes." At other black schools in the South, "even the very well-endowed, and famous ones," Hughes found "an amazing acquiescence to the wishes of the local whites and to the tradition of the color-line." He criticized those schools that "set aside whole sections in their own auditoriums for the exclusive use of whites."[6]

Such intermingling between blacks and whites violated state regulations across the South. This was not lost on poet Hughes:

> [I]f you think that is easy to achieve in the South and does not take bravery and gall and guts, try it yourself. Or else be humble like that college president . . . who says he is sorry the white people in his community who wish to hear Mrs. Roosevelt speak on his campus cannot attend because the state law is against it! Thus meekly he accepts an obvi-

4. Henry Flagler employed hundreds of African American men to build the Florida East Coast Railroad. These men and their families lived in a destitute environment. Bethune hoped to educate their children so that they might know a better life. *The Christian Advocate,* February 4, 1937; Dorothy C. Salem, ed., *African American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York, 1993), 47-51; *Crisis* 26 (September 1923), 222-23; Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York, 1973), 134; Leedell Neyland, *Twelve Black Floridians* (Tallahassee, 1970) 17-18.

5. Clarence G. Newsome, "Mary McLeod Bethune in Religious Perspective: A Seminal Essay" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1982), iv.

6. Langston Hughes, "Cowards from the Colleges," *Crisis* 41 (August 1934), 227-28.

> ous wrong and does nothing– not even verbally. Such men would accept Hitler without a struggle– but Mrs. Bethune wouldn't– not even in Florida. . . .[7]

Indeed it took courage to challenge the South's mores, and Bethune did so, but she also believed that interracial cooperation rather than confrontation was the key to settling the race problem. Thus, she called for "a better understanding between the White and Negro Groups."[8]

Mary McLeod Bethune championed social justice and sought to remove the barriers that prevented Florida's African Americans from participating as full citizens. She frequently spoke out against lynching, barriers to voting, insufficient funding for public education, and "the enactment of measures which in segregating Negroes in unsanitary ghettoes make them a menace to the health and peace of the entire community."[9] Bethune called for the appointment of a statewide committee composed of "the best educated, most cultured, tactful and unselfish leaders" of both races.[10] Because of the "popular disapproval" of a lynching in Ocala in 1926, Bethune believed the time was right for such a commission:

> Interracial cooperation in religious [work], education, social service, municipal and State government, is working with splendid effect in other States. Let us have more of it in Florida. The day of selfish, individualistic leadership has passed. We need in Florida a carefully selected interracial committee. Let us have one.[11]

7. Langston Hughes, "The Need for Heroes," *Crisis* 48 (June 1941), 185.
8. Mary McLeod Bethune, "Interracial Cooperation in Florida," typescript, n.d., Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, 1875-1955, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana (hereafter MMBP).
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. In April 1926, a group of "masked men" seized Charles Davis, an African American accused of killing a Pasco County deputy sheriff, as he was being transferred from Ocala to Brooksville for trial. Sheriff W. D. Cobb believed Davis had been lynched and thrown into the Withlacoochee River. Papers of the NAACP, Part 7, The Anti-Lynching Campaign, 1912-1955, series A: Anti-Lynching Investigative Files, 1912-1953, reel 8, group 1, series C, Administrative Files, box C-351.

Mary McLeod Bethune at Bethune-Cookman College, 1943. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

While it is uncertain whether state officials appointed such a committee, several communities, including Jacksonville, eventually did.

Bethune-Cookman College faculty and students hosted an interracial student conference in March 1936. Considering the state of race relations in Florida at the time, this was an extremely brave move. Less than two years had passed since the brutal lynching of Claude Neal in North Florida. But on March 3, 1936, white students from Rollins College and the University of Florida convened on the campus of Bethune-Cookman College. The exchange between the students was candid. Rollins College coeds asked their hosts: "What things can white friends do [to] immediately and significantly help improve the condition of Negroes?" Bethune-Cookman students asked those from the University of Florida whether they were willing to integrate their graduate and professional courses. Students from the University of Florida asked how black and white students could best cooperate for their mutual benefit.[12] The students responded to each other's questions honestly and with respect for differing views. All those present pledged to continue to work for better race relations through the Interracial Student Council. President Bethune believed that if the present assembly was any indication, the future for race relations in Florida looked promising.[13] The educator maintained that interracial cooperation at all levels was essential for improvement in race relations, and she facilitated interracial interaction whenever she could.

In February 1931, Bethune addressed an interracial conference in Lakeland, Florida. Dr. Ludd M. Spivey, president of Florida Southern College, directed the meeting and Will W. Alexander of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation gave the opening speech. Alexander declared that objective thinking was the "only sane approach" and key to solving the race problem.[14] Harris G. Sims, a reporter for the *New York Times,* reported that Mary McLeod Bethune "held her head high [and] said she was proud of her own black skin." According to Sims, Bethune "went straight to the heart of the race problem."

12. The University of Florida student did not give a direct response to the question asked. He asserted that the students in attendance would be willing to accept a Bethune-Cookman graduate into their academic programs. He pointed out, however, that all graduate programs were already "overcrowded." "Interracial Student Conference in Florida," *Crisis* 43 (April 1936), 109.
13. Ibid., 110.
14. *New York Times,* February 18, 1931, news clipping, in MMBP.

> She . . . pleaded for social justice, pointed out the injustices that were being practiced upon her race, and did it with such sincerity and zeal that her remarks were followed by applause, instead of the derogatory comments that often follows when a Negro speaks with such candor.[15]

Bethune told the delegates that her people deserved social equality, which she defined as equal railroad accommodations as well as educational and economic opportunities. Intimate contact with whites was not the goal. It is uncertain how many "young Southerners" Bethune convinced to support her vision of equal opportunity for all, but she obviously made an impression, as they "made a beeline to the Negro college president after she had made her speech, awaited their turn to shake hands with her and to address her as Mrs. Bethune."[16]

Bethune also made an impression outside the South. A 1926 *New York Times* article referred to her as "the 'Booker Washington' of her sex," while *Time* magazine dubbed Bethune "The Booker T. Washington of Florida" in 1939. The two educators did have much in common. Both were astute black college presidents who knew how to persuade prominent northern whites to contribute vast sums to black educational institutions. Both promoted vocational education and were "adroit politicians" as well, but the comparison probably ends there. Washington was never as brave or as candid as Bethune in pointing out to southern whites the effects of southern injustice, racism, and discrimination. Some may argue that Bethune and Washington lived during different times and in different environments, and that Washington had more to lose by being vocal.[17] But violence and lynching were as common in Florida as in other southern states. Between 1889 and 1918 more than 150 blacks were lynched in Florida. The Sunshine State led the nation in lynching in 1920 and continued to hold a disgraceful place in the top five for several years.[18] Nonetheless, Bethune refused to

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. *New York Times,* November 11, 1926, news clipping, MMBP; Lottie Montgomery Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1942), 25.
18. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918,* with appendices for years 1919-1922 (New York, 1919), 35, 41.

be intimidated even by the Ku Klux Klan. When the Klan made an uninvited visit to campus in 1920, she did not gather her students and hide under the cloak of darkness. Instead, according to Dr. Florence Roane, head of the division of education, "Mrs. Bethune made all the girls come out on the steps of Faith Hall and sing 'We are Climbing Jacob's ladder.'" The Klan threatened them, burned a cross, and departed.[19]

Bethune lambasted Florida's treatment of its black citizens, but she did so with poise, dignity, and savvy. For example in one article addressing the disproportionate number of African American men in Florida's prisons, Bethune pointed out the tremendous social costs to whites of "keeping the nigger in his place."

> A large percentage of the Negroes in Florida's penal institutions are there today because of injustice, discrimination in the courts, and inability to secure proper legal aid. They come out hardened, brutalized, hating the society at whose hands they have suffered. They mingle in their community and spread the disease of bitterness among hundreds of others. To keep them inferior they must be huddled in segregated ghettoes without drainage, light, pavements or modern sanitary convenience. They must be denied justice and the right to make a decent living. He must be insulted and bullied and mobbed, discriminated against in public places and denied access to parks and recreational centers. In dollars and cents the cost of this system is tremendous to the Commonwealth which sponsors it. In the effect upon those who put it into practice the price is too high to be paid in this generation. It must be paid by the children of the third and fourth generation.[20]

Booker T. Washington was never as forthright with white Alabamians. Of course, the majority of white Floridians were not swayed by Bethune's candor, even though she described the cost in terms they would understand. But black Floridians were aware of and appreciated her attacks on a system that discriminated against them.

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19. Dr. Florence Roane and Bethune were close friends. Another account of the same incident claims that the students sang, "'Be not dismayed whate'er betide, God will take care of you.'" *St. Petersburg Times*, December 28, 1975; Newsome, "Mary McLeod Bethune in Religious Perspective," 244-45.
20. Mary McLeod Bethune, untitled typescript, n.d., MMBP.

When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) awarded Bethune its Spingarn Medal in June 1935, the selection committee hailed her national influence, which, it declared, "has always been on a high plane, directed by a superb courage. Mrs. Bethune has always spoken out against injustice, in the South as well as in the North, without compromise or fear."[21]

Mary McLeod Bethune took her campaign for interracial cooperation and first class citizenship for African Americans nationwide. As president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) Bethune fought for open seating at the 1925 meeting of the International Council of Women held in the nation's capital. On May 5, 1925, members of the NACW protested the segregated seating arrangements by walking out. An outraged Bethune denounced the seating policy, claiming "it was humiliating to the United States to be segregated in the presence of women from all over the world."[22] Her appointment as Director of the Negro Division of the National Youth Administration (NYA) during Franklin Roosevelt's administration, her friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt, and her presidency of the National Council of Negro Women gave Bethune a wider audience, more power and influence, and an opportunity to expand her work beyond the confines of Bethune-Cookman College and the state of Florida. In 1930 journalist Ida Tarbell named Bethune one of the fifty leading women in the United States. Little did Tarbell know that during the intervening years between the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 and the birth of the modern day civil rights movement in 1955, Mary McLeod Bethune would assume the leadership of the African American crusade for racial justice.[23]

Bethune was just one of several black female activists working diligently for positive change for Florida's black citizens. Eartha M. M. White had as much influence and impact in Jacksonville as Be-

21. "Mrs. Bethune: Spingarn Medalist," *Crisis* 42 (July 1935), 202; *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 6, 1935, news clipping, MMBP; Monroe N. Work, *The Negro Year Book* (Tuskegee, 1937), 11.
22. Elaine Smith. "Mary McLeod Bethune" in Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1994), 118-19.
23. Bethune died in May 1955. Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 28; "Along The Color Line," *Crisis* 37 (November 1930), 380; Newsome, "Mary McLeod Bethune in Religious Perspective," iv.

thune had in Daytona. White, known as "the Angel of Mercy" and the "Jane Addams of her race," was Jacksonville's first African American social worker and an advocate for the downtrodden. A native Floridian born in 1876, White, like her friend Mary McLeod Bethune, began her career as an educator. Her work eventually extended beyond the confines of the classroom to that of the broader Jacksonville community, and she became a bridge between Jacksonville's black and white residents. Eartha White's mother, Clara English White, taught her to "do all the good you can, in all the ways you can, in all the places you can, for all the people you can, while you can."[24] Until her death in 1920, Clara White worked alongside her daughter, helping those in need.

A fire in Jacksonville in 1901 left thousands of blacks and whites homeless and destitute. The two White women came to their aid. From their home they fed and clothed many of the dislocated. They solicited and raised funds to establish an Old Folks Home in 1902 for African Americans. Because blacks did not receive their fair share of social services in Jacksonville, Clara and Eartha White operated a mission from their home on First Street to meet the immediate needs of the poor. In 1928, as a memorial to her mother, Eartha White officially established the Clara White Mission. With the help and financial contributions of friends, White moved the mission from its First Street location to a permanent site on Ashley Street in 1932.[25]

Mary McLeod Bethune called Eartha White "a great humanitarian" and an advocate for "the needy and the unfortunate."[26] Only five feet tall, White earned the reputation and gained the admiration and respect of influential whites that allowed her to establish institutions to aid the black community. Even though her

24. "Biography of Clara White," in *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White,* souvenir program, 1951, Eartha White Collection, Clara White Mission, Jacksonville, Florida; *Florida Times-Union* (Star Edition), March 12, 1952, March 25, 1951; Neyland, *Twelve Black Floridians,* 38, 40-41; Paul Diggs, "Little Angel of Ashly Street– Miss Eartha M. M. White," typescript, 1938, Florida Writers Project, Special Collections, University of South Florida (hereafter FWP).

25. James B. Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire, 1901-1919* (Jacksonville, 1991), 16-18, 89-90; Wilson Rice, "Negro Churches" unpublished manuscript, 1936, FWP; "History of Clara White Mission," *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White.*

26. Mary McLeod Bethune to Eartha M. M. White, October 25, 1951, in *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White, Crisis* 49 (September 1942), 289.

Eartha M. M. White, n.d. *Photograph courtesy of the Eartha M. M White Collection, University of North Florida.*

primary clientele was African American, she assisted the "unfortunates of all races and all creeds, without pay and with loving kindness." According to Matilda O'Donald, Chairman of the Interracial Committee in Jacksonville, "Miss White knows no racial differences when it comes to helping those who need help. Many young white persons both men and women have risen up and called her blessed."[27]

In addition to establishing the Old Folks Home in 1902, White, through the Clara White Mission, operated a much needed Tubercular Rest Home in the black community. Tuberculosis was the leading cause of death among blacks in Duval County in 1920.[28] The "Angel of Ashley Street" also established an orphanage and child placement service, a home for unwed mothers, an unemployment agency, and a nursery for working mothers. The city of Jacksonville and Duval County failed to provide such services to their black citizens, so White assumed the responsibility. A successful businesswoman in her own right, White lobbied local politicians and influential whites and blacks for support and funds. Using her own money and that donated by others, including Mrs. Arthur J. Cummer and Mrs. Alfred I. DuPont, White established and sustained institutions that met the health, educational, and social welfare needs of Jacksonville's blacks. Eventually White received aid from both the city and the county governments.[29]

By the 1930s, White had helped thousands, but she may have accomplished her most important work during the Great Depression. The Clara White Mission operated a soup kitchen that fed hundreds daily without benefit of government funds. No one was turned away. Although the federal government did not support the soup kitchen, it chose the Clara White Mission to direct its various projects designed to help blacks in Jacksonville and Duval County. With the help of government funds, the mission operated a sewing room that hired unemployed black women, provided art and music programs for youth, and housed the Negro Unit of the Florida

27. Matilda O'Donald, chairman, Interracial Committee, to Whom It May Concern, March 29, 1951, in *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White.*
28. Council of Social Agencies, *Jacksonville Looks at its Negro Community, a Survey of Conditions Affecting the Negro Population in Jacksonville and Duval County, Florida* (Jacksonville, May 1946), 2-3.
29. *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White.*

Writers Project.[30] Mary McLeod Bethune may have persuaded government officials to select White to head this project.

Eartha White accomplished much in meeting the needs of the black community with a leadership style quite different from that of Bethune. White, to a degree, adhered to Booker T. Washington's philosophy. She attended the organizational meeting of Washington's National Negro Business League in 1900 and was active in the Jacksonville chapter. She almost certainly was in the audience of 2,500 when Booker T. Washington spoke in Jacksonville in 1912. Although White sought to dismantle racism and discrimination, she was not outspoken and did not vocally challenge the system. According to Altermese Bentley, whose parents were friends of White's, Eartha White was "very strong" but "not overly assertive."[31] However, she used her influence with Jacksonville's powerful whites and policy makers to achieve for blacks those opportunities and services that they were denied. She used their financial contributions to establish Mercy Hospital, and she persuaded local politicians to provide a playground and other facilities for black neighborhoods. White established a network of supporters and admirers across the state, including Secretary of State R. A. Gray, Attorney General Richard Ervin, United States Senator Claude Pepper, and Governor Fuller Warren, all of whom wrote glowing testimonials in honor of her seventy-fifth birthday.[32]

Although cautious, White was not necessarily accommodating, and she often led by example. She was active in politics at a time when race and gender kept thousands from voting in Florida. She was active in the local Republican Party, serving as president of the Duval County Republican Executive Committee in 1920 and the state chairperson of the National League of Republican Colored Women in 1928. When women finally gained the right to vote in 1920 she actively encouraged black women to register to vote. As a direct result of the efforts of White and others, African American women registering to vote outnumbered white women in several wards. Threats from the Ku Klux Klan, which marched to discour-

30. Diggs, "Little Angel of Ashly Street"; Rice, "Negro Churches"; *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White, Crisis* 49 (September 1942), 289.

31. Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire,* 85, 89, 94; Mrs. Altermese Bentley, interview with author, August 21, 1998.

32. Robert T. Thomas, "Interracial Relations," *Crisis* 49 (January 1942), 19; *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White.*

age blacks from voting, did not prevent black women from turning out in large numbers in the 1920 fall elections.[33]

White and Bethune were friends and were members of many of the same clubs and organizations. Both were members of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), a national organization that Bethune chaired from 1924 to 1928, and the Florida State Federation of Colored Women (FSFCW). With the power of the FSFCW behind them, White and Bethune lobbied state officials to provide a home for wayward and delinquent girls. In fact, White chaired the Education and the Industrial Home for Colored Girls Committees and received credit for securing the passage of the measure that established an institution for black female youth in Marion County.[34] Through national, regional, state, and local clubs and organizations, White and Bethune were able to influence policy that benefitted blacks outside of their respective communities.

Blanche Armwood was also affiliated with the club movement in Florida and was a contemporary and friend of Eartha White and Mary McLeod Bethune. She, too, sought first-class citizenship for African Americans and eloquently articulated the needs of those who had no voice. A Tampan by birth, Armwood emerged as an outspoken leader in the early struggle for civil rights in Florida. In 1922 this woman, described as a "rebel," became the first executive secretary of the Tampa Urban League. In this position and as Supervisor of Negro Schools for Hillsborough County, "she did not ask favors– she demanded rights– the same rights for all American citizens," for the county's more than 20,000 African Americans. Buttressed by her membership in the NACW, the NAACP, and the FSFCW, Armwood sought to make blacks in Tampa "politically conscious, educationally alert, socially constructive [and] economically independent."[35]

33. Walter F. White, "Election Day in Florida," *Crisis* 21 (January 1921), 106, 109; Barbara H. Walch, "Sallye B. Mathis and Mary L. Singleton: Black Pioneers on the Jacksonville, Florida, City Council" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1988), 47-48.

34. Fannye Ayer Ponder, "A Salutation to a Friend to Man," in *75th Diamond Birthday Observance of [the] Useful Life of Eartha Mary Magdalene White;* Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 30.

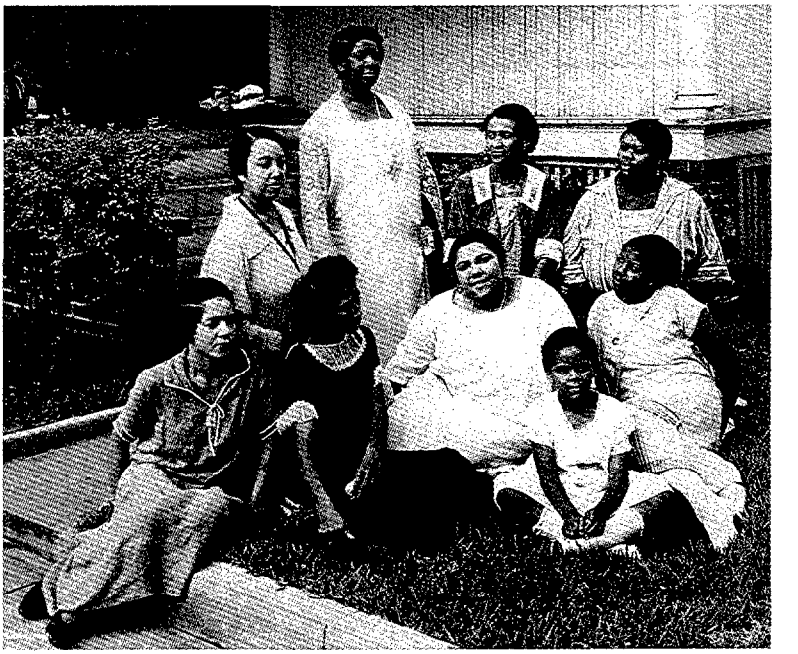
35. Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 63, 64, 67, 70-71; Blanche Armwood Family Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida; John R. Durham, "Blanche Armwood: The Early Years, 1890-1922" (master's thesis, University of South Florida, 1988), 13; *Fifth Census of the State of Florida,* 59; Mary Burke, "The Success of Blanche Armwood, 1890-1939," *The Sunland Tribune* 15 (November 1989), 40, 41.

Blanche Armwood's stint as a school teacher and principal prepared her for the position of Supervisor of Negro Schools in Hillsborough County (1922-1930) where she sought to erase the inequality of black and white schools. Educational opportunities for blacks in Tampa were poor. White students attended school for nine months, blacks for only six. Black schools were congested and unsanitary, and black teachers received substantially less pay than their white counterparts. It was obvious to Armwood that under such conditions black youth stood "a very slim chance for development into strong, intelligent manhood and womanhood." "Dynamic, aggressive, zealous, [and] enthusiastic for whatever cause she espoused," Armwood took action. Reputedly, within less than two years, the glaring inequities were at least slightly mitigated. African American students received instruction for nine months, the county dramatically improved school facilities, and black teachers welcomed an increase in salary.[36]

Armwood was the first African American in Florida to serve as a county Supervisor of Negro Schools. Whites generally held this position. During her eight-year tenure the county constructed five new brick school buildings and additions to two existing black schools in Tampa. She encouraged parents' participation in their children's education by establishing a parent-teacher organization in every black school in the county. Additionally, Armwood played a major role in creating Booker T. Washington High School– the first accredited school for blacks in the county.[37]

Ironically, Armwood, like Bethune, was considered a "Female Booker T. Washington." Perhaps it was because of her reputation for organizing successful schools of household arts, not only in Tampa, but also in Athens, Georgia, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Rock Hill, South Carolina. Maybe it was because in these schools, African American women learned "how to work with their hands while they trained their minds" and departed imbued with the gospel of "industry, thrift, self-reliance, and self-respect." She firmly believed that such skills ensured a degree of economic indepen-

36. Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 65, 66, 70; *Tampa Tribune,* February 26, 1983.
37. Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 66; Burke, "The Success of Blanche Armwood," 41-42; *Tampa Tribune,* February 26, 1983.



Tampa Club Women in 1925. Blanche Armwood is seated in the front row, far right. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

dence that could lead to improvements in other areas.[38] Armwood, however, was more of a militant than an accommodationist.

Unlike Booker T. Washington she actively joined the NAACP and the struggle against racism, discrimination, and lynching. While probably not as outspoken as Bethune, Armwood was not one to hold her tongue. She denounced mob violence and lynching, fervently supporting the NAACP's anti-lynching campaign and the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill. When a white reader of the *Tampa Tribune* suggested that the "money, time, and determination" spent by advocates of anti-lynching would be better spent on "a campaign to eradicate the cause for which lynching in the South is the remedy,"– what he called the "bad nigger" who is "usually of 'high color' and 'high eddication'"– Armwood could not help but respond:

38. Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 65-66; Burke, "The Success of Blanche Armwood," 40.

> The Negroes of this community feel that the editorial referred to shows such a spirit of antagonism to Negro education and advancement as we are reluctant to characterize as the *Tribune's* real attitude. . . . The premium that white men put on their womanhood is worthy of the commendation of any people. Making criminals of hundreds of fathers of the future womanhood of their race who participated in mob murders is rather inconsistent, however. Please let us say further, Mr. Editor, that we do not know any case where educated Negroes have been lynched save in race riots like the ones in Arkansas and Oklahoma, where the bloodthirsty mob found pleasure in destroying the lives and property of the best Negro citizens as a means of humiliating the entire race. Nor do we understand what is meant by the Negro of "high color." Surely, the writer does not refer to mulattoes whose color proves the disregard our Southern white men have had for racial purity and the value of virtuous womanhood even among the Negroes, their humble loyal friends . . . Yours of peace and civic righteousness. Blanche Armwood Beatty.[39]

This exchange took place around the time of the racial incident at Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923, which resulted in the deaths of at least six African Americans and the complete destruction of their community. Many white Tampans respected Armwood and worked alongside her at the Urban League and other interracial groups. In a sense she accomplished for race relations in Tampa what Eartha White did for Jacksonville's black and white citizens– she served as a bridge. Mary Burke concluded that Armwood's "conservative and diplomatic policy toward race relations led to acceptance by the white power structure."[40] Armwood's shrewd diplomacy definitely paid off for the black community, but the above letter to the editor throws her alleged conservatism into question. Her gender probably offered some protection, but often such bluntness resulted in a loss of respect and influence among whites, warnings, and even physical violence. Armwood demonstrated her boldness in challenging southern injustice not only by responding to the white reader, but also by including her name.

39. Ibid.
40. Burke, "The Success of Blanche Armwood," 43.

Likewise, she joined fellow Floridians Eartha White and Mary McLeod Bethune in supporting the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and helping to establish the Florida branch of that organization. She was also a member of the Republican Party and active in the National and State League of Colored Republican Women.[41]

Her actions and affiliations indicate that Blanche Armwood was not as conservative as she might have appeared. While Armwood aided African Americans in Tampa much as did White in Jacksonville– by working for daycare, health care, recreational facilities, better housing, equitable education– she was not quiet and retiring. Although she obviously needed the assistance of influential whites to bring about tangible changes in the black community, she did not turn her back when she saw racial injustice. Armwood openly criticized southern whites for their treatment of African Americans and consistently called attention to the inhumane conditions under which blacks were forced to live. She was unafraid to point out the discrepancies in almost every aspect of life between black and white Tampans.

Mary McLeod Bethune, Eartha White and Blanche Armwood were only the most prominent of the black activists in early to mid-twentieth-century Florida. Many other women such as Viola T. Hill of Orlando and Alice Mickens of West Palm Beach were active as well. Hill was appointed to direct the Negro branch of the NYA in Orlando in 1941. She also organized the first nursery for blacks in that city. Many of her activities were designed to strengthen the black community. Hill was particularly interested in developing leaders among black youth and women. Mickens, who believed there was "strength in union" became heavily involved in the club movement in Florida. She was elected president of the Florida Federation of Colored Women's Clubs in 1938. She truly believed that equal rights and opportunities would be achieved for African Americans via colored women's clubs. For more than ten years Mickens worked to secure a playground for black children in West Palm Beach. "White children had nine or ten playgrounds and athletic fields," she pointed out, and "colored children had none." Black children needed a safe place to play and Mickens believed that playgrounds kept them out of trouble. Because of her persis-

41. *Tampa Tribune*, February 26, 1983; Blanche A. Beatty to Eartha White, April 28, June 16, 1928, Eartha M. M. White Collection, University of North Florida, Jacksonville.

tent efforts the city eventually erected a playground for blacks on Fifteenth Street.[42]

Mickens' biggest battle, however, was with the West Palm Beach (Palm Beach County) Board of Public Instruction. It was common in Florida and other southern states for black school children to attend school in the summer. Often referred to as "Strawberry Schools," such a practice made it possible for black children to harvest crops or, as in the case in West Palm Beach, to caddy for white golfers during the winter months. This arrangement also made it impossible for teachers to improve their credentials by attending summer school. Mickens lobbied the school board to change its policy and to lengthen the school year for black students. It refused. But as Lottie Clark Montgomery observed, "when Mrs. Mickens sets out to achieve an objective she doesn't rest until she accomplishes it." Although it took several years of struggle the county Board of Public Instruction changed the discriminatory policy. Black students began the school year in September and attended school for 9 months as did white students.[43] "Poised, patient, tolerant and benevolent," Mickens fought for equal opportunities for African Americans. She, too, was associated with various New Deal programs and encouraged blacks to take advantage of the opportunities offered through the NYA and the Civilian Conservation Corps. Whites apparently had high regard for Mickens and depended upon her "to interpret the Negro to the white race." When speaking before interracial groups she called for "better understanding and greater cooperation between the races."[44]

These African American activists often worked together on projects and called on each other for support when needed. White, Mickens, Bethune and Armwood helped secure the home for delinquent black females; White and Armwood were delegates to the Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth chaired by Bethune in January 1939. At the Washington, D.C., conference, delegates attacked the poll tax and discrimination in the military and New Deal agencies. They were actively involved in the NAACP's national anti-lynching campaign and advocated interracial cooperation. Armwood, Bethune, and White continued their activism and humanitarian efforts until their

42. Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 83, 85, 57, 60.
43. Ibid., 60.
44. Ibid., 61-62.

deaths. Armwood died in 1939, two years after completing a law degree at Howard University. Bethune, who became a national leader, spent much of her time in the nation's capital from 1934 until her death in 1955 campaigning against racism, sexism, and discrimination. Her position in the NYA enabled her to influence policy that benefitted blacks in Florida. She played a significant role in securing recreational facilities for the black communities in Bradenton and Daytona Beach, and the Durkeeville Housing Project in Jacksonville.[45] Eartha White lived for another nineteen years after Bethune's death. In 1941 she along with Bethune supported A. Philip Randolph's threat to lead a March on Washington unless President Roosevelt issued an edict condemning discriminatory hiring practices in the nation's defense industries. Ironically, she did attend the March on Washington in August 1963. Born into a segregated society that oppressed those with dark skin, Eartha White outlived legal segregation and overt discrimination in Florida. By the time of her death in 1974, Florida society had changed considerably. The government– local, state and federal– helped provide for the needy and enforced federal laws that outlawed segregation and discrimination. She had played a part in bringing about such changes.[46]

In a sense, White linked Florida's early female activists with those of the modern civil rights movement. Through their activism these women built institutions that strengthened black communities across the state. The result was a more educated African American populace with the confidence and courage to follow in their footsteps. The Colored Women's Club movement and the examples set by Bethune, White, Hill, and Armwood, generated a new cadre of black female activists who were unafraid to challenge racism and discrimination. Their modes of operation differed considerably from earlier activists. They openly protested injustice, marched against discrimination, and were willing to go to jail to bring about change in the black community. Undoubtedly, many of them had met or had been influenced by those women who had laid the groundwork.

45. Ibid., 30, 68; 69; Mary Claire Clark, "'In Unity There is Strength': Women's Clubs in Tampa during 1920s," *Tampa Bay History* 11 (Fall/Winter 1989), 15-16.
46. Smith, "Mary McLeod Bethune," 123; Audreye Johnson, "Eartha Mary Magdalene White," in Hine, et al., eds., *Black Women in America*, 1257; Clark, "Negro Women Leaders of Florida," 69; Walch, "Sallye B. Mathis and Mary L. Singleton," 53.

In 1956, Carrie Patterson and Wilhelmina Jakes inadvertently catapulted the state of Florida into a new phase of the struggle for first class citizenship. Like Mary McLeod Bethune before them, Patterson and Jakes refused to accept southern rules. The two Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) students disobeyed a white city bus driver's order to leave the only available seats on the bus to go stand in the "colored" section. Patterson and Jakes refused to be publicly humiliated and offered to leave the bus if their fares were returned. Instead of returning their fares, the bus driver called the police, and the two young women were arrested for "placing self in position to incite a riot." Emboldened by their bravery FAMU students confronted the racist seating policy by organizing a boycott of the City Transit Company. The ultimately successful bus boycott forced the bus company to change its seating policy and thrust the Reverend C. K. Steele into the national limelight.[45]

FAMU students initiated the civil rights movement in the state capital, and black women were at the forefront. Patricia and Priscilla Stephens were especially determined in their efforts to challenge segregation. In 1959, the FAMU sophomores organized a campus branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). CORE, an interracial organization established in 1942, confronted racism using nonviolent tactics.[48] In February 1960, Patricia and Priscilla Stephens, along with nine other students (including Mary Gaines, Barbara Broxton, and Angelina Nelson), launched a sit-in at the downtown Woolworth and were arrested for "disturbing the peace and tranquility of the community and inciting a riot." On March 17, Judge John A. Rudd found the students guilty and sentenced them to sixty days in jail or a three-hundred-dollar fine. Three students appealed and were released on bonds. Three others paid the fine so that they could "carry on the fight." Patricia and Priscilla Stephens, Barbara Broxton, William Larkin, and John

47. *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 27 and 28, 1956; Glenda A. Rabby, "Out of the Past: The Civil Rights Movement in Tallahassee, Florida" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1984), 10, 21-27; Gregory B. Padgett, "C. K Steele and the Tallahassee Bus Boycott" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1977), 25-27; Gregory Padgett, "C. K. Steele, A Biography" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1994), 60-62; Leedell W. Neyland, *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University: A Centennial History– 1887-1987* (Tallahassee, 1987), 421; *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 20, 1994, May 25, 1997.

48. Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, 1984), 128-29; *St. Petersburg Times*, May 26, 1963.

Patricia and Priscilla Stephens confront police officers while picketting and boycotting stores in downtown Tallahassee in December 1960. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

Broxton chose the sixty-day jail sentence.[49] Although they missed classes and fell behind in their school work, their parents supported them. Patricia Stephens explained, "Our parents came up and offered to pay the fine. But we felt if we paid any more money to the city, we would be supporting segregation." The student activists spent forty-nine days in jail and were released on May 5, 1960. This was the first of several arrests for student activist Patricia Stephens who asserted, "when I get out, I plan to carry on this struggle. I feel that I shall be ready to go to jail again, if necessary."[50]

People across the country were impressed with the students' determination to end racism and discrimination, and with their willingness to be incarcerated in a southern jail. They gained na-

49. *Tallahassee Democrat,* February 21 and 22, March 17 and 18, 1960; *St. Petersburg Times,* May 26, 1963; Padgett, "Steele, A Biography," 169-72; Rabby, "Out of the Past," 100-104, 139.

50. *St. Petersburg Times,* May 26, 1963; Neyland, *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University,* 424; *The Southern Patriot* 19 (September 1961), 3, and Ibid., 21 (April 1963), 2.

tional attention and soon after their release embarked on a national tour. They spoke to a variety of groups including a congregation in Harlem pastored by Adam Clayton Powell. Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt welcomed them and hosted a luncheon in their honor in New York. They were also received by Jackie Robinson. More importantly, CORE presented them with the Ghandi Award for "outstanding service in the field of civil rights and human relations."[51] Patricia Stephens continued her activism, picketing and protesting in Miami and Washington, D.C. Between 1960 and 1965, Stephens, CORE, FAMU students, and white students from Florida State University and the University of Florida targeted Tallahassee's Trailways Bus Station, Neisner's, and the Florida Theater. After a long and bitter encounter the students forced the establishments to make concessions. Tallahassee lunch counters were desegregated in January 1963. After mass arrests and numerous dates with Florida judges, the Florida Theater finally integrated its facilities in 1965. The victories, however, were won at a great cost. Campus leader Patricia Stephens and fellow student Rubin Kenyon were suspended from FAMU during the 1963 fall semester. Patricia and Priscilla Stephens emerged as campus leaders and eagerly assumed prominent roles in the Tallahassee movement. They, along with hundreds of others, suffered many indignities– jail, tear gas, in addition to being spit on, called nigger, and dragged through the capital city's streets.[52] But none was as humiliating as the second-class citizenship that sentenced them to a life of inferiority.

Patricia Stephens Due continues the struggle but in a different arena. While her goals are the same as they were in the 1960s, her activism has shifted "from the street to the places of personal encounter– homes, schools, neighborhoods."[53] Other black females emerged from FAMU and other black institutions in the state as strong advocates for equal educational, political, and economic opportunities for African Americans, for women's rights, and for racial justice. They continued to work in their communities, churches, and schools and to articulate the needs and concerns of the poor and oppressed. Some took their platform for change to

51. *St. Petersburg Times,* May 26, 1963.
52. *St. Petersburg Times,* May 26, 1963; *Miami Times,* October 6 and 26, 1963; *Miami Herald,* May 31, 1963; Neyland, *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University,* 425.
53. *Tallahassee Democrat,* February 2, 1993.

the people and were elected as representatives at all levels of government.

Interestingly, women who attended FAMU a decade before Patricia and Priscilla Stephens evolved into influential leaders during the 1970s and 1980s, and took the concerns of their constituents directly to the policymakers. Gwendolyn Sawyer Cherry, Mary Littlejohn Singleton, C. Bette Wimbish, and Carrie Meek, all FAMU graduates, became outspoken advocates for women, minorities, and the poor. All were educators, and all had been victims of racism and sexism. Cherry, Singleton, Wimbish, and Meek were older and more established than the Stephens sisters. They had families and successful careers, and because of the gains of the civil and women's rights movements, were, while not necessarily welcomed, able to seek and win elected positions in city and state government.

Gwendolyn Sawyer Cherry became the first African American woman elected to the Florida legislature. Born and raised in Miami, Cherry represented Florida's 96th district. From 1970 until her untimely death in 1979, Cherry sought equal rights for women and minorities, and prison reform. She was also a strong advocate for children's rights and became a "legislative pioneer in the quest for statewide affordable child care centers."[54] A feminist, Cherry was not afraid to tackle controversial issues. She supported abortion rights, asserting that it was "a matter between a woman and her doctor." She disagreed with the 1977 United States Supreme Court decision that ruled that states were not required to pay Medicaid benefits for non-therapeutic abortions and that public hospitals did not have to provide such services. Cherry claimed the ruling discriminated against poor, particularly African American, women. She also called for prison reform, the establishment of rape centers for victims of sexual assault, and an end to capital punishment.[55] Cherry did not have Bethune's reputation or White's influential white friends, but her legacy was as important. She laid the groundwork for the African American women and men who would follow.

Carrie Meek completed Cherry's term after her death in 1979. According to Meek, "Gwen was strong: she cut a wide swath up

54. Roderick Dion Waters, "Sister Sawyer: The Life and Times of Gwendolyn Sawyer Cherry" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1994), 108.
55. Waters, "Sister Sawyer," 112-14.

State Representative Gwendolyn Sawyer Cherry, Florida's First African American female legislator. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

here. And she made it much easier for another black woman to come into the Legislature and be accepted."[56] Mary McLeod Bethune had served as Carrie Meek's heroine and role model. Meek

56. Waters, "Sister Sawyer," 220.

became friends with Bethune when she worked at Bethune-Cookman College. Though Meek "experienced extreme, rigid and very painful segregation and racism from childhood," she asserted, "I don't see myself as a victim– Carrie Meek is a fighter." Meek, a Tallahassee native, earned her stripes in the civil rights struggles in Tallahassee during the 1950s.[57]

Meek was elected to the Florida Senate in 1982. The first African American woman to serve in that body, Meek achieved another first when, in 1992, she and Corrine Brown of Jacksonville became the first African American congresswomen from Florida. Meek became an effective politician and an excellent advocate for women and minorities. She worked diligently to provide affordable housing for the poor and to improve education, and also introduced bills to aid women and minority business owners. Bethune's influence on Meek was evident in the causes that she championed.[58]

Mary Littlejohn Singleton joined Cherry in the Florida House of Representatives in 1972. She had been elected to the Jacksonville City Council in 1967 along with Sallye Mathis, the first African Americans to serve on the council for more than half a century. The Jacksonville community considered Singleton "a trailblazer and a bridge builder." In the state legislature Singleton, a former teacher, became a strong advocate for education and worked to improve race relations.[59]

C. Bette Wimbish, educator, attorney, and civil rights activist, continued the struggle against segregation and discrimination. She endured the humiliation of segregation and the hurt, anger, and helplessness of "trying to explain to her children why they could not have an ice cream cone in a downtown drugstore" in St. Petersburg.[60] Wimbish and her husband, physician Ralph Wimbish, challenged racial inequities and slights, and along with other prominent St. Petersburg blacks, provided housing for professional African American baseball players who trained in the Sunshine City as well as black entertainers. Blacks, regardless of their status, were not welcomed in the city's hotels and restaurants. Wim-

57. *Jet*, September 28, 1992, 34-37; *Time*, November 2, 1992, 46.
58. Allen Morris, *A Changing Pattern: Women in the Legislature*, 4th ed. (Tallahassee, 1991), 114-16; *Time*, November 2, 1992, 46; *Florida Flambeau*, April 30, 1979.
59. Marianna W. Davis, ed., *Contributions of Black Women to America* (Columbia, S.C., 1982), 222; *Florida Times Union*, February 1, 1991, February 9, 1992; *Tallahassee Democrat*, November 28, 1976.
60. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 9, 1998.

bish also held "sit-ins" at downtown lunch counters. "It was a very frightening experience," she recalled. "There was always the threat of shooting, beating or spitting. But it was a thing that had to be done." Crosses were burned on her lawn when she ran for a seat on the Pinellas County School Board in 1960. Undaunted by the cross burnings and her failure to gain a seat on the school board, Wimbish continued to seek means to improve conditions for blacks and to destroy segregation. In 1969 she became the first African American to serve on the St. Petersburg City Council, which enabled her to influence public policy, improve conditions in the black community, and to dismantle unfair laws. Wimbish served as vice mayor of St. Petersburg, from 1971 to 1973. Even though her bids to become an advocate at the state and national levels were unsuccessful, her most important work had already been achieved in the trenches.[61]

The historical record shows that hundreds of black women willingly and sometimes unknowingly served as active, effective, and outspoken advocates for African Americans in Florida. Whether individually or through clubs, churches, or other institutions, these women, to the best of their abilities, articulated the concerns of the poor and disabled. They fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and provided health care for the sick. In addition, they attempted to change the laws that made it nearly impossible for Florida's African Americans to enjoy the benefits of a democratic society. These female activists gave hope to many and built institutions that served and strengthened the black community. Their encouragement persuaded many to not give up, to continue to battle for access to equal education, political rights, and economic opportunities. It should be noted that whites sometimes assisted black female activists in Florida. Bethune, White, Armwood, Mickens, and Hill depended on financial contributions and support from sympathetic whites. The same was true during the more recent struggle. Patricia Stephens acknowledged white support. White students marched, demonstrated, and picketed segregated businesses, and were gassed and arrested alongside black students.[62]

61. *St. Petersburg Times,* June 28, 1970, March 18, 1979, March 9, 1998; Davis, *Contributions of Black Women to America,* 200-201; The Associated Press Political Service, AP Bios, @ (http://web.lexis-nexis . . .7c88c12517986161aa8479); *Who's Who Among African Americans,* 111th ed. (New York, 1998) @ (http//web.lexis-nexis . . . Of850bca0734c94822d2ec); *The Southern Patriot* 18 (June 1960), 2.

62. *St. Petersburg Times,* May 26, 1963; *New York Times,* April 3, 1960; *Miami Times,* October 5 and 26, 1963; *Miami Herald,* May 31, 1963.

Scores of other African American women deserve attention. Carrie Mitchell Hampton, Clara Frye, Lydia Pettis, Johnny Ruth Clarke, Olive Beatrice McLin, Mary McRae, Athalie Range, Aquilina Howell, and others emerged as leaders in their communities as doctors, nurses, educators, and business women and in the process shielded African Americans to some extent from the malignant cancer of racism. They were positive role models who encouraged race pride and provided the indomitable spirit and courage needed to continue the struggle for equal rights. African American women were the backbones of Florida's black communities.

"Is This What We Came To Florida For?": Florida Women and the Fight Against Air Pollution in the 1960s

by SCOTT HAMILTON DEWEY

Somewhere along the line the American woman is bound to make certain that the air her family breathes is clean. The American woman is not only a great factor in the stimulation of public opinion but also is a dynamic factor in helping to bring about legislation that will promote the health and welfare of her family.

Miss Chloe Gifford, president
General Federation of Womens Clubs,
November 1958[1]

An airborne irritant cost a few more women [in Jacksonville] their nylon stockings today but authorities said they were lucky they still had their health.

New York Times, February 17, 1949

Environmentalism sometimes has been characterized, and criticized, as primarily a men's movement. Most of the early conservationists were indeed men preoccupied with outdoor recre-

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1. Quoted in Edwin N. Lightfoot, "Air Pollution," in *Conservation in Florida: Study Course Prepared for the Junior Women, Florida Federation of Women's Clubs*, 8, in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (373-1), Edmund S. Muskie Collection, Edmund S. Muskie Archives, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

ation and wilderness experiences.[2] Yet beginning in the late nineteenth century, women throughout the United States took a leading role in what would become by 1970 one of the most important branches of the environmental movement– the fight against air pollution. Although women reformers were never the only group combating air pollution, they frequently were among the most numerous and radical of such early environmental activists.

Although women's early efforts on behalf of environmental causes even before the emergence of the environmental movement at the end of the 1960s have been relatively ignored, women were determined opponents of industrial air pollution, motivated by concerns over economic and aesthetic damage, and fears for the health of their families and communities. Whether or not they were aware of their predecessors, the activists of the 1960s could draw on a long tradition of female smoke-fighting stretching back to the Progressive Era and the early campaigns to make America's suddenly swollen, filthy, chaotic cities liveable. Adhering to the ethic of "civic motherhood," also known as "municipal housekeeping," turn-of-the-century reformers took the traditional women's duty to keep the home and family clean, safe, healthy, moral, and attractive and extended it to include the wider city and neighborhood. Smoke made homes and neighborhoods filthy and ugly, and was further perceived as a danger to health and even to morality. Along with such issues as playgrounds for children, sanitation, and the control of liquor, gambling, or prostitution, air pollution was an obvious target for these early female reformers. By challenging contemporary assumptions of many political and economic leaders that smoke posed no threat to health and was necessary for eco-

2. Regarding the environmental movement's allegedly excessive maleness, whiteness, middle-classness, or preoccupation with wilderness through history, see, for example, Marcy Damovsky, "Stories Less Told: Histories of US Environmentalism," *Socialist Review* 22 (October-December 1992), 11-54; Mark Dowie, *Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 14-26 and generally; William C. Tucker, *Progress and Privilege: America in the Age of Environmentalism* (Garden City, 1982); and Aaron Wildavsky, "Aesthetic Power or the Triumph of the Sensitive Minority Over the Vulgar Masses: A Political Analysis of the New Economics," in Roger Revelle and Hans H. Landsberg, eds., *America's Changing Environment* (Boston, 1970), 147-60. Of course, some women also took a strong interest in wilderness conservation, such as Florida's famous defender of the Everglades, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, author of *The Everglades: River of Grass* (New York, 1947). Women were also active in the Sierra Club and Audubon Society at the turn of the century, and Carolyn Merchant notes other early female conservationist activities in "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1900-1916," *Environmental Review* 8 (Spring 1984), 57-85. Given this record, it seems that the attack on the early conservation movement for being too male may be overdrawn.

nomic growth, the early female smoke-fighters also challenged men's grip on the reins of power in turn-of-the-century America. After 1962 and the publication of *Silent Spring,* the book that first exposed most ordinary Americans to ecological concepts and the danger of toxic chemicals, early female environmental activists could also look to the book's author, Rachel Carson, who paired traditional feminine preoccupations with the health and safety of family and community with wider ecological concerns while personally confronting the masculine realm of the scientific professions. Postwar female air pollution fighters likewise adopted the ethic of civic motherhood. These activists used the traditional feminine role as protector of the home as a foundation for environmental activism and as an indirect challenge to male authority.[3]

3. The fullest discussion of turn-of-the-century smoke control efforts in the United States and the first historical study to recognize women's crucial and relatively radical role in air pollution control is Robert Dale Grinder, "The Anti-Smoke Crusades: Early Attempts to Reform the Urban Environment, 1893-1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1973). See also Grinder, "The Battle for Clean Air: The Smoke Problem in Post-Civil War America," in Martin Melosi, ed., *Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870-1930* (Austin, 1980), 83-103; Maureen A. Flanagan, "The City Profitable, The City Livable: Environmental Policy, Gender, and Power in Chicago in the 1910s," *Journal of Urban History* 22 (January 1996), 163-90, and Harold L. Platt, "Invisible Gases: Smoke, Gender, and the Redefinition of Environmental Policy in Chicago, 1900-1920," *Planning Perspectives* 10 (January 1995), 67-97. There are few if any studies discussing the role of women in air pollution control after the Second World War. For more general background on women's early participation in other environmental battles, see also Suellen M. Hoy, "'Municipal Housekeeping': The Role of Women in Improving Urban Sanitation Practices, 1880-1917," in Melosi, ed., *Pollution and Reform in American Cities,* 173-98; Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1900-1916," 57-85; and Raymond W. Smilor, "Toward an Environmental Perspective: The Anti-Noise Campaign, 1893-1932," in Melosi, ed., *Pollution and Reform in American Cities,* 135-51. Regarding the notion of "civic motherhood" and its relation to environmental and other reforms, see Grinder, "The Anti-Smoke Crusades," 22, 33, 95-102. For more general information on the ideology of civic motherhood and women's participation in reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family* in *America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York, 1980), 279-361; Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (New Brunswick, 1990), 1-23; and Anne Firor Scott, "Women's Voluntary Associations: From Charity to Reform," in McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited,* 44-46 and generally. For a helpful discussion of women's participation in the environmental movement since 1970, see generally Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the* Spring: *The Transfbmation of the American Environmental Movement* (Covelo, Calif., 1993). Regarding Rachel Carson, her beliefs, and her defiance of male scientists or her status as an inspiration for later ecofeminists, see Linda Lear, *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature* (New York, 1997), 259-60, 429-30, and generally; Mary A. McCoy, *Rachel Carson* (New York, 1993), 106-107; and Carol B. Gartner, *Rachel Carson* (New York, 1983), 17-18 and generally.

Florida women joined in this postwar activism, becoming aggressive advocates for air pollution control in Jacksonville, Miami, and the central Florida phosphate belt, where serious pollution threatened injury to health as, well as economic and aesthetic damage. Despite a common tendency to view environmentalism as a hobby of the affluent, and despite the fact that middle-class clubwomen with greater leisure opportunities and resources traditionally dominated women's political and social reform movements in the United States, working-class Florida women from a poor, blighted neighborhood in Jacksonville fought air pollution along with senior citizens and middle-class clubwomen from other parts of the state. Rallying to the defense of home, family, and community, these women persisted in their efforts despite often substantial resistance from business and government in an aggressively pro-business, pro-development state that cavalierly traded environmental quality for jobs and industrial growth during the early decades after World War II. Although such stubborn opposition to clean-up brought long, frustrating delays in pollution control, the efforts of Florida women to mobilize their neighbors and put pressure on public officials kept the issue from being swept aside during the years before the major surge in nationwide public environmental awareness and governmental action around 1970.[4]

By the 1960s after several decades of mostly frantic and unregulated economic and demographic growth, the state of Florida was beset with many serious environmental problems that threatened to undo many of the special attributes that had made it seem a tropical paradise to so many Americans. For instance, expansion of residential development, tourist facilities, and agriculture destroyed habitat of the peninsula's exotic flora and fauna. As early as 1929, naturalist John Kunkel Small bemoaned the "wholesale devestation of the plant covering, through carelessness, thoughtlessness, and vandalism [that was] everywhere apparent" and predicted that "the future of North America's most prolific para-

4. For background on Florida's rapid, sometimes reckless industrialization, see Raymond F. Dasmann, *No Further Retreat: The Fight to Save Florida* (New York, 1971), 52; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 271-78, 409-410, 416-18; Michael Gannon, *Florida: A Short History* (Gainesville, 1993), 47, 61, 85; David Nolan, *Fifty Feet in Paradise: The Booming of Florida* (New York, 1984), 118; and Charles I. Harding, Samuel B. McKee, and Jean J. Schueneman, *A Report on Florida's Air Resources* (Jacksonville, 1961), 28. For relevant background on the similar patterns of industrialization and economic development in the South following the Civil War, see generally James C. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Lexington, 1984).

dise seems to spell DESERT." Fellow naturalist Thomas Barbour in 1944 characterized the state as "a vanishing Eden" in his book of that name. By the postwar period, the threats to wildlife and habitat from development had grown exponentially. The Everglades and other wetland areas faced injury from residential construction or agricultural use, road building, diversion of fresh water for residential or agricultural consumption, and proposed major construction projects such as the Cross-Florida Barge Canal or the Miami Jetport. Coastal saltwater marshes and mangrove swamps were dredged and filled to make building sites for more seaside homes or resorts, and coastal marine life and coral reefs were threatened by urban sewage, oil pollution, or even the thermal pollution from the new Turkey Point nuclear generating station. Meanwhile, the state's population continued to explode, more than doubling between 1950 and 1970, and tourists continued to throng Florida's beaches and other scenic or recreational attractions. As with the nation's other tropical paradise, Hawaii, Americans and foreign visitors threatened to love Florida to death.[5]

Along with development pressures threatening scenic and recreational resources, mostly in the more exotic southern part of the state, Florida also faced industrial pollution problems more typical of other states oriented toward resource extraction. Northern counties suffered serious water pollution from an almost totally unregulated paper pulp industry that severely contaminated streams and rivers. In the phosphate belt of central Florida, mining and processing operations created storage ponds full of sludge or acidic wastes that ruined rivers and killed fish when impoundment dams periodically broke. In its desperation to gain industry and jobs, Florida classified certain waterways as "industrial rivers," essentially turning them into sewers into which virtually unlimited quantities of industrial effluent could be dumped with impunity. Meanwhile, state authorities hesitated to take action against pollut-

5. Quotations from C. Richard Tillis, "The Spaceship Earth," in W. Ross McCluney, ed., *The Environmental Destruction of South Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 5-6. For a good overview of the threats to Florida's special ecosystems in the 1960s, see generally McCluney, ed., *The Environmental Destruction of South Florida,* and Dasmann, *No Further Retreat: The Fight to Save Florida.* For an interesting, impressive study of urban growth in Florida and efforts to manage it properly, see generally R. Bruce Stephenson, *Visions of Eden: Environmentalism, Urban Planning,* and *City Building in St. Petersburg, Florida, 1900-1995* (Columbus, 1997). Stephenson notes a sudden change in Florida policy from nearly pure boosterism to a new environmental awareness and sense of ecological limits in development policy during the early 1970s. See pp. 143-48.

ing industries. Florida's fresh water and coastal environments were further threatened with contamination by runoff of pesticides and fertilizer from agricultural operations. Like other mining operations throughout the nation, the Florida phosphate industry simply dumped mining spoil into sterile heaps next to the excavations, leaving a blasted and useless landscape, though significant progress was made on reclaiming mined areas during the 1960s.[6]

In addition to these other, better-known environmental problems, parts of Florida suffered from serious air pollution. By far the worst such situation existed in the phosphate belt. During the postwar years up to 1970, air pollution was often wrongly presumed to be strictly a big-city problem. Yet between 1948 and 1970, the phosphate industry in rural central Florida, which processed raw minerals into chemical fertilizer and released large amounts of fluorides and sulfur oxides into the air, caused serious damage to surrounding cattle ranchers and citrus farmers, and provoked bitter complaints from other residents. This industry, located mostly in Polk and Hillsborough Counties to the east of Tampa, became the most serious air polluter in Florida and one of the most notorious in the nation.[7]

The emergence of a major extractive industry monopolized by a handful of large, powerful corporations could not help but greatly alter the culture of a mostly rural area traditionally devoted to raising cattle and citrus fruit. For many local citizens in Polk and Hillsborough Counties, however, the most crucial change had begun, almost unnoticed, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when phosphate mining companies began to branch out into the chemical processing of fertilizer. Traditionally, the extraction, separa-

6. Regarding the paper industry and the industrial stream classification, see David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens* (San Francisco, 1994), 371-79. Regarding the water pollution and land reclamation problems of the phosphate industry, see Arch Frederic Blakey, *The Florida Phosphate Industry: A History of the Development and Use of a Vital Mineral* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 113-21.

7. The air pollution problem of the central Florida phosphate belt became so serious and notorious that it was included on the agenda for 1964 United States Senate field hearings on air pollution as the only rural area among better-known urban problem areas such as Los Angeles, Denver, Chicago, and New York City. Later, in 1969, when *Life* magazine reflected the growing national anxiety over the environment by publishing shocking photographs of some of the nation's most notorious air pollution problems, central Florida was again featured along with the big cities. See "Air Pollution," *Life*, February 7, 1969 38-50. For helpful background on the development of the Florida phosphate industry, see Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry*, 9-14, 19-20, 25-27, 34-35, 39, 56, 60-75, 90-97, 100-104; Lewis D. Harris, "The Florida Phosphate Industry and Air Pollution" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1967), 7-14.

tion, and crushing of mineral phosphates had produced dust and spoil but little else, and the product was shipped elsewhere without further chemical refining. However, after 1948, when the Armour Agricultural Chemical Company opened the first local chemical fertilizer plant and sulfuric acid plant for producing superphosphate, a compound with more usable phosphorous, and phosphoric acid for making triple superphosphate, the phosphate industry's emissions to the air and water grew progressively more complex and damaging to local residents.[8]

In addition to requiring treatment with acid to unlock more available phosphate ions than could be gotten from unprocessed phosphate rock, the Florida deposits also contained significant amounts of fluoride that had to be removed before nourishing phosphates could be released. The various sulfur and nitrogen oxide byproducts of the chemical processing of phosphates were potentially harmful when released into the environment, but even more damaging to local residents were the fluoride emissions released during the processing, drying, and curing of phosphates. Fluorides from the phosphate processing plants were emitted as dusts or gases to blow freely through the surrounding countryside, with the chemically active fluorine atoms in them ready to react anew with whatever they contacted.[9]

Airborne fluorides were not only a potentially serious human health hazard if present in high enough concentrations; they also

8. Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry*, 94-95, 108-109; Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources*, 22. Harding et al. attribute the phosphate mining companies' decision to move into chemical processing to increased freight rates following World War II.

9. Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry*, 9-12, 94-95, 108-109; Harris, "Florida Phosphate Industry and Air Pollution," 2-4, 27-35; Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources*, 22-27; *Florida Health Notes*, Special Edition, "Clean Water– Clean Air," 48 (December 1956), 221, in file "Florida (Polk County)," U.S. Public Health Service, Air Pollution Engineering Branch: Correspondence, 1959-1960, RG 90, Accession Number NN3-090-91-003, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [hereafter NA] Since fluorine is one of the most chemically active elements, it is almost invariably found in compounds with other elements known generically as fluorides. The phosphates in Florida's natural phosphate deposits are rendered largely unusable due to the presence of fluorine, which bonds very tightly to the tricalcium phosphates, making them insoluble in water and hence unavailable to plants and animals, causing stunted growth and reproductive difficulties. A process known as beneficiation involves breaking the relatively insoluble tricalcium phosphate structure into more water-soluble monocalcium phosphates and removing the fluoride. Phosphates are also used for many purposes other than fertilizer; see the Florida Phosphate Council's pamphlet, *Phosphate: Florida's Hidden Blessing– Mineral of Life* (Lakeland, 1966).

proved harmful to many of the traditional mainstays of the local economy of central Florida, including cattle ranching, citrus growing, truck farming, and the raising of gladiolus flowers.[10] Hardest hit in central Florida's Polk and Hillsborough Counties were the major livestock and citrus industries, although at first, few knew what was afflicting their livelihoods. In 1949, Florida was one of the largest cattle-producing states in the nation, and Polk County had more cattle than any other county in Florida. Florida was also the nation's leading supplier of oranges, limes, lemons, and grapefruit, and Polk was square in the center of the state's great citrus belt, producing a quarter of the state's citrus crop and sixteen percent of the nation's citrus during the 1950s. However, by that time, Polk County was also the center of the nation's phosphate industry. Florida alone produced nearly eighty-six percent of the nation's phosphates and thirty percent of the world total. The great majority of this activity was squeezed into an area about twenty-five miles wide and thirty miles long centered on the town of Bartow and including towns such as Lakeland and Mulberry in western Polk County, as well as slivers of Hillsborough County to the west and Manatee County to the southwest. Central Floridians would soon learn that the traditional economic mainstays and the newcomer really did not mix, as citrus leaves and fruit failed to develop properly while cattle sickened and starved from fluorine poisoning. Although it took a few years before scientists realized the connection with the phosphate industry's fluoride emissions, by the early 1950s, state citrus experts and veterinary researchers at universities in Florida and Georgia had found this link.[11]

10. Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry,* 109; Harris, "Florida Phosphate Industry and Air Pollution," 40. For further information on the effects of fluorides on animal, plant, and human health, see generally National Research Council Committee on Biologic Effects of Atmospheric Pollutants, *Fluorides* (Washington, D.C., 1971); National Research Council Subcommittee on Fluorosis, *Effects of Fluorides in Animals* (Washington, D.C., 1974); National Research Council Subcommittee on Health Effects of Ingested Fluoride, *Health Effects of Ingested Fluoride* (Washington; D.C., 1993).

11. Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry,* 108-109; Harris, "Florida Phosphate Industry and Air Pollution," 14, 40-45; Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources,* 42-44; Statement of Donald S. McLean, in U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, 88th Cong., 2d Sess., *Clean Air: Field Hearings Held on Progress and Program Relating to the Abatement of Air Pollution,* Tampa, Florida, February 20, 1964 (Washington, D.C., 1964) [hereafter 1964 *Senate Field Hearings],* 779, 792-93; Thomas D. Crocker, "Some Economic Aspects of Air Pollution Control With Special Reference to Polk County, Florida" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin– Milwaukee, 1968), 64, 72.

As they came to comprehend the extent of the pollution, local citizens mobilized to confront and abate the threat. A citizens' committee comprised of afflicted ranchers, large and small citrus growers, and other residents concerned about potential health risks or unhappy over damage ranging from ruined ornamental plants to corroded television aerials and car roofs formed in Polk County during the early 1950s, documented evidence of fluorine damage, and presented it to state and local authorities by 1954.[12] In 1955, as a result of their agitation, the state legislature created an interim committee to investigate the many public complaints about industrial air pollution in central Florida. After numerous public hearings between 1955 and 1957, this committee issued a report to the state legislature recommending that it establish a state air pollution control commission with authority to enact all needed control regulations, while state health officials began a limited program of sampling for atmospheric sulfur oxides and fluorides in central Florida. On June, 18, 1957, the state legislature passed a law creating the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission (APCC), a panel of nine (later ten) members representing government, industry, and the general public to hear and take action on complaints about air pollution in the state in conjunction with the State Board of Health. Chronic polluters were to be warned and given a chance to correct their problems voluntarily; however, if such "conference, conciliation, and persuasion" did not work within a given

12. The aggrieved agricultural producers in the phosphate belt included not only major landowners with extensive cattle or citrus holdings, but also smaller operators, such as Jane H. May, a retired schoolteacher with a six-acre orange grove, and Faye Dobbs and her husband, who had no irrigation system for their modest-sized citrus grove and had to try to water it by bucket during droughts. The expansion of Florida citrus production earlier in the twentieth century had led smaller landowners to join their wealthier neighbors in commercial citrus raising. Similarly, while the ranchers tended to be relatively wealthy, large landowners, there was variation in this, too, with some smaller landowners probably operating smaller, more marginal beef cattle-raising or dairying operations. Individual homeowners were also upset by the industrial emissions. See Jane H. May to United States Senator Edmund S. Muskie, February 23, 1964, U.S. Senate: Senate Office (1005-8), Muskie Collection; A. B. Howell and S. Opal Howell to Senator Muskie, February 20, 1964, in ibid.; "Exhibit Number 1 [Statement of Mrs. W. A. Dobbs]," in "Transcript: Proceedings of Hearings– Possible Effect of Fluorides on Citrus– before the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, Lakeland, Florida, June 2-3, 1966," in file "OCC: Florida Air Pollution Commission," Records of the National Center for Air Pollution Control, 1967-1968, RG 90, Accession Number 70-A-4011, NA [hereafter NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC"].

time, the APCC could give an incorrigible polluter a final ultimatum backed with the threat of a court injunction against all further violations.[13]

After Governor Leroy Collins appointed the first commissioners in September 1957, unhappy residents of Polk County quickly called for the creation of an air pollution control district in the phosphate belt. By March 1958, the commission had created Florida's first air pollution control district, which covered Polk County. In July 1959, a similar district was created for Hillsborough County, and on June 10, 1960, these two districts were merged to form the Polk-Hillsborough County Air Pollution Control District, which for several years was the only one in the state. State authorities also set fluoride emissions standards and other regulations on the phosphate mills.[14]

Like their counterparts in other states during the 1950s and 1960s Florida officials proved reluctant to confront a powerful polluting industry bringing jobs and tax revenue to the state. The recurrent cries of local citizens for protection from the pollution brought soothing responses but little action. During the late 1950s the federal government also participated in some limited preliminary investigations into health effects on livestock and phosphate workers, and general impacts on the local community and economy. Federal officials found enough evidence to suggest a potentially serious, chronic problem, but in an era of limited federal funding for environmental purposes and jealously guarded states' rights, federal officials did little to follow up on their findings. Nevertheless, local citizens continued to demand action, complaining

13. Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry*, 110; Crocker, "Some Economic Aspects of Air Pollution Control," 240; Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources*, 52; *Florida Health Notes*, 221-22; Statement of Edwin N. Lightfoot in *1964 Senate Field Hearings*, 742; Statement of Robert W. Rutledge in ibid., 808; "Polk-Hillsborough," undated report from around December 20, 1963, based on Harding et al., in file "Cooperation 2– Florida," U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Air Pollution, Subject Files, 1963-1964, RG 90, Accession Number 67-A-1655, NA [hereafter DAP 1963-64, file "Cooperation 2– Florida"].

14. Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry*, 110; Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources*, 52; Statement of Edwin N. Lightfoot, 742; Statement of Robert W. Rutledge, 808; Herman F. Steele to Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, October 19, 1957, and attached Resolution of Florida Citrus Mutual, in DAP 1963-64, file "Cooperation 2– Florida."

directly to federal officials as they lost faith in getting any response from their state government.[15]

One of the leading citizen activists against the local pollution plague, and probably the most persistent, was Harriet N. Lightfoot, a senior citizen and wife of a retired engineer. She began a new career as a community environmental activist as the "chairman" of the local Women's Club's Community Improvement and Air Pollution Committees and of the Division of Health of the Chamber of Commerce of Lakeland. When the Polk County Citizens' Committee on Air Pollution was founded in 1954, Lightfoot headed its Division of Health. From the late 1950s to the 1960s, as once-hopeful citizens became increasingly frustrated with the state's inaction, Lightfoot led the charge, prodding state and federal authorities to act. During the 1960s, she launched a one-woman letter-writing campaign to prevent state officials from ignoring the air pollution issue. For instance, in 1963, in a furious letter to the state APCC, Lightfoot complained of "various times during the past three months when the air was so bad that I just could not be out in it." She reported how she had repeatedly suffered "severe burning of the eyes and skin" causing "excruciating pain" requiring medical attention due to acidic phosphate plant emissions. "Gentlemen," she asked, "if this air contamination can do this to one's skin, what does it do to one's lungs? I came here nineteen years and some months ago to enjoy the fresh air and sunshine; but for the past

15. "Visit to Florida Board of Health, Division of Industrial Hygiene," memo from Harry Heimann, M.D., April 17, 1957, in file "Florida Air 3-1-1," U.S. Public Health Service, Air Pollution Engineering Branch, Correspondence, 1959-1960, RG 90, Accession Number NN3-090-91-003, NA [hereafter APEB 1959-60, file "Florida Air 3-1-1"]; "Division of Special Health Services– Air Pollution Medical Program: Trip Report," memo from Harry Heimann, April 25, 1957, in file "721.3– to Florida," U.S. Public Health Service, Air Pollution Medical Program, Project Records, 1955-1960, RG 90, Accession Number NN3-090-91-003, NA; U.S. Public Health Service Occupational Health Program and Florida State Board of Health, *Industrial Hygiene Survey of the Phosphate Industry in Polk County, Florida* (Washington, D.C., 1958), 1, 4, 5, 17, and generally; "Trip Report– Lakeland, Florida– July 24-26, 1957," memo from C. Stafford Brandt to Arthur C. Stern, July 31, 1957, in APEB 1959-60, file "Florida Air 3-1-1"; "Trip Report (A. C. Stern and C. S. Brandt)– Tampa, Florida– February 27-28, 1958," memo from Arthur C. Stern to Harry G. Hanson, March 7, 1958, in ibid.; letter and livestock inspection report from Dr. Norman L. Garlick, D.V.M., June 2, 1958, 4-7, in ibid.; Edwin N. Lightfoot to Assistant Surgeon General Mark D. Hollis, with attached "Proposed Outline of the Polk County Air Pollution Control Study," August 8, 1958, in ibid.; Lightfoot to Hollis, November 5, 1958, in ibid.; John H. Dewell to Harry G. Hensen [sic], January 26, 1959, in ibid.

eight years I have been forced to stay indoors when the wind comes from the phosphate processing plants." She concluded urgently, "I must insist upon your cooperation to stop this evil which descends upon our unsuspecting citizens from the phosphate processing plants."[16]

When this letter brought no meaningful result, Lightfoot wrote Governor Farris Bryant to urge him to request help from the federal government. The angry citizen activist alleged that by lifting injunction warnings on various phosphate plants, allegedly without due process or public notice, the Florida APCC was still treating the phosphate industry gently while disregarding the rights and needs of local citizens. She also reported that the past summer had been "the worst in our history as far as air pollution is concerned. . . . Plants, flowers and trees were killed. People were coughing and sneezing and suffering head pains and sore throats. . . . A health officer told me that one doctor alone treated eleven patients for nose bleed and spitting up blood in a day, yet nothing seems to be done to relieve this situation." Noting that her physicians had told her "not to go out unless I was completely covered from head to foot when the wind blows from the Phosphate plants," she asked angrily, "Is this what we cam[e] to Florida for, to be steamed to death in the hot summer, with temperature ninety-five in the shade and no shade, robed in mummy fashion to keep from getting burned by Sulfuric Acid?" Sounding a note of warning for a state still heavily economically reliant on tourism and emigration from colder northern climes, Lightfoot continued, "Friends have written me that they were coming to see us and I had to write and tell them that this was no place to visit until the Air Pollution was controlled."[17]

After receiving a hollow note of reassurance from state control authorities that everything was well in hand, Lightfoot again wrote the governor. Referring to the letter from the state Department of Health, she pointed out that while the phosphate industry was "spending millions in correcting this, pollution," they were "spend-

16. Harriett A. Lightfoot to Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, August 13, 1963, in NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC"; Harriett Lightfoot to United States Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, February 11, 1964, in ibid.; Senator Edmund S. Muskie to Mrs. E. N. Lightfoot, June 11, 1964, U.S. Senate: Senate Office (98-9), Muskie Collection.

17. Harriett Lightfoot to Florida Governor Farris Bryant, October 12, 1963, in NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC."

ing many more millions in constructing new and larger plants and the emissions as a whole are far greater than they were." Contrary to state officials' claim that bringing fluorides under control had revealed previously unsuspected trouble from sulfur oxides, Lightfoot denied that the fluoride emissions were under control and further declared, "The State Board of Health has been aware of the sulfur oxides for years." In her frustration, she charged that even the Soviet Union more adequately shielded its citizens from sulfur oxides and alleged that the phosphate industry was receiving special protection from local and state authorities. Warning of the serious losses to local citrus and cattle operations, Lightfoot then appealed to the traditional male self-image as protector of supposedly helpless women. She urged Bryant to act on behalf of his people, and particularly women, echoing an earlier dramatic incident in Jacksonville: "You are the father of our state and we want you to help us, we need it. I was told that ladies wearing nylon stockings have experienced destruction of their nylons during an air pollution attack in Bartow and Mulberry." She concluded by arguing that since the federal government was offering financial help and the State Board of Health was always pleading poverty as an excuse for their inactivity, there was every reason to request federal intervention. At the time, such overleaping of 1950s' notions of states' rights remained a relatively radical proposal.[18]

Lightfoot also wrote to United States Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Having heard Kennedy on television discussing how the United States Constitution guaranteed all citizens equal protection under the law and other issues connected with the growing civil rights movement, the Florida clubwoman decided that this federal protection against the taking of life or property without due process must also apply to citizens facing air pollution from the phosphate plants. Recounting the limited accomplishments of state authorities and enclosing copies of earlier correspondence, she pleaded on behalf of the air pollution victims who were not receiving equal protection under the law:

> [M]any of the farmers, citrus growers, and cattle people, are poor people, made poor by the vicious fumes from the

18. David B. Lee to Mrs. E. N. Lightfoot, November 1, 1963, and Lightfoot to Governor Bryant, February 10, 1964, both in NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC."

> processing plants. Some are helpless widows, who were left well provided for by their departed husbands; but are becoming destitute. Some are old people whose life's savings are in their land, which now is worthless, because the fumes distroy its growing power. . . . There is much illness among these people of the "Golden Triangle" as the area around the phosphate plants is known. . . . Can these plants continue to distroy the livelihood of our citizens?

In going over the heads of inactive state officials by appealing directly to the attorney general, Lightfoot was typical of many other citizens throughout the nation complaining about air pollution at this time. Also like them, she merely got a polite explanation from the federal authorities that under the Clean Air Act of 1963, they could intervene in intrastate pollution situations only with the permission of state authorities, which was seldom forthcoming.[19]

Undaunted, Lightfoot mobilized her neighbors to demand action from state authorities. In February 1966, acting as president of the Polk Federation of Women's Clubs and division chairman of Clean Air Environment of the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs, she presented to state officials a petition she and the local women's clubs had circulated demanding stricter control. The petition's excessively polite wording reflected both the uncertain position of women acting in the still largely male-dominated realm of public policy, as well as the frustrating situation of ordinary citizens relying on technical experts to define and address a scientifically complicated issue. It read:

> We respectfully request that you take immediate and resolute action to prevent and abate the acid gases, fumes, chemicals, and toxic particles which are continuously be-

19. Harriett Lightfoot to United States Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, February 11, 1964, and Vernon G. MacKenzie to Harriett Lightfoot, March 30, 1964, both in NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC." For further examples of concerned citizens nationwide who requested help from the federal government and were politely reminded of the limited federal role in air pollution control before 1970, see Emma Kai (New York City) to Senator Edmund S. Muskie, September 21, 1966, U.S. Senate: Senate Office (595-1); Rose Owen (Philadelphia) to Muskie, March 24, 1969, U.S. Senate: Senate Office (765-1); Henry A. Kreutzer (North Carolina) to Muskie, July 28, 1969, U.S. Senate: Senate Office (764-10); Thomas A. True (Louisiana) to Muskie, U.S. Senate: Senate Office (625-11); all in the Muskie Collection.

> ing spilled into the air in the Polk-Hillsborough Air Pollution Control District, at an enormous rate, especially in the Western part of Polk County. . . . We do not know what steps should be taken to control this menace. However, as experts on the air pollution and charged with the responsibility under the laws of this State of Florida to control it we respectfully request your help.

This gentle language belied the depth of feeling among the many unhappy citizens in the area about the air pollution scourge. By early February, 3,000 local residents had signed the petition; within a few weeks, Lightfoot could claim 5,000 signatures, and several hundred more citizens would add their support during the following months.[20]

During 1966, Lightfoot also continually pressured state air pollution control officials to resist the influence of the powerful phosphate industry and to seek federal intervention. She also gathered letters from local citizens suffering serious injury from phosphate industry emissions and repeatedly brought this evidence of state officials' nonfeasance before meetings of the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission. Of one hard-hit family, Lightfoot observed, "These people are poor, they feel helpless, the fumes are making them physically and psychologically ill." Because the alleged complainants had not come to him directly, one annoyed control official charged Lightfoot with manufacturing complaints. Lightfoot obligingly submitted a further signed statement indicating a pattern of unresponsiveness and non-enforcement that was driving citizens to despair of contacting the authorities.[21]

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20. Harriet Lightfoot to the Florida State Board of Health and the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, February 11, 1966, in NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC"; Harriett Lightfoot to Vernon G. MacKenzie, May 14, 1966, in ibid.
21. Harriet Lightfoot to the Florida State Board of Health and the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, February 11, 1966, in NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC"; "Minutes– Meeting of the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, Tampa, Florida, April 15, 1966," 2-9, in ibid.; Harriett A. Lightfoot to the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, April 15, 1966, included as Addendum Number 8 in "Minutes– Meeting of the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, April 15, 1966," 13, in ibid.; K. K. Huffstutler to Harriett Lightfoot, May 31, 1966, in ibid.; W. R. Lamb to the Florida State Board of Health and the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, June 3, 1966, included as Addendum Number 2 in "Minutes– Meeting of the Florida Air Pollution Control Commission, Lakeland, Florida, June 3, 1966," in ibid.

Throughout 1966, Lightfoot also persistently sought help from federal officials. Late that year, she notified Vernon MacKenzie, director of the Division of Air Pollution in the United States Public Health Service, that she planned to be in Washington, D.C., for the Third National Conference on Air Pollution that was to begin on December 12, 1966. She begged MacKenzie to grant her a private audience to discuss the situation in central Florida. There is no indication of what exactly Lightfoot hoped to accomplish– whether she merely hoped to impress upon the federal official the severity of the local problem, as she had already tried to do through letters, or had more sophisticated plans– and there is no evidence that MacKenzie ever met with her, although as an official who apparently tended to be more sympathetic with the public in air pollution disputes than some federal bureaucrats, MacKenzie may even have granted her wish. As long as federal law prohibited federal intervention in intrastate air pollution control without a formal invitation from a state governor, MacKenzie remained unable to offer much help.[22]

Other local women also took action. In a letter of April 10, 1959, addressed to the non-existent "U. S. Department of Public Health," Jane H. May of Plant City complained bitterly and asked for federal help. Identifying herself as "a retired school teacher, living on land homesteaded by my parents many years ago," she noted the "serious damage to adjoining farms and groves from the nearby phosphate plant" that had ruined her own orange grove and harmed the health of local residents. "Many residents of the area have been ill or even hospitalized from the amount of fluorine dust in the air," she concluded. "I, personally, have been under a doctor's care for many months due to dust allergies from same. . . . May we expect some action from your department concerning this serious and increasingly grave economic and health hazard?" May's complaint may have been part of a small orchestrated neighborhood campaign against phosphate industry pollu-

22. Harriett Lightfoot to Vernon G. MacKenzie, May 14, 1966, in NCAPC 1967-68, file "OCC: Florida APC"; MacKenzie to Lightfoot, May 27, 1966, in ibid.; undated, handwritten letter from Lightfoot to MacKenzie, late 1966, in ibid.

tion, for on the same date that she wrote her letter, A. B. Howell and his wife, Opal, neighbors of May's, wrote a similar letter, also addressed to the "U. S. Department of Public Health." May joined various neighbors in filing a lawsuit against a nearby phosphate plant after "conferences, phone calls, letters to the various authorities. All to no avail." This suit remained unresolved in early 1964, and damage continued. As May complained, "The company claims to have installed the most expensive equipment to prevent the escape of gases. The local men tell us confidentially, of course, after a period of leaf damage that they had not used the equipment in a rush of orders. This happens over and over. We call, or write the authorities and we get no relief. Last week things were burned, and we could hardly breathe from the fumes." Noting further health impacts, she claimed that she was economically trapped in the shadow of the phosphate mills: "I spent two years under the care of a throat specialist with weekly treatments and now can only live here with costly medication. I know you wonder why we do not sell and move away. We have tried and it means giving the place away. Anyone who could afford to pay knows that the mine has made it wor [t]hless." [23]

May and her neighbors' pleas to federal officials for an "impartial investigation" indicates that they, too, had despaired of getting action out of their state' government, but they, like Lightfoot, were disappointed to receive the standard federal response. Lightfoot, May, and their neighbors continued to suffer from heavy phosphate industry emissions into the late 1960s, when increasingly successful private lawsuits– mostly settled out of court– and growing pressure from the federal government prodded Florida and the phosphate industry toward more rapid progress. Though the state and industry proclaimed victory over the phosphate belt's air pol-

23. Jane H. May, April 10, 1959, in file "Florida– AP/61," U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Air Pollution, Subject Files, RG 90, Accession Number 65-A-0286, NA [hereafter DAP 1961-62, file "Florida-AP/61"]; A. B. Howell and S. Opal Howell, April 10, 1959, in ibid.; Jane H. May to United States Senator Edmund S. Muskie, February 23, 1964, and A. B. Howell and S. Opal Howell to Senator Muskie, February 20, 1964, both in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (1005-8), Muskie Collection.

lution problem by 1970, it had taken a painful fifteen years of unending public activism to get there.[24]

Jacksonville traditionally had the largest concentration of population and industry in Florida before Miami and Tampa rocketed ahead of it during the 1940s and 1950s and it was correspondingly early in showing the air pollution typical of other good-sized American industrial towns and regional transportation hubs. While Jacksonville had little of the heavy metallurgical industry that befouled

24. Blakey, *Florida Phosphate Industry,* 111-12, 139; Crocker, "Some Economic Aspects of Air Pollution Control," 236-40, 243-53; Harris, "Florida Phosphate Industry and Air Pollution," 66-68, 87-93; Thomas F. Williams to Jane H. May, April 29, 1959, in DAP 1961-62, file "Florida-AP/61"; Williams to A. B. Howell, April 29, 1959, in ibid.; "Trip Report– Tampa, Florida– March 30th-April 3, 1959," memo from August T. Rossano, Jr. to Arthur C. Stern, April 16, 1959, in APEB 1959-60, file "Florida Air 3-1-1"; "Air Pollution in Florida," memo from Ralph C. Graber, May 15, 1959, in ibid.; Robert H. Taylor to Senator Muskie, March 16, 1964; and Edward A. Bosarge, esq., to Senator Muskie, June 4, 1964, both in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (1005-8), Muskie Collection; "Courts May Decide Florida's Phosphate Industry Pollution Issue," *Air/Water Pollution Report* 2 (Monday, June 15, 1964), in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (99-4), Muskie Collection.

It is difficult to get precise information on specific lawsuits over air pollution in the phosphate belt. The sources that discuss the topic, such as Blakey, Crocker, or Harris, do not refer to any specific court cases concerning air pollution, save one abortive action brought by state officials. *American Jurisprudence 2d* and the *West Law* series cited no significant Florida cases regarding phosphate industry air pollution. A review of the *Southern Reporter 2d* and the *Florida Supplement* similarly produced no significant court decisions or precedents regarding the phosphate industry's aerial emissions in cases in which a phosphate processor was named as either defendant or plaintiff between the late 1940s and the early 1970s. Any significant legal precedents regarding air pollution that emerged from Florida concerned other industries besides phosphates, though the precedents had implications for the phosphate industry as well. Most significant was *State of Florida ex rel. Shevin v. Tampa Electric Company,* Florida Appeals, 291 So. 2d. 45, a decision rendered in the Second District Court of Appeal of Florida on January 16, 1974, and later upheld by the Florida Supreme Court. Apparently, most phosphate cases never got this far in the legal process. Crocker, in his dissertation, notes that by the later 1960s, phosphate companies began regularly settling air pollution cases and purchasing the land of plaintiffs to avoid likely losses in court trials, with the support of state air pollution officials. See Crocker, "Some Economic Aspects of Air Pollution Control," 236-40, 256-52. Florida gradually stiffened its overall pollution control effort by the later 1960s and early 1970s with the establishment of a combined, stronger Air and Water Pollution Control Commission in 1967 and the creation in 1971 of an even larger, more powerful new State Department of Pollution Control. By the late 1960s, states such as Florida were being pushed by the federal government to take more meaningful action on air pollution, culminating in Congress's passage of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970 (P.L. 91-604), which finally gave the federal government direct authority to intervene in intrastate air pollution problems without state officials' permission if state control efforts were inadequate.

the skies of the steel towns near the Great Lakes, it had become a regional center of the wood products and paper industries. By 1959, Florida's daily woodpulp production surpassed that of Washington State to become the largest in the nation and a Florida industry second only to tourism. The state's giant pulp mills accounted for one tenth of the nation's production capacity, and a number of them were near Jacksonville. These, along with significant food processing, chemical production, and shipbuilding operations, brought numerous industrial jobs and smokestacks to town. It was in Jacksonville where, in a graphic demonstration of the potential seriousness of local air pollution, women on their way to work one morning early in 1949 first found their nylon stockings dissolving from sulfuric acid-laden soot emitted by a local industrial boiler.[25]

By 1960, when state officials were preparing the first *Report on Florida's Air Resources,* Jacksonville already had a complex air pollution problem. Local industries were major contributors. Hydrogen sulfide and other contaminants from two large paper pulp mills on the northern side of town provoked frequent public complaints of noxious odors and damage to paint. Jacksonville also had two large phosphate fertilizer plants of the sort causing such trouble in central Florida, and these, along with their related sulfuric acid plants, emitted dust, odors, and corrosive gases leading to human physical discomfort, metal corrosion, window etching, paint discoloration, and other damage to vegetation and materials. An oil reclaiming plant and large petroleum tank farms, in addition to other industrial concerns, suffered significant evaporative losses and contributed to the overall problem.[26]

By 1960, the city had more than 200,000 inhabitants, and the population of surrounding Duval County numbered 455,411, making it the second most populous county behind Miami's Dade County. Jacksonville also had the standard pollution sources of any large population center in America at the time. Three large municipal incinerators burned citizens' refuse incompletely and ineffi-

25. Gannon, *Florida: A Short History,* 85; Tebeau, *History of Florida,* 431; Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources,* 28-31, 41; *Florida Health Notes: Clean Water–Clean Air,* 220; *New York Times,* February 17, 1949. While the population within the city limits of Tampa evidently had grown larger than that within the Jacksonville city limits, Greater Jacksonville remained the second largest metropolitan area in Florida throughout most of the 1960s.

26. Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources,* 41.

ciently, spewing soot and ash on their closest neighbors. Electric generating plants and countless home furnaces also contributed to the overall pollution burden. Although in the early 1960s it was still generally believed that automobiles posed no significant air pollution threat anywhere outside of Los Angeles, local residents' cars were polluting the air significantly in Jacksonville and elsewhere. The postwar proliferation of automobiles in Jacksonville helped explain why local residents began to notice a white haze lingering even after frequent winter morning temperature inversions broke up around 10 or 11 a.m. As the 1961 *Report on Florida's Air Resources* noted, "This haze might be the first sign of photochemical smog."[27]

After the *Report* was released, Jacksonville's growing air pollution problem received increased official attention. In late May 1961, following a widely publicized episode of vegetation damage by air pollution during the spring, State Health Officer Wilson T. Sowder formally requested federal assistance to study the local affliction. Sowder noted that local officials had undertaken preliminary surveys but had neither the staff, the equipment, nor the budget to conduct a proper air pollution inventory without federal cooperation. The federal government responded favorably to Sowder's request and sent federal experts to study problems ranging from vegetation damage to widespread skin disorders allegedly linked to air pollution. Thereafter, in August 1961, a joint federal-state-local emissions study found significant levels of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons, chiefly from automobiles, along with sulfur compounds from industry in the local atmosphere.[28]

In the wake of this initial study, official activity dropped off again. Yet the overall problem continued to grow, and public agita-

27. Tebeau, *History* of *Florida,* 431; Harding et al., *Report on FIorida's Air Resources,* 41.

28. Charles I. Harding, *Final Progress Report: Greater Jacksonville Air Pollution Control Program* (Gainesville, 1966), 209-210; Wilson T. Sowder to W. H. Aufranc, May 31, 1961, in DAP 1961-62, file "Florida -AP/61"; telegram from Howard W. Chapman to Vernon G. MacKenzie, June 21, 1961, in ibid.; Jean J. Schueneman to Wilson T. Sowder, June 30, 1961, in ibid.; "Jacksonville, Florida," Progress Report by James P. Sheehy for Jean J. Schueneman, August 15, 1961, in ibid.; "Trip Report– Jacksonville, Florida," memorandum from Marvin D. High, August 22, 1961, in ibid.; Dohrman H. Byers to Dr. Edwin H. Williams, July 11, 1961, in file "Florida Air 311," U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Air Pollution, Subject Files, RG 90, Accession Number 65-A-0286, NA [hereafter DAP 1961-62, file "Florida Air 311"]; "Dermatoses Investigation Conducted By Marcus H. Key, Assistant Chief, Dermatology Section, Division of Occupational Health, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare," June 14-16, 1961, pp. 2-5, in ibid.

tion similarly increased, leading state officials to request further help from the federal government again in late 1963.[29] Much of the public pressure for action to control air pollution in Jacksonville came from citizens in the working-class neighborhood of Talleyrand, situated in the shadow of some of the worst industrial polluters. Talleyrand and nearby communities had suffered most of the vegetation damage earlier in 1961. The neigborhood's outspoken leader on the air pollution issue was Ann Belcher, a white working-class woman whom the *Jacksonville Journal* called "the crusading mother from Talleyrand." On October 8, 1963, after months of mobilizing efforts, Belcher took a petition containing the names and signatures of more than one thousand neighbors in Talleyrand and nearby communities demanding immediate action against air pollution in the city to the city council. Belcher also led a delegation of 100 women from the Talleyrand area to complain to the city council about how the air in their neighborhood damaged their homes, cars, clothing, and health. Declaring that the problem by 1963 was "much worse than it was in 1961," Belcher brought a badly stained sheet and a sickly potted plant as exhibits to demonstrate the effects of air pollution on vegetation and previously clean laundry. Regarding the impact of industrial pollution on vegetation in her neighborhood, Belcher fumed, "Everything looks like it has been damaged by a hard freeze." Local resident Edna Taylor complained that conditions were so bad that she had to buy oxygen to help her emphysemac husband sleep through the night, while deposits of soot and dust had permeated her home and seriously damaged her new furniture.[30]

Thirteen other area residents, including several men, followed Belcher's lead in demanding action. Nicholas Panchen blamed the city generating station and the Owens-Illinois paper pulp mill for foul-smelling fumes that gave him "trouble breathing" and left corrosive residue on houses and cars. Another neighbor of Belcher's, Stanley Charles Carter, vowed that area residents would keep fighting until they got results. He vowed to take direct citizens' action against the polluters, threatening, "We'll lie down in front of trucks

29. Wilson T. Sowder to H. B. Cottrell, December 6, 1963, in DAP 1963-64, file "Cooperation 2– Florida"; "Request From Florida State Board of Health," memorandum from Gene B. Welsh to Vernon G. MacKenzie, January 2, 1964, in ibid.

30. Randy McLaughlin, "Talleyrand Pollution Fighters Win Hearing," *Jacksonville Journal*, October 9, 1963, newspaper clipping in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (625-5), Muskie Collection; Harding, *Final Progress Report*, 209.

[at the pulp mill] and keep them from moving." Another working-class citizen to speak out for cleaner air was Ulysses Cook, a spokesman for African American residents in the neighborhood, who angrily told how the pollution had caused one of his children to develop chronic respiratory trouble and had corroded his sister's heating equipment to where it was dangerous. That ordinary working-class people such as Cook, Carter, Panchen, and Belcher's legion of angry housewives should have gone out of their way to appear before the Jacksonville City Council to demand cleaner air goes against the common assumption that environmentalism is and always was strictly a white middle-class professional pastime. It is particularly a tribute to Belcher's organizing efforts that both white and black representatives appeared in tandem in a still-segregated southern state.[31]

Various city officials gave Belcher and company considerable rhetorical support, branding the "damnable fallout" of air pollution "a dirty shame," proclaiming, "It's a wonder half of the people aren't dead," urging that citizens take the offenders to court, and promising to look into the issue. Others, such as the city sanitary engineer, were more hesitant, noting that air pollution was a complex issue, and that neither the city nor the state had the money or facilities to bring it under control. Unfortunately, little action was forthcoming from a strongly pro-business city and state.[32]

When there was still no sign of any meaningful response from local officials, Jacksonville citizens attempted to go over their heads to higher authorities. On December 5, 1963, Belcher wrote an angry letter to Governor Farris Bryant complaining mostly of the property damage from the corrosive air pollution in her neighborhood and the unresponsiveness of the local government. She fumed,

> We have Eleven hundred signature on a petition against Owen Illinoise Co + the City Electric Co. they shift us from one meeting to anouther make a lot of talk + dont seem to get any thing done [.] . . . We have lost four new cars to the Owens Illinoise or City light plant [.] . . . We have been liveing here seven years. + I have put 3 sets of screens in my windows + doors. And we need a set now. . . . What ever it

31. McLaughlin, "Talleyrand Pollution Fighters Win Hearing."
32. Ibid.

> is it eat up metal, clothing every thing that it contacts [.] We own a 1962 Pontiac, and I'll bet it wouldent bring five hundred dollars if it was sold. not from being wrecked but from the acid that falls.

Belcher emphasized that she and her neighbors were poor folks who did not want to cause trouble but only wanted justice: "All the people on the petition are working people + retiree [.] We cant afford to keep replacing things that are being Distroyed. This petition was carried to Mayor Burns's office. . . . he sit up there like his mind was a million miles away [.] I doubt if he heard a word that was being said." Belcher was careful to affirm no desire to close the offending plants down, only to make them clean up their emissions. This indicates that like elsewhere in the state and country, Belcher and her neighbors were probably warned that demanding cleanup would shut down the plants and throw people out of work; they may also have been accused of deliberately trying to shut down the plants, a common ploy used in trying to turn environmental activists' neighbors against them then and now.[33]

As in Polk and Hillsborough Counties, citizens in Jacksonville were excited to learn early in 1964 of the upcoming visit of United States Senator Edmund S. Muskie and his Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution to the state, which offered the promise of attention from a still higher level of authority. The irrepressible Ann Belcher immediately grasped this opportunity, writing to the Maine senator of the run-around she and her neighbors were getting on their air pollution problem. "We have called everybody we though[t] that could help us with our problem," she explained. "We have attended all the meeting[.] We carried Dead flowers ruined clothes + rusted out cars. to each meeting but all we got was shifted to other meeting[.] And the last meeting we attended was at the State board of health in Nov they told us that they would study our area for Eighteen months and *if* there was a problem they would reccomed a Pollution Controll Center[.]" Belcher begged Muskie to consider holding the hearing, scheduled for Tampa, closer to Jacksonville. "We would like to attend the meeting in Tampa," Belcher wrote, "but most people in this area are just plain working people + lots of them retiree and not finaclly

33. Ann Belcher to Florida Governor Farris Bryant, December 5, 1963, in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (625-5), Muskie Collection.

able to go." She also warned the senator against believing anything Florida officials said about the situation in Jacksonville, observing, "[i]f you ask our health Dept I think they will give you the run around like they have us."[34]

Mrs. Joseph C. McGuffey, a neighbor of Ann Belcher's in Talleyrand, and Lula J. Dovi, a schoolteacher from Jacksonville, also wrote Muskie to urge him to hold hearings in Jacksonville. Hard as these women pled, though, the federal government remained unable to do anything more than assist research and control efforts undertaken by state and local officials. The Tampa hearing barely mentioned Jacksonville.[35]

Subsequent events helped to keep air pollution in the spotlight in Jacksonville. For instance, during December 1964, stagnant, windless atmospheric conditions allowed pollution concentrations to rise much higher than normal, bringing a week-long fumigation of the whole city that caused serious paint discoloration and great public displeasure. Then, beginning around May 15, 1965, residents of the neighborhoods of Springfield, Talleyrand, and Arlington, all of which were near industrial areas, again began to notice and complain of obvious and extensive damage to vegetation in their communities. The die-off continued into the summer months, leading local officials to hastily bring down another federal expert, who found evidence of "an interaction of chronic sulfur dioxide injury and low level fluoride exposure, modified in some cases by heavy dust loadings." The following year brought further public complaints from residents of Arlington about noxious fumes from a nearby asphalt plant, as well as another episode of nylon stocking disintegration.[36]

In 1965, the Florida legislature authorized the creation of the Duval County Air Improvement Authority, but little action followed in the next few years except for further research into the problem. In August 1966, Dr. Charles I. Harding, Program Director of the Air Pollution Research Laboratory at the University of Florida in Gainesville, published a *Final Progress Report: Greater Jacksonville Air Pollution Control Program,* which examined the results of

34. Ann Belcher to United States Senator Edmund S. Muskie, January 2, 1964, in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (625-5), Muskie Collection.
35. Mrs. Joseph C. McGuffy to Senator Muskie, January 6, 1964, in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (625-5); Lula J. Dovi to Senator Muskie, January 2, 1964, in U.S. Senate: Senate Office (1005-8), both in Muskie Collection.
36. Harding, *Final Progress Report,* 211-12, 216, 222-23, 351-52.

local pollution studies. In his introduction, Harding profusely thanked various members of the governmental agencies involved and local business and industry for their cooperation; he made no mention of Ann Belcher or the other local citizens who had triggered whatever limited progress the city could claim on the issue. Thereafter, the city gradually set up its long-delayed air pollution control authority and emissions standards.[37]

Miami followed Jacksonville and the phosphate belt in developing an air pollution problem, but its situation was much less severe through the 1960s. Miami's pollution woes had less to do with industry and more to do with demographics. By the 1960s Dade County accounted for over a quarter of the state's non-agricultural jobs and more than one fifth of Florida's manufacturing employment. However, a large percentage of the non-agricultural positions were in the relatively non-polluting white-collar service sector, while Miami's major industries, such as food processing, sportswear manufacturing, metal fabrication, and aircraft maintenance, were generally less polluting than primary heavy industries such as steel, chemicals, and paper pulp. Recent arrivals, such as cement plants, and proposed new additions, such as two new electric-arc steel mills, showed a trend toward increased heavy industry and industrial pollution already evident in 1960, when the state's official *Report on Florida's Air Resources* was being written. Yet industry remained a relatively minor source of air pollution in southern Florida.[38]

Rather, Miami's growing air pollution problem resulted mainly from the huge numbers of people that had swarmed to the area since the 1920s, swelling the city from a mere town of just under 30,000 to a city of nearly 300,000 by the early 1960s. Almost half of Dade County's million residents had arrived after 1950, and neighboring counties had seen similarly explosive growth. In half a century, southern Florida had gone from a frontier to one of the most urbanized regions in the United States.[39]

Air pollution problems grew with the population. Some major pollution sources in southern Florida were businesses that supplied construction materials for Miami's unending building boom, such as cement plants and asphalt plants. In addition, smoky, burning

37. Ibid., ii-iii, 1-6.
38. Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources,* 44-45.
39. Ibid.; Gannon, *Florida: A Short History,* 85; Tebeau, *History of Florida,* 417, 431-32.

dumps consumed the garbage from the hordes of newcomers. Fashionability and hot, humid weather led to a proliferation of smoky laundries. Jetliners full of tourists and potential immigrants polluted the skies around the region's bustling airports. Above all, like other sunbelt cities, Greater Miami was built around the automobile, with nearly half a million of them by 1959, and a daily gasoline consumption of over twenty tons per square mile per day, on par with smoggy Los Angeles. State officials warned in 1961 that Miami would already suffer from smog were it not for steady trade winds. The city experienced its first photochemical smog incidents in the early 1960s, leading alarmed local officials to seek help from federal experts. The federal authorities found no major problem but warned of serious potential risks both to regional agriculture and particularly tourism if industrial growth ruined the region's special attributes and turned Miami into just a warmer, muggier version of polluted industrial cities elsewhere.[40]

These worries were brought to a head in the early 1960s when Seadade Industries, Inc., of Florida, a branch of a major U.S. oil tanker operator, proposed building a large new oil refinery complex at Homestead. Located along the southern Florida coast, the project would process oil imported from the Middle East and Latin America. The refinery would only take up a portion of the building site, but the remainder of the 2,200-acre location would cater to related petrochemical operations and other light industry. Since the refinery would be receiving ocean-going tankers, it would require both new port facilities and a channel through offshore reefs for the large ships, requiring a permit from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The proposed petrochemical complex also threatened serious air and water pollution near two of southern Florida's most spectacular tourist attractions– both the Everglades National Park, about 15 miles west-southwest of the refinery site, and the John Pennekamp (Key Largo) Coral Reef Preserve,

40. Harding et al., *Report on Florida's Air Resources*, 36-37, 44-45; Jean J. Schueneman to Wilson T. Sowder, March 14, 1961, in DAP 1961-62, file "Florida Air 311"; "Trip Report– Miami, Florida– April 10-14, 1962," memorandum from Dean Matthews, June 11, 1962, in DAP 1963-64, file "Cooperation 2– Florida"; "Trip Report– Miami, Florida," memorandum from C. Stafford Brandt to Jean J. Schueneman, April 17, 1962, in ibid.; "Letter from Harold E. Kendall, Jr., to Secretary Orville Freeman," memorandum from C. Stafford Brandt to Arthur C. Stern, June 11, 1963, in ibid.

then the nation's only underwater park, less than 4 miles south of the proposed ship channel.[41]

As a result of such threats to their special local environment, concerned residents of southern Florida mobilized to protest the construction of the proposed refinery. In Miami in January 1962, a citizens' organization called the Safe Progress Association (SPA) initially formed around a small core of local conservationists to fight the Homestead project. The Association affirmed the necessity and desirability of economic growth and diversification but blasted the refinery plan as "'dirty' industry which would destroy our clean air and water and consequently our recreation and basic tourist economy." The group instead called for growth through "light, clean industry."[42]

At an initial hearing on January 11, 1962, concerning the rezoning of the 2,200-acre Seadade project site, the local anti-refinery activists mustered twelve members to go and speak against the proposal. The county commissioners let them talk for an hour, but it only took ten minutes of testimony from the representative of the Seadade corporation to convince the officials to vote unanimously in favor of rezoning the site along Biscayne Bay as "industrial unlimited." The group then began the slow, laborious process of educating the public about the issues involved in the refinery project and what they had to lose. They distributed a pamphlet entitled *The Creeping Peril! Industrial Pollution and You– Fact Book.* Drawn largely from information collected by Miami's own city manager regarding possible serious economic harm to the local tourist industry and further warning of possible injury to health, this pamphlet gave strong reasons to stop the Seadade refinery. The authors blasted county officials for their rezoning decision, warning, "This monstrous thing which has been thrust upon us without our consent may very well spell the beginning of the end of Dade County as a major tourist center and its beginning as the Smogville of the

41. Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall to Secretary of the Army Cyrus R. Vance, November 30, 1962, in DAP 1963-64, file "Cooperation 2– Florida"; W. F. Schaub to Secretary Udall, December 14, 1962, in ibid.; Arthur C. Stern, "Proposed Portion of Reply to 6/3/63 Letter of Secretary Udall to Secretary Celebrezze Re: Air and Water Pollution, Dade County, Florida– DRAFT," June 7, 1963, in ibid.

42. *The Creeping Peril! Industrial Pollution and You– Fact Book* (Miami, [1962?]), in ibid; Polly Redford, "Small Rebellion in Miami," *Harper's*, February 1964, 97-101.

south." It further reminded readers, "Notice that there is no such thing as a pollution free refinery and notice also that medical men have said that there is no such thing as a SAFE level of pollution." Elsewhere in the pamphlet, the editors printed a similarly alarming message: "You Will Be A Victim of Dade County's Destruction!"[43]

Although the original, twelve-member SPA was primarily led by men, it was significantly helped by the group's one-woman "women's division," Belle Scheffel, who had connections to various other conservation and women's groups as "treasurer of the local nature conservancy, past president of the council of garden club presidents, founder of the Kendall Garden Club, the South Florida Garden Club, and the first garden club on the Florida Keys." Scheffel spoke before these groups and others, helping to rally local women's clubs against the proposed refinery and in favor of new pollution control legislation for Dade County. Members of such clubs, sharing the long-established special interest of women's clubs around the nation in aesthetic considerations, cleanliness, and health, were already predisposed to be concerned about threats to scenic beauty and the health of their families, and they helped stimulate wider public support for environmental protections in their communities.[44]

The impending threat of the Seadade refinery helped catalyze public concern about air pollution and created pressure for passage of a strict air pollution control ordinance in Dade County. After a public hearing in January about a proposed ordinance drafted by the SPA, at which many ordinary citizens criticized the refinery proposal, the Dade County Commission passed the tough new regulations on April 23, 1963, over the objections of local developers and industrial interests, though the refinery remained an open question. A visiting federal air pollution control official found the new air pollution law to contain "all safeguards against evasion that can reasonably be written into law, in the present state of knowledge." Local activists still vowed not to be satisfied with what they termed "the weak new antipollution ordinance," and they promised to continue the fight to prevent the Seadade refinery complex from ever being built. Miami, with its large tourist industry, environmental amenities, and comparatively high environmen-

43. Redford, "Small Rebellion in Miami"; *The Creeping Peril!*, 3; M. L. Reese, "Report to the City Commission of the City of Miami on the Proposed Oil Refinery in South Dade," April 25, 1962, reprinted in *The Creeping Peril!*.
44. Redford, "Small Rebellion in Miami."

tal sensibilities, had won a rare, preemptive victory for air pollution control in Florida.[45]

Florida women took an active, early role in the state's major battles against air pollution during the 1960s acting like environmentalists even before the modern environmental movement took shape around 1970. In doing so, and in questioning the economic and political practices that had allowed air pollution conditions to develop or worsen, these women also indirectly challenged male economic and political leaders even before the modern feminist movement emerged. The issue galvanized different sorts of women, from relatively affluent senior citizens and clubwomen such as Harriet Lightfoot to working-class women such as Ann Belcher and her neighbors, whose concerns ranged from scenic beauty and quality of life to health risks and economic damage to individuals and their communities. Although their efforts initially brought limited results in the face of government and industrial resistance in central Florida and Jacksonville, the female crusaders for clean air helped create the public pressure that ultimately brought significant change. Together with other male and female activists throughout the nation, they also helped pave the way for federal intervention in air pollution control. Congress heard the crescendo of complaints from around the nation and passed the 1970 federal Clean Air Amendments, which pushed aside many obstructions from the 1950s-vintage notions of the sanctity of states' rights that had long sheltered polluters. Through their stubborn persistence, Florida women helped to generate the nationwide surge of concern over environmental pollution that would come to dominate the new environmental movement of the early 1970s.

45. Ibid.; "Trip Report, Miami, Florida and Washington, D.C., January 21-25, 1963," memorandum from Jean J. Schueneman, February 1, 1963; handout distributed by Lloyd Miller of the Safe Progress Association at hearing in Miami, January 22, 1963: William B. Deichmann to Lloyd Miller, January 21, 1963; John R. Goldsmith to William B. Deichmann, April 15, 1963; Leslie A. Chambers to Deichmann, April 16, 1963; "Letter from Harold E. Kendall, Jr., to Secretary Orville Freeman," memorandum from C. Stafford Brandt to Arthur C. Stern, June 11, 1963; Walter A. Gresh to Howard W. Chapman, April 30, 1963; "Metropolitan Dade County Pollution Control Ordinance," memorandum from Jean J. Schueneman to Howard W. Chapman, May 31, 1963; Jean J. Schueneman to Robert Quick, May 31, 1963; Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze, June 3, 1963; Arthur C. Stern, "Proposed Portion of Reply to 6/3/63 Letter of Secretary Udall to Secretary Celebrezze Re: Air and Water Pollution, Dade County, Florida– DRAFT," June 7, 1963, all in DAP 1963-64, file "Cooperation 2– Florida."

BOOK REVIEWS

Rose Cottage Chronicles: Civil War Letters of the Bryant-Stephens Families of North Florida Edited by Arch Fredric Blakey, Ann Smith Lainhart, and Winston Bryant Stephens Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. x, 390 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

It is a daunting challenge to transform hundreds of Civil War-era letters and journal entries into readable form, but the editors of *Rose Cottage Chronicles* have produced a true gem. The massive correspondence of the Bryant and Stephens families of north Florida from 1856 to 1865 gives readers an intimate look at that section of the state during one of the most tumultuous periods in American history.

Be warned. There are no Mary Chestnuts here; there are no famous generals and politicians here. The Bryants and Stephens were ordinary Floridians, small planters, living along the bank of the St. Johns River at Welaka, Putnam County. They were average Americans, living an average life, a quality that makes this collection of correspondence so enlightening and valuable. The volume is, at times, sluggish in terms of readability, but the overall effect of presenting layer after layer of their lives eventually pays off in an intimate portrait of the writers' world(s). The writers' personalities quickly take on a distinctiveness, and readers will soon find themselves immersed in the extensive correspondence.

The nexus of the book is the courtship and marriage of Octavia (Tivie) Bryant and Winston Stephens, with healthy contributions from various family members on both sides. The writers are thoughtful and erudite, and what emerges is an engrossing portrait of antebellum north Florida, with its frontier life, kinship dynamics, slavery, agriculture, and the dislocation and hardship caused by the Civil War. Florida researchers will revel in the war-time descriptions of north Florida, with references to engagements at Jacksonville, Palatka, Olustee, Natural Bridge, and Gainesville. Tivie's brothers also wrote home with their news of the war from Chattanooga, Mobile, Savannah, and other locales. Herein lies part of the allure of this volume. It is the poignant record of one extended family with many different voices and perspectives– men and

women, old and young, parent and child, Secessionist and Unionist. At times, the volume reveals a tender glimpse into another world, such as Tivie and Winston writing of "taking a dose of Morphine," their euphemism for lovemaking. Astute observations abound. Rebecca Bryant (Tivie's mother), while referring to a certain young lady preoccupied with dress and fashion, laments: "What a pity it is that so many amiable young ladies neglect to furnish the upper story!" (228). And the buoyant social life of Tallahassee, which relatively escaped the ravages of war, was roundly criticized by Tivie's brother: "Tallahassee has been shamefully gay and I know of no place that so justly deserves a visitation by the Enemy" (353). The tragedies that befall this family due to the war (and the vagaries of life) are heart wrenching. Winston was killed late in the war, leaving twenty-two- year-old Tivie a widow, only days from the birth of their third child. To compound matters, Tivie's mother fell ill and died only hours before the birth.

Utilizing an extensive introduction, along with valuable maps, photographs, and very useful (and essential) explanatory notes, the editors successfully recreate the trials and tribulations of ordinary Americans facing the overwhelming complexities and devastation of war. This volume is a welcome addition to Civil War and southern studies, as well as Florida history, for the haunting words of the letters invoke the pathos of a horrid conflict and help readers to understand better the average people that endured it.

Pensacola Junior College BRIAN R. RUCKER

The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Courts, 1821-1917. Walter W. Manley II, editor and co-author; E. Canter Brown Jr., contributing editor and co-author; Eric W. Rise, coauthor. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. xvii, 454 pp. List of illustrations, forewords, preface, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95 hardcover.)

The Florida Supreme Court Historical Society assembled a talented team of scholars to produce this long-awaited and important book. With it, authors Walter W. Manley II, E. Canter Brown, and Eric W. Rise depict and analyze the evolution of Florida's appellate courts from territorial days to the Progressive Era. In doing so, their text illustrates that Florida's supreme court and its territorial predecessors have often stood at the center of leading political,

economic, and social controversies. And by arbitrating the constitutional struggles over liberty and power that emanated from such discord, the court, the authors contend convincingly, has managed to balance justice while distinguishing itself for honesty.

During the territorial period, Florida's high tribunals assumed responsibility for promoting public safety, stimulating economic expansion, and establishing workable judicial procedures. With statehood, population increased, interests clashed, and political affairs became increasingly complex. The courts then addressed the needs of, and issues at play within, a dynamic and divided society. In the process, Florida justices decided scores of cases that directly impacted the developing state, its businesses, and its residents.

Still, the authors claim that many changes that affected Florida's judiciary stemmed from the Civil War. Due to a zealous concern for state's rights, Florida legislators rejected the nationalist court system presupposed by either the federal or Confederate constitutions. Lawmakers instead placed issues that formerly had been under federal jurisdiction, such as admiralty and diversity cases, onto the dockets of Florida's circuit courts. Meanwhile, the Florida Supreme Court expanded its jurisdiction to check usurpation by Confederate officials. Indeed, its handling of conscription and impressment cases illuminated the contradictions of the Confederate experiment. Following two years of war, the Confederacy had found it imperative to exercise national authority to coerce property and men from the states. Such actions flew in the face of state sovereignty. Fearing the tyranny of centralized government, Florida's supreme court thus safeguarded liberty by defending state and individual rights against national encroachment.

After 1868 Florida's high court emerged as a more dynamic and influential institution than it had been at any previous time. "The necessity of interpreting a new constitution, coupled with the highly political nature of Reconstruction forced the court to confront constitutional issues more directly than it had in the past" (237). That judges did this "while building and maintaining a reputation for independence and integrity," the authors claim, "is a high compliment to the men who served on the tribunal during that tumultuous era" (235).

The quarter century that followed Reconstruction saw Florida advance to the modern era. The technological and cultural changes that characterized the period prompted an abundance of litigation that raised difficult questions concerning the scope of

governmental regulatory power. In 1894, for example, Chief Justice Gregory Pettus Raney wrote: "[B]usiness strictly of a state or local character cannot be exempted from our laws, or put beyond our authority, by its engaging [concurrently] in interstate or foreign commerce" (308). The opinions of the courts, then, not only endured to permit future regulation of business through governmental agencies, but also provided an opening that Progressive-Era legislators embraced enthusiastically.

With that in mind, lawmakers began curbing corporate power in the interest of the commonweal. Because railroads in Florida occupied the forefront of economic enterprise, they often became the target of such statutory reform. True, in the 1890s Florida had subsidized railroad construction by offering entrepreneurs eight thousand acres of public lands for each mile of track they laid south from Daytona. But Florida lawmakers soon felt obliged to regulate the industry that they had previously subsidized. In responding to these laws, the Florida Supreme Court helped usher state jurisprudence into the twentieth century. Ultimately, its decision inspired governmental treatment of public ailments and set the stage for a greater commitment to the general welfare in future years.

Although some readers may question why the authors dedicate so few pages to Florida's Jim Crow laws, their book rests on careful, prodigious research. Moreover, it complements a lively narrative with biographical sketches of Florida justices. This adds a human dimension to the story and makes for informative, provocative, and interesting reading. By writing the first significant history of the Florida Supreme Court, Manley, Brown, and Rise have produced a work that deserves a wide audience. Any professors who teach Florida history, constitutional law, or the history of the judiciary should consider adopting this book for their courses.

Daytona Beach Community College JOHN J. GUTHRIE JR.

Gladesmen: Gator Hunters, Moonshiners, and Skiffers. By Glen Simmons and Laura Ogden. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xxiii, 197 pp. Foreword, preface, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 cloth.)

When asked about the important books that deal with the Everglades, many informed readers invariably mention either Mar-

jorie Stoneman Douglas's *River of Grass* (1947) or Loren G. Brown's *Totch* (1993) as the first works that come to mind. These classics now have a rival. Gladesman Glen Simmons and anthropologist Laura Ogden have collaborated to tell this story about frontier life in South Florida from the land boom of the 1920s to the establishment of the Everglades National Park in 1947. Along the way, their book illuminates the folkways of backcountry alligator hunters, moonshiners, and others who scraped by in the Everglades before the federal government closed the ecosystem to such activities.

The authors have organized their slim book into four chapters, grounded on liberally defined topics. This results in a "stream-of-consciousness" that is one part environmental history and one part folklore. To place each of Simmons's reminiscent chapters within a cultural and historical context, Ogden provides an introduction that clarifies vernacular wording and elaborates a number of episodes. This coordinated effort succeeds nicely. Throughout the narrative, for example, Simmons seasons the text with witty anecdotes. "Now there might be things hotter than datil pepper," he claims, "but they are not of this earth" (14). Or, "Allapattah Flats was to me as beautiful a region as any in the world," Simmons quips, "although I had only seen pictures of the rest of the world" (117). Besides representing the tone of the text, both statements also reveal Simmons's whimsical charm.

His wit, however, is matched by his love of the Everglades. Before the federal government established the park, "all the land and marsh," Simmons says, "seemed to belong to me." Small wonder that he helped himself to any animal hides (mainly alligator and otter) that he could sell or trade for survival. But his passion for the glades stems more from his profound respect for the natural habitat than from the livelihood it provided him. Still, Simmons tempers his brand of environmentalism with a healthy dose of common sense. According to Simmons, the first white settlers who moved to South Florida killed as many alligators as possible for recreational purposes. "They used to think," he explains, "that the alligators would get a baby or a dog. . . . So they had to clean them out, I guess[,] . . . in order to settle here." That, at least, "was the excuse they used for the slaughter" (9). Simmons insists that such senseless killings largely caused the "current scarcity of wildlife" in the region. The people who eked out an existence from the glades, therefore, had no role in the depletion of game. "Put the blame

where it belongs," he decries, "on development, government interference, and too many people" (25).

By government interference, Simmons means an array of public policy initiatives that ranged from land reclamation and the enforcement of game laws to the upholding of the Eighteenth Amendment. During prohibition, for instance, federal agents who were looking for illicit booze had often stopped and searched Simmons while he engaged in his various means of subsistence. Prohibition officers thought he looked guilty, Simmons claims, "because I stayed in the swamps so much" (49). He "never made 'shine," however, for he loved his freedom more than money. So, whereas moonshiners took refuge in the Everglades to avoid detection when distilling their spirits, Simmons sought solitude in the same wetlands to liberate his spirit.

In addition to the two books noted in the opening paragraph, Gladesmen compares favorably with Horace Kephart's *Our Southern Highlanders* (1913) and William W. Warner's *Beautiful Swimmers: Watermen, Crabs, and the Chesapeake Bay* (1976). This literature details the lives and lore of "a people" who lived beyond the mainstream of southern society. And like Kephart and Warner, Simmons and Ogden have prevented a seemingly forgotten cultural tradition from disappearing into the dustbin of history. By doing so, *Gladesmen* has achieved a major goal of the Florida History and Culture Series– that is, it promotes a richer understanding of the state's history. Series editors Gary R. Mormino and Raymond Arsenault, as well as the Press, all warrant praise for making this refreshing book possible. It is worthy of, and will find, a wide audience.

Daytona Beach Community College JOHN J. GUTHRIE JR.

Bioarchaeology of Native American Adaptation in the Spanish Borderlands. Edited by Brenda J. Baker and Lisa Kealhofer. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. xii, 232 pp. List of figures, list of tables, acknowledgments, foreword, list of contributors, index. $49.95 cloth.)

This volume developed out of a symposium organized by the editors for the 1990 meeting of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. It examines the demographic consequences of European-Native American contact in the Spanish Borderlands of the American Southeast, Southwest, and California. The vol-

ume's contributors explicitly challenge the traditional pandemic model of contact, one which links aboriginal demographic collapse to the rampant and uniform spread of disease across the Americas. Alternatively, the volume takes a broader "biocultural" approach to the problem, and a more "democratic" perspective on causality, by suggesting that disease was only one factor conditioning demographic collapse. At issue here is the *variability* of Native American responses to contact.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first part, "Bioarchaeological Investigations," presents studies that use a variety of data sets (settlement data, skeletal data, mortuary practices and artifacts, ethnohistoric documents) to explore the demographic history of native populations from Alabama, Mississippi, and California. M. Cassandra Hill shows how the intensification of maize agriculture and political conflict compromised the health of populations in west-central Alabama even before the coming of Europeans, making them all the more susceptible to the disruptions caused by the latter. In an interesting counter example, Jay Johnson and Geoffrey Lehmann show how, in an adjacent area of Mississippi, pre-contact settlement change to more dispersed upland sites served to buffer the effects of early European contact. They suggest that there was no appreciable demographic collapse in this area. Lisa Kealhofer offers a third contrasting scenario for the Canalino and Central Valley areas of California. Her protohistoric period is actually one of *expanding* populations and *increasing* complexity, with population decline coming only later (post-1760 and, especially, post-1840) as a function of the Spanish relocation of natives to areas around missions, and then the great gold and land rushes.

The second part, "Skeletal Biology and Paleoepidemiology," uses data on health and nutritional status as gleaned directly from skeletons as a basis for making inferences about demographic change. Clark Larsen, Christopher Ruff, and Mark Griffin study not who perished, but who survived the early epidemics in coastal northern Florida. Their study of osteoarthritis and the correlates of biomechanical stress indicate increased physical demands on both male and female survivors of the epidemics, although the nature of these demands seem to have differed between the sexes in still unknown ways. Elizabeth Miller compares two Native American mission populations from southeast Texas that had differing lengths of

contact with Europeans. Although Miller discovers some significant differences in health between these populations (as indicated, for example, by dental wear), she nonetheless determines that both short- and long-term contact with Europeans had detrimental effects on the health of native peoples. Ann Stodder's analysis of skeletal populations from protohistorical Pueblo sites in New Mexico also illuminates significant health differences between groups, some of which were culturally quite similar.

Part three, "Theoretical Perspectives and Prospects," assesses the current state of theory and method and indicates future research directions. Ann Palkovich advocates more detailed, "context-embedded" analyses and rigorous regional assessments as a way to better establish the specificity and variability of Native American response to contact. George Milner, in a discussant's role, reviews what the chapters teach us about the variety of factors contributing to Native American population loss and relocation, and he stresses the need for more archaeological and osteological studies. The editors close the volume with their own summary thoughts emphasizing the need for multiple perspectives and the constant questioning of analytical methods and assumptions.

This is a good volume. The chapters are well written and insightful, the volume as a whole is well organized and well edited. The messages of the book are important. The contributors make clear that Europeans encountered "people with history" who, at the time of contact, were in the middle of doing things that differentially impacted (in some cases inhibited, in others enhanced) their ability to adapt to the European presence. They substantiate the absence of synchronized change among native populations, and the reality of multiple historical trajectories. There is still much to do to further illuminate this variability, and the contributors are aware of the theoretical and empirical challenges. There is also some good advice here, including the admonition to develop new kinds of data for addressing the problems of interest (also, perhaps, the moral thing to do in light of NAGPRA-inspired restrictions on the availability of skeletal populations for direct study). The volume provides every indication that the field is up to the task.

University of Denver DEAN J. SAITTA

Slavery & the Law. Edited by Paul Finkelman. (Madison: Madison House Publishers, Inc., 1997. ix, 466 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes on contributors, index. $44.95 cloth.)

This is an impressive collection of essays that sheds light on the central paradox of American history prior to 1865: how could the American legal system, replete with its emphasis on the expansion of human property rights, employ law to promote, secure and protect a system of human bondage that was ultimately held unlawful? How could the American experience glorify human freedom even as it established, nurtured and endorsed chattel slavery? This paradox was not unknown to contemporary observers. As quoted by Paul Finkelman in his introduction, one witness to the struggle for colonial independence noted how "truly ridiculous" it was to see "an American patriot signing resolutions of independency with the one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves."

Unlike other slave systems, in the United States slavery was clearly defined by race. "Only blacks could be slaves; no one else." Thus as slaves, they might observe the annual celebration of July 4th, complete with paeans to freedom and independence, if their masters so allowed. Two twin themes, inconsistent yet intertwined, link these studies: a) the application of law to the slave system, and b) the institutionalization of racism as a key accoutrement to this end.

Although they are all insightful and well worth examination, only a few of the essays can be mentioned here. In "Slavery in the Canon of Constitutional Law," Sanford Levinson ponders the incredible lack of attention given to American slavery in current case books used to teach constitutional law. The possibility that our Constitution "may be a tragedy, presenting irresolvable conflicts between the realms of law and morality," ought to be considered by law students. Levinson points to the Dred Scott decision, authored by the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1857. In it, Roger Taney noted that racism was a fundamental constitutional value, resting on the assumption of white supremacy and black inferiority. How do we decide, asks Levinson, to what extent this was and is "the authentic depiction of our tradition?"

Levinson seeks to make his students aware of the great extent, much greater than is assumed, of the role that law played in making a system of chattel slavery and racism an inherent part of American society. Judith Kelleher Schafer shows how the Louisiana

Supreme Court decisions demonstrated that the "property value of slave[s] took precedence to obtaining a just punishment for the perpetrator of barbarous treatment" against them. Similarly, in his essay dealing with the "Slave Auctions on the Courthouse Steps," Thomas Russell offers convincing evidence that "courts were neither marginal nor unimportant with regard to slave sales." Jonathan Bush explores the link between the British Constitution and the establishment of slavery as a legal system, one that was allowed "indirectly under common law," through a process Bush aptly describes as "a passive, almost stealthy process of legal accommodation." Michael Curtis links issues of free speech with the controversy over slavery prior to 1861.

What makes these essays especially significant lies less in what they illustrate than in what they imply. For more than half a century, American historians have debated the extent to which "consensus" is an accurate adjective in describing our political and legal history. More often than not, slavery has been seen as an aberration, an exception to the positive course of American development. This volume requires the reader to consider how truly integrated the slave and legal systems were with each other. Expansion of the latter helped to ensure perpetuation of the former, at least until the mid-nineteenth century. While American historiography has well recorded the moves toward abolition of slavery, much less attention has been given to the extent that our legal system contributed towards its maintenance. Thus, students of American history will find these essays informative, insightful and disturbing. Taken as a whole, they will require reevaluation of the relationship between slavery and American legal history. They all merit careful examination.

Rutgers University JONATHAN LURIE

The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South. Edited by Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie. (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1997. xx, 274 pp. Contributors, introduction, epilogue, suggested reading. $16.95 paper.)

The Devil's Lane, edited by Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie, explores in seventeen essays the interconnections between sex and race. From Virginia to Louisiana, the development of a plantation economy and participation in an international mar-

ket hastened the imposition of racial and sexual categorizations, and the use of coercion and violence against enslaved people. However, in contrast to the English colonies, Spain gave women (including enslaved women) certain legal rights, among them property rights and protection from cruelty and rape.

In a section on "Broad Strokes," Peter H. Wood shows how the American Revolution became white South Carolinians' internal war against slaves who sought their freedom. Rejecting a colonial "golden age paradigm" (20), Carol Berkin discusses the impact of unbalanced sex ratios and shortened life expectancy, legal codes, and women's work roles. By writing popular moralistic tracts, Parson Mason Locke Weems sought, according to Catherine Clinton, "to make sin and redemption the central contending forces within America" (34).

In the section on "The Upper South," Kathleen Brown describes the difficulty that Warraskoyack, Virginia, had in defining the sexual identity of a servant, Thomas or Thomasine Hall, who dressed at different times as a man and as a woman. By sentencing Hall to wear men's breeches and a woman's coiffure, headdress, and apron, the General Court in Jamestown responded in a unique way "to gender ambiguity" (49). Peter Wallenstein traces the Virginia statutes that defined the status of children and grandchildren born to mixed race couples. By demonstrating in court "an unbroken maternal line" from Native American foremothers, slaves of biracial, or even triracial, ancestry could become their own "emancipators" (68). Instead of concentrating on statutory laws that sentenced to death or castration black male slaves convicted of raping a white woman, Diane Miller Sommerville examines Virginia trial records. To protect their property and to save the government the cost of compensation, whites often urged leniency, especially if the white woman was lower class and promiscuous. Utilizing samples of county deed and will records, diaries, women's wills, runaway slave advertisements, and women's correspondence, Joan R. Gunderson concludes that, by 1750, white women in Virginia had retreated from a more public, "gender-integrated world" to a private, "gender-segregated" world of female friendships (90). Betty Wood explores church discipline within biracial evangelical Protestant churches. Afro-Baptists and Methodists used church discipline to assert their rights to protection against abuse and "to a secure, unbroken, family life" (116). Tracing race relations laws between 1643 and 1849, Paul Finkelman argues that Virginia led "the

way in stigmatizing and criminalizing love, and sometimes sex, between the races" (124).

In the section on "The Lower South," Kirsten Fischer explains that white men, benefiting from a double standard of sexual behavior, brought to trial fewer slander suits for allegations of immoral conduct in North Carolina than did white women. Jon F. Sensbach discusses why the Moravians of North Carolina created "a racially integrated Christian family" (157). However, by 1822 white Moravians had adopted the racial attitudes of English-speaking people and excluded blacks from their congregations. Cynthia Lynn Lyerly examines letters, diaries, and memoirs to show that "white Methodist women unabashedly sought out passionate, emotional, and physically expressive religion and black Methodists, male and female, sought out mystical spirituality" (169). Mary Musgrove, the daughter of a Creek woman and an English Carolinian trader, was James Oglethorpe's principal interpreter in Georgia, notes Michele Gillespie. But when she was excluded in 1749 from negotiations between the English and the Creeks, she reacted in an angry and unladylike manner and was temporarily imprisoned. Gillespie speculates that Musgrove may have been relieved at shedding "the conflicting identities she had carefully negotiated" as a "'mixed blood"' woman (195).

The section on "The Gulf South" provides some of the freshest material. Jane Landers investigates a case of infanticide in Spanish St. Augustine, caused by the owner's rape of the mother and his decision to sell her to a new master in Cuba. Rather than being separated from her children, Juana jumped into a well with them, attempting suicide. Since there was insufficient evidence of malicious intent, she escaped the death penalty, thereby illustrating that Spain's legal code gave slaves "a legal personality and voice" (206). According to Kimberly S. Hanger, free black, or *libre* women in New Orleans (in contrast to slave women and white women governed by male authority) had "a unique hybrid of choices *and* constraints" (219). Interracial unions were common, since white males and free black women outlived and outnumbered the opposite sex of their own races. In Spanish New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, says Virginia Meacham Gould, white men continued to seek liaisons with slave women and often freed them and their biracial children, despite the Black Code of 1777's prohibition against such interracial relationships. Drawing on the Louisiana Slave Database that she and her collaborators created, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall points out that Af-

ricans, Native Americans, and Europeans developed "an entirely new Creole culture" in French and Spanish Louisiana (247).

This highly recommended volume offers readers both illuminating case studies and crucial questions to ponder in studying the complex intertwining of sex and race in early southern history.

University of South Carolina MARCIA G. SYNNOTT

A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina. By Leslie A. Schwalm. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997. xiii, 397 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

Leslie Schwalm's *A Hard Fight for We* provides a much needed history of freedwomen's lives and labor during the post- emancipation period. While her study concentrates on the enslaved and freed women of South Carolina, the methodology, insights and conclusions are instructive for anyone interested in understanding the domestic and paid labor experiences of freed slave women in the early years of Reconstruction. As Schwalm states in her introduction, her aim is to investigate and complicate historical and contemporary assumptions about freedwomen's productive and reproductive labor. Specifically, she resists the assertion that freedwomen tended to withdraw from agricultural labor after emancipation. Schwalm successfully argues that the freedwomen on South Carolina's low country rice plantations remained in agricultural labor and actively sought to shape their labor patterns in relation to both the larger social and economic consequences of Reconstruction and the daily exigencies of their lives in the low country. One of the strongest aspects of this book is its insistence upon a careful and thoughtful assessment of the intricate connections between social and labor relations in slaves' and freedpeople's lives. Schwalm is quick to caution her reader not to draw too clear a distinction between the labor that freedwomen performed for their families (Jacqueline Jones' "labor of love") and that done for wages. Such a dichotomy, Schwalm insists, threatens to romanticize family life and thus preclude any critical evaluation of the significance of productive and reproductive labor in shaping freedwomen's experiences as enslaved and free women.

Schwalm begins with an overview of the lives and labor of slave women on antebellum South Carolina rice plantations. Here she describes the gendered division of plantation labor– slave women worked in the fields– as well as the gender roles in slaves' family and community life. While parts of Schwalm's discussion of slave family life echo existing works on the subject, she consistently brings her reader's attention to new issues– the centrality of gender and family roles and experiences in slaves' and freedpeople's family and community relations and their interactions with masters, employers and military authorities. Her discussion of the wartime collapse of plantation slavery, for instance, includes particularly interesting sections on the ways in which Union military policy failed to account for the presence of the slave women and children who sought refuge behind Union lines and on the disturbing occurrences of Union soldiers abusing and raping slave women. By placing freedwomen at the center of her study, Schwalm elucidates the often overlooked gender dynamics at play in freedpeople's relationships with military and Freedmen's Bureau authorities, with their employers, and with each other during the transition from slavery to freedom.

Paid labor was as central to low country freedwomen's lives as compulsory labor had been to slave women's experiences. Freedwomen emerge in Schwalm's account as individuals determined to direct the terms of their paid labor and to remove their households and reproductive labor from the scrutiny and interference of outsiders, specifically white employers and local authorities. In the section on freedwomen's labor, Schwalm details specific events in which freedwomen, sometimes with freedmen, opposed the restoration of exploitative and coercive labor relations with their former masters or new employers. She cites accounts in which freedwomen responded violently to employers' attempts to oversee or coerce their labor, and she offers examples of covert resistance as well. Freedwomen, Schwalm argues, found themselves at odds not only with their employers but often also with the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, who, as she describes them, sided with planters in their general defense of the labor contract system and in specific labor disputes involving freedpeople. While Schwalm is no doubt correct in her assessment of the difficulties freedwomen, and freedmen, faced in their dealings with the Bureau, she dismisses the ways in which freed people successfully negotiated relations with the Bureau and, at least, considered simply going to a Bureau

agent as an enactment of their freedom. Schwalm does not read the Bureau records for what they reveal about freedwomen's representations of their lives and labor but mainly for what they tell us about northern white attitudes towards freedpeople and free labor. Consequently, much of Schwalm's detailed and lively discussion of freedwomen comes more from sources written by their employers, former masters and local authorities rather than from the freedwomen's voices that emerge, despite their mediation, in Bureau records. While this is an important detail, it does not diminish Schwalm's overall project, which stands out as a compelling history of South Carolina freedwomen in the immediate postwar period.

Princeton University BARBARA KRAUTHAMER

Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830. By Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xiv, 285 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, notes, selected bibliography, index. $49.95 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

Come Shouting to Zion, a beautifully written and persuasively argued book by two distinguished southern historians, Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood, belongs on the shelf of every scholar of southern religion. Informed by the author's extensive knowledge of the early South and exhaustive research in primary sources, this work advances important new interpretations and engages the historiography of slave religion to present a dynamic and compelling account of the formative years of black Protestantism.

The authors prove beyond a doubt that African religious practices survived the Middle Passage. Because of the persistence of African beliefs and planters' fears that Christianity would make their slaves ungovernable, Anglicans had little success in converting slaves to Christianity. As Frey and Wood note, slaves saw no reason to abandon their beliefs for a church that deemed them intellectually inferior and providentially enslaved. The Moravian missionaries to the Caribbean, whom Frey and Wood see as the pioneers of evangelization, encouraged Afro-Caribbean leadership, emphasized– as had African religions– the spoken word, and held out an "implicit promise of a new social order" (84). Later Protestant evangelists, especially Methodists and Baptists, employed the Mora-

vian strategies in the Anglo-American world to greater success, and fundamentally altered slave and free black culture and values in the process.

As Frey and Wood demonstrate, black converts actively shaped their faith and profoundly influenced the white co-religionists. The authors emphasize the signal contributions of black Protestants like Mary Alley and Sophia Campbell, who planted and spread Methodism in Antigua, and David Margate, a black missionary in revolutionary-era low country Georgia and South Carolina, who railed against slavery. In a fascinating discussion of black religious expression, the authors trace the evolution of the "shout" and of ritual dance, showing both the continuity between African and African American practice and how slaves creatively adapted European religious aesthetics to suit their own needs and sensibilities.

Come Shouting to Zion is brimming with interpretive insights that will change the way scholars view this critical era of slave Protestantism. Frey and Wood highlight the role played by slaves and free blacks in the migration of evangelicalism, both in the Atlantic world and in the American Southwest. In the most intriguing section of the book, the authors analyze slaves' commitment to their religion by examining their use of the Sabbath. Sundays were customarily slaves' own, when many labored in hopes of earning money for necessities or small comforts. Slaves who became evangelicals, however, voluntarily joined churches that forbade trading or labor on Sundays. And slaves took pride in contributing what money they could spare to their churches. These momentous investments of time and resources, Frey and Wood argue, compellingly show how deeply slaves were devoted to their churches and their faiths. *Come Shouting to Zion* stresses the centrality of women in the process of religious change and traces the rise of independent black churches. Frey and Wood suggest that as long as there have been black Protestants, there has been a tradition of moral independence and incipient revolutionary readings of the Christian message.

The authors modestly claim that theirs will not be the final word on early slave religion, yet the eloquent prose, meticulous research, and intellectual sophistication of *Come Shouting to Zion* make this a work scholars cannot ignore. To take but one example of their interpretive rigor, in their discussion of slaves and church discipline, Frey and Wood sensitively weigh white attempts to control slaves' sexuality and families with the incontrovertible evidence that slaves disciplined by churches "comprised a minuscule

proportion of . . . an ever increasing number of black Christians" (189-90). "The fact is," the authors argue, "that the vast majority of enslaved church members freely chose and, often in the most harrowing of personal circumstances, did their best to order their sexual morality" (190) by the standards of their faiths. Slaves embraced evangelical religion in part because it recognized them as moral agents, and Frey and Wood foreground the choices slaves made without ever losing sight of the agonizing context of bondage. *Come Shouting to Zion* clearly establishes the importance of the pre-1830 decades of religious experience and provides an eloquent and engaging model for further studies of early slave religion.

Boston College CYNTHIA LYNN LYERLY

Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South. By Mark M. Smith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

It is a truism that today most Americans are slaves to the clock, but few would think that the enslaved in the American South were mastered by the clock, so vibrant is the image of the planter with whip in hand. Mark M. Smith's first book proffers a compelling picture of master with watch in one hand, whip in the other, ready to use both to discipline his slaves and thereby reap profit. In less than 200 pages, *Mastered by the Clock* argues that planters adopted clock time as part of their quest for labor discipline and profit in the 1830s shortly after mill owners had done so in the North. Such an argument challenges several long-held theses concerning modernization, sectional difference, and capitalism in the South. Smith thoroughly supports his revisionism throughout this excellent study.

The book opens with a review of the rapidly accumulating literature on time-consciousness, none of which has addressed the South since it has been supposed that in pre-modern, pre-capitalist societies (such as the Old South), time-consciousness was largely rooted in natural and sacred methods of measuring duration and sequence. Smith suggests that access to time pieces was not necessarily a pre-condition for awareness of mechanical time; in a slave system aural signals (such as bells or horns), backed up by the whip, could create what Smith identifies as "time obedience," rather than

"time discipline," which historians like E. P. Thompson and sociologists like Max Weber have invoked to refer to an internalization of respect for mechanical time. Smith demonstrates that time obedience was but a step on the path toward time discipline, to which African Americans were as susceptible as other Americans.

This is a remarkable book, pioneering in many ways. Yet it is at the center of long-standing disputes concerning the development of capitalism in the United States, and in the West as a whole. Smith's careful use of a wide range of sources allows him to deploy evidence both anecdotal and statistical (the appendix contains numerous tables concerning clock and watch distribution in the South). At times the evidence is stretched beyond its reach, such as when Smith claims that "from cradle to grave the clock monitored antebellum slave life" (50). This is due, in part, to the fact that much of Smith's evidence is found in asides, stories, and such. He uses literary, anthropological, and historical interpretive methods to tease out evidence; thus the book is a model for scholars wishing to answer questions concerning mentalities.

Smith's careful and direct prose heightens the usefulness of each chapter. He begins by exploring the distribution of clocks and watches throughout the South, with a focus on South Carolina. Acknowledging and exploring the mixture of "times natural, sacred and secular" allows the following chapter to pinpoint the effect of timepiece ownership– it became another tool in the regulation of time, joining, rather than obliterating, methods of reckoning natural and sacred time. Chapters three and four cover the various uses planters found for clocks– from timing their slaves' work performance, to regulating the amount of suckling time for infants, to waking slaves before sunrise so they could be in the fields at first light, to mandating meal and bed times. As the emancipated sought to shape their freedom, they attempted to master the clock. Expressing a preference for share rather than wage labor, freed people wanted to do with their time what they would, just as laborers in the North demanded "eight hours for what they will." In the end, the sharecropping system took precedence, but not without legally mandated and enforced hours of work as well as curfews and other measures meant to regulate "free time." The book's final chapters consider this development, as well as an array of questions having to do with African American culture, the New South, and sectional differences.

This review can hardly go into the theoretical and disciplinary questions that Smith deftly handles. Nor can it express the impor-

tance of *Mastered by the Clock* for a number of sub-fields in the study of American history. Useful for scholars and students, this is one of the more important books considering a central feature of American life– time. The book will reward the reader who takes the time that a thorough reading requires.

Southern Methodist University ALEXIS MCCROSSEN

Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism. By Robert W. Johannsen, John M. Belohlavek, Thomas R. Hietala, Samuel W. Haynes, and Robert E. May. Edited by Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997. xii, 179 pp. Preface, introduction. $24.95 cloth.)

As the title suggests, the ever-important concept of Manifest Destiny and its relationship to expansionism are examined in this collection of essays edited by Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris. Originally presented as the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures at the University of Texas at Arlington, *Manifest Destiny and Empire* illustrates the increasingly nuanced understanding of historians of the well-studied, but seemingly little understood, era of "spread eagle" expansionism.

Robert W. Johannsen's "The Meaning of Manifest Destiny" argues that the concept of a messianic American nationalism is rooted in the ethereal longings of the transcendentalist tradition, particularly that of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Johannsen notes that, to John L. O'Sullivan, Manifest Destiny as an idea went far beyond mere continental expansion to encompass an image of a United States destined to lead the world to a better future. Johannsen sees the philosophy of Manifest Destiny embodied best in Stephen A. Douglas, who combined "the idealistic currents of American Romanticism with a hardheaded political realism" (15-16).

"Race, Progress, and Destiny: Caleb Cushing and the Quest for American Empire" by John Belohlavek, portrays the noted scholar, diplomat, politician, and general from Massachusetts as both supremely messianic in his belief in the American experiment and supremely practical in his politics. Described by Wendell Phillips as "the most learned man now living" (22), Cushing's achievement was marred by his proto-social, Darwinist views on race. Under-

standing that territorial and commercial expansion was "the glue that held the nation together" (41), Cushing in the 1850s became determined to defend the Union against what he perceived to be the irresponsible actions of the abolitionists. Belohlavek concludes that "he represented, perhaps better than anyone else of his generation, spread-eagle Americanism in all of its arrogance and aggressiveness" (42).

In another vein, "This Splendid Juggernaut: Westward a Nation and Its People" by Thomas R. Hietala recounts the views of the painter George Catlin, a notable dissenter from the nationalist bandwagon. Catlin's position on the boundary between two cultures made it painfully clear to him "that one nation's glorious destiny necessitated other people's decline and demise" (49). Recognizing the inevitability and, in many ways, desirability of American expansionism, Catlin nonetheless perceived his countrymen as "cruel dispossessors" (50) who someday would be called to account for their deeds. Drawing on themes from his prior work, Hietala suggests that territorial expansion was motivated by greed and justified by racism in a process that was the result of design, not destiny.

Introducing further complexity to the understanding of this tumultuous time, Samuel J. Watson examines the role of the U. S. military in "The Uncertain Road to Manifest Destiny: Army Officers and the Course of American Territorial Expansionism, 1815-1846." The author claims that the army officer corps on the western frontier during this time was not the bold "sword of the republic" it has been portrayed as but rather a cautious group more concerned with career advancement than empire. Contrasting this mostly West Point-trained group with the more rambunctious pre-1815 frontier officer corps, Watson claims that "on the whole the officer corps was substantially less enthusiastic about expansionism in 1846 that it had been thirty years before" (70). The author's persuasiveness on this point is undermined by his failure to mention (at least to explain away) the enthusiastic expansionism of John C. Fremont and the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers.

"Anglophobia and the Annexation of Texas: The Quest for National Security" by Sam W. Haynes argues that concerns over British ambitions in Texas were not, as Frederick Merk claimed over thirty years ago, a "false phantom" conjured up by southern political leaders. Rather they were legitimately perceived (if somewhat exaggerated) cases of Anglophobia experienced by a broad segment of the body

politic. Yet in a sign of the fraying of the bonds of union, Anglophobia tended to have "many permutations" depending on the region; northern concerns about British intentions in Asia, Canada, or Oregon did not necessarily translate into concerns about Texas. Haynes writes: "The specter of Great Britain proved to be an amorphous, chimerical one, capable of taking many sinister forms, but never assuming monolithic definition for the nation as a whole" (140).

"Manifest Destiny's Filibusters" by Robert E. May presents a brief overview of the role of private military expeditions in American expansionism. Confusing in its definitions and unpersuasive in its arguments, the piece seems to obscure more than it clarifies about the filibusters and their time. It is the least useful selection in a volume that makes a valuable contribution to the emerging new literature on Manifest Destiny.

San Diego State University WILLIAM EARL WEEKS

Penitentiaries, Reformatories, and Chain Gangs: Social Theory and the History of Punishment in Nineteenth-Century America. By Mark Colvin. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. x, 294 pp. Preface, introduction, references, index. $45.00 cloth.)

Why do societies punish? Mark Colvin applies the theoretical approaches developed by Durkheim, Marx, Foucault, and Norbert Elias to provide a guide for students and teachers seeking to answer that question. Colvin offers no new research but relies on existing scholarship to introduce students to developments in nineteenth-century corrections. Arguing that "punishment cannot be understood merely as a response to crime" (7), Colvin begins with a chapter explaining how each theorist offers a different explanation of the relationship between punishment and society. The remainder of the work is divided into three sections: the rise of the penitentiary in the Northeast in the early national and antebellum era, the development of reformatories for women up to 1920, and the emergence of chain gangs and convict leasing as a distinctive form of punishment in the post-Civil War South. Each case study concludes with a chapter offering an interpretation of events from the perspective of the four theoretical models.

The last section of Colvin's work will be of most interest to readers of this journal. Like other scholars examining nineteenth-

century corrections, Colvin sees the existence of centralized state-run prisons in the antebellum South as a contradiction that needs explanation. Colvin adheres to the notion that plantation slavery and southerners' "reliance on informal systems of social control . . . kept formal systems of justice weak" (206) and that southerners lacked a genuine reform impulse. He contends that penitentiaries in the South emerged only in those states "most influenced by market expansion along interior waterways" (203) and where planter elites did not view such institutions as an increased tax burden. Of course, these traits existed throughout the South. Every southern state (except the Carolinas and Florida) built penitentiaries before the Civil War. Scholars must acknowledge this reality and begin to fashion explanations of formal institution-building that do not portray the southern penitentiary as an anomaly.

Recently, the rise of chain gangs and convict leasing in the postbellum South has received increased scholarly attention. Colvin avoids some of the pitfalls of the new scholarship by portraying emerging southern penal systems as mechanisms whites used to control newly emancipated black labor. Colvin also rightly places most of the blame for the spread of the notorious convict leave system on conservative white Democrats who ended Reconstruction by force throughout the South in the 1870s. Following scholars like David Oshinsky and Matthew Mancini, Colvin also contends that "economic expansion in the New South . . . was at the root of convict leasing" (258-59). Curiously absent is any reference to the work of Alex Lichtenstien, who makes much the same argument.

Following the work of Norbert Elias, Colvin argues that incarceration in the North was "tempered by civilized sentiments" that constrained "the more openly brutal tendencies of capitalism." In contrast, Colvin finds Marxist economic theory more applicable to an understanding of southern penal systems, concluding that, in the South, "capitalism operated with few constraints" and resulted in "the enormous severity and cruelty of the convict leasing system" (263).

Colvin's application of the theories developed by Marx and Elias to explain the distinctive features of late nineteenth-century southern penal systems is problematic. Colvin is too willing to take northern reformers at their word and does not explore tension that existed in all prisons between the ideology of reform and the reality of incarceration. Such an approach offers a flawed comparison between life on the chain gang and the reformatory rhetoric

of northeastern prison experts. Recent scholarship suggests that abuse of prisoners, violence, and inmate resistance defined southern and northern nineteenth-century correctional institutions. Colvin reproduces flaws in current theoretical approaches to corrections by ignoring the convicts' perspective.

In a book about the value of applying theoretical models to interpretations of crime and punishment Colvin offers no assessment of historiographical debates or the larger limitations apparent in such theories. Instead, he reproduces the "top-down" emphasis on reformers and older debates about middle-class motives. Students and scholars of southern corrections would benefit more from explicitly comparative North/South works that question knee-jerk assumptions about southern distinctiveness and explore in greater detail how convicts' reaction to imprisonment helped shape the structure of southern penal systems.

Queens College, Charlotte, NC HENRY KAMERLING

"One Hell of a Gamble": Khrushchev, Castro and Kennedy, 1958-1964. By Aleksankr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997. 420 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

An article written several years ago in a Florida newspaper stated that the Vietnam War's best literature will be written in the future by the Vietnamese themselves. For post-Cold War era historical writing, the same could be said. A Soviet breakup provided for historians formerly inaccessible Cold War documents.

Despite periodic incantations about megaton payloads and thermo-nuclear warheads sitting upon a variety of long-range missile delivery systems, America and the Soviet Union shared a mutual primordial fear of nuclear annihilation. In *"One Hell of a Gamble": Khrushchev, Castro and Kennedy, 1958-1964,* Soviet historian Aleksandr Fursenko collaborates with Yale University fellow Timothy Naftali in creating a work inundated with Soviet documentation. While the Cuban Missile Crisis provides thematic direction, this book covers a six-year span, culminating in superpower brinkmanship and the aftermath.

The title, *"One Hell of a Gamble," a* line taken from one of President John F. Kennedy's speeches, reflects concern not only for

those risks inherent in immediate nuclear brinkmanship but also for future missile expansion. Thus, Soviet reactions related to other Cold War hot spots, such as Turkish and Italian missile sites and the Berlin crisis, are copiously detailed and supplement the central narrative. But Soviet-Cuban relations show *One Hell of a Gamble's* real strengths.

Presidium files reveal a keen interest in the impending Cuban Revolution. In December of 1958, on word from Czech intelligence, the Soviets indirectly gave aid to the Cuban rebels through the Czechs and a shadowy Costa Rican importing company called Polini San Jose. This company had earlier discussed the supply of rifles, mortars and ammunition for the rebel detachments. Presidium documentation shows Soviet disinclination toward direct involvement for fear of the CIA finding out about the Communist regime's support for the Cubans. Soviet Premier Khrushchev, while mindful and fearful of U. S. repercussions, still vigorously sought to part with Stalinist policy and its "Western Hemisphere as American domain" vision.

Robert Kennedy proves interesting from a Soviet perspective. The younger Kennedy's abrasiveness and generally negative attitude toward adversaries amusingly follows him from Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, and a variety of American organized crime bosses to the Soviets. The KGB branded Kennedy a troublemaker after his 1955 visit because of his association with McCarthyism in the fifties. This view of RFK as almost rough, provincial Americana sharply contrasts with accolades given him posthumously in *Thirteen Days* by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. Both describe Robert Kennedy as a shrewd, behind-the-scenes negotiator in JFK's ExComm group, finessing a successful conclusion to a panic-provoking and difficult incident.

Those chapters directly dealing with the crisis are threefold and cover Kennedy's ExComm group, the actual crisis, and a thematic "Climax of the Cold War." Both the U. S. and USSR seriously discussed trading Cuban missiles for Turkish missiles. Documents recently declassified reveal Soviet anxiety over American Jupiter missiles in Turkey and Fidel Castro's increasing doubts about Soviet support. The book provides documentation regarding the Soviet black-ops Operation Anadyr and its missile installation mission. For balance, the book also provides sections on the CIA-sponsored Operations Condor and Mongoose, along with both operations' continued offshore raids.

If this reviewer could find fault with the book, it would be its lack of attention to a story about an alleged Kennedy-Soviet deal not to invade Cuba in exchange for missile removal. It is an area that needs further clarification and depends surreptitiously on America's own adherence to the Rio Pact, something the Soviets were well aware of, and would prove discouraging to such a U. S.-Soviet deal. Still the book provides new information and a not-too redundant reminder that even if the Cold War is over, the thermonuclear age is very much with us.

Florida Atlantic University FRANK DEBENEDICTIS

Workers' Control in Latin America, 1930-1979. Edited by Jonathan C. Brown. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xiv, 328 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, figures, conclusion, selective bibliography of twentieth-century Latin American labor history, notes of the contributors, index. $49.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

University of Texas at Austin history professor Jonathan C. Brown, who has authored numerous books and articles on the economic, political, and labor history of Mexico and Argentina, is the editor of this valuable anthology of essays on Latin American labor history in "the middle years of the twentieth century," that is, between the Great Depression and the years after the fall of Chile's Allende government. This fifty-year period, from 1930 to 1979, witnessed crucial economic, social, and political changes– namely, the introduction of economic nationalism and rejection of free-market doctrines, interregional migration and urbanization, as well as populism and revolution. Organized workers, as this volume demonstrates, played key roles in all these processes.

Over half of the authors of the volume's ten essays are Brown's own M.A. and Ph.D. students at Texas. Some others are professors at American universities. They all aspire to explain why organized urban industrial workers in several Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru) "participated in public affairs at critical junctures in history" (xiii), and to link causally workers' actions to the larger historical evolution of each country. In doing so, they use a central analytical concept: "workers' control," by which they mean workers' continuing shop-floor battles "to gain sufficient command of the work pro-

cess to bring dignity to their proletarian lives" (11). The authors borrow this concept from Marxist scholars and labor historians, particularly historian David Montgomery, who used it in the 1970s to discuss the struggles of U.S. workers to resist managerial policies (extended hours, lower pay, tighter control, and measurement of daily tasks) which placed on proletarians the burden of increasing productivity.

Brown claims, however, that his anthology reformulates Montgomery's original concept to demonstrate that, as they fought to gain more command over the work process, workers were trying not only to improve working conditions, but also to better their lives in a wider way. Thus they were reflecting on their larger political commitments to affect national events. In fact, the contributors generally try to demonstrate that Latin American workers were active participants in shaping the larger economic, social, and political changes their countries experienced in the period under study. They also argue that workers' participation was autonomous or independent, for it did not respond to the manipulative designs of elite leaders and politicians. Workers had their own agendas, whether struggling against foreign exploitation and ethnic or gender discrimination, or challenging managerial contempt and military regimes.

Michael Marconi Braga shows that, following the crisis of the world sugar market in the 1920s (which damaged their standard of living), Cuban workers established control over sugar mills in late 1933, taking advantage of the collapse of the Machado administtion and Fulgencio Batista's Sergeants Rebellion. Subsequently, they returned the mills to the owners, but most of their demands (minimum wages, an eight-hour workday, better living and working conditions, recognition of unions, special employment and promotional policies) were met, and their control of the workplace thus increased.

Similarly, according to Jonathan Brown, Mexican workers played decisive roles in Mexican oil nationalization. They fought fiercely against the deterioration of their living standards and job security in the 1920s and 1930s seized foreign-owned oil industry assets prior to their actual nationalization, and placed union leaders in strategic posts within the industry. Ultimately, helped by their reconstitution of the unions in the mid-1930s they put significant strike pressure on the Cárdenas government to expropriate the oil industry. This expropriation occurred in a sweeping and extraordinary way in March 1938, in the midst of labor celebrations.

In the mid-1940s, Mexican railroad workers staged sit-down strikes to resist attempts by the state-owned Mexican National Railways (under the U.S. Railway Mission's expert advice) to "modernize" the industry by modifying a collective contract that protected workers against management's arbitrary actions. Andrea Spears argues that this resistance remained mostly restricted to the "factory walls and train yards" and did not translate into larger national-level political disputes. However, workers overturned managerial efforts to expand control over the workplace, retaining for themselves a high degree of control over the labor process.

The examples just outlined are but a few of the successful struggles for "workers' control" addressed in Brown's anthology. Other contributors show that Guatemalan railway workers also succeeded in struggling against the United Fruit-controlled International Railways of Central America from 1944 to 1954; railway workers in late-1940s Argentina were influential in the ultimate transfer of British-owned railways to the Peronist Argentine state in 1948; through the mid-1940s, workers shaped the Peronist movement and resisted the Perón regime's attempt to implement top-down industrialization schemes; Sao Paulo's textile workers gained wage and work concessions from employers in the early 1950s that brought workers' control to unprecedented levels; and Bolivian, Peruvian, and Chilean miners obtained major conquests from the 1940s to 1970s against foreign-owned mining companies and national governments – either under military or socialist regimes intent on imposing certain economic agendas that workers saw as detrimental to their control over the work process, as well as their proletarian lives. In sum, the assertiveness of Latin American workers in the fifty-year period under examination contradicts views that the improvements in workers' standards of living resulted from magnanimous concessions by the period's populist leaders whose regimes were shaped mostly from the top down and facilitated by docile unions.

This volume differs in significant ways from other comparative works in the field. Unlike Charles Bergquist's *Labor in Latin America* (Stanford, 1986), the emphasis here is not on workers linked exclusively to the export sector. To be sure, most chapters deal with export-sector related workers, such as those in the railroad, oil, and mining industries. However, there is no theoretical justification behind this seemingly random choice. More importantly, the volume does not dedicate much attention to rural workers, whom

Bergquist considered a key and forgotten component of Latin America's labor movement. Unlike Ruth and David Collier's *Shaping the Political Arena* (Princeton, 1991), Brown's anthology downplays the state's role in shaping (and "incorporating") the labor movement. Its intention is quite the opposite, suggesting that workers and labor leaders themselves played a major role in constituting labor movements as well as defining both labor's agenda, and even the state's agenda. A more ample discussion of these historiographical differences within the volume's essays would have been desirable. Equally important would have been a more detailed examination of both the original notion of worker's control and its revised version, which sounded a little too general and somewhat vague. These quibbles aside, Brown's anthology is an important, highly readable contribution to Latin America's comparative labor history, and the editor's efforts to make the essays congruent and similar in format are commendable. The volume should be considered an essential addition to research libraries and general collections alike.

Florida International University VICTOR M. URIBE

The Quiet Voices: Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights, 1880s to 1990s. Edited by Mark K. Bauman and Berkley Kalin. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. x, 444 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, contributors, index. $29.95 cloth.)

At a time when misunderstanding and mistrust have strained black-Jewish relations, the need for reasoned voices is ever more apparent. In their impressive anthology, editors Mark Bauman and Berkley Kalin have added a valuable addition to the growing literature on southern Jews' participation in the civil rights movement. By focusing on rabbinical leadership in large and small Jewish communities throughout the South, the microstudies contained in these pages illuminate Judaism's public faces and Jews' varied reactions to blacks' quest for equality.

To the editors' credit, they begin their analysis long before the seminal *Brown* decision. Articles on Rabbis Max Heller of New Orleans and William Fineshriber of Memphis reveal tentative, though important, voices for change in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite limited support from his own congregants

on racial issues, Heller wrote and lectured on justice for all peoples. He decried violence and publicly supported Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute. In Memphis, Rabbi Fineshriber denounced a May 1917 lynching by gathering his congregation in protest and penning an angry editorial to the city's *Commercial Appeal.* His attacks on racism and bigotry continued. He was one of few religious leaders to criticize the Ku Klux Klan and rallied political forces against the order.

The anthology's most comprehensive section examines southern Jews and civil rights in the three decades following World War II. Here again, voices for change appeared throughout the region. In Little Rock, Arkansas, Rabbi Ira Sanders attended a legislative hearing where he publicly decried efforts to preserve segregation in the state's public schools. Sidney Wolf of the tiny Jewish community of Corpus Christi, Texas, helped bring about social improvements through his participation in Inter-Racial Relations Sabbaths and his seat on the Park and Recreation Department Board. In Hattiesburg and Jackson, Mississippi, Rabbis Charles Mantinband and Perry Nussbaum endured strong opposition within their congregations and threats from vigilantes because of their outspoken views on civil rights. Nussbaum's public pronouncements and visits to jailed Freedom Riders resulted in the bombing of his temple and home during the fall of 1967.

The courage and resolve demonstrated by southern rabbis in some communities stand in contrast to Jewish leaders in other towns who made less impact. In Birmingham, for example, neither Morris Newfield (1895-1940) nor Milton Grafman (post World War II) assumed the public roles in support of black equality donned by their rabbinical colleagues in other places. Reasons for these differences receive some coverage in the anthology but could have attracted greater attention.

Each rabbi's personality, convictions, and command of his congregation played a role in his willingness to get involved in so controversial an issue as civil rights. Locale may have been more significant than some authors suggest, however. As outsiders themselves in an overwhelmingly Christian society, even the most committed and intrepid Jews surely assessed the degree to which they could campaign for change and remain safe from retribution. Because each community possessed distinct patterns of Jewish-Christian relations, rabbis understood (and in some cases misunderstood) the limitations and opportunities for leadership in different ways.

Heaping praise for action or laying blame for inaction has little utility in mending fences between America's black and Jewish communities. To their credit, Bauman and Kalin have presented an examination of southern Jews and civil rights that offers neither heroes nor villains. In a loud and persuasive voice, this book argues that Jews, like their Christian neighbors, reacted to blacks' quest for equality with a mixture of enthusiasm and apprehension. Some took the lead; others hid from involvement. A few men knowingly risked their lives. Many adopted a pragmatic approach. Deeper analysis of why southern Jews and their religious leaders followed specific paths would have made this fine publication even better.

Jackson, Miss. MARK I. GREENBERG

Ghost Dancing on the Cracker Circuit: The Culture of Festivals in the American South. By Rodger Lyle Brown. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997. xxiii, 204 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. $17.00 paper.)

The South has a flourishing and imaginative heritage of festivals. Borrowing elements from the camp meeting, political barbecue, Saturday night dance, Sunday church pilgrimage, and county fairs, festivals celebrate the customs, traditions, events, people, and products of a locality. A quick survey of the region brings to mind the Azalea Trail Festival in Mobile, Alabama; Dogpatch Days in Harrison, Arkansas; Dogwood Festival in Atlanta, Georgia; Daniel Boone Festival in Barbourville, Kentucky; Crawfish Festival in Breaux Bridge, Louisiana; Catfish Festival in Belzoni, Mississippi; Coon Dog Day in Saluda, North Carolina; Hell Hole Swamp Festival in Jamestown, South Carolina; Heritage Days in Memphis, Tennessee; Black-Eyed Pea Jamboree in Athens, Texas; and Apple Blossom Festival in Winchester, Virginia. After attending a rattlesnake roundup, where the town had to import snakes because of the depletion in the local stock and use gasoline to get the serpents to come out of their holes, Rodger Lyle Brown, then a reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution* and doctoral candidate at Emory University, decided to further explore the event in the South. "These festivals are frequently dismissed as yokel hokum, compotes of redundant kitschtrash, where always being peddled are the same yarn-haired dolls, workshop-built bins scratched 'Taters N Onions,' landscapes

painted in acrylic on sawblades, jigsawed ducks on tinkertoy wheels" (xviii).

Brown visited such celebrations as the Tobacco Festival in Clarkton, North Carolina; Swine Time in Climax, Georgia; the International Banana Festival in South Fulton, Tennessee; and Fulton, Kentucky, Hillbilly Days in Pikeville, Kentucky; the Scopes Trial Play and Festival in Dayton, Tennessee; Mule Day in Calvary, Georgia; and Mayberry Days in Mount Airy, North Carolina. Behind the marches and parades, reunions and laughter, Brown discerned the theme of "cultural death" (xi). Largely the productions of white communities feeling a sense of loss over economic restructuring and fearing the social stresses of the future, Brown found that festivals offered a "postmodern" way to "reimage and resuscitate" themselves (xiii- xiv). These celebrations reminded Brown of the ghost dance movements observed by Native Americans. In the face of social deprivations, population loss, and a disappearing way of life, tribes attempted to maintain identities and recapture happier ages "by conjuring up a time when all the dead would return, the game would return, and the Americans would be swept from the earth" (xii). Anticipating that some readers might be offended by the term cracker, Brown explores the class, race, and ethnic origins and implications of the word, and uses it to connote rural southern whites of modest means. Brown found the purest form of ghost dancing in Mount Airy, North Carolina, where, during Mayberry Days, the community assumed the identity of a town portrayed in the immensely popular television series *The Andy Griffith Show*. The community then attempted to become an idealized version of that make-believe small southern town, "a town with a moral center, an agrarian sense of time, and a believable community of character" (183).

Among the so-called ghost dances Brown attended on the 1993 circuit was the De Soto Celebration in Bradenton, Florida. Held in Manatee County during May, the festival was conceived to celebrate Hernando DeSoto's voyage to the west coast of Florida in 1539 and explorations in the Southeast, and to paint the ventures in the daring and heroic terms of the world's great discoverers. The DeSoto festival tapped into the nineteenth-century tradition of history pageants, which consisted of inspirational vignettes, civic lessons, and positive publicity for the sponsoring locality. In recent years, various multicultural groups concerned about their image and about righting the historical record have protested and interjected the conception of DeSoto as a conquistador, representative of European

imperialism, slave trader, perpetrator of genocide and rape. As John Bodnar, Lawrence Levine, Roy Rosenzweig, and other social historians have pointed out, commemoration, communal memory, and public space are contested territories where institutional and individual groups battle to impose their version of history. Brown's coverage of the DeSoto festival is typical of his overall approach: provide a sketch of the subject celebrated and place it in perspective by drawing on cultural anthropology, sociology, history, literary criticism, and firsthand observation; find and talk with the local residents who discuss, in street vernacular, each side of the issue; and add the link to the chain of cultural death.

While Brown's thesis serves the limited numerical and geographical festivals that he selected, it neither accounts for the large number nor explains the diverse festivals held in the South. Although Brown mentions how communities engage in festivals to preserve and perpetuate some aspect of their past, boost the area, raise funds, and renew friendships, long-standing festivals honoring arts, arts and crafts, crops, film, folk, music, racial and ethnic groups are cast aside. Similarly, festivals that represent the modern and urbane South, and celebrate interdisciplinary arts, such as the Spoleto Festival in Charleston, South Carolina, are neglected. In Florida, Gasparilla, the Strawberry Festival, Dixie Frolics, Forest Festival, Swamp Cabbage Festival, and All-Florida Folk Festival, to name just a few, have tapped rich historical veins, grown and prospered with their communities and the state's tourist industry, and need to be accounted for. The best rendering of this phenomenon in recent years may very well have been the motion picture *Doc Hollywood* (1991), which was based on a popular Neil Shulman novel, filmed in Micanopy, and celebrated in the form of a mythical squash festival the importance of time, place, and salt-of-the-earth people. Written in an impressionistic style, *Ghost Dancing on the Cracker Circuit* is an entertaining and informative introduction to an important feature of the region's popular culture.

University of South Florida ROBERT E. SNYDER

All Over but the Shoutin'. By Rick Bragg. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1997. xxii, 329 pp. Prologue, about the author. $25.00 cloth.)

"It's all over the shoutin' now, ain't it, boy?" Those words were spoken during the last conversation between the father, Charles

Bragg, and his son, *New York Times* reporter and Pulitzer Prize winner Rick Bragg. In a moving, candid, and honest book, Rick Bragg has chronicled the story of a hard-scrabble coming of age from his birth in Calhoun County in 1959 through an ongoing journalistic career. He has worked with newspapers in Anniston and Birmingham in Alabama, St. Petersburg and Miami in Florida, briefly in Los Angeles, in New York City, and as the Atlanta-based national correspondent for the *New York Times.* In this autobiography, the author shares the focus with Margaret Marie, his unforgettable and indomitable mother; his father, a man haunted by his experiences as a combat Marine in Korea and consumed by years of hard drinking; his steadfast older brother, Sam; Mark, the younger brother who inherited his father's traits of fighting and drinking; his beloved grandmother, "Miss Ab;" and his generous and family-oriented uncles and aunts.

Raised in scenic northeast Alabama where the last of the Appalachian Mountains shelter a bleak economy of small-scale cotton farming, textile mills, and various low-paying industrial pursuits, Mr. Bragg uses his book to reveal the heart and soul of a distinct region. Like other southern states, Alabama has distinctive sections, and the area he describes is far different from others such as the Black Belt, the Wiregrass, or the Piney Woods.

Many people inhabit this book, but after the narrator, his mother is the central character. She is a strong woman who holds her family together despite an undependable and, at times, cruel husband. Through the power of love, the inner strength of her character, and the physical strength of her body, she takes in washing and ironing, picks cotton, and triumphs over every obstacle. Rick, the only family member to graduate from high school, attends Jacksonville State University briefly, and is later a Neiman Fellow at Harvard University. Early on he developed a love for books, writing, and a feel for words and their power.

He was raised in an area where a mixture of the worthy, the less worthy, and the unworthy coexist as equally important: religion and going to church, fighting, family ties, drinking, kindness, truthfulness, football, movies and television, food, broken-down cars (especially working on them), dogs, humor, country music, courage and bravery (sometimes misapplied), faith, stoicism, rage, pride, strength, and, not least, the will to survive.

With an improvident husband, Margaret Marie Bragg was bereft of creature comforts but blessed with integrity and the basic in-

stincts and convictions that give life its power, goodness, and wonder. Mr. Bragg's boyhood world is vividly rendered. The locale was and is a geographical magnet that draws him back and has sustained him during a distinguished career that is based on insights and sense of place and is characterized by literary talent, human sympathy, and understanding shorn of any false sentimentality. A master of nuances, Mr. Bragg has an unblinking and observant eye. He records blemishes and weaknesses and personal frailties with the same true vision that he gives to triumphs and moments of joy. It is a particular book about particular people but its universality is always felt.

With modesty and understandable pride the author traces his journey through the competitive world of journalism. Among many high moments none are larger than when his mother accompanies him to the 1996 awards ceremonies of the Pulitzer prizes in New York City, or when Rick is finally able to buy his mother a home of her own. This reviewer, a native Alabamian, does not share the author's disdain for fruitcake, but he has nothing but praise for this powerful book. Read it to understand the modern South better, and read it to understand yourself better.

Florida State University, Emeritus WILLIAM W. ROGERS

Region, Race, and Cities: Interpreting the Urban South. By David Goldfield. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. ix, 309 pp. Preface, introduction, index. $37.50 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

Most historians who have sought to explain the South, particularly southern distinctiveness, have focused their attention upon the farm and plantation. In *Region, Race, and Cities,* David Goldfield makes a convincing case that in order to understand southern history, we must study southern cities. In this collection of eleven essays, three previously unpublished, Goldfield's theme is "southern urban distinctiveness." Though the South remained overwhelmingly rural for much of its history, Goldfield gives primacy of place to southern towns and cities, and for good reason. From the American Revolution to the civil rights movement, the urban South has been the catalyst for many of the great upheavals in the region's history, acting as "key stages for momentous changes" that "mobi-

lized people and ideas." Southern cities, though sharing many of the characteristics of northern American cities, particularly aggressive capitalistic pursuits, nevertheless remained inextricably linked to and embedded in a region that abhorred change and revered traditions. Thus, southern cities were profoundly influenced by the rural South, and, as Goldfield demonstrates, they provide a fertile and largely unworked source for historians who seek to understand the history of this complex and fascinating region.

Goldfield is at his best when describing the influence of regional values upon southern cities, tracing the historical evolution of the urban South from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, and demonstrating the importance of the city for southern African Americans. In "A Regional Framework for the Urban South," and "Urban-Rural Relations in Old Virginia," Goldfield rejects the Wirthian notion that culture flows from city to country and that cities are isolated and distinctive environments that destroy migrant cultures. Prevailing rural notions about family and race persisted in the urban milieu, while evangelical Protestantism thrived in the city to become one of the distinctive features of postbellum southern culture. Evangelical Protestantism "blocked out ideological competitors" and became a bulwark of southern beliefs, further ensuring that southern cities became bastions of conservatism rather than change.

In "Cities in the Old South," "The Urban South in World War II," and "The City as Southern History," Goldfield traces the evolution of the southern city from the colonial market centers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the growth of "genuine metropolises" in the post-World War II Sun Belt. From the beginning, southern cities and their leaders engaged in civic boosterism, invested in transportation improvements and manufacturing, formed commercial associations, and labored as aggressively as their northern brethren in pursuing the American dream. But southern cities remained embedded within the culture of the rural South, and consequently the promising prophesies of the fruits of urbanization remained elusive. Ultimately, "rural values dominated southern cities," Goldfield argues, "because rural people inhabited southern cities."

The antebellum city had an enormous impact upon slaves and free blacks, offering economic and social opportunities not available in the countryside. Slaves hired their own time, congregated in taverns and clubs, and worshiped together in churches, ultimately laying the foundations for the core of "black leadership,

protest, and intellect" that emerged in the postbellum urban South. The civil rights movement sprang from these same wellsprings a century later, perhaps "the ultimate legacy of black life in the cities of the Old South" (143). Similarly, in "Jews, Blacks, and Southern Whites," Goldfield explores how Jews have been largely accepted into southern life by performing "a delicate dance between assimilation and distinctiveness" that required conformity to traditional southern mores, particularly those regarding racial prejudices, while striving to maintain a separate Jewish identity.

Despite the increasing homogenization of American culture, Goldfield maintains that southern cities differ from their counterparts elsewhere because the South was, and is, distinct from the rest of the country. Perhaps Florida cities prove the exception to this rule, for Jacksonville, Tampa, and Miami are mentioned only in passing and Orlando not at all. And Goldfield insists throughout the book that despite the grotesque proliferation of strip malls, fast-food restaurants, and Wal-Mart stores throughout the region, the essences of the southern soul remains intact. "Technology has modified Southern design," he reassures us, "but not Southern culture" (98). Despite their transformation over the last fifty years, southern cities remain for David Goldfield the best repositories of southern history and identity.

University of Florida STAN DEATON

BOOK NOTES

New Titles

Cracker: The Cracker Culture in Florida History. By Dana Ste. Claire. (Daytona Beach: The Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1998. 255 Pp. $29.95 paper.)

Dana Ste. Claire's *Cracker* is a splendid-looking volume with an attractive and easy to read typeset, sharp drawings and photographs, and excellent documentation. Ironically, however, the book's slick design and neat arrangement seem to contradict its very subject matter. The cracker spirit, after all, is a rustic, rough-hewn thing that seems better suited to a work of thick, pulpy pages and hand-sketched scenes. Stylistic quibbles aside, Ste. Claire has written a truly engaging work that does much to redeem the "cracker culture" from more than a century of negative sterotyping. The book is a fine companion to Grady McWhiney's *Cracker Culture* (1988) and, of course, both books owe much to Frank Owsley's pioneering work *Plain Folk of the Old South* (1949).

The Spanish American War in Tampa Bay and *The Royal Air Force Over Florida.* By Alejandro M. de Quesada. Images in America Series. (Dover, N.H.: Arcadia Publishing, 1998. Both 128 Pp. Both $16.99 paper.)

Arcadia Publishing continues its popular Images of America series with two handsome new works by photographic historian Alejandro M. de Quesada. *The Spanish American War in Tampa Bay* brilliantly captures the rough-and-tumble atmosphere of Tampa in the summer of 1898. Images of pine tree hammocks, makeshift mess halls, and wooden bucket wash stations highlight the transitory nature of camp life for the 30,000 troops who passed through Tampa during the brief but influential conflict. *The Royal Air Force Over Florida* chronicles the Florida-based pilot training program for British fliers during the Second World War. Flight schools in the cities of Arcadia, Lakeland, and Clewiston trained more than 3,000 R.A.F. cadets– many of whom would go on to face the German Luftwaffe over the skies of Europe– from 1941 to 1945.

Southeast Florida Pioneers: The Palm and Treasure Coasts. By William E. McGoun. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1998. 192 pp. $16.99 hardcover.)

One of the novel aspects of William McGoun's *Southeast Florida Pioneers* is that the book is not the sort of conquistador-packed volume one might expect. Instead of reexamining the familiar exploits of DeLeon, DeSoto, and company, McGoun has himself taken a pioneering approach by exploring the lives of more than two dozen major and minor figures in South Florida history. Among the more well known are individuals such as Henry Flagler, Addison Mizner, and Zora Neale Hurston. However, the majority of McGoun's book of biographical vignettes is made up of obscure figures such as Andrew Walton Garnett, the original "Barefoot Mailman" who braved sea gulls, sand crabs, and the occasional stubbed toe to ensure that all the residents of his Jupiter-to-Miami postal route received their mail.

New Found Lands: Maps in the History of Exploration. By Peter Whitfield. (New York: Routledge, 1998. 208 Pp. $40.00 cloth.)

An explorative narrative can be a tale of adventure and endurance, a technical account of navigation and seamanship, or a political history of the overseas empires that were built in the wake of the explorers. In *New Found Lands,* Peter Whitfield takes a different approach. By focusing on the maps that explorers themselves used, Whitfield reveals how both the explorers and their patrons understood their expanding new world and their place in it, what they were seeking and how they thought they could achieve it, and how they integrated new knowledge into their evolving world view. This lavishly illustrated book, which contains more than 150 maps, progresses chronologically, starting with the explorers of the ancient world, covering the East, the New World, the Pacific, Australia, and the Modern Era.

New in Paperback

Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. By Jerald T. Milanich. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.304 Pp. $19.95 paper.)

One of the pleasures of reading a well-researched history is that it can often open new windows in seemingly familiar rooms.

Jerald Milanich's *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* is an excellent case in point. Most Floridians are familiar with the state's Seminole Indian tradition, but what of the Calusas, Tequestas, Jororos, and Mayacas? Sadly, the names of many of these long-vanished tribes are known only to Florida archaeologists and anthropologists, but Milanich's book admirably attempts to remedy this. Using archaeological data along with Spanish and French colonial records, Milanich details the gale-force cultural changes faced by Florida's aboriginal peoples in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nearly all of these people were swept away as a result of either disease or warfare, but thanks to Milanich's ability to correlate the past with the present, Florida readers may learn to view their surroundings in an entirely new light.

A History of Music and Dance in Florida, 1565-1865. By Wiley L. Housewright. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998. 472 Pp. $22.50 paper.)

Florida musicologists rejoice! The arrival of Wiley Housewright's *A History of Music and Dance in Florida* proves that the state's musical heritage does not begin and end with Stephen Foster's "Suwannee River." A thoroughly enjoyable and scrupulously researched work, the book is also a first-rate social history. In writing about the musical traditions of Florida's native peoples Housewright tells us early on that that "The absence of written music among Florida Indians . . . is a limiting condition of this study." But just as a nimble musician lacking sheet music trains his ear to the sounds of a song, so too does the author train his eye on a variety of indirect sources (narratives, letters, and diaries) which he uses to reconstruct the music and dance traditions of the pre-revolutionary period. Over the course of this period, readers are treated to carefully orchestrated sections describing the musical and dance heritage of Florida's Indian, Spanish, French, and British inhabitants. In the sections chronicling the post-revolutionary era, readers are enlightened with discussions of church music, African American music, and Florida folk songs.

Swamp Screamer: At Large with the Florida Panther. By Charles Fergus. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 224 Pp. $17.95 paper.)

With a cover photograph of a glaring panther and a title that seems drawn from a 1950s B-movie, Charles Fergus's *Swamp Screamer* is a definite eye-catcher. And, much like its cover, Fergus's book is alive with descriptions that all vie for a reader's attention. Lizards scurry, birds chatter, and a closely watched group of Florida panthers all move through a reader's imagination. In *Swamp Screamer,* Fergus tracks the fifty or so endangered panthers that survive in Florida, vividly describing the people trying to save these remarkable creatures - including wildlife biologists trying to preserve the panthers' habitat and radical animal lovers who regard the panther as a symbol of their crusade on behalf of nature. *Swamp Screamer* is a surprising and often comic look at the wildlife movement today; it is also an evocative history of the vanishing wilds of Florida and a deeply affecting portrait of the panthers themselves.

Conferences/Call for Papers

"Planters In Paradise: Florida's Plantation Economy"

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

April 29-May 1, 1999
Daytona Beach Holiday Inn
Sunspree Resort
Room Rate: $72.00, Single or Double

The second annual meeting of the Historians of the Civil War Western Theater will be held in May 1999 in Vicksburg, Mississippi. The meeting will be an informal forum for historians of the western theater of the Civil War to gather and exchange ideas and research. There will be no formal papers; instead, attendees will participate in group discussions on military as well as social and political topics. For more information, contact Michael B. Ballard or John F. Marszalek, Department of History, Mississippi State University, P.O. Drawer H, Mississippi State, Mississippi, 39762, or call (601) 325-3604.

The Southern Association for Women Historians invites proposals for papers, panels, media presentations, and roundtables for the 5th Southern Conference on Women's History at the University of Richmond and the Library of Virginia in Richmond, Virginia, on June 15-17, 2000. Deadline for paper proposals is June 30, 1999. Send two copies of one- to two-page proposals and a brief c.v. for each participant to Cynthia A. Kierner, SAWH Program Committee Chair, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 9201 University City Boulevard, Charlotte, NC 28223.

The Southern Historical Association will host its 66th Annual Meeting at the Galt House in Louisville, Kentucky, on November 8-11, 2000. The Program Committee invites proposals for single papers and entire sessions. Please send five copies of your two-page

paper proposals and a two-page c.v. for each participant to Steven Stowe (Program Chair), Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. Deadline is October 1, 1999.

Exhibits and Tours

Historical Museum of Southern Florida's Historic Tours
"On the Road to Cutler" Bus Tour, May 2, 10:00 a.m.
Coconut Grove Walking Tour, May 8, 10:00 a.m.
Miami River Boat Tour, May 23, 10:00 a.m.
Metrorail Tour of Greater Miami, June 12, 10:00 a.m.
Stiltsville/Key Biscayne Twilight Boat Tour, June 27, 5:00 p.m.

For further information on these and other creative tours call (305) 375-1625 or contact by e-mail: marketing@historical-museum.org.www.historical-museum.org.

A series of six programs and a traveling exhibit, exploring the "Back to Africa" movement of the 1890s will be presented in north central Florida towns from through 1999. The programs, funded by a grant from the Florida Humanities Council and sponsored by the Matheson Historical Center, will be presented by scholars in black history. Each lecture will focus on different aspects of the movement and will be accompanied by a traveling exhibit. For further information on scheduled dates and towns contact the project director at (352) 475-2670.

Florida History Research in Progress

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is currently compiling its annual "Florida History Research in Progress" section for the winter 2000 issue. Those individuals who are conducting research in Florida history and would like to be included in that issue should send their name, affiliation (if applicable), and research topic and status to our editorial office, or send us an e-mail message at *flhisqtr@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu*.

Publication Opportunities

ABC-CLIO has begun work on the *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War,* a two-volume reference guide. Edited by David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler, this guide will contain entries on all facets of the

war. The project is scheduled to be completed in 2000. Anyone interested in contributing to this work should send a current vita to David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War,* 187 Dolomite Drive, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 80919, or send an e-mail message to: *dheidle@aol.com*

New History Products

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is available on audio cassette for people who have disabilities that keep them from using conventional printed materials. The *Quarterly* is recorded at the Bureau of Braille and Talking Book Library Services and the Blind Services Program at the Tomoka Correctional Institution.

If you have a disability that keeps you from using printed materials, call l-800-226-6075 and request an application form for free Talking Book Library Services.

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Index to Volume LXXVII

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $35; family membership is $40; library membership is $45; a contributing membership is $50 and above; and a corporate membership is $100. In addition, a student membership is $25, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935. Telephone: (407) 690-1971: Fax: (407) 690-0099; E-mail: wynne@metrolink.net. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.