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of the



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**Selected
Annual Proceedings
of the**

**Florida
Conference
of
Historians**

Editors of:

*Selected Annual Proceedings
of the
Florida Conference of Historians*

Joseph F. Patrouch, Editor
Anthony Atwood, Erika Edwards, Silvia Mitchell, Annette Papizzo, Richard Smith,
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Florida International University

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Letter From the Editor

For the second year, I have had the pleasant responsibility of coordinating the editing of the *Selected Proceedings*. With a year's experience, the process has become a bit less confusing. This is to a large part because of the assistance I have had from the Associate Editors: FIU History MA and PhD students Anthony Atwood, Erika Edwards, Silvia Mitchell, Annette Papizzo, and Richard Smith. Anthony and Silvia provided additional expertise, having participated in the editing of the 2004 *Selected Proceedings*. My thanks also to Blaine T. Browne and Sean MacMahon for their input.

In addition to editing, our group has also been involved in the preparations for the 2006 annual meeting, which will be hosted by FIU History and held at the Wolfsonian-FIU in Miami Beach. The variety of papers presented, proposed, and selected for FCH 2005 and FCH 2006 provide clear evidence of the vibrant nature of historical scholarship in our rapidly-transforming state. Blaine Browne and Michael Epple have provided important suggestions relating to the organization of FCH 2006.

I look forward to editing the papers from the Miami Beach conference, one which promises to again include a substantial amount of research on twentieth-century Florida, as well as some emphasis on the pre-modern histories of the peninsula and the Atlantic World.

Joseph F. Patrouch

Miami Beach, Florida
April, 2006

Thomas M. Campbell Award

Beginning with Volumes 6/7 in 1999, the Florida Conference of Historians has presented the Thomas M. Campbell Award for the best paper published in the Annual Proceedings of that year.

Thomas M. (Tom) Campbell was the driving force behind the creation of the Florida Conference of Historians, at that time called The Florida College Teachers of History, over 40 years ago. It was his personality and hard work that kept the conference moving forward. Simply put, in the early years he *was* the conference.

Tom was a professor of US Diplomatic History at Florida State University. The Thomas M. Campbell Award is in his name so that we may recognize and remember his efforts on behalf of the Florida Conference of Historians.

Past Recipients

Volumes 6/7: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University

Volumes 8/9: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University

Volumes 10/11: Robert L. Shearer, Florida Institute of Technology

Volume 12: David Michel, Chicago Theological Seminary

Volume 13: Dennis P. Halpin and Jared G. Toney, University of South Florida

**Florida Conference of Historians
2005 Annual Program**

**Hosted by
Jennifer Trost
Saint Leo University
Saint Leo, Florida**

Thursday, March 17

6:00-8:00 P.M.
Registration
Florida Room

Friday, March 18

8:00 A.M.
Continental Breakfast
Registration
Book Exhibits
Florida Room

8:30-10:00 A.M.

**Session 1: Religion in the South
Tampa Room I**

“Politics in the Pews: East Tennessee’s Religious Conflicts During and After the Civil War “

Michael Taylor, University of Tennessee

“David Levy Yulee: Conflict and Continuity in Religious Identity”

Maury Wiseman, University of Florida

**Session 2: Race and Nationalism in the Americas
Tampa Room II**

Chair: **Jack McTague**, Saint Leo University

“A Single Universe: Cuban Cigar Makers in Havana and South Florida, 1853-1899”

Evan Daniel, New School for Social Research

“Race and Racialization in Canada: Stories and Their Reconstruction Over 137 Years “
Lea Caragata, Wilfrid Laurier University

“Soccer, Race, Politics and National Identity in Brazil During the Pelé Era: 1958-1970”
R. Michael Booker, University of Tennessee

10:30-12:00 A.M.

Session 3: Religion and Trade in Europe
Clearwater Room

Chair: **David Mock**, Tallahassee Community College

“‘The Riotous Assembly’: The British East India Company as a Foundation of British Economic Imperialism”
Leslie Schumacher, Hamline University

“Francis of Assisi Among the Saracens”
Brad Pardue, University of Tennessee

“A Queen’s Piety: Elizabeth of Habsburg and the Veneration of Saints”
Joseph Patrouch, Florida International University

Session 4: War and Media Coverage
Tampa Room I

Chair: **Jack McTague**, Saint Leo University

“Cold War Newspaper Coverage in Northeast Ohio”
Michael J. Epple, Florida Gulf Coast University

“A Visual Conversation: Mainstream and Alternative American Media Images During Wartime, 1898-1918”
Denise Spivey, Florida State University

Session 5: Government and Citizenship in Florida
Tampa Room II

Chair: **Sean McMahon**, Lake City Community College

“Confederate Conscription in Florida, 1862-1865”
R. Boyd Murphree, Florida State University

"Importing Republicanism: Migration and the Florida Republican Party in the Postwar Period"

Michael Bowen, University of Florida

"The Great Society in Central Florida: Struggle Over Orange County's Community Action Program, 1966-1968"

Michael Hoover, Seminole Community College

12:00-1:30 p.m. Lunch on your own, FCH Working Lunch and Annual Business Meeting

1:30-3:00 P.M.

Session 6: Historic Preservation and Urban Planning
Clearwater Room

Chair: Robert Kerstein, University of Tampa

"Beautification and Regional Identity: Conflict and Compromise in Chicago and Atlanta during the City Beautiful Movement"

Julian C. Chambliss, Rollins College

"The Once and Future NAS Richmond Project"

Anthony D. Atwood, Florida International University

"Save Our History: The Political Battle to Save Florida's Old Capitol Building"

Seth A. Weitz, Florida State University

Session 7: Designing History: The Cross Florida Greenway as a Community and Classroom Resource
Tampa Room I

Chair: Jennifer Trost, Saint Leo University

"Using Local History in the High School Classroom"

Chris Beckmann, Oak Hall School

"Local Subject, Broad Issues: Using the Cross Florida Barge Canal to Examine Twentieth Century Environmental and Political History"

Steven Noll, University of Florida

"Developing an Interdisciplinary Course on Florida's History and Environment"

David Tegeder, Santa Fe Community College

**Session 8: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Cold War Era
Tampa Room II**

Chair: **David Proctor**, Tallahassee Community College

“Hans Morgenthau; The Evolution of a Political Activist”
Brian Keaney, University of South Florida

“Journalist Felix Morley and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1945-1960”
Bernard Lemelin, Laval University

“Riddles of Empire: Wilsonianism, Self-Determination, and Race in Modern American Diplomacy”
Jason Parker, West Virginia University

3:30-5:00 P.M.

**Session 9: Race and Identity in Florida
Clearwater Room**

“Did Slaves Have Free Will? Luke, a Slave, v. Florida and Crime at the Command of the Master”
Craig Buettinger, Jacksonville University

“‘Sneaking Curs’ and ‘Negro Brutes’: Official Transcripts of Racial Otherness in Tampa, Florida, 1890-1920”
Dennis P. Halpin and **Jared G. Toney**, University of South Florida

“An Historical Perspective on Public School Desegregation in Florida: Lessons From the Past for the Present”
Irvin D. S. Winsboro, Florida Gulf Coast University

**Session 10: Protest and Education in Asia
Tampa Room I**

Chair: **Maria Rost Rublee**, University of Tampa

“On the Perceived Value of Studying American History by University Students: A Cross-Cultural Comparison”
Daniel Robison, Troy University

“The Tydings-Kocialkowski Act of 1939 and the Demise of a Development Coalition in the Philippines”
Steve MacIsaac, Jacksonville University

“Historical Beginnings of Modern Protest in North and South Korea”
Dennis Hart, Kent State University

Session 11: Monarchs and Revolution in Turn-of-the-Century Europe
Tampa Room II

Chair: **David Richards, Lake City Community College**

“Reasons for the Gradual Decline of the British Aristocracy in the Long Nineteenth Century”
Chris M. Tenn, Florida Gulf Coast University

“Changing Working Conditions of British Children in the Working Class During the Industrial Revolution”
Scott Ortolano, Florida Gulf Coast University

“The Radical English Press and the Trial of Louis XVI”
David B. Mock, Tallahassee Community College

6:00 P.M. Cocktails

Bayside Terrace

Welcome from **Dr. Arthur F. Kirk Jr.**, President of Saint Leo University

7:00 P.M. **Banquet and Keynote speech**
Bayside Terrace Tent

“How Tampa Women Have Changed American Women’s History”
Nancy A. Hewitt, Rutgers University

Saturday, March 19

8:00 A.M.

Continental Breakfast

Registration

Book Exhibits

Florida Room

8:30-10:00 A.M.

Session 12: The Civil War on the Silver Screen
Clearwater Room

Chair: **Robert Snyder, University of South Florida**

“Clods and Generals: Why Hollywood Cannot Make a Good Civil War Movie”
Chad Morgan, Independent Scholar

"The Evolution of the Civil War Films"

William Russell, Florida State University

Session 13: Migration and Culture in the Atlantic World

Tampa Room I

Chair: Philip Levy, University of South Florida

"Reproduction and Resistance: Medicine Under the Virginia London Company, 1607-1624"

Michele Hinton Riley, Saint Louis University

"Freedom at Christmas: Andrew Gue, Black Maritime Communication Networks, and the Underground Railroad in the Bahamas"

Frank Marotti, Cheyney University

"The 'I' in History: An Historian's Self-Indulgent Foray into Family History--The Calverts from France to the American Frontier"

Jay Clarke, Jacksonville University

Session 14: American and German Military History

Tampa Room II

Chair: David Jervis, Saint Leo University

"Hitler's "Stand Fast" Orders and the Defeat of Army Group Center in 1944"

Lee Baker, University of Cincinnati, Raymond Walters College

"The Union's Strategy and History of Holding Fort Pickens in 1861"

John M. Brackett, Florida State University

"Between Liberation and Repatriation: The American Administration of Post-Liberation Buchenwald"

Henry Staruk, University of Tennessee

10:30-12:00 A.M.

Session 15: Sexuality and Southern Responses

Clearwater Room

Chair: David Johnson, University of South Florida

"Bathing Beauties, Citrus Queens, and Royal Reactionaries: Florida Beauty Pageants, 1920s-1972"

Crista Hosmer, Florida State University

"A Veritable Refuge for Practicing Homosexuals": The Johns Committee and the Persecution of Homosexuals at the University of South Florida"

Daniel Bertwell, University of South Florida

"Good Girls, Bad Girls and Wicked Men: Prostitution and Small Town Values in 20th Century Texas"

Patricia Norred Derr, Kutztown University

**Session 16: Race Relations in Higher Education
Tampa Room I**

Chair: Irvin D. S. Winsboro, Florida Gulf Coast University

"Talking Sense: The Race Relations Institutes of Fisk University, 1944-1970"

Keith W. Berry, Hillsborough Community College

"Crucibles of Leadership: Army ROTC and America's Historically Black Colleges in the South, 1948-1968"

Michael E. Long, Pasco-Hernando Community College

"A Memoir of Notre Dame Law School, 1970-1973: Jock M. Smith's Climbing Jacob's Ladder"

George S. Swan, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University

**Session 17: Life of American Soldiers
Tampa Room II**

Chair: Robert Ingalls, University of South Florida

"Remarkably Productive Civilians": The G.I. Bill and the 'Silent Majority' of Successful Vietnam Veterans

Mark Boulton, University of Tennessee

"Bands in Combat During the American Civil War"

James A. Davis, SUNY-College at Fredonia

Noon

Conference is Adjourned.

A Candle in the Darkness: The Race Relations Institutes of Fisk University, 1944-1969

Keith W. Berry
Hillsborough Community College

In 1942, the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association established a Race Relations Department at Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee. Fearing that the end of World War II (WW II) would be followed by even greater racial strife than occurred in the aftermath of World War I, the Race Relations Department held an Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University annually beginning in 1944. Over the years, Fisk became a center for research and field investigation in the entire area of race relations. The institute lasted until 1969, with Fisk University providing the stage for addressing America's most pressing dilemma.¹

Charles S. Johnson, the first director of the Race Relations Department at Fisk, doubted that frontal attacks on prejudice would be successful. He believed getting the facts and breaking down the problem into manageable parts was the method by which meaningful race relations would improve. Therefore, Johnson's approach toward the institute was to provide a framework and establish substantive dialogue with leading experts in various fields. This seemingly conservative approach toward race relations was patient, methodical, and characteristically vintage Johnson. Experienced persons in various fields, such as educators, social and religious workers, labor and civic leaders, journalists and advanced students, were among the various invitees to the conferences. The issues examined by the institute within the global context of the aftermath of WW II created great urgency and optimism among program participants. A white woman named Marguerite Lane of Albany, NY, wrote Fred Brownlee, of the American Missionary Association, regarding her experience at the second Institute: "Personally it gave me some satisfaction to have this Institute lend support to my belief that better interracial relations are essential to good international relations." Lane "complimented" the AMA conference for the sheer number of competent and thoughtful black and white participants. More importantly, Lane thought she benefited from the social and intellectual contact with blacks that the conference afforded which was nearly impossible in the larger society outside the amiable confines of Fisk.²

¹"Race Relations Department Index," *The Archives of the Race Relations Department of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, 1942-1976*, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana [ARC]; Fisk University was founded in 1866 to educate former slaves. See: Joe Richardson, *A History of Fisk University 1865-1946* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1980); *Ibid*, 141. The Union Missionary Society, the Committee for West Indian Missions, and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society united to form the American Missionary Association as a protest against slavery in 1846. After the Civil War, the association established schools and churches throughout the South. See also: Augustus Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1909); Fred Brownlee, *New Day Ascending* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1946); Clifton Johnson, "The American Missionary Association, 1846-1861: A Study of Christian Abolitionism" (Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958); Joe Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

²Marguerite H. Lane to Fred L. Brownlee, 16 August, 1945 in American Missionary Association Archives Addendum Series A, Box 167 Folder 6, ARC.

Merely providing a forum for racial interaction initially may have been just as important as conference conclusions. A white businessman from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, Paul Clanton, who attended the 1946 institute stated:

I must admit I feel a bit lost ... I realize that most of it was my own fault, because I'm just an average businessman, and most of the others were educators. I was looking for something tangible that I might come home with and begin to put in use. I've learned to smile and understand when I am called a nigger lover. I've learned that most Negro friends who are some of Arkansas leaders, do have faith and confidence in my sincerity; but I really haven't made much headway with my own friends and associates.³

Josie Sellers Horne coordinated the institute in the early years, and resident faculty and consultants guided the numerous seminars. Presenters as diverse as poet Countee Cullen, and Willard Townsend, President of the United Transport Service Employees of America (CIO), were involved in the proceedings. In fact, during the first few years the institutes averaged 90 lectures by leading scholars and specialists, with later programs averaging about 40 lectures. These interracial forums held at Fisk were considered groundbreaking events, since they represented the first race relations institutes ever held in the South. The *Nashville Tennessean* admitted that the "institute represents one of the most constructive efforts the South has known for an intensive study of the problems in human relationships arising from racial differences."⁴

The first Institute of Race Relations, held 3-21 July, 1944, was attended by 137 persons: 81 whites, 55 blacks and 1 Japanese American. Of these, 97 were from the South, 36 from the North and East and 4 from the West. The charge of this institute was to offer practical intensive study of problems associated with race while suggesting methods for dealing objectively with such issues.⁵

The second Race Relations Institute, held in 1945, was devoted to general lectures on race relations, followed by seminars in the field of community relations and programs. Johnson observed that "last year's Institute emphasized prejudice and how it might be dissolved, while this year's effort concentrated on removing discrimination and segregation because it interferes with our common national interest and development." Later institutes, led by Johnson and Herman H. Long, continued discussions concerning racial issues but also directly addressed ways to implement program conclusions.⁶

Although Fisk had carved out an educational niche for itself in the local community, not everyone was pleased with the Race Relations Institute. Some local press

³Paul M. Clanton to Herman H. Long, 14 March 1949, Box 239, Race Relations Department, ARC.

⁴Katrina Marie Sanders, "Building Racial Tolerance Through Education: The Fisk University Race Relations Institute, 1944-1969" (Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1997), 102; *Monthly Summary* 1 (April, 1944), 30; "Race and Race Relations," 24 August, 1943, Rockefeller Archives, General Education Board Records, Reel 6, ARC; General Secretary Correspondence, AMA addendum Box 326, ARC. *Nashville Tennessean*, 6 July, 1944.

⁵*Monthly Summary* 2 (August-September, 1944), 57; *Crisis Magazine* 7, (July, 1944), 214.

⁶"Race and Race Relations," 24 August, 1943, Rockefeller Archives, General Education Board Records, Reel 6, ARC.

accounts denounced the enterprise as a diabolical plot organized by outside agitators to undermine Western Civilization and white culture. According to historian Richard Robbins, at the end of the second institute, James Stahlman, editor of the *Nashville Banner*, angered by the interracial nature of the Institute, pressured President Thomas E. Jones, of Fisk, to end the yearly gatherings.⁷ In fact, the *Banner* editor tried to link program participants with Communist activists. In an extensive article in the *Banner*, Stahlman used the fact that a speaker at the second institute had positive sentiments concerning the Reconstruction period immediately following the American Civil War as evidence of the institute's subversiveness. Johnson's aide Bonita Valien, observed, "this was one of the few times Johnson lost his cool." Johnson made it clear that he would invite whomever he wanted or he would not remain at Fisk. Stahlman's efforts failed, and the institutes continued. In fact, "Johnson's tact and growing international reputation made him a difficult target for white detractors," according to historian Robert Spinney, and future institutes caused little concern for local whites.⁸

During the 1946 Annual Institute of Race Relations, Edwin Embree, of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, presented what Robert Spinney described as a "shrill denunciation of white bigotry." Dr. Eric Williams addressed interconnected problems concerning race and the Caribbean while other lectures discussed the social and economic conditions fostering racial prejudices in America.⁹ Housing was a major focus. In 1946, Johnson became president of Fisk and the next year he turned over administration of the Race Relations Institute to Herman Long. Specific figures on the extent and effects of restrictive covenants were offered by Long in addition to other issues. For example, the institute addressed labor issues, veterans, military planning, and the role of the black press, education, and community planning efforts of other race relation organizations. Voting rights for blacks in the South were emphasized while preparation of the black workforce for future integration was highlighted as well.¹⁰

The 1947 institute followed the same format as previous conferences. The general theoretical and historical framework was established with anthropological data and interpretations presented by Ina Brown and Gene Weltfish. Additionally, the hypothesis of various psychologists attending the institute suggested that prejudice was a treatable social illness. Attorney Charles Houston and other legal scholars provided information regarding civil and political rights, while Reverend Peyton Williams stressed the role of the church as the guardian of the Judaeo-Christian ethic and democracy. Additionally, economics, organized labor, and issues concerning Asian American and Mexican workers were all highlighted.¹¹

By 1948 it was evident that Fisk became one of the country's centers of race relation studies. For example, the Civil Rights Committee chairman for the New Jersey

⁷Richard Robbins, *Sidelines Activist: Charles S. Johnson and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1996), 124.

⁸Robert Spinney, "World War II and Nashville, Tennessee, 1938-1951: Social Change and Public Sector Expansion" (Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1995), 231. *Nashville Banner*, 30 July, 1945; Patrick J. Gilpin and Marybeth Gasman, *Charles S. Johnson: Leadership Beyond the Veil in the Age of Jim Crow* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003), 188;

⁹Spinney, "World War II," 231.

¹⁰*Monthly Summary* 4 (August-September, 1946), 21-25

¹¹*Monthly Summary* 5 (October-November, 1947), 2-7.

State Council, Arthur Chapin, declared that "we are well aware of the tremendous job that the Race Relations Department has successfully been doing over the years." Additionally there were many inquiries concerning job opportunities at Fisk from aspiring social scientists and educators regardless of race.¹²

During the 1948 presidential primary season, Harry Truman, the eventual Democratic nominee, became the first candidate in modern times to campaign in Harlem. Hubert H. Humphrey and the Democrats courted the expanding northern black vote. By that time, Humphrey was already on the Race Relations Advisory Committee. The issue of black voting power was a much discussed topic at numerous race relation institutes and Humphrey, buoyed by political urgency, gave a forthright speech at the convention regarding the civil rights of blacks.¹³ Helen Kenyon, Moderator of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Church, wrote Charles Johnson regarding Humphrey's speech. She proudly observed, "My dear Charles, as I listened to Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis give his fine Civil Rights speech and resolution, my thoughts went immediately to my colleagues at Fisk. Oh this young man thought I, I know where you got some of your good training . . ." ¹⁴ Indeed, the Race Relations Department had helped frame Humphrey's attempts toward national racial reconciliation. Humphrey won a United States Senate seat in 1948 and became a source of support for the efforts of the Race Relation Department.

Johnson, as president of Fisk, continued to deliver the opening address for each Institute, placing the struggle for black equality into the context of human rights and broadening his approach to include minorities on the world scene. The 1949 conference entitled "Implementing Civil Rights," was one of the more controversial institutes due to the participation of a southern white politician, Nashville Vice Mayor Ben West. His speech, entitled "Progressive Government in a Southern City," added an air of legitimacy to the institute. West's opening statement chastised the white South for not treating all citizens democratically. He defined a southern city as, "any city where certain types of attitudes and practices, undemocratic and un-American, are found to exist within the framework of municipal government itself." West later explained, "We find the lot of the Negro one of long neglect" and suggested that Nashville find funds to address the situation. He participated in changing municipal elections to allow representatives from single member districts. The change resulted in the election of Z. Alexander Looby and Robert Lillard to the city council in 1951, the first blacks elected to the council since 1911.¹⁵

¹² Arthur Chapin to Charles S. Johnson, 22 April, 1948, Box 8 Folder 2, Race Relations Department; Marguerite H. Lane to Fred L. Brownlee, 16 August, 1945, American Missionary Association Archives Addendum Series A, Box 167 Folder 6, ARC.

¹³ Kenneth O'Reilly, *Nixon's Piano: Presidents and Racial Politics from Washington to Clinton* (NY: Free Press, 1995), 161; Paula Wilson, ed., *The Civil Rights Rhetoric of Hubert Humphrey: 1948-1964* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1996), 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7; Helen Kenyon to Charles S. Johnson, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Box 144 Folder 2, ARC; Herman H. Long to Fred L. Brownlee, 4 January, 1950, Box 240, Race Relations Department, AMA Addendum.

¹⁵ Charles S. Johnson, "Implementing Civil Rights, Summary Report," Race Relations Department, Box 42 Folder 28; Robert Spinney, "Municipal Government in Nashville, Tennessee, 1938-1951: World War II and the Growth of the Public Sector," *Journal of Southern History* 61 (1995), 106.

The institutes were able to stay current regarding legal issues for years, as NAACP legal counsel Charles Hamilton Houston was a frequent participant. After his death in April, 1950, his protégé, Thurgood Marshall, carried on the tradition as an institute participant for the next ten years. Marshall was a dynamic, informative speaker who developed a close working relationship with Herman Long.¹⁶

The Race Relations Institute of 1952 stressed the universality of racial oppression with the theme "Human Relations in World Crisis." Upon their arrival, participants were given an *Institute Blue Book* that, among other information regarding the local area, listed cabs that took both colored and white passengers, thus avoiding local laws segregating bus transportation. An attempt to lessen the demeaning racial reality was provided by a whimsically written note that a bus ride was a "sociologist's field trip." The institute scheduled daily morning sessions for its members and five evening sessions for the general public. The first public presentation was given by historian Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Columbia University, whose address was entitled "The Responsibility of Freedom." Full participation in the Institute provided added value for students because they were allowed to garner three semester hours of credit.¹⁷

The 1953 Annual Institute highlighted notable academicians to set the stage for discussions. Clyde Kluckhohn, a well-known anthropologist from Harvard University and winner of the \$10,000 Whittlesey award for his book *Mirror of Man*, provided textual background for numerous discussions and presentations.¹⁸ In addition to the usual seminars and lectures, the Institute provided participants with a large number of written resources. A twenty-page handout entitled "Selected Pamphlets and Periodicals" was prepared for the institute and included various articles on a variety of issues from housing to legal questions concerning employment. Additionally, a twenty-one page bibliography was distributed on topics that included anthropology, civil rights, intercultural education, religion, Jews, and other minorities. As a result, participants left with a tangible accumulation of reputable information that could be utilized in local communities.¹⁹

Forty-two days after the US Supreme Court's monumental 1954 *Brown* decision that outlawed segregation in public education, the Eleventh Annual Institute of Race Relations was held, and Johnson gave the opening speech entitled "The Future is Here." Thirty-one school superintendents and administrators from many Southern states attended half-day sessions at Fisk. Given the national and international impact of the *Brown* decision, both Long and Johnson framed American discussions of race in broader terms than school integration.²⁰

¹⁶*New York Times*, 6 September, 1965; Herman Long to Thurgood Marshall, 16 December, 1958, Box 23 Folder 14, Race Relations Department.

¹⁷*Nashville Banner*, 30 June, 1952; "Focus Upon Human Relations in World Crisis," Box 48 Folder 16, Race Relations Department; "Human Relations in World Crisis," Box 48 Folder 25, Race Relations Department; "Institute Blue Book: A Guide to the Campus and Environs," Race Relations Department, Box 48 folder 6.

¹⁸"Presidents Report to the Trustees," 24 April, 1953, American Missionary Papers Addendum, Box 169 Folder 12, ARC.

¹⁹"Selected Bibliography," Nelson and Marian D. Fuson Papers, Box 1 Folder 12, Vanderbilt Special Collections, Vanderbilt University, Nashville Tennessee; "Selected Pamphlets and Periodicals," Nelson and Marian D. Fuson Papers, Box 1 Folder 13, Vanderbilt Special Collections, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

²⁰Charles S. Johnson, "The Future is Here," Nelson and Marian D. Fuson Papers, Box 1 folder 14, Vanderbilt Special Collections; Herman H. Long to Philip Widenhouse 28 July, 1954, Box 241, Race

At the 1955 Annual Institute, fully two-thirds of the participants were from the South, and several organizations, such as the American Association of University Women and the Black Teachers Association, were in attendance. A frustrated Johnson delivered the introductory address entitled, "Equity and Eventualism," in which he intoned that the "southern states [displayed] a dismaying schizophrenia of inaction."²¹ Characteristically, however, Johnson continued by sketching a detailed view of geopolitical change and economic issues with a scholarly detachment. J. R. Larkins, consultant on Negro Work for the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare, was so impressed that he requested two copies of Johnson's "scholarly and statesman like presentation on the current status of race relations in the United States and the world" from institute director Herman Long. Community organizers, such as Joseph Morales Jr., of Puerto Rico also wrote Long to praise him for creating a meaningful experience.²²

However, not all were enamored with Long's efforts. Long received an angry letter suggesting that the Brown decision was not based on law and that the ruling was a Communist plot:

I have a copy of the constitution of the United States and no where does it imply that White and Negro must attend schools together. It is a dirty communist trick. This movement was sponsored in Russia for the specific purpose to destroy America... All the pink pimps, pin head pimps, Egg Heads, Bubble Heads, Stary Eyed do gooder and Desegregation Buzzard[s] are goin to learn that they cannot push Negroes down we White Americans throats and we won't have any integration regardless of what Russia Asia or Africa thinks.²³

Obviously, institute leaders felt a need to continue the discussions in order to counter the constant barrage of negative sentiments concerning the role of blacks in America. Despite the popularity of the institutes, Johnson and Long were criticized for the paucity of discussions concerning minority groups besides blacks. For example, Historian Benjamin Quarles supported the institutes but believed that the institute should be subtitled "Institute on Race Relations with special attention to Negro-white relations in the United States." Johnson was also criticized for not discussing the plight of poor whites.²⁴

In reality, Johnson tried, with varying degrees of success, to address the problems of many groups facing oppression through the Race Relations Department at Fisk. *The Monthly Summary* edited by Johnson contained information concerning a variety of ethnic groups. Johnson paid special attention to Jews, Mexican-Americans, Japanese-

Relations Department; Herman H. Long to Philip M. Widenhouse 26 May, 1954, Box 241, Race Relations Department.

²¹Charles S. Johnson, "Equity and Eventualism," Herman Long Papers Box 1 Folder 10, ARC.

²²Herman H. Long to Philip Widenhouse, 14 June, 1955, Box 241, Race Relations Department; American Missionary Association Division Committee Minutes, 27 September, 1955, Box 363, ARC. J. R. Larkins to Herman H. Long, 18 July, 1955, Herman Long Papers, Box 1 Folder 10, ARC; Joseph Morales Jr. to Herman H. Long, 20 July, 1955, ARC.

²³M. L. Nelson to Herman H. Long, 11 March, 1956, Box 2 Folder 11, Race Relations Department.

²⁴Sanders, "Building Racial Tolerance Through Education," 201; Patrick Gilpin, "Charles S. Johnson: An Intellectual Biography" (Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973), 567.

Americans and Native Americans. Additionally, he developed programs to study Africa and the Caribbean. Johnson biographer Patrick Gilpin claimed that Johnson had a special interest in Indians and Spanish-speaking Americans. Moreover, the 1956 institute devoted a considerable amount of time to the status of Native Americans. However, the Race Relations Department had been created to deal with the problems of black Americans, and that was Johnson's major concern.²⁵

A young Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke during the final week of Johnson's last institute in 1956 regarding the Montgomery Bus Boycott, then entering its ninth month. According to historian David Garrow, as King arrived to board his train in Montgomery for the trip northward to Nashville for the annual institute, the police barred him from entering the main waiting room that was designated for whites only. After debating the issue for upwards of five minutes, King and his party were allowed to pass through the waiting room without pausing, with an ominous warning not to try this again.²⁶

In the wake of Johnson's death in 1956, Long became more visible as a speaker and advisor. Vivian Henderson, who worked with Long at Fisk, wrote Long about his impact upon race relations. "In spite of the fact that you are stubborn as hell, you have been a tower of strength in this land. Your participation in race relations was crucial in some of the most difficult times this nation faced."²⁷ In July, 1963, Long enthusiastically accepted the presidency of his Alma Mater, Talladega College. Eventually, Long's hectic work schedule took its toll on the popular president and in August, 1976, he died.²⁸

In 1966, Clifton Johnson, a white man who assumed the position of director of the Institute had been active in the field of race relations. In 1961, as a faculty member at LeMoyné College, in Memphis, Tennessee, Johnson had been granted a leave of absence to arrange and catalogue the American Missionary Association Archives at Fisk. After twenty-one months the effort was complete and the archives were opened to research scholars as the Amistad Research Center.

While the institutes continued throughout the 1960s, it was difficult to keep pace with the Civil Rights Movement. The *Nashville Tennessean* observed that major civil rights leaders were noticeably absent from the twenty-third annual institute in 1966, although Herman Long returned to give the keynote address. Realistically, the institute could afford to pay only \$75 plus expenses, and civil rights speakers were now beginning to command much larger sums.²⁹

However, there remained a role for the institute to play. As high schools, colleges and universities around the country began to implement black studies courses, the Race Relations Department tried to provide direction.³⁰ The unexpected growth of the archives,

²⁵Gilpin, "Charles S. Johnson," 135, 548; *Monthly Summary* 2 (December, 1944), 120; Charles S. Johnson, "American Minorities and Civil Rights in 1950," *Journal of Negro Education* 20 (Summer, 1951), 485.

²⁶David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (NY: Quill, 1986), 79; Robbins, *Sidelines Activist*, 123.

²⁷Vivian W. Henderson to Herman H. Long, 22 September, 1972, Box 5 Folder 1, Herman Long Papers.

Maxine D. Jones and Joe M. Richardson, *Talladega College: The First Century* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1990), 188, *Ibid*, 209.

²⁸Clifton Johnson interview by Keith W. Berry, 18 December, 1997.

²⁹*Ibid.*; *Nashville Tennessean*, 27 June, 1966.

³⁰Matt S. Meier to Clifton H. Johnson, 18 October, 1968, Box 78 Folder 12, Race Relations Department; Frances Whitley to Clifton H. Johnson, 8 November, 1968, Box 78 Folder 12, Race Relations Department; Sister Ann Edward to Clifton H. Johnson 27 July, 1968, Box 78 Folder 12, Race Relations Department.

coupled with continuing financial need for the center, became the impetus for closing the Race Relations Department in 1969. The American Missionary Association allowed the incorporation of the institute so government funds could be raised without the conflict of supporting a church institution. The institute no longer held summer seminars on race relations. Instead it concentrated on being a repository for archives of the African-American experience. These archives were made available to scholars as the Amistad Research Center.

What impact did the Race Relations Institutes have? A few historians have interpreted the institutes as ephemeral exercises. Historian Katrina Marie Sanders suggested that there is no "evidence that shows the Institute's philosophy and actions contributed to larger changes in social policy." Although the direct impact upon Nashville seems negligible, the effect of the institutes on the national scene was evident in many ways.³¹

Discussions at various institutes provided the groundwork for actual litigation regarding restrictive covenants and segregated transportation. Attorneys Charles H. Houston and Thurgood Marshall of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People broadened their thinking by returning to the institutes every year as a means of providing information and discussing ways of achieving their goals. Staff members of various local and state organizations participated at institute discussions as part of in-service training, including staffs from the Chicago Mayor's Committee, the Detroit Mayor's Committee, the Connecticut Interracial Commission and the New Jersey State Commission Against the Discrimination among others. Given the paucity of information concerning the African-American community in local press coverage across America, the dissemination of reliable information regarding blacks must have been helpful. Additionally, Johnson felt that bringing people together to discuss race relations and exchange ideas was valuable.³²

Both Fisk University and Charles S. Johnson contributed to the long struggle for black civil rights and desegregation. Fisk was interracial from the beginning and taught white students until prohibited by segregation laws. The role of Johnson in helping to bring the Civil Rights Movement to fruition should not be underestimated. In nearly every policy decision where blacks were involved Johnson was consulted. Johnson often met stiff resistance to his ultimate goal of racial inclusion in the democratic system, yet he methodically established a plan to achieve his objectives.³³

Beginning in the 1940s, the Race Relations Institutes led by Johnson, created a forum to address interracial concerns at a time when no other educational institution of higher learning in the south dared such a venture. The Race Relations Institutes were just one part of a multifaceted approach designed to make democracy real for all Americans. Although it is difficult to measure the success that racial interaction has upon people,

³¹Sanders, "Building Racial Tolerance Through Education," 226.

³²Herman H. Long, "Ten Year Perspective on our Work in Race Relations," Herman H. Long Papers Box 1 Folder 5; Gilpin and Gasman, *Charles S. Johnson*, 189; "President's Reports to Trustees: 1900-1948," American Missionary Association Archives Addendum Series A, Box 169 Folder 10, ARC.

³³John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (NY: Knopf, 1994); Gilpin and Gasman, *Charles S. Johnson*; Robbins, *Sidelines Activist*; Gilpin, "Charles S. Johnson;" Keith W. Berry, "Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, and the Struggle for Civil Rights, 1945-1970," (Dissertation, Florida State University, 2005).

positive change did take place in America and education and dialogue were necessary first steps toward democratic inclusion.

Longtime Fisk faculty member and resident historian Leslie Collins suggested that the Race Relations Institute was in short, "Charles S. Johnson's candle in the seeming darkness of the long night of racial strife..." Although the Race Relations Department closed, the vast treasure trove of archival documents continues to illuminate the path of brotherhood.³⁴

³⁴Leslie M. Collins, *One Hundred Years of Fisk University Presidents: 1875-1975* (Nashville: Hemphill's Creative Printing, 1989), 129. Clifton H. Johnson, "A Report to the Division of Higher Education and The American Missionary Association," General Secretary Correspondence, AMA Addendum, Box 364, ARC;

**“A Veritable Refuge for Practicing Homosexuals:”
The Johns Committee Persecution of Homosexuals at the
University of South Florida**

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In early 1962, members of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (commonly referred to as the Johns Committee) turned their attention toward the University of South Florida (USF). The committee searched for communists, homosexuals, and atheists on staff at the school. Those accused of homosexuality met with persecution and received little support from either the public or the university. Though their trials have been largely forgotten in historical memory, gay academics found themselves limited and intimidated by investigative committees and a culture of fear. Most analyses of this time consider the effects of government intimidation on communists, but avoid discussing the persecution of ‘sex deviants,’ to use the nomenclature of the day.

Established in 1956 and opened for classes in 1960, USF could have been devastated by damaging allegations of harboring sex deviants, communists, and atheists. Neither the school’s administration nor the Johns Committee wished to defend homosexuality or homosexuals for fear that their presence would be harmful to students and to the school’s reputation. During a time when universities were expected to act *in loco parentis*, taking over certain parental obligations, the presence of homosexual men seemed a real danger to school administrators. The beliefs that homosexuality was a psychological disorder and that gay men would target young men, combined with the vulnerability of a new school establishing itself, made USF an easy target for investigation.

An analysis of the Johns Committee uncovers worries concerning the influence of educators over their impressionable students. Ostensibly fearful for the morality and safety of the state’s children, cold warriors focused much of their investigative energy toward homosexual (or allegedly homosexual) educators. Even thirty years after the fact, supporters of the committee described their actions as a defense of students rather than an attack on educators.¹ During an interview in 1977, Charlie Johns proclaimed that he wished he had “been naïve and never knowed all that about homosexuals,” implying that the investigations had led to many hassles, but he *knew* homosexuals were a danger.² Johns Committee investigator R. J. Strickland was “very pleased” with “the service [he] did for the people,” specifically children. Strickland felt that he was “a part of exposing a serious problem in the school system.”³

¹“Florida’s Own Inquisition,” *The Oracle*, 8 July, 1993, 4. *The Oracle* is the USF school newspaper.

²Quoted in James Anthony Schnurr, “Cold Warriors in the Hot Sunshine: The John’s Committee’s Assault on Civil Liberties in Florida, 1956-1965” (MA Thesis, University of South Florida, 1995), 320-321.

³Quoted in Bonnie Stark, “McCarthyism in Florida: Charley Johns and the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee, July 1956 to July 1965” (MA Thesis, University of South Florida, 1985), 231.

The actions of the Johns Committee and internal investigators reveal Cold War biases against and stigmas attached to homosexuals. The lack of public and administrative support for persecuted professors demonstrates the isolation of homosexuals during the Cold War era, which allowed the Johns Committee to pursue the easiest targets in a time when the committee was up for renewal in state funding. Allegations of homosexuality were very successful in exposing 'guilty' parties and those accused of 'sex deviance' were particularly vulnerable to charges of moral turpitude. Furthermore, an analysis of the investigations reveals that university administrators and the public considered the school, and not the accused, as victims in the whole affair. This research demonstrates that USF President John Allen did not advocate for the accused faculty; rather he worked with the committee to expunge suspected homosexuals whenever possible, recreating the school to meet their standards of a safe and healthy learning environment.⁴ Johns Committee investigators hoped to shield students from the influence of homosexual educators and internal USF investigators hoped to protect the school from damaging charges; neither were interested in protecting the rights of suspected homosexuals. Furthermore, the investigations reveal vestiges of a separation in committee members' minds between homosexual actions and homosexuality.

Educators at the USF were well aware that contemporary society deemed homosexuals a danger to the public. On 24 April, 1963, President Allen stood before the State Legislature determined to defend his school from the Johns Committee charges. The previous week, Mark Hawes, an attorney for the Johns Committee, had directed disparaging comments toward USF. In his rebuttal, Allen described Hawes' statements as "a skillful blend of truths, half-truths, and omissions."⁵ In a written transcript of Allen's words, sandwiched between two pages defending the school from charges of being 'soft' on Communism and two pages refuting the assertion that USF's faculty was 'anti-religious,' were three paragraphs describing "the area of homosexual behavior," and related allegations levied against the university and its faculty.⁶

Dr. Allen asserted that the Johns Committee's investigation had uncovered just one case of homosexuality among the school's five hundred staff and faculty members. USF administrators accepted the gay man's resignation and reported the case to the Board of Control, a statewide governmental committee that oversaw university matters. Allen claimed that while charges were made against two other employees, both had left the school for unrelated reasons. The administration had also found two students with "homosexual tendencies," both of whom had since left school and were undergoing psychiatric treatment. Allen cited these results as "an indication of our careful screening."⁷

By November, 1961, USF had been conducting classes for little more than a year when Charley Johns wrote a letter informing President Allen that the fledgling institution would be under investigation "in regard to the infiltration into state agencies by

⁴Allen, USF's first President, began his tenure in 1956, before any of the buildings were built, and oversaw the construction. He left in 1970. His term is still the longest in school history.

⁵John S. Allen, "Address to the State Legislature," 24 April, 1963. The Papers of Dr. John Allen (Henceforth referred to as PJA): Box 34, Folder 22, "John Allen: Speeches," Special Collections Department, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, (henceforth referred to as SCUSF), 1.

⁶*Ibid.*, 4.

⁷*Ibid.*

practicing homosexuals.”⁸ Johns told Allen that the committee would attempt to ascertain “the extent of this problem,” rather than attacking or identifying specific people on campus.⁹ According to Senator Johns, the committee hoped to gather information on the administration’s policies for dealing with the presence of homosexuals on campus, determine avenues for removing them from employment in state agencies, and establish legislative guidelines to discourage them from further state employment. Johns promised to run the investigation with “a very high level of dignity.” In the two-page letter, the Senator never mentioned communism or religion; homosexuality remained the only issue officially discussed.¹⁰

This issue was important for a number of reasons. Investigators genuinely believed that ‘queer’ professors were a danger to students, but they were also easy targets who did not enjoy popular support in mainstream society. At a time when the committee was up for renewal in state funding, attacks on homosexuals at USF seemed a simple and effective means to many ends; providing targets that many in the public would not support and positive publicity for the committee. Finding university faculty who had actually engaged in homosexual acts proved a much easier task than uncovering those vaguely accused of ‘communism,’ or ‘treason.’

USF had been one school in a long line of Johns Committee victims. Founded in 1956 and officially named the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (FLIC), its initial purpose was to undermine the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other groups that supported school integration.¹¹ The Johns Committee was just one of many McCarthy-influenced committees in the south opposing racial integration. Historian Jeff Woods refers to them as “mini-HUACs,” an allusion to the House Un-American Activities Committee.¹² The committee’s investigators searched for a “conspiratorial web uniting Communists with political liberals, civil rights activists, and integrationists,” but by 1958, members of the committee were trying to establish “a causal link between homosexuality and political subversion.”¹³ This was not a secret transition. After the committee had been on the USF campus for months, *The St. Petersburg Times* mentioned that their focus had changed from race to sex over the course of the previous two years.¹⁴

In the late 1950s, FLIC became most commonly associated with State Senator and committee chair Charley Johns. The Johns Committee was a powerful example of McCarthyism at work on a local level. Investigators scrutinized the morals and loyalty of State employees, particularly in education, at both secondary schools and public universities. The transition from searching for communists in the NAACP to searching for homosexuals occurred in the summer of 1958 at the University of Florida (UF), where the committee had encountered difficulty uncovering communists, but had little trouble

⁸Charley Johns to Dr. John S. Allen, [9 November, 1961], PJA: Box 4, Folder 13, “Johns Committee Investigation, 1962: Comments from the Public Concerning,” SCUSF, 1.

⁹*Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Schnurr discusses these developments in greater detail in “Cold Warriors,” Chapter 2.

¹²Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948-1968*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 119.

¹³Schnurr, “Cold Warriors,” 4.

¹⁴*St. Petersburg Times*, 24 May, 1962, 11A.

finding allegations of homosexuality.¹⁵ They had gone to UF seeking communists, but had inadvertently encountered accusations of homosexuality toward professors.¹⁶ According to historian Bonnie Stark, the committee's initial report on homosexuality was "well received by the legislature," and they were "praised for doing a fine job of investigating and cleaning up the problem" at UF. The legislature expanded the committee's powers to include investigating charges of 'sex deviance' and increased their funding appropriation, meaning that from 1959 forward the Johns Committee searched for homosexuals.¹⁷

In their 1961 report to the Legislature, members of the Johns Committee asserted that homosexuals worked at Florida's universities, and they found the scope of the problem both "shocking" and "appalling."¹⁸ The committee also discovered that homosexuals would "almost invariably" attempt to recruit young people as sex partners. Because of the influence a teacher held over many students, investigators believed educators could do "tremendous damage" to their young charges. Despite the perceived danger to children, committee members believed that a combination of "administrators ignoring the problem" and "lenient dealing with the individual when caught" made "the public educational system in Florida a veritable refuge for practicing homosexuals."¹⁹

The Committee began secretly questioning USF students on 10 April, 1962 without the knowledge of the school's administrators. Students were taken without a university representative to a room in the Hawaiian Village Motel on Dale Mabry Highway and asked about "alleged wrongdoing" at the school. President Allen learned of this situation on 16 May. The Committee promised Allen that they would move the investigation to a room on campus, and would question students "in the presence of a Board of Control observer and a University employee who would tape record all proceedings."²⁰ Committee members were only true to their word for two weeks, at which time they moved to secret locations off campus. Over the course of the two weeks on campus, investigators had interrogated twenty faculty members and ten students.²¹

Thomas Wenner, a (soon-to-be-former) political science instructor made the accusations, describing USF as a "campus of evil." President Allen defended USF, stating that Wenner's charges sprung from a "prejudiced mind."²² All the while, Allen

¹⁵Stark, *McCarthyism in Florida*, 88.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 93-94.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 111-112.

¹⁸"Report of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee to the Florida Legislature," 1961, Tallahassee, FL, PJA: Box 4, Folder 14, "Johns Legislative Investigation Committee, 1962," SCUSF, 18.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 21.

²⁰"Untitled." PJA: Box 4, Folder 14, "Johns Legislative Committee Investigation, 1962." SCUSF. This citation comes from an untitled and undated three-page list of nine grievances against the committee. There are two such documents in this particular folder, one is a rough draft (with penciled changes). The citations are from the final draft. Grievance 6 and 7 are cited specifically. On 28 April, the committee questioned 45 students at the home of Professor Thomas B. Wenner, who had arranged the meeting and was a faculty member in the political science department at USF. This is listed in the above citation as grievance 6. There is also a memorandum, which lists Allen's reasons for firing Wenner in May, 1962. John Allen, "Memorandum to the College of Basic Studies," [17 May, 1962], PJA, Box 4, Folder 14, "Johns Legislative Committee Investigation, 1962," SCUSF.

²¹Quoted in Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida," 150.

²²"'Prejudiced Minds' Sparked Probe, School Head Says," *Miami Herald*, 27 May, 1962, 2B. "So the Campus is not Evil..." *Tampa Tribune*, 8 June, 1962, 10B. Although his department is never specifically stated an internal memo discussing the backgrounds of investigated professors lists his training in history

received letters of encouragement from around the country. University professors and presidents, ministers, bank presidents, and citizens sent letters to Allen professing their support for the school. In an effort to express their "approval of the action" Allen took regarding the investigation, 1,016 USF students signed a petition of support for the school.²³ The USF Chapter of the American Association of University Professors also wrote a letter praising Allen for his defense of academic freedom; none of the letters of support defended the rights of homosexuals.²⁴

Expressions of support took many forms, but invariably touted academic freedom not civil rights for homosexuals. Tampa Television station WTVT issued two editorials attacking the Johns Committee and stated that "a committee on higher learning, and not a committee looking around for targets" should have been searching for communists and 'sex deviants' on USF's campus.²⁵ The editor worried that "loose, not fully specified charges of homosexual activity" and other "highly undesirable characteristics" would have a permanently detrimental effect on the young school.²⁶ Invariably, those who defended the school did not come out in support of rights for homosexual educators, but argued that the school should not be hurt by allegations. The university itself became the victim of the investigations, not the accused.

Those who defended the school in the public arena did not defend homosexuals, but worried that the committee was overstepping its boundaries. More often than not, letter writers worried about 'academic freedom' as it applied to the teaching of religion and communism. They rarely mentioned homosexuality and never defended same-sex sexual activity. When describing troubling aspects of the investigation, editors at the *St. Petersburg Times* wrote that the state needed to establish a reputation as an educational center, and destroying academic freedom would not accomplish this goal. The editorialist maintained that the charges of pornography, communists, homosexuals and liberals being on campus were unsubstantiated and that academic freedom should be maintained.²⁷

The Johns Committee investigations led to accusations of 'sex deviance' being leveled toward four men at USF: educational resources staff member James Teske and professor John MacKenzie, both accused of performing homosexual acts on students, plus theater professor John Caldwell and music professor R. Wayne Hugoboom, both

and political science and his most recent positions at other institutions in political science departments, PJA: Box 4, Folder 15, SCUSF.

²³USF Fact Book, "Table 1: Total University Enrollment, Fall Term," (Tampa, University of South Florida, 1970), 1-1-1. USF had 2,982 students enrolled in the fall term of 1961: similar numbers would have been at the school in Spring, 1962. There were 3,664 enrolled in the fall of 1962. Taking the data from Fall, 1961 and Fall, 1962 enrollment means that somewhere between 28% and 34% of the enrolled student body signed the petition.

²⁴For all letters of support, see also PJA: Box 4, Folder 13, "Johns Committee Investigation, 1962, Comments from the Public Concerning," SCUSF.

²⁵Crawford Rice, Director of Programs, "An official Expression of Opinion by Television Station WTVT," [17 September, 1962], PJA: Box 4, Folder 15, "Johns Committee Investigation, 1962: Newspaper Clippings Concerning, SCUSF.

²⁶Crawford Rice, Director of Programs, "An official Expression of Opinion by Television Station WTVT," [21 May, 1962], PJA: Box 4, Folder 15, "Johns Committee Investigation, 1962: Newspaper Clippings Concerning, SCUSF.

²⁷"Preserving Our Academic Freedom," *St. Petersburg Times*, 20 May, 1962, 2D.

accused of less concrete charges.²⁸ Teske and MacKenzie were terminated because of the charges. Caldwell and Hugoboom chose to appeal their cases. Presumably, those who felt particularly confident of their own innocence chose this recourse, but the school's administration made the final decisions. Hugoboom successfully regained his position and returned to teaching. Caldwell appealed his suspension and returned to teaching briefly.

The local press reported Caldwell's case more than any other. Perhaps as a result of this, USF administrators also discussed his case in inter-office memos more than any other. The major charge against Caldwell dealt with a student named Charles Hadley, whom many students believed was a homosexual. Caldwell told Hadley to "stay away" from the theater because the professor "did not want any 'fairies'" around it.²⁹ Not long after this exchange, during a school theater trip to Tallahassee, the two spent the night together in a motel room. During the course of the night, Caldwell allegedly told Hadley that, "If a homosexual friend of mine came to me for homosexual action, I couldn't turn him down."³⁰ Caldwell denied this charge.

The internal committee reviewing Caldwell's suspension focused on two major dimensions of the allegations. First, Hadley maintained that he was straight. He and USF student Judy Graves had gone to Dr. Margaret Fisher and complained about "gossip that labeled them both as homosexuals." Hadley and Graves married before the trip to Tallahassee.³¹ Hadley claimed he did not "engage in homosexual practices, was not a homosexual, and was offended by the accusation." Hadley's declaration specifically divided partaking in homosexual activities from actually being a homosexual, insinuating that boundaries between the two categories were not fixed.³² Secondly, Hadley had been encouraged by other theater students to make the trip to Tallahassee and Caldwell could have feasibly shared the room with Hadley in order to keep the student "under surveillance and away from other students."³³ It is difficult to ascertain who, if anyone, was gay. Regardless of whether or not Hadley or Caldwell, or both, were homosexuals, administrators focused on the issue closely, hoping to reach some conclusion and move on from the episode.

The Committee was especially interested in the "moral tone" of Professor Caldwell's theater. He claimed to have been "constantly vigilant to keep his drama work

²⁸H.P. Stallworth to John Allen, 4 June, 1962 and Charley Johns, "Report from Florida Legislative Investigation Committee to the State Board of Control and the State Board of Education," sent via J.B. Culpepper to Baya M. Harrison, et al, 24 August, 1962, both in PJA: Box 4, Folder 14, SCUSF. It is difficult to ascertain in which department MacKenzie was employed, but it was almost certainly English/Humanities. A description of Mackenzie's case in a 4 June, 1962 memo to the Board of Control matched almost exactly another letter sent on 24 August of the same year. The only difference being that the professor's name was blotted out and his department "English/Humanities" was specified.

²⁹The Committee for Evaluating Mr. John Caldwell's Suspension, "Report to President John S. Allen, [9 August, 1962]. PJA: Box 4, Folder 12, "Report of the President of the University of South Florida to the Board of Control on the Johns Committee Investigation," SCUSF, 1.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 1-2.

³¹James A. Parrish, "Confidential Report to President Allen From James A. Parrish on the John W. Caldwell Hearing," [28 August, 1962], PJA: Box 4, Folder 14, "The Johns Committee Investigation, 1962," SCUSF, 2. Fisher was the Director of Student Personnel for the University at this time.

³²Margaret B. Fisher, "Interview With Charles Hadley," [14 September, 1962], PJA: Box 4, Folder 14, "Johns Legislative Committee Investigation, 1962," SCUSF, 2.

³³Committee for Evaluating Caldwell's Suspension, *Report to President*, [9 August, 1962], 2.

free from homosexuals” and believed “his theatre to be the cleanest theatre in the United States in this regard.”³⁴ This point, and the possibility that Caldwell roomed with Hadley in Tallahassee to keep him away from other students, indicated that Caldwell might have been protecting impressionable students from a potentially dangerous homosexual. Charles Hadley was considerably older than the average college student, and the committee would have viewed the presence of an accused homosexual student (and older peer) as a grave threat to the student body. In keeping his theater “clean,” and keeping a watchful eye over Hadley, Caldwell appears to have been fulfilling his duty of protecting students from a corruptive influence, which may have supported his pursuit of an appeal.³⁵

Caldwell also had character witnesses supporting him. Student Paul Morton told the president that he had some “harrowing experiences with homosexuals” and “abhor[ed] them.” Morton believed Hadley was gay and claimed the man approached him sexually. Morton did not believe the charges against Professor Caldwell. Morton told the president that, during the Tallahassee trip, Hadley and Caldwell shared a room because everyone else had previously chosen their roommates and these two “were left over.” Morton “would not be prepared to believe that Caldwell had had homosexual relations with Hadley.”³⁶ Along with Morton, Father Fred Dickman and USF Faculty member C. Wesley Houk spoke on Caldwell’s behalf.³⁷

Speaking against Caldwell were Michael Winn and Charles Hadley. The committee took into account that Dr. Fisher had described Hadley as “unsavory,” “irresponsible,” and “inconsistent.”³⁸ She also reported that Winn had difficulties with his grades (“all F’s”), had stolen school property, and was a liar.³⁹ Fisher stated that Winn was “an unreliable witness,” with “no appreciation for the truth,” and in serious need of psychiatric counseling.⁴⁰ It disturbed the administrators reviewing the case that the Johns Committee accepted “at face value the statements of two unsuccessful students,” who were both “probably disgruntled.”⁴¹

Dr. Fisher interviewed Charles Hadley for the committee. Hadley claimed he was not aware of “any homosexual activities either in the community or on campus.” When questioned about several professors and administrators (including Professor Caldwell and President Allen), Hadley claimed that he had no knowledge of any past homosexual behavior on their part.⁴² Fisher gives no indication as to why Hadley changed his story about Caldwell, although Hadley might have lied to Johns Committee about the Caldwell case because he felt pressured and told the truth to USF investigators. Hadley, while

³⁴Committee for Evaluating Caldwell’s Suspension, “Report to President,” [9 August, 1962], 3.

³⁵Fisher, “Interview with Charles Hadley,” 1. Although Hadley’s age does not appear in the records, during his interview with Dr. Fisher he mentions that he had been withdrawn from a management-training program because “he was too old” and they preferred to hire people under the age of 25. It is reasonable to assume that Hadley was over the age of 25, and could have been significantly older than that.

³⁶John Allen, “Report on Investigation Conducted by President Allen Personally on the John W. Caldwell Case,” [11 September, 1962], PJA: Box 4, Folder 12, “Report of the President of the University of South Florida to the Board of Control on the Johns Committee Investigation,” SCUSF, 2.

³⁷Parrish, “Confidential Report,” 2. Allen, “Report on Investigation,” 1.

³⁸Committee, “Report to President,” 2.

³⁹Parrish, “Confidential Report,” 1.

⁴⁰Allen, “Report on Investigation,” 3.

⁴¹Parrish, “Confidential Report,” 2.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 2.

being questioned by USF employees, would have certainly been influenced by their desire to protect the reputation of the young university.

In August, 1962, the committee evaluating Caldwell's suspension, taking into account the reputations of Charles Hadley, Michael Winn, and Professor Caldwell, recommended that the professor's suspension be lifted.⁴³ The press reported Caldwell's return and Senator Johns' reaction. Johns told reporters that the university obviously "intended to resist the taking of any corrective action," and that their stance was a "public nullification of the Board of Control's announced policy on morals and influences."⁴⁴

Despite his public vindication, Caldwell did not appreciate his treatment during the ordeal. After being returned to his teaching duties, he resigned from the faculty because of the committee's "extended and continuing harassment." While speaking to reporters about the situation, Caldwell commented, "I can't take any more ... I won't subject myself to further indignities from that man [Johns] and what he's doing to destroy teacher morale at the university." According to Caldwell, Charlie Johns would "never give up, but keep on hurting people to save face politically." In Caldwell's estimation, the Johns investigations into homosexual activities were an attempt to 'save face' because of their inability to find communists.⁴⁵

Caldwell's exit was well timed. Confidentially, President Allen made it clear in his assessment of the case that Caldwell would not be granted tenure and his reinstatement would only last until the end of the professor's current contract (about six months later).⁴⁶ While not being technically fired, the University's administration planned on releasing the professor at the earliest possible opportunity. Even members of the Johns Committee, before the internal investigation, admitted that Caldwell displayed "excellent qualities related to theatre arts;" his abilities as a teacher were not in doubt, Caldwell was an easily eliminated tie to the investigation.⁴⁷ Because the Caldwell case was the only one that made the newspapers, USF administrators may have believed that the questionable circumstances surrounding the whole affair tainted the reputation of the school; newspaper writers and editorialists shared this fear.⁴⁸

The Johns Committee members felt that they had found four faculty and staff members with enough evidence against them to mount strong cases for dismissal. In the cases of Teske and MacKenzie, two men were accused of performing a homosexual act on students. Caldwell and Hugoboom kept their jobs, (however briefly in Caldwell's case), after being indicted by rumor on the part of students. The two men accused of actual homosexual acts were summarily fired; the two accused of possible homosexual tendencies successfully petitioned to retain their jobs.

⁴³They reported to Dean French because President Allen was away on vacation. Committee, "Report to the President," 1, 5. "Confidential Matters Handled by Sidney J. French during Dr. Allen's absence from campus," [24 August, 1962], PJA: Box 34, Folder 17, "Memos, 1962," SCUSF.

⁴⁴*Tampa Tribune*, 10 September, 1962 and *St. Petersburg Times* 20 September, 1962; *St. Petersburg Independent*, 17 September, 1962; *Tampa Times*, 17 September, 1962; *Tampa Tribune*, 18 September, 1962. Newspaper accounts can be found gathered in a set of three scrapbooks in Special Collections at the University of South Florida Library. These articles come from Scrapbook 1, "Johns Committee USF, 1962."

⁴⁵*Tampa Times*, 21 September, 1962, Scrapbook 1, "Johns Committee USF, 1962," SCUSF.

⁴⁶Allen, "Report on Investigation."

⁴⁷Stallworth to Allen, [4 June, 1962], 2.

⁴⁸Scrapbook 1, "Johns Committee USF, 1962," SCUSF.

These cases indicate a permeability of the boundaries between homosexual acts and homosexuality as a lifestyle choice. The Johns Committee's investigation uncovered a group of men vulnerable to accusation for various reasons. Existing social stigmas attached to perceived homosexuals allowed most of them to be removed from USF because of the damage their stories may do to the young school but there is a disparity between those accused of a homosexual act and those accused of homosexual 'tendencies.' Both committees, the Johns Committee and the internal USF one, fulfilled their stated goal of rooting out and firing those accused of partaking in homosexual activity at USF. Internal investigators, complicit in the Johns Committee's plans to remove homosexuals, moved to keep these types of investigations a private matter. They did not advocate for the rights of the homosexuals removed from their positions, they simply offered an option for those falsely accused and accepted that the 'guilty' had no place on a university campus. The system worked exactly as it was meant to.

At the close of the investigation of USF, the Johns Committee had produced 2,500 pages of testimony. Homosexuality was the first topic in the response report of the Board of Control's Special Committee. In the end, they found that the issue was a not a "problem" of "great magnitude" at the university.⁴⁹ According to the report, USF showed "the beginnings of a great university," but administrators were encouraged to remain vigilant and take abrupt action in response to future moral charges.⁵⁰

Florida's "Statement of Policy on Academic Freedom and Responsibilities," adopted in December, 1962, insisted that university administrators should "guard against activities subversive to the American democratic process and against immoral behavior, such as sex deviation," as one of the guidelines necessary "to assure a wholesome educational environment."⁵¹ In May, 1963, President Allen sent a memo reminding faculty members of the guidelines for tenure and termination at USF established in "Policy Statement Number 45," reiterating that "conduct, professional or personal, involving moral turpitude," was "justifiable cause for disciplinary action."⁵² Allen also sent an internal memo to the Deans of the university's various colleges, reminding them that all personnel files were confidential and any "requests for these files by government agencies and other accredited investigators should be channeled through the President's office."⁵³ Allen hoped to avoid a similar situation in the future, making sure that all government investigations had to go through the president's office. He institutionalized a protective measure to keep the university safe from outside committees, but the right to appeal often did not save jobs without tenure or save the accused from social condemnation.

In Washington, DC, investigators maintained that worries over national security led to charges of homosexuality against Federal employees. Around the state of Florida,

⁴⁹Frank M. Buchanan, Gert H.W. Schmidt, and Wayne C. McCall, DDS, "Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Control," [14 September, 1962], PJA: Box 4, Folder 14, "Johns Legislative Committee Investigation, 1962," SCUSF, 1.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 2, 6.

⁵¹State of Florida Board of Control, "Statement of Policy on Academic Freedom and Responsibilities," [7 December, 1962], PJA: Box 34, Folder 21, "Policy Statements," SCUSF, 2.

⁵²Memo from the Office of the President of the University of South Florida [20 May, 1963], PJA: Box 34, Folder 16, "Memos, 1963," SCUSF.

⁵³Memo from the Office of the President of the University of South Florida, [26 July, 1963], PJA: Box 34, Folder 16, "Memos, 1963," SCUSF.

the Johns Committee spent a great deal of time investigating the educational system hoping to root out communists, atheists, and homosexuals who may have had a dangerous influence on their college age students. Fearful over what students might be learning, these men were not just worried about the security of the nation, they also were concerned with its future. Homosexuals made particularly attractive targets because the background of the accused counted for very little when confronting allegations of sexual 'deviance.' At a time when they needed positive press coverage, members of the Johns Committee attacked members of the USF community, hoping to rid the area of a gay influence and place their mark indelibly on the region. Their actions point to homophobia during the Cold War, and the lack of public support for those charged with homosexual acts is an indication of the precariousness of gay life during that time.

Beautification and Regional Identity: Conflict and Compromise in the United States during the City Beautiful Era

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Historians have created an abundant literature exploring the transformation caused by industrialization from the walking city of Sam Bass Warner, Jr., to the suburban communities of Kenneth T. Jackson.¹ In recent years, city planning history has placed new emphasis on beautification as a means to understand the interplay between middle-class community demand and the creation of municipal policy.² While city planning's origins have long been associated with urban infrastructure improvements and utopian community ideas, this paper explores how the beautification movement that emerged between 1900 and 1915 altered public perceptions and pushed an aggressive urban re-development agenda. Here we consider the justification and promotion that beautification offered to urban residents in their attempts to address both physical congestion and social turmoil associated with industrialization and urbanization. Moreover, by considering the broader beautification idea in two regional cities, this paper examines the scope of civic aesthetic ideas at the height of City Beautiful Movement acceptance in the United States.³ Broadly defined, the City Beautiful Movement was a Progressive reform agenda that united architecture and urban planning that flourished between 1890 and 1920 with the intent of using beautification and monumental statuary to counteract the perceived moral decay of poverty-stricken urban environments. The movement, initially closely associated with Washington, DC, did not seek beauty for its own sake, but rather as a social control device to promote moral and civic virtue among urban population.

Thus, while beautification may seem far removed from the social issues associated with progressive reform, City Beautiful supporters such as John Carrere argued, that "a beautiful park awakens the desire for a lovelier home-garden, and the wish for a beautiful home grows into the wish for a beautiful street and every other development will be influenced ..."⁴ This allowed beautification to be a crucial starting

¹See Sam Bass Warner Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) and Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontiers: The Suburbanization of the United States* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1985).

²For consideration of City Beautiful Movement see William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) and Stanley K. Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989). For a consideration of cultural influence on city planning and civic policy see Peter C. Baldwin, *Domesticating the Street: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850-1930* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999).

³I would like to thank the member of the Bad Ones Research and Writing Consortium for their recommendations while writing this paper.

⁴John M. Carrere, "City Improvement from the Artist Standpoint," *Western Architect* 15 (April, 1910), 40-41.

point for creating the communities many Americans believed nurtured greatness. These ideas were not unique to the Progressive Era; instead they were an extension of nineteenth-century ideas about managing community space. As American cities became populated industrial centers in the nineteenth-century, a variety of institutional actors and experts emerged to direct growth. These actors represented public health, real estate value, and architecture questions that were raised as municipalities wrestled with large-scale special purpose projects needed to address specific problems created by rapid urbanization. Improving the water supply, controlling sewage, providing public park systems, transportation, civic art, and other considerations were addressed in a piecemeal manner. Because such efforts were never systematic however, their effects could not be designed to insure long-term community health.

As concerns grew about urbanization Americans weighed the cost of rapid growth against a chorus of social reformers who promised dire consequences if radical improvements were not made to urban life. Reformers such as Lucy Fitch Perkins stressed, "the ordered beauty of a modern city must [by] necessity rest upon the ethical foundation of good municipal government."⁵ National figures such as settlement house workers Jane Addams, planning advocate Charles Mulford Robinson, and tenement reformer Jacob Riis promised middle-class residents that the American city could be redeemed through municipal action. They stressed that working-class residents could be saved by creating stronger municipal governments that supported community health and civic stability. Such proclamation emphasized that city and town beautification provided a cultural education that stimulated the desire to abandon provincial ideas and create urban spaces that realized, in physical form, the values that made the United States unique. This transformation required urban re-development and pushed middle-class activism to support comprehensive city plans as tools of civic education.

Middle-class reformers worked through organizations such as the American Civic Association (ACA), to champion, what organization president J. Horace McFarland described as "public-spirited work" to improve the physical and spiritual health of American cities.⁶ With economic upheavals of the 1890s still fresh in the minds of middle-class Americans, businessmen eagerly joined the ranks of the ACA believing clean streets, comfortable homes, and civic beauty were as valuable to commerce as railroads and factories.⁷ These economic motives were linked to middle-class women's efforts to promote cleanliness in congested neighborhoods. Cleanliness campaigns across the country emphasized personal hygiene as one of the keys to citizenship and middle-class women believed stable social behavior was a by-product of beautifying urban space.

⁵Lucy Fitch Perkins, "Municipal Art," *The Chautauquan* 36 (February, 1903), 516-517.

⁶J. Horace McFarland, "The Nationalization of Civic Improvement," *Charities and the Commons*, 17 (3 November, 1906), 231. For descriptions of beautification's effects in contemporary press see Sylvester Baxter, "For Civic Improvement: What To Do and How To Do It," *Century Magazine* 64 (October, 1902), 43. For consideration of middle-class responsibility and political activism see Doowon Suh, "Middle-Class Formation and Class Alliance," *Social Science History* 26 (Spring, 2002): 107. For consideration of city planning policy in the United States see Blaine Brownell, "Urban Planning, the Planning Profession and the Motor Vehicle in Early Twentieth-Century America," in *Shaping an Urban World*, Gordon E. Cherry, ed. (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 59-60.

⁷Mayo Fesler, "Commercial Organizations and Civic Work," *Charities and the Commons* 17 (3 November, 1906), 219.

The linkage between commerce and culture created a planning agenda that bridged the gap between ad hoc economic development and broader health, safety, and livability issues championed by progressive reformers.

These ideas provided the foundation for action when Franklin MacVeagh, president of the Municipal Art League and member of the ACA, proposed the creation of a comprehensive city plan to the Commercial Club of Chicago. Spurred on by the success of city plans created for Cleveland and San Francisco, he argued Chicago needed a similar framework to guide its growth.⁸ The club turned to Daniel H. Burnham, designer of the Cleveland and San Francisco city plans, to create a comprehensive city plan. A long-time resident, Burnham was an established advocate for city planning in the United States and eagerly accepted the assignment. Since the Columbian Exposition, he called for community leaders to address congestion concerns through civic improvement projects designed to teach residents to "learn to like and take care of each other" through "harmonious external conditions."⁹

By 1906, civic beautification in the US had matured as activists from diverse background were united in a comprehensive city plan movement.¹⁰ Supported by civic improvement groups, projects like Burnham's became a central part of the City Beautiful Movement. A team of architects, lawyers, and artists labored to create a comprehensive plan that would insure Chicago's economic and cultural future. These efforts were not universally lauded; supporters were forced to defend city plans from critics who feared a comprehensive plan would impose a crushing tax burden. Burnham and his supporters stressed that a comprehensive plan encouraged municipal efficiency.¹¹ Emphasizing efficiency, plan supporters emphasized that modern technology allowed municipalities to control development, create better environmental conditions, and direct resource allocation.¹²

Proponents argued that municipalities needed to correct man-made failures by using their policing powers, applied through a comprehensive plan, to serve the public's interests. Thus, the promise of a "healthy and beautiful city" became a rallying cry that represented an aesthetic vision linked to new municipal policies that were above petty politics and geared toward progressive outcomes.¹³ The street improvements, municipal art, grand civic architecture, and parks systems demanded under the beautification agenda championed were fuelled by an aggressive process of foreclosures and condemnation for the greater good.¹⁴

⁸Kristen J. Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham: Urban Ideals and the Plan of Chicago* (Dissertation, Cornell University, 1993), 160-163.

⁹"Commissioners and Citizens Discuss Lakefront Designs," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 October, 1896.

¹⁰Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 151-152.

¹¹Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, Charles Moore, ed. (NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993), 4.

¹²Dwight F. Davis, "The Neighborhood Center—A Moral and Educational Factor," *Charities and the Commons* 19 (1 February, 1908), 1504-05.

¹³"Picture Chicago as a Model City: New Plan Commission and Commercial Club Discuss Great Ideal, Practical Is the Word, Alderman Snow, C.D. Norton, and C.H. Wacker Say Proposed Scheme will Pay," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 9 January, 1910, 1.

¹⁴Burnham and Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, 154.

In 1909, the Chicago Plan's completion was heralded as a supreme achievement in the City Beautiful Movement, so much so, the mayor created the Chicago Plan Commission, an advisory board funded by the Commercial Club and charged with "harmonizing conflicting interests" and shaping the plan's presentation and implementation.¹⁵ Drawn from business and political leaders, the plan commission had no decision making powers, instead commissioners embarked on an education campaign designed to emphasize that city planning was, in the words of city planning advocate Charles Mulford Robinson, not about "billboards and pavements," but instead offered to re-develop cities along "scientific lines" for maximum convenience, service, and cultural life.¹⁶

While the commission never missed a chance to stress the plan's progressive themes, implementation fell far short of the community enrichment goals reformers desired. Indeed, housing activists searching for humane housing policies were frustrated by the plan commission's refusal to address overcrowded and dangerous tenement housing.¹⁷ Critics observed that reform language was used to promote the city plan, but the Chicago Plan Commission manipulated progressive goals to serve elite interests, promoting some projects and ignoring others.¹⁸

The Chicago Plan Commission divided the city plan into stages in an effort, they argued, not to overwhelm public support. Yet, the first stage did not deal with pressing social issues; instead these projects focused on infrastructure improvements in the central business district. The first, the widening of Twelfth Street was instantly controversial. The Chicago Housing Association described Twelfth Street as an area filled with "dilapidated habitation" overlooking "garbage piles" that deprived light and ventilation to local residents.¹⁹ Perhaps more important, Twelfth Street was a vital artery feeding Michigan Avenue and the planning commission argued re-development offered a "tonic" to congestion, grappling with the areas' problem before a devastating calamity required more drastic action.²⁰

Such sentiments struck a responsive chord with middle-class residents. Yet, working-class residents living in the area questioned what public benefits were offered by re-planning their community. The plan commission argued the targeted area's blight undermined the community's aesthetic and used this assertion as justification for condemning property. Although aesthetic concerns were an accepted basis for municipal condemnation by 1910, the Chicago Plan Commission pushed beyond the air, noise, and

¹⁵Charles D. Norton, "Broader Aspects of City Planning," Presentation of the Plan of Chicago, Proceeding of the 211 meeting of the Commercial Club of Chicago in honor of the Chicago Plan Commission, (Chicago: Commercial Club of Chicago, 1910), 6. Chicago Plan Commission Records [CPCR], Municipal Reference Collection, Harold Washington Library [HWML], Chicago.

¹⁶Charles Mulford Robinson, "The Replanning of Cities," *Charities and the Commons* 19 (1 February, 1908), 1489-90.

¹⁷Norton, "Broader Aspects," 6.

¹⁸Charles H. Wacker, "The Economic and Commercial Features of a City Plan," Presentation of the Plan of Chicago, Proceeding of the 211 Meeting of the Commercial Club of Chicago in Honor of the Chicago Plan Commission, (Chicago: Commercial Club of Chicago, 1910), 12. CPCR, HWML.

¹⁹Sadie T. Wald, "Chicago Housing Conditions," *Charities and the Commons* 15 (6 January, 1906), 458.

²⁰Graham Taylor, "The New Chicago," *Charities and the Commons* 19 (1 February, 1908), 1557.

visual pollution protection established in US courts in their advocacy for the comprehensive plan.²¹

Twelfth Street residents believed the proposed improvements unfairly burdened working-class neighborhoods arguing those most affected by the commission's recommendations were Bohemians, Italians, and Jews according to, M. Meyerovitz, president of the Twelfth Street Property Owner Association, "laboring men, who through hard work have accumulated a thousand dollars and have brought [themselves] a little home."²² In response, the plan commission argued beautification offered benefits to working-class residents that outweighed inconveniences.²³ Each side accused the other of self-interest, yet the progressive appeal used by the plan commission clearly worked in its favor. Indeed, the president of the Twelfth Street Association felt compelled to explain that working-class residents believed in civic pride and civic spirit, but they did not want to sacrifice their possessions to achieve these goals.²⁴ Despite such objections, the plan commission director, Charles H. Wacker explained bluntly, "You cannot improve condition without some slight inconvenience. Every city has to do it; we will have to do it to maintain our commercial supremacy."²⁵

The effectiveness of this argument was undeniable as the city consistently defeated court challenges from disgruntled residents affected by the Chicago Plan. The success of the Chicago Plan sparked a resurgence of stalled city plans and inspired new ones across the country. Regardless of municipalities' size, community leaders saw the Chicago Plan as a model of planning success and sought to emulate it. In response, the commission promoted the exchange of city planning information across the U.S. in the hope they could make city planning more "expeditious and economical" for other communities faced with similar problems.²⁶ In southern states municipal leaders sent "urgent and repeated invitation" to the Chicago Plan Commission to arrange an "extended lecture tour of all the leading cities of the South."²⁷ In response to this and other requests, commissioners arranged for roaming exhibits and sent commission literature to interested organizations in Alabama and Georgia.²⁸

Like their northern counterparts, southern city planning supporters saw the city plan as a tool to promote community improvement. Concerned about the congestion and pollution, middle-class residents urged the municipal government to address problems ranging from poorly paved streets to nonexistent park space under the banner of the City Beautiful Movement. In Atlanta some community leaders agreed that municipal development needed greater planning. When Mayor Livingston Mims administration (1901-1903) took office he became a proponent of beautification. He stressed the need to invest in better streets, more public facilities, and to have stronger control of municipal

²¹Charles Mulford Robinson, "Bill Board Decisions," *Charities and the Commons* 19 (15 February, 1908), 1628. *Gunning v. St. Louis*, 137 S.W. 929, 942 (MO, 1911); *Gunning v. Kansas City*, 144 S.W. 1099, 1102 (MO, 1912).

²²Proceeding of Chicago Plan Commission, 1911, 206-7. CPRC, HWML.

²³Charles E. Merriam, *Civic Education in the United States* (NY: Scribner's, 1934), 52-60.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Proceeding of Chicago Plan Commission, 1911, 213, CPRC, HWML.

²⁶*Chicago's World Wide Influence on City Planning*, CPRC, HWML, 1914, 3.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 4.

²⁸*Ibid.*

franchises.²⁹ In 1902, Mayor Mims “bequeath beautifying the city” to Atlanta’s Federated Women’s Club. Working with the city engineer, Mims divided the city into several beautification districts to be administered by local women’s groups.³⁰ Across Georgia club women emerged as strong advocates of the City Beautiful Movement. Southern club women were vocal critics of unsanitary conditions and they saw civic beautification as a way to improve community health. Municipal leaders searched for a balance however, excessive expenditure for beautification exposed politicians to attacks from fiscal conservatives. Indeed, Mims’ administration was criticized because of debts accumulated pursuing his civic agenda.³¹

Regardless, within the municipal government, civic beautification generated calls for improved municipal services. Park commissioner Dan Carey noted in the *Atlanta Constitution* that the city “was so deficient in park development that it seems almost a shame to write upon such matters in public print.”³² Carey urged residents to demand the city match national trends. Somewhat pessimistic however, Carey feared Atlanta’s residents failed to realize their rights to a better civic environment.³³ Such sentiments were not true, middle-class groups identified the benefits that beautification could bring to Atlanta and pursued them. Spurred on by publications such as the *Ladies Home Journal* and organizations like the ACA, club women worked under a state-wide beautification crusade to convince officials to remove visual pollution and promote beautification.³⁴ Atlanta club women worked to beautify hard to improve local neighborhoods gaining the support of J. Horace McFarland, president of the ACA and columnist for the *Ladies Home Journal* who urged *Atlanta Constitution* readers to “sit-up, take notice, and get busy” in their quest to create local civic beautification programs.³⁵

In 1909, Atlanta’s beautification movement was given a boost when real estate agents banded together to form the Atlanta Real Estate Board. This real estate board joined with the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce to create the city’s first planning commission. Seeking to bolster Atlanta’s civic image members worried that too many narrow and dead-end streets, too few parks and playgrounds, a housing shortage, and a lack of essential water, sewer, and traffic arteries was substandard for a city its size.³⁶

The new planning body lacked official standing. Described by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce as a “non-profit unofficial planning commission” it was charged

²⁹Lucian Lamar Knight, *History of Fulton County Georgia: Narrative and Biographical* (Atlanta: AH Cawston Publishers, 1930), 172.

³⁰“Mayor Looks to Women to in Beautifying City.” Atlanta’s Women’s Club MS Collection Scrapbook #2 (1896-1920), Atlanta History Center.

³¹Gail Anne D’Avino, “Atlanta Municipal Parks, 1882-1917: Urban Boosterism, Urban Reform in a New South City” (Dissertation, Emory University, 1988), 111.

³²“About Parks of Atlanta Secretary Carey Writes,” *Atlanta Constitution* (5 April, 1908), 6A.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴Edward Bok, *The Americanization of Edward Bok: The Autobiography of a Dutch Boy Fifty Years After* (NY: Scribner’s, 1922), 255-56.

³⁵J. Horace McFarland, “Some Civic Improvements,” *Atlanta Constitution* (12 April, 1908), 2.

³⁶Robert R. Otis, Atlanta’s Plan 1909-1932 (Atlanta: Atlanta Real Estate Board, 1932), 4. Robert R. Otis Personality File. Atlanta History Center (AHC).

with seeking solutions to urban development problems.³⁷ The commission quickly focused its attention on traffic concerns and chastened municipal officials for failing to transform narrow streets into modern thoroughfares.³⁸ Echoing sentiments in Chicago, Atlanta's planning supporters argued the city council's haphazard approach to municipal development allowed politics to interfere with needed civic improvements stalling some projects and promoting others for political gain.³⁹

As was the case in Chicago, businessmen were at the forefront of Atlanta's planning. Robert R. Otis, president of the real estate board, served as commission president. Other notable members included Frederic Paxon, president of Chamber of Commerce, and developer W.J. Davis, each member well known in local business circle, no women or African-American served on the commission. The commission's effort received a boost when Haralson Bleckley, president of the Atlanta Architectural League, proposed a comprehensive development plan. The Bleckley Plaza Plan included a civic center, wide boulevards, walkways, and expanded park space. Somewhat limited in scope, it was inspired by ongoing interest in the Atlanta Architectural League for the Plan of Chicago. A. Ten Eyck Brown, a prominent local architect, contacted the Chicago Plan Commission and received copies of the Chicago plan and other commission publications in the period preceding the completion of the Bleckley plan.⁴⁰

The Atlanta Plan Commission hoped the plaza plan would offer a blueprint for downtown urban development.⁴¹ The plan commission argued the Bleckley Plan, which included a new viaduct system to separate rail and street traffic, offered a solution to the growing traffic congestion problem. The plan commission did not limit its suggestions to the transportation infrastructure. The commission considered housing, schools construction, street paving, and clean water problems as part of its agenda.⁴²

Despite their hopes, unofficial and under funded, the Atlanta Planning Commission did not have the same success shaping municipal policies as its northern counterparts. Middle-class southerners faced strong opposition from broad spectrum of citizens concerned about how they would be affected by the planning agenda. Moreover, the plaza plan did not provide a focal point for activism, instead state legislators worried that land deals with local railroads would be devalued by street improvements. At the same time, downtown property owners rejected the placement of public comfort stations next to office properties in the plaza plan.⁴³ Such resistance was heaped on top of traditional ward politics that drove competition over limited resources. Director Otis charged that political battles waged over the merits of improvements in some sections of

³⁷Charter member of the Atlanta Real Estate Men's Exchange included Robert R. Otis, Ralph O. Cochran, Chas. P. Glover, Marion Kiser, Frank Liebman, Harris G. White, M.S. Rankin, and B.S. Grant among others. Association File, Atlanta Real Estate Board, AHC.

³⁸Robert R. Otis, *Atlanta's Plan 1909-1932* (Atlanta: Atlanta Real Estate Board, 1932), 1-2. Robert R. Otis Personality File. AHC.

³⁹Galloway, *The Inman Family*, 76-77. See also Georgina Hickey, *Hope and Danger in the New South City: Working-Class Women and Urban Development in Atlanta, 1890-1940* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 55-65.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Otis, *Atlanta's Plan*, 3.

⁴²Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events* (NY: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1954), 507-508.

⁴³Otis, *Atlanta's Plan*, 3.

the city as opposed to others ultimately did the most to prevent the planning commission from functioning.⁴⁴ Ignored and without funds for publicity, the plan commission disbanded after one year of fruitless service, failing to achieve any reforms.

Atlanta's failure highlighted how much the progressive idea helped to define city planning's benefits. A city plan was an attempt by white middle-class residents to address their anxieties about urban development by creating a municipal framework that promoted values linked to community stability. In densely-packed Northeast and Midwest cities, the drive to create livable neighborhoods was informed by "traditional" American fears they were being overwhelmed by new immigrants with radically different religious and cultural beliefs. Middle-class Americans sought a clear civic vision to offset the effect of lower races on American cultural development. Progressive reformers believed working-class immigrants were unschooled in civilized society and unaware of crucial American traditions.⁴⁵ Worst, trapped in their own congested neighborhoods, these immigrants were denied the means to learn the values that could lead to self-improvement and assimilation. Re-planning municipal space was a means to reach working-class immigrant communities that were, according to Dwight F. Davis, chairman of St. Louis City Planning Commission, "suspicious of American institutions" and perceived authority as representing "punishment rather than protection."⁴⁶ The planned urban space offered a counterpoint to the congested neighborhood that isolated poor residents from the wider civic society.⁴⁷ In contrast, beautification brought residents in contact with the best of American civilization, and taught them that the government maintained their welfare and public society represented progress.⁴⁸ Framed in this manner, city planning offered a response to community unrest that far outweighed its cost. For southerners unconcerned by threats to their cultural cohesion however, city plans represented an economic question.⁴⁹

This fundamental difference dictated how southern planning supporters pursued city planning and their goals in the first decade of the twentieth century. Although Progressive city planners readily accepted the civilizing benefits associated with beautification, they were not as effective translating those desires into policy initiatives supported among the broader public. The rhetoric of southern city planning advocates painted planning as a vehicle to achieve improved civic vision, but offered little emphasis on civic education and instilling values. Not even fears that white citizens were not doing enough to "keep [African American] bodies clean and their minds pure" was enough to motivate municipal expenditure for more park space.⁵⁰ Indeed, neither African-American residents nor working-class whites were enough of a threat to community identity or

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Louise M. Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11-12.

⁴⁶Dwight F. Davis, "The Neighborhood Center—A Moral and Educational Factor," *Charities and the Commons* 19 (1 February, 1908), 1506.

⁴⁷Charles Mulford Robinson, "Improvement in City Life: Aesthetic Progress," *Atlantic Monthly* 83 (June, 1899), 771-73.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 414-417.

⁵⁰"About Parks of Atlanta Secretary Carey Writes," *Atlanta Constitution* (5 April, 1905), 6A.

social stability for southerners to believe they needed to reaffirm community culture through civic aesthetics. African-Americans never represented the frightening otherworldliness associated with racially ill-defined and religiously diverse immigrants. Moreover, politically disenfranchised and targets of white violence, African-Americans could not be a justification for aggressive municipal expenditure to create civic spaces that educated the masses.

Although proponents struggled to give city planning a progressive core that protected working-classes residents from exploitation and environmental degradation, beautification allowed middle-class business leaders across the country to strengthen their control over municipal development. The City Beautiful Movement helped to create a new institutional structure supported by middle-class business interests. These men and women shaped urban re-development to pursue goals defined by middle-class economic and social values. As a consequence, much like the city planning agenda that emerged after World War II, Progressive Era planning became a tool to safeguard family interaction and stabilize economic opportunities.⁵¹

⁵¹Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 9. See all of chapters one and two.

The "I" in History: A Self-Indulgent Foray into Family History The Calvet's From France to the American Frontier

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Introduction

I grew up in what we then called the "Far West End" of Richmond, Virginia, not many miles and just across the James River from Huguenot High School, a sports rival. I only vaguely understood the school had been named after a group of French who had settled in the region. More consuming for me was the heritage implied by my own high school—Douglas S. Freeman—named after the Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer of Robert E. Lee. Richmond, after all, had been the capital of the Confederacy and historic battlefields ring the city. Only recently did I discover that one of my direct ancestors, Jean Calvet and the source of my middle name of "Calvitt," was one of the original frontier settlers of Manakin Town, the Huguenot settlement near Richmond.

Pierre Calvet: Huguenot Merchant in Lacaune, France

I have been able to trace the "Calvet" connection back to Pierre Calvet, born in France about 1630. He was a merchant in the little town of Lacaune, in the "Huguenot Valley," some miles east of Toulouse in the district of Tarn in southern France. His first wife, Isabeau Pagés, bore three children before dying in 1656. Pierre died in Lacaune on October 3, 1682, three short years before King Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) ended Catholic toleration of Protestantism in France by revoking the Edict of Nantes. We know little of them, because the original records of Tarn containing the registers of baptisms, weddings, and burials of the Reformed Church of Lacaune (1675-1685) have been lost or destroyed.

The children of the two sons of Pierre and Isabeau Pagés brought the Calvet family into Colonial America: Raymond's son Pierre to South Carolina and Jean's son Jean to Virginia.¹ I am interested in Jean.

Pastor Jean Calvet Flees Catholic Repression to England

Jean Calvet, born in 1652 in Lacaune, became a Protestant minister in a time of social upheaval and religious strife in France.² During the intermittent periods of government toleration in the seventeenth century, Protestants had set up at least eight academies in France. One by one, however, Catholics closed, demolished, or simply took them over. The Academy of Montauban taught students from 1598 to 1659, until its faculty moved what remained to Puylaurens near Castres, where it existed from 1660 to

¹Latayne Colvett Stanfill. *Colvett Family Chronicles: The History of the Colvett Family of Tennessee, 1630-1900* (Glendale, CA: Heirloom Press, 1991), 13-14. See Michel Maldinier, *Lacaune-les-Bains: des origines à nos jours* (Nages, Fr: Centre de recherche de Rieumontagne, 1988).

²For demographic data on the Huguenots in France, see Philip Benedict, "The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81 (1991), 1-164.

1685. The renamed academy was among the last of the schools to close, only seven short months before Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes.³

Jean Calvet entered the Protestant Academy of Puylaurens in 1673 to begin his studies for the ministry. By 1676, he was ministering to the Church of Sablayrolles. The following year in November, Jean attended the Synod of Haut Languedoc held in Brassac. Released from his responsibilities at the Church of Sablayrolles, he accepted a new position at the Church of Saint Rome de Tarn. He was at the Synod of Haut Languedoc held at Saverdun in September 1678. As pastor of Saint Rome de Tarn, Jean Calvet attended at least two more of these important Synods of Haut Languedoc, one at Realmont in 1679 and the other in St. Antonin in 1682.⁴

Catholics regularly invaded, desecrated, closed, tore down, or simply took over Huguenot temples. Many defiant Huguenot congregations continued to meet until the state made it a crime even to hold services atop the rubble of their destroyed houses of worship. The temples at Lacaune and Sablayrolles were among the churches the Catholics tore down.⁵

In response, many Huguenots fled France, most shortly before and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—anywhere from 300,000 to one million. Others died in prison, were hanged, or were condemned to the galleys. France began losing skilled weavers, glass and papermakers, and metal and leather workers. These thrifty, temperate, educated, skilled, industrious, and tolerant Huguenots lived simply, believed deeply, and endured tenaciously. In their flight, they enriched the modernizing economies of the Netherlands, England, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Russia, and the German States as much as their departure weakened France's.⁶

For Pastor Jean Calvet, the crucial moment came on 22 January, 1685, when dragoons invaded and destroyed the table of the Last Supper, the pulpit, the pews, and the galleries at his church at Saint Rome de Tarn. They tore down the liturgical insignia

³Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 17.

⁴*Ibid.*, 17-18. For a history of Protestantism in Lacaune, see Natalie Roubeau-Bascoul, *La communauté protestante de Lacaune-Viane: De la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à la création de l'Église consistoriale (1685-1802)* (n.p.: Centre de Recherches du Patrimoine de Rieumontagne, n.d.).

⁵Information from librarian, Le musée du vieux Lacaune. For a general description of Catholic repression, see Roger Mettam, "Louis XIV and the Persecution of Huguenots: The Role of the Ministers and Royal Officials," in Irene Scouloudi, ed., *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800: Contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24-25 September 1985* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1987), 198-216.

⁶Jeanne Dibrell, "Huguenot Refugees as Exemplified in Manakintown, Virginia" (MA Thesis, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, 1947), 19-26; Lucian John Fosdick, *The French Blood in America* (NY: F. H. Revell, 1906); Robert Alonzo Brock, *Documents Chiefly Unpublished, Relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia and to the Settlement of Manakin-Town, with an Appendix of Genealogies, Presenting Data of the Fontaine, Maury, Dupuy, Trabue, Marye, Chastain, Cocke, and Other Families. To which is added: "Communication from Governor Francis Nicholson Concerning the Huguenot Settlements with 'List of Refugees', 1700"* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1979), vii; Grace Lawless Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1993); Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland* (London: John Murray, Albermarle St., 1889); Carlos A. Loop, "Non-English European Race Elements in Virginia, 1607-1776" (MA Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1941). See Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver 1680-1760 from the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection* (London: Thomas Heneage, 1996) for part of the Huguenot contribution to England. Also, see the thirteen essays in Scouloudi, ed., *Huguenots in Britain*.

gracing the doors and windows, and expelled the congregation from their temple. On 2 March, Jean Calvet signed a receipt for his last salary as minister of the Church at Saint Rome de Tam. He then forsook all his assets including the 350 *livres* creditors owed him. Soon afterward, he, his wife Suzanne, and their family fled France—probably from La Rochelle—to arrive penniless in Plymouth, England.⁷

Not everyone fled into exile. On 13 September, 1685, 101 Protestants assembled in Saint-Rome. They publicly proclaimed that they wanted to enter “the heart of the Catholic Church, apostolic and Roman” in which they wanted “to live and die.” In that year, 201 families, representing 1,000 Protestants, renounced their faith so “there was but one man left to convert.”⁸ Thus, many families, including part of the Calvet family, abjured their Protestant faith and remained in Lacaune, although some merely feigned abjuring until they could safely send their families out of the country.⁹

In England, Jean Calvet faced frustrations, and like most of his compatriots, he arrived destitute. Their need plus outrage at Louis XIV was so great that the English organized a national offering, the Royal Bounty, for the refugee Huguenots. The position of England’s Catholic king, James II (r. 1685-88) had become so insecure that he had to consent, and communicants of the Church of England, Dissenters, and even a few Roman Catholics gave to the fund. In September, 1685, the Reverend Jean H. Calvet was in the Plymouth, England, seeking help from the Commissioners of Customs and asking about the delay in responding to his petition for passage for several French Protestant families to “New Yorke Plantation.” Unsuccessful in his efforts, between 1686 and 1687, Jean Calvet was on the “Royal Bounty,” receiving a pension of six pounds for clothes. He received at least three such pensions.¹⁰

Soon, he established himself. Near Plymouth in Stonehouse where many Huguenots resided, Jean and another minister set up a Huguenot chapel on 9 September, 1689. In 1698, Jean was an officiating minister at Glass House Street Chapel, which was one of three new congregations formed in London’s West End to minister to the newly-arriving Protestants. He continued to serve this congregation after it moved to Leicester Fields. Because of the large influx of ministers among the many Protestant refugees, there were not enough French churches to employ all the pastors. Several ministers therefore would share a church pulpit, carrying out pastoral duties at many different churches. It seems that Jean served several churches, most importantly the Treadneedle Street Church in the French Colony of the London suburbs, ministering mainly in marriages and baptisms.¹¹

By 1708, Jean Calvet had retired when he served as a godfather rather than as minister at a baptism. In 1711, about age 59, he was an “unsalaried as a pastor” and likely

⁷Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 20-22, 29. The name “Calvet” does not appear in William Durrant Cooper, ed., *Lists of Foreign Protestants, and Aliens, Resident in England, 1618-1688: From Returns in the State Paper Office* (Westminster: The Camden Society, 1862).

⁸Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 21.

⁹For those Calvet’s who remained in France, see Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 14-16. Calvet’s still live in Lacaune and their names are inscribed on local monuments honoring those who gave their lives for France during the First and Second World Wars.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 30-33. For a description of Huguenot life in England, see Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1885/1966), 2: 148-69.

¹¹Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 34-42. For more demographic data on the Huguenot migration to London, see Benedict, “The Huguenot Population of France,” 45.

infirm. Jean again qualified for the Royal Bounty. He probably died sometime around 1711 or 1712, never having made it to the New World.¹²

Jean Calvet and his wife Suzanne had four documented children, three daughters and one son: Anne, Sara, Suzanne, and Jean Calvet, all most likely born in Lacaune. Presumably, the three daughters remained in England. Jean, on the other hand, left England for the Virginia colony to help father the Calvet, Colvett, and Calvit families in America.¹³

Huguenots Go to the New World

As skilled artisans, master craftsmen, and tradesmen, many Huguenots could not find enough work even in economically advanced England. With the Virginia colony actively seeking settlers, King William III (r. 1689-1702) agreed to pay their passages, give them land, and exempt them from all taxes for seven years. These were no small boons when most artisans had to bond themselves as indentured servants to get to the New World. The Huguenots understood that the New World, including Virginia, offered abundant land, a healthy climate, commercial opportunity, and freedom.

Baron de Sance settled a colony of Huguenots on the James River in 1630. In 1637, 600 French settlers came to Virginia to colonize lands offered by William Fitzhugh in what were to become Stafford and Spotsylvania counties. Major Moore Faust Le Roy already owned a large tract of land on the Rappahannock River before 1651. In 1653, the Huguenot Relief Committee of London paid David Dashaise seventy pounds sterling for 55 French Protestants to go to Virginia. Perhaps these refugees settled in the Northern Neck of Virginia. Every year from 1688 to 1700, aided by William III's Royal Bounty, small groups of Huguenots went from London to Virginia.¹⁴

Among the less successful Huguenot settlements was Brenton. It began when Nicholas Hayward, the son of a well-established Virginia merchant in London, sought profit by colonizing the rich Virginia land with Huguenot refugees. In exchange for cash, on 10 January, 1687 he and his partners received 30,000 acres as tenants in common in Old Stafford County. The land lay between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers near Occoquan Creek in Stafford County and present-day Brentsville, Prince William County. On February 10, 1687, James II agreed to Hayward's proposal. Organized by George Brent, the town became officially known as "Brenton," although locals called the settlement "Brent Town." For security, the Brenton families were to live together in town on one-acre lots and were to farm 100 acres in the countryside.¹⁵

¹²Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 42.

¹³*Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁴Dibrell, "Huguenot Refugees," 43; Fosdick, *French Blood*, 348-57; Robert L. Crewdon, "The Manakin Experiment: A French Protestant Colony in the New World," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (March 1986), 203-04; Mary Wilson Bohanna Land, "The Establishment of the Huguenots in Virginia" (MA Thesis, The College of William and Mary, 1942), 26-27; James Luckin Bugg Jr., "Manakin Town in Virginia, Its Story and Its People" (MA Thesis, University of Virginia, 1942), 39-58. For a larger discussion of Huguenot emigration to America, see Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), esp. 217-20 on Manakin.

¹⁵Dibrell, "Huguenot Refugees," 43-46; Noel Curer-Briggs and Royston Gambier, *Huguenot Ancestry* (Sussex: Phillimore & Co., 1985), 57-69; Fairfax Harrison, "Brent Town, Ravensworth, and the Huguenots in Stafford," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 5 (January, 1924), 164-85; Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 48-50; Land, "The Establishment of the Huguenots in Virginia," 27-29. For William

In London, Hayward busily promoted his settlement by circulating "broadsides" through the coffee houses of Soho, St. Giles, and the weaver's shops of Spitalfields. Published in French, the broadsides promised "good and fertile" land "in perpetuity." They added, "the proprietors will give the preference of choice of the situations of farm and house in the order of application, but only on condition that the purchasers shall emigrate to become residents."¹⁶ The broadsides further promised those not wishing to pay cash could get the land with materials sufficient to build a small house and with Indian corn for subsistence for the first year.

Competition, however, for these industrious refugees was vigorous. William Penn and agents of Carolina, Massachusetts, and Virginia more successfully pushed the virtues of their diverse schemes. Despite the carefully laid plans and inviting handbills, as well as the support of shipmasters of the Virginia trade, the Brenton undertaking failed. Only a few Huguenots arrived at Stafford from the many voyages of Huguenot refugees between 1686 and 1700. Their lives were doubtless hard, although they remain shrouded, because the Stafford County records have long since been destroyed.¹⁷

Arriving in the Virginia colony before 1700, Jean Calvet joined the larger Huguenot immigration, and he was among the few Huguenots who settled in Brenton. How he had first come to the New World is unclear, but he probably traveled overland from further north with his companions into Old Stafford County before 1700. In March 1700, they signed the "French Men's Petition," which noted their arrival and requested the customary, temporary exemption from levies until they could settle themselves and provide for the welfare of their families. Many who signed the French Men's Petition stayed only a short while before settling in the surrounding counties or going to Maryland. For their part, Jean Calvet and his friends, Isaac Lafitte, Abraham Michaux, and Charles Peraut, traveled overland to Manakin Town.¹⁸

The Manakin Huguenots

Mixing humanitarian motives and the practical desire to settle lands they owned, Dr. Daniel Coxe in England and Colonel William Byrd I in Virginia played an especially important role in helping the Huguenots. Coxe was a distinguished court physician in the Court of Queen Anne (r. 1702-14). His colonial ventures centered chiefly in New Jersey, but he held more land in present-day Norfolk County, Virginia and vast lands on the Gulf of Mexico. A zealous churchman, Coxe contacted two Huguenot leaders, the Marquis de la Muce and Charles de Sailly.¹⁹

Fitzhugh's part in the settlement, see Richard Beale Davis, ed., *William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World, 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 41-42, 177-79, 189-91, 201-08, 227-28, 245-54, 259-61, 290-92, 326-28, and 343-45 and Louis Booker Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1940), 155-86.

¹⁶Quoted in Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 50-51.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 51-52; Bugg, "Manakin Town," 58-69; Land, "The Establishment of the Huguenots in Virginia," 29-31.

¹⁸Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 52-54.

¹⁹Brock, *Documents*, 9-10, 52-54; Bugg, James L. Jr., "The French Huguenot Frontier Settlement of Manakin Town," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 61 (October, 1953), 360; Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 2: 177-78; Dibrell, "Huguenot Refugees," 53-54. For a brief biography of Coxe and description of his activities, see Daniel Coxe, *A Description of the English Province of Carolina*,

De la Muce was a Breton nobleman, recently expelled from France after a two-year imprisonment. Coxe's plan interested both him and de Saily as a way to recoup in British America the fortunes they had lost in France. De la Muce agreed to found the colony on Coxe's Norfolk County lands. De la Muce and his lieutenant, de Saily, petitioned William III to allow them to settle there.²⁰

Meanwhile, Byrd, one of the largest landholders and most powerful men in Virginia, was seeking settlers to set up a community on the Virginia frontier a few miles above the fall line of the James River. The Monacan Indians had formerly occupied this land. A once-powerful Siouan confederacy of tribes, they were avowed enemies of the Algonquian-speaking Powhatan confederacy who lived to the east. Byrd wished to settle the Huguenots at what had been the chief Monacan village: he could better settle his own lands if the French Huguenots acted as a buffer between his properties and marauding Indian tribes. The king turned down Byrd's proposal and told Virginia's governor to aid the Huguenots in settling in Norfolk County and to grant them an amount of land usual to newcomers. Coxe's triumph, however, did not last.²¹

The *Mary Ann* was the first of seven ships bringing Huguenot refugees to Virginia at the turn of the new century. Governor Francis Nicholson welcomed them at Hampton on 23 July, 1700 and surprised them with the news that they would go to the old Monacan village where they would receive land. The influence of Colonel Byrd with the Virginia governor and Council plus the independent spirit prevailing in Virginia counted for more than did the king's instructions. The Huguenots then went to Jamestown, the colony's first settlement and former capital. An inadequate diet and crowded conditions during the long ocean voyage and the landing during the unhealthy summer in Virginia led to dysentery, malaria, and other fevers.²²

The Falls of the James in 1700 marked the last outpost of western settlement in Virginia, and the old Monacan village lay some twenty-five miles beyond. Only 120 men, women, and children followed Byrd and the soldiers into the forests—the rest were too ill to travel further. The grant of land given the Huguenots extended up the James River for about twenty-five miles and was about one mile wide. The settlers marked on the trees the southern boundary line—known as the French line for over a hundred years.²³

by the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French La Louisiane. A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1722 Edition with an Introduction by William S. Coker and an Index by Polly Coker. Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1976), vii-lxviii.

²⁰Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 87-89; Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 55-66; Bugg, "French Huguenot Frontier Settlement," 360-61.

²¹Bugg, "Manakin Town," 77-89; Bugg, "French Huguenot Frontier Settlement," 362; Brock, *Documents*, 5-8; Dibrell, "Huguenot Refugees," 48-56; David I. Bushnell, Jr., *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi*. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 69 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 16; H. C. Groome, "The Finding of Fauquier," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 2 (July, 1920), 317-18.

²²Brock, *Documents*, 17-21, 25, 49-51, 54-67; Bugg, "French Huguenot Frontier Settlement," 362-65; Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (NY: Arno Press, 1970), 37-41; Dibrell, "Huguenot Refugees," 54, 57-58. For a summary of the Huguenots' arrivals in Virginia culminating in their contributions to the state, see Gabrielle Maupin Bielensten, "How Huguenots Fared in Virginia," in Peter Steven Gannon, ed., *Huguenot Refugees in the Settling of Colonial America* (NY: Huguenot Society of America, 1985), 89-101.

²³Bugg, "French Huguenot Frontier Settlement," 365-67; William Pope Dabney, "The Huguenots of Virginia," *The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries* 8 (1882), 32; Land, "The Establishment of the Huguenots in Virginia," 33-48; Morgan P. Robinson, "Henrico Parish in the Diocese

Most of the Huguenots had spent their lives in business, commerce, and industry and were unprepared for the frontier's loneliness and crudeness. Poor and contentious leadership immediately divided the Huguenots and exacerbated their problems. With autumn, they began a grim struggle for survival. By the end of November, short of seed, tools, cattle, clothing, and especially food, conditions in Manakin had become so bad that only substantial aid from the Virginia government prevented its disintegration. Even so, some died and many left for other parts of the colony.²⁴

With the spring of 1701, conditions improved. Byrd visited the town in May, 1701. He reported that "though these people are very poor, yet they seem very cheerful and are ... healthy, all they seem to desire is that they might have bread enough." Byrd inspected about seventy of their huts, offered advice on the value of industriousness, and warned that charity could not last. Thus armed, the French soon carved out a prosperous community.²⁵

Within ten years after they had settled in the Virginia wilderness, the lands set aside for the French were fully distributed, but the total grant and the individual allotments proved too small. The Huguenots were already raising many cattle, and they would soon turn to tobacco as their principal crop. The former required a large grazing area and the latter a constant accretion of land. Soon, as young adults married, they needed farms of their own, and they had to move away or see the parental acres redivided into minute portions.²⁶

Among those surviving the turmoil of the early Manakin settlement was Jean Calvet. He had arrived in 1700 and is on the list of original founders of Manakin Town. It is unknown how he got to Manakin from Brenton, but he was likely a single man at the time. During his residence of fourteen years, Jean married and had four sons, Pierre, Antoine, Etienne, and Guillaume. He also had two daughters, one of whom he named Anne. He became a naturalized citizen of England. In April, 1714, he received title to his land on the far western edge of the boundary of the French lands with the legal right to

of Virginia and the Parishes Descended Therefrom," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 43 (January, 1935), 18-20; Dibrell, "Huguenot Refugees," 53. For a description of Virginia and Manakin, see: Francis Louis Michel, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland to Virginia," William J. Hinke, ed. and trans., *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (January, 1916), 1-43, 29; 24 (April, 1916), 113-41; and 24 (June, 1916), 275-303.

²⁴Bugg, "French Huguenot Frontier Settlement," 367-74; Bugg, "Manakin Town," 89-112; Brock, *Documents*, 14-56.

²⁵Brock, *Documents*, 42-44; Francis Louis Michel, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel," 24 (April, 1916), 121-24; Bugg, "French Huguenot Frontier Settlement," 375-76; Durand de Dauphine, *A Huguenot Exile in Virginia, or Voyages of a Frenchman exiled for his Religion with a Description of Virginia and Maryland. From the Hague Edition of 1687 With an Introduction & Notes by Gilbert Chinard*, ed. (NY: Press of the Pioneers, 1934), 112.

²⁶Bugg, "French Huguenot Frontier Settlement," 376-79; Leslie Tobias, "Manakin Town: The Development and Demise of a French Protestant Refugee Community in Colonial Virginia 1700-1750" (MA Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1982), 9-73; George MacLaren Brydon, "The Huguenots of Manakin Town and Their Times," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 42 (October, 1934), 325-35; Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "The Sublettes: A Study of a Refugee Family in the Eighteenth Century," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 69 (January, 1961), 43-66. Also see Land, "The Establishment of the Huguenots in Virginia," 52-68 and Crewdson, "Manakin Experiment," 203-11. Together, Crewdson and Land present a compelling picture of the problems afflicting the settlement.

pass it on to his heirs. Jean Calvet and his wife continued to live on and work their acreage, adding to their land as they could.²⁷

Jean Calvet appears in the King William Parish church records from 1710 through 1718. His neighbors elected him to the vestry on 26 December, 1718. However, he was not present to take the "Oath of Vestry" administered on 26 March, 1719, having died most likely in January, 1719. Given the large number who also died at this time, an epidemic presumably had swept through the little village. The last time Jean Calvet's name appears is on the inventory of his estate that was to be presented in Varina Court, Henrico County on February 1, 1719. Sheriff Thomas Jefferson—grandfather of the future president—presented the estate's inventory to the court. Jean Calvet's name appears on a plaque at the Ellis Island Museum in New York City.²⁸

Antonine Calvet's Family Moves to North Carolina

One of Jean's sons, Antonine, was born about 1712 in Manakin. He and his two brothers, Etienne and Guillaume, were probably minors when their father died. A list of landholders in 1728 mentions their older brother, Pierre as owning 444 acres. Pierre was about 21 years old, and this property doubtless had been his father's left by will to be shared with his younger brothers when they reached legal age. Some of this land could possibly have been outside the boundaries of the original French Lands. The family may or may not have spoken English well; they likely continued to speak French within the family. Guillaume died in Virginia in 1744.²⁹

Antoine, Pierre, and Etienne at some point migrated to Craven County, North Carolina. Antonine's name appeared for the last time in 1732 on the list of parish males in Manakin obligated to pay the church tax. On 17 July of that same year, Antonine conveyed a parcel of land to George Payne for six pounds and six shillings, "Lawful money of Virginia." The property was "part of the first five thousand acres survey'd for ye French Refugees and given by will unto Peter and Anthony, sons of John Calvet dec'd."³⁰ Then, on 6 November, 1736, he executed a power of attorney, appointing his "trusty and loving friend, Stephen Chastine" to complete a deed of sale to James Holman for land in Goochland County, Virginia.³¹

Antonine married Mary Dean about 1738 in Johnson County, North Carolina.³² Mary probably had moved from Pennsylvania into Virginia with some Quakers and thence into North Carolina where Lord Granville's agent sold them land. They had five children, William (between 1738 and 1740), Joseph (1745), Frederick (1747), Thomas

²⁷Brock, *Documents*, 74. The Henrico County, Virginia Patent Book Number 10. Patent Number 125 reads: "John Calvit, Apr. 30, 1714, 100 acres on the south side of the James River, beginning at a corner ash standing in the river at the south of a small branch, being the upper corner on the river of the French Lands, etc." See Francis Stuart Harmon, *A Good Inheritance* (NY: P & D Press, 1960), 163.

²⁸Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 66; Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 164.

²⁹*Ibid.*; R. H. Fife, trans. and ed., "King William Parish, Vestry Book, 1707-50," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 12 (January, 1905), 251, 254, 256; R. H. Fife, trans. and ed., "King William Parish, Vestry Book, 1707-50," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13 (July, 1905), 67, 68, 70, 75, 78, 80.

³⁰Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 164-65.

³¹*Ibid.*, 164.

³²*Ibid.*, 171.

(1748), and Pierre. Antonine died about 1759 in Craven County. Mary remarried to Daniel Higdon in North Carolina in 1762.³³

Joseph Calvit Moves Westward to Tennessee

Born in either Craven or Johnston County, eventually Joseph's family name evolved into "Calvit" and their given names became Anglicized. Perhaps a year or two before 1776, he and his brother Frederick moved westward from the more settled section of the Old North State. This area today lies in Washington County in Tennessee near the state's boundaries with Virginia and North Carolina. Here, in one of the narrow valleys in the Appalachian Mountains, Huguenots built thirteen stockade forts of logs along the Watauga River, not far from its junction with the Holston River that flows southwest until it joins the Tennessee River. The historic "Wilderness Trail" marked by Daniel Boone, lay nearby.³⁴

Joseph was a member of the Watauga Association, which existed from 1769 to 1777 and formed the embryo of the present State of Tennessee. In Spring, 1772, men from the thirteen forts gathered and adopted "Articles of Association," the first written constitution adopted west of the mountains or by a community of American-born freemen. The document declared absolute religious freedom and based all action on manhood suffrage. For six years until 1778, Watauga acted as an independent political community and practiced a more extensive democracy than did the seaboard colonies. In 1776, 112 of these settlers, including Joseph and Frederick Calvit, signed the Watauga Petition, which asked North Carolina to recognize their government.³⁵

The Calvits, the American Revolution, and a Land Grant

America's Revolutionary War for Independence called the four brothers—William, Joseph, Frederick and Thomas—to arms. As the American Revolutionary War flared in the East, the frontier in Tennessee and Kentucky was aflame in Indian attacks sponsored by the British. The Calvit brothers fought in these Indian Wars and suffered their brutalities. In April, 1777 on Crockett's Creek in what is now Rogersville, Tennessee, Indians shot and scalped Joseph's younger brother, Frederick. He survived, but that same fight took the life of the grandfather of Davy Crockett with several members of his family.³⁶

Responding to such attacks, the governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, commissioned George Rogers Clark to raise a force of seven companies with fifty men each to defend the frontier. Secretly, Henry also gave him written orders to attack Kaskaskia and other British posts in the Illinois Country. Clark had difficulty raising his force, and he finally set out from Redstone and Fort Pitt with only 150 frontiersmen and

³³Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 168-71.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 173.

³⁵James Gettys McGready Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of The Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853), 137-39; Theodore Roosevelt, *Stories from the Winning of the West, 1769-1807*, intro. Lawrence F. Abbott (NY: Putnam's, 1920), 116-21; Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 173-74; Samuel Cole Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1974), 15-23.

³⁶Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, 171; Williams, *Tennessee*, 64; Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 175-175b; Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 313-15.

some twenty settlers and their families. Reaching the Falls of Ohio, they set up a supply base on Corn Island, where a handful of reinforcements from the Holston River settlements—presumably including Joseph—joined him. Clark revealed his plan to attack Kaskaskia and was hard-pressed to prevent desertions. Defying all odds, in a brilliant and brutal campaign in 1778 and 1779, Clark captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes to rip the Old Northwest Territories from British hands and secure them for American settlement and sovereignty. Joseph served as a Lieutenant with George Rogers Clark in the Northwest Territories in the Illinois Regiment, Virginia State Line.³⁷

After their service, two of the Calvit brothers learned that General Clark expected to secure land grants along the Ohio River for his soldiers. Thus, in Autumn and Winter, 1781 and 1782, members of several families built flatboats on the banks of the Holston River. When melted snow and ice flooded the streams, they hoped to float over obstructions, down the Holston to the Tennessee River, and into the Ohio. Once there, they would use long poles to propel the rafts upstream to one of the settlements awaiting them in Kentucky. They fastened together and floored logs to build the rafts. In the center, they built a small cabin for protection from Indian snipers. They steered the rafts by sweeps, attached to the rudder, at the sternposts. Late in March, 1782, the boatyard teemed with preparations for departure.³⁸

For mutual protection, twelve families started together down the turbulent Tennessee River. Among them were Daniel and Mary Higdon, their son Jephtha, and two of her other sons, Frederick and Thomas Calvit from her first marriage. The trip was dangerous, especially at the rapids at Muscle Shoals. Although Indians frequently attacked the flatboats during the journey, apparently there were no casualties.³⁹

The Calvits Detour to Natchez, Mississippi

The spring thaw, however, was too great in the Ohio River, and the waters swept them downstream to the Mississippi River. The men voted on whether they should stop at the first cove they should find on the western shore of the Mississippi or float all the way to Natchez in Spanish West Florida. They decided on Natchez. The settlers made their way down 2000 miles of river flowing past banks occupied by hostile Indians. They made good time. Leaving the Holston region in late March or early April, the twelve families tied up their rafts at the mouth of Cole's Creek, fifteen miles above Natchez in early May. The Spanish authorities of West Florida politely received the settlers from Watauga, closely questioned them, and accepted them as citizens of the province and subjects of the Spanish king to whom they signed oaths of allegiance.⁴⁰

³⁷Based on days in service, all four brothers filed claims in North Carolina for service during the Revolutionary War. Frederick obviously served longer than the others—his two claims total almost twice as much as the sum for his brothers. Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 176-77. For a description of Clark's campaigns, see Roosevelt, *Stories*, 68-94.

³⁸May Wilson McBee, *David Smith, Patriot, Pioneer and Indian Fighter* (Kansas City: E. L. Mendenhall, 1959), 20; Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 177.

³⁹McBee, *David Smith*, 22-23; Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 176-77.

⁴⁰McBee, *David Smith*, 22-25; Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi: The Heart of the South*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1925), 1: 302. For a description of a similar journey made seven years later, see Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 177-78. For a history of Natchez, see Dorris Clayton James, *Antebellum Natchez*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968). For a romanticized architectural tour of Natchez, see Catharine Van Court, *In Old Natchez* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday,

How was it that these hardened, frontier veterans of the American Revolutionary War—Protestants at that—so quickly swore loyalty to a Catholic monarch? Given the significant support Spain had supplied the American revolutionaries, the oath presumably was not as difficult as more modern sensibilities might assume.

Fearing war and their patriot neighbors, by 1775 some loyal British subjects had already arrived to Natchez as Frederick and Thomas later would, via the Holston, Tennessee, Ohio rivers, and Mississippi rivers. Meanwhile, the Spanish worked with George Rogers Clark to stymie British control of the territory drained by the Mississippi River, and from New Orleans they sent boats upstream to furnish war materials, including cannon, to American posts on the Ohio and upper Mississippi. Some American frontiersmen accompanied these boats when they returned to Natchez, for example, in 1778 about fifty men in two keelboats. These fifty brought the Revolutionary War to the lower Mississippi Valley. Spain's activities helped rupture Anglo-Spanish relations, and on 8 May, 1779, Spain declared war on Great Britain. Between late 1779 and early 1781 Spain conquered West Florida and for twenty years controlled a territory that was largely British in its origins.⁴¹

It is unclear how and when Joseph and his brother William got to Natchez, perhaps overland by the old Indian trail, the Natchez Trace, after their mother and brothers already had settled in Natchez.⁴² In any case, the Calvits' arrival was part of a larger American immigration into Natchez. In 1776, only seventy-eight families lay scattered in different settlements, and in 1779 there were only four small stores servicing the community. The Spanish census of 1785 showed the Natchez District had a population of 1,550 compared with 746 at Mobile and 270 in Baton Rouge.⁴³ West Florida passed from Spain to the sovereignty of the United States in 1797.

Armed with land grants, the Calvits started their plantations. In 1782, Frederick moved his family to a 600-acre land grant, built a log house, bought some cows, pigs, and a broodmare, and he began to farm successfully. When his estate was distributed in 1808, each of his children received \$1,550.⁴⁴ William moved to a Spanish land grant on the Homochitto River, Franklin County, Mississippi. By 1790, three of the brothers were large tobacco growers—Frederick produced 10,100 lbs., William 10,000 lbs., and Thomas 7,000.⁴⁵

Joseph settled Saint Catherine's Creek in 1785, having received a land grant east of Natchez in Adams County, Mississippi and north to the present-day Jefferson County

Doran, 1937); Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 181 and David J. Libby, *Slavery and Frontier Mississippi* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 32-33.

⁴¹Phil Dove, "Spanish Assistance During the American Revolution: A Convergence of Interests," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 12 (2005), 42-50; Rowland, *History of Mississippi*, 265-75.

⁴²George Mason Graham Stafford, *The Wells family of Louisiana, and Allied Families* (Baton Rouge, LA: privately published, 1941), 232-35.

⁴³Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 181. For more on the Natchez Trace, see Robert M. Coates, *The Outlaw Years: The History of the Land Pirates of the Natchez Trace* (NY: Literary Guild of America 1930).

⁴⁴Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 783-85.

⁴⁵Jeptha Higdon produced 10,000 lbs. and his mother Mary another 2000. Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, 308, 310. Also see List of Tobacco Growers in 1790, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~msswterr/tobaccogrowers1790.htm>. For a description of slavery in Mississippi, see Libby, *Slavery and Frontier Mississippi*, esp. 30-35 for a picture of the plantation life these Calvit settlers inhabited.

line and close to where his mother lived.⁴⁶ The old town of Washington lies on or near his grant. Joseph became a successful planter, landowner, and slaveholder. He later donated land for Washington, Mississippi, and in July, 1802, he sold forty-one acres of land at fifteen dollars per acre for Fort Dearborn next to Washington. Fort Dearborn became increasingly important as complications with Spain over the right of deposit of American goods at New Orleans developed. On 8 September, 1798, Governor Winthrop Sargent appointed Joseph a Captain of Foot in the Lower District of the First Mississippi Militia. The following day, the governor additionally appointed Joseph a Conservator of the Peace. Until the appointment of federal judges, the Conservators of the Peace examined felonies, committed offenders, and appointed constables. They also could administer oaths of allegiance, but only until 30 October, 1798.⁴⁷

Joseph's brother, Thomas, played a significant role in Mississippi's early territorial politics. The first territorial election—controlled by the Jeffersonian Republicans—was held in 1800 and brought him into the Assembly as a representative of the Jefferson district. The Assembly convened at Natchez. In an exciting election of 1802, citizens again elected Thomas to the Assembly. In 1808, Thomas joined the Fifth General Assembly, which the governor dissolved in 1809. More notoriously, Governor Cowles Mead met Aaron Burr at Thomas' rough, pioneer home on Cole's Creek on 17 January, 1807 to negotiate the latter's surrender to authorities. This ended Burr's conspiracy to create an independent nation. Thomas later built a more imposing plantation home.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, in 1817 in [Iron Banks] Jefferson County, Mississippi, Joseph married Sidney "Cidia" Adair, daughter of Joseph Adair and Mildred "Millie" Wallace. They had five children: John, James, Martha "Patsy," and Thomas. Later in life, Joseph with a widow, Mrs. Sissons, also had an illegitimate daughter, Maria Louisa, whom he recognized in his will. Joseph died in 1819. Maria Louisa as late as 1850 was still fighting in court for her rightful share of her father's estate.⁴⁹

⁴⁶A weekly, *The Mississippi Messenger*, Natchez issue, 17 February, 1807: "Mrs. Mary Higdon, whose death we announced last week, had resided in this Territory 25 years, and had borne during her lifetime 14 children, 65 grandchildren, 70 great grandchildren, 6 great-great-grandchildren. She lived to see the fifth generation. All the surviving posterity are living in this Territory." Her two-story house between Highway 61 and Jefferson Military College was still standing in 1960. Her obituary was in a local paper: "Died near Washington, Sunday evening, Mrs. Mary Higdon in the 85th year of age." Harmon, *Good Inheritance*, 168.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 183; Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 348-51; Dunbar Rowland, *The Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1803: Executive Journals of Governor Winthrop Sargent and Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne* (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1905), 1: 478, 480-81, 550, 582-83; Rowland, *History of Mississippi*, 1: 353-55, 386-89; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~msswterr/militia.htm>. In 1830, Joseph's descendants—Martha (Patsy) Calvit Clarke, her son Joseph Calvit Clarke, and her brother John Calvit—applied for Joseph's Revolutionary War Pension. Signing the affidavits in witness for them were Ann Taber of Port Gibson, MS who lived with her family at a military post during the war and Margaret Williams, widow of Captain John Williams who served in the Illinois Campaign along with Joseph. Margaret Williams said she "personally knew and [was] well acquainted with Lieut. Joseph Calvit." Thomas Coe stated he was personally acquainted with Joseph and had been present at his death and burial. He also said that Martha Calvit Clarke and John Calvit were Joseph's only surviving legal heirs, because his sons James and Thomas had died without issue. Stanfill, *Colvett Family*, 353.

⁴⁸Rowland, *History of Mississippi*, 1: 370, 373, 421, 475; J. R. Taylor, "Aaron Burr: An Interesting Account of his Stay in the Territory of Mississippi," *Times-Democrat*, 24 February, 1901; Stafford, *Wells Family*, 276-88.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 352-54.

The Clarke Family

On 9 November, 1807 in Natchez, Adams County, Mississippi, Joseph Calvit's daughter, Martha (Patsy), married Joshua Giles Clarke who had been born in Pennsylvania about 1780. A lawyer, as a young man he had made his way to Mississippi. Politically active, an influential Jeffersonian Republican, and one of the best legal minds in the territory, Joshua represented Claiborne County at the Convention of 1817 that formed the state of Mississippi. He subsequently served as one of the first supreme and circuit court judges, and he was the first to preside over the Supreme Court of Chancery in 1821. He held that position until his death in 1828 at Port Gibson, Mississippi.⁵⁰

Joshua and Martha named their first male child, born about 1809 in Natchez, Joseph Calvitt Clarke in honor his grandfather. He became an attorney, neither the first nor last in the larger family. He was the first with that name, and almost 200 years later I am the fifth and last of that name. The first Joseph moved to New Orleans where he died in 1855.⁵¹ The second was born in 1848 and sometime moved to Brooklyn, NY where he married and died. The third, my grandfather, was born in Brooklyn in 1887. He reasserted his Calvinist roots by becoming a Presbyterian minister. After working in several different cities, he spent most of his years in Richmond, Virginia. My father was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in 1920 but grew up in Richmond, where I was born.

Conclusion

In my family's history, there are any number of exciting stories. My grandfather, Joseph Calvitt Clarke, founded the Christian Children's Fund, which began in the 1930s with a series of orphanages in China.⁵² A worthy story in its own right, but of particular personal interest because part of my wife's family—on her father's side likely the descendants of pirates plying China's coast—were among the Japanese then occupying China. Along another family line, one Richard Hamilton was aboard a privateer sunk off the coast of France by the British in the War of 1812. Adrift for three days, the British picked him up and imprisoned him. He managed to escape, albeit only a couple of weeks before the war ended. My father, a Republican Party stalwart, was disappointed to learn, however, that Richard did not directly relate him to founding father Alexander Hamilton as he had been brought up to believe.

From Pierre Calvet directly descend—with spelling changes—families that played important roles in developing the United States.⁵³ On the whole, my family's history

⁵⁰Rowland, *History of Mississippi*, 1: 489-90, 499.

⁵¹Joseph Calvit's family had connections in NY. In April, 1821, "Joe" Clarke and Benjamin Grubb Humphreys, "still wearing Knee breeches," left Port Gibson on the steamer *Eagle* to Natchez and on the steamer *Volcano* to New Orleans. There they found passage on the sailing ship *Asia* down the Mississippi and out the Balise into the Gulf of Mexico. They passed in sight of Cuba and then were out of sight of land for sixteen days. After 24 days, they landed at Staten Island and ten days of quarantine. The two young boys saw New York City and then Morristown where they spent three years with the family of Mr. F. King. P. L. Rainwater, "The Autobiography of Benjamin Grubb Humphreys," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (1934), 236.

⁵²John C. Caldwell, *Children of Calamity* (NY: John Day Co., 1957); Edmund W. Janss, *Yankee Si!* (NY: William Morrow & Co., 1961).

⁵³For more on Huguenot contributions to the new American nation, see Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1928); Mrs. James M. Lawton, comp. and ed., *Family Names of Huguenot Refugees to America* (Baltimore: Genealogical

forms a wonderful mirror that faithfully reflects their times and the emerging United States. They were an amazing lot and set standards I do not match. Their willingness to move about astonishes me—that restless wandering that so often distinguishes Americans from so many in the rest of the world. I admire their sacrificial devotion to faith—although in others I call this dogmatic fanaticism. As I travel comfortably in the groves of the roads they hewed through America's frontier forests, I am awed at their adventurous spirit, their strength, ... their very survival.

Publishing Co., 1984); Robert F. Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, in South Carolina, from 1680 to 1884* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974); Albert F. Koehler, *The Huguenots or Early French in New Jersey* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1996); Charles Edmund Lart, *Huguenot Pedigrees*, 2 vols., (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1997); Hannah F. Lee, *The Huguenots in France and America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994); Ralph LeFevre, *History of New Paltz, New York, and Its Old Families (From 1678-1820)* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1996); Daniel Ravenel, "Liste Des Francois Et Suisses" *From An Old Manuscript List of French and Swiss Protestants Settled In Charleston On the Santee And At the Orange Quarter In Carolina Who Desired Naturalization Prepared Probably About 1695-6* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990); Ammon Stapleton, *Memorials of Huguenots in America: Memorials of the Huguenots In America With Special Reference To Their Emigration To Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1996).

“Sneaking Curs” and “Negro Brutes”: Official Transcripts of Racial Otherness in Tampa, Florida, 1890-1912

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On 4 July, 1899, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* reported a “sensation of no small magnitude.” Reverend S.S. Patterson, pastor of the Allen Temple Methodist Church, local merchant, and “negro of exemplary character,” had been arrested on charges of arson. The article announced to its overwhelmingly white readership that the case against him looked “unmistakably strong and ugly.” According to the *Tribune* story, a small blaze inside a store at the corner of Central and Constant Streets caught the attention of a passerby who immediately gave alarm. Having “just finished a rousing sermon at his church,” Reverend Patterson, the store’s owner, arrived on the scene armed with a 38-caliber revolver and was immediately taken into police custody. The *Tribune* anticipated Patterson’s guilt by revealing the details of a \$500 insurance policy on the business, implying a willful attempt at fraud and arson. The column speculated that Patterson’s “past good record” in the community would “help him [overcome] his present troubles.”¹

While Reverend Patterson’s life has largely escaped scrutiny in the local historical record, the circumstances surrounding his alleged crime provide valuable insights into the experiences of African Americans in Tampa in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Our intent is not to challenge the validity of such reports; rather, our primary concern is in analyzing what they reveal about the communities for and about whom they spoke. It is our contention that stories found in local Anglo newspapers such as the *Tampa Morning Tribune* and the *Tampa Daily Times* betray the limits of white perceptions and understandings of the city’s black community, racial identity, and subaltern resistance. In turn, these stories expose highly racialized conveyances of Anglo power over African Americans and other “non-whites” in Tampa.²

This article began as two graduate papers written in Spring, 2004 for a seminar at the University of South Florida. We wish foremost to thank Barbara Berglund, who, through her own rigorous scholarship, sympathetic ear, and critical pen, has provided us the theoretical and methodological tools to think and write creatively and effectively as historians. While the weaknesses of the paper are entirely our own, the strengths are a direct result of her guidance both in and outside the classroom. We are also indebted to Robert Ingalls and Nancy Hewitt, both of whom generously read drafts and provided insightful critiques of and suggestions for the paper. Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to the anonymous readers whose comments strengthened the clarity of our argument, and the Florida Conference of Historians who provided a forum for us to share this story.

¹*Tampa Morning Tribune*, 4 July, 1899.

²Most simply, the ‘Anglo’ population of Tampa can be defined as whites of non-Latin descent whose native language was English. However, it can be more effectively understood as a reference to a national majority who maintained political and social power over ethnic and racial minorities. Because race is a social construction legitimized within a particular discourse of power, the category could be—and was—transgressed by elite members of the Latin and, arguably, African-American, communities with access to local politicians and business leaders. Race, as historians have since recognized, was (and continues to be) very much a language of power.

Not surprisingly, the principal newspapers of the day (that provide the most abundant source of extant material) privileged white voices and perspectives above all others, employing a highly racialized discourse that functioned, consciously or not, to discredit opposition and undermine claims of alterity. White newspapers like the *Tampa Morning Tribune* and the *Tampa Daily Times* communicated, in the words of political scientist James C. Scott, a "public transcript" of domination, "designed to be impressive, to affirm and naturalize the power of dominant elites, and to conceal or euphemize the dirty linen of their rule."³

In an age prior to the advent of radio and television, such newspapers held tremendous power in shaping the perceptions and expectations of its readership. For Anglos who did not interact with African Americans on a daily basis (or did so exclusively on *their* terms), frequent portrayals of racial otherness, lawlessness, immorality, and violence became a primary basis for understanding and interpreting black identity and behavior.⁴ More importantly, Anglo domination and power was contingent upon the construction of a knowledge system that "proved" white supremacy and therefore "naturalized" the stratification of the races. Local newspapers became instrumental in this process. As historian Gail Bederman notes, "Ideas widely accepted as true determine what sorts of power relations people believe are desirable, as well as what sorts of political aims and strategies they can imagine."⁵ For the Anglo residents of Tampa, such newspapers served as primary conduits of information, reinforcing segregation by exacerbating racial tensions and restricting the parameters of popular discourse.

Without evidence to the contrary, the stories in the pages of mainstream Tampa newspapers confirmed both white contentions of superiority and corresponding constructions of black inferiority. Local elites utilized newspaper stories, like the one concerning Patterson, to justify ongoing assertions of race-based domination.⁶ Beginning in the 1890s, members of white middle-class society fashioned and advanced a hegemonic discourse that conveniently positioned them at civilization's apex.⁷ Although

³James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) 18; Robin D.G. Kelley utilizes Scott's theories of public and hidden transcripts to uncover resistance in black communities in the Jim Crow-era US. See Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (NY: Free Press, 1996), particularly chapters 1-4; Also see Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

⁴In 1927 one chronicler of black life in Tampa observed that, "Interracial contacts between the white and colored elements in Tampa, as elsewhere in the South, are for the most part limited to those of a business nature." While one can be sure that surreptitious encounters did in fact occur, this at least was the official statement regarding race relations. See Arthur Raper, et al., "A Study of Negro Life in Tampa," 1927, Courtesy of USF Special Collections.

⁵Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 24.

⁶See Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, Colin Gordon, ed., (NY: Pantheon Books, 1972), 109-133. Here, 113: The production of such a "discursive regime," according to Foucault, situates the "effects of power" within a specific and particular "play of statements."

⁷When speaking of "hegemony," we mean that the discourse of domination constructed and advanced by entrenched Anglo interests permeated southern white culture and perceptions in myriad ways, informing social relations and reinforcing the segregation and stratification of the races. We argue against a strict Gramscian definition of hegemony and contend that African Americans manipulated stereotypes and Anglo

discourses of "civilization" in the US surfaced much earlier than the 1890s, Victorian society increasingly relied upon a racialized and gender-specific comprehension supported by Social Darwinist theories of evolution and millennialism. Within this formulation, virtue, nobility, and braveness marked a man's principled character; while idealized femininity denoted purity and chastity, as well as an innocence and vulnerability that required zealous protection by "manly" white men. Members of white, middle class society celebrated sexual difference as evidence of such progress and refinement, whereby "one could identify advanced civilizations by the degree of their sexual differentiation." As constructed by white Victorian men and women, however, such definitions were exclusive to race and class. Accounts of African-Americans' criminality, lasciviousness, and hypersexuality found in Tampa's newspapers thus created and reproduced a racialized discourse that effectively reinforced segregation and racially exclusive conceptions of "civilization."⁸

The period between 1890 and 1912 proved a crucial time in Tampa's history. As a relatively new urban center, the city was still negotiating fluid physical and ideological boundaries of race that were subject to contestation. With growing African-American and Latin populations, entrenched Anglo interests employed myriad methods to contain and disarm the perceived threat posed by ethnic and racial minorities. By the turn of the century, Jim Crow segregation relegated the majority of Tampa's black population to a handful of racially delineated neighborhoods including "the Scrub" (in Tampa's Central Avenue district), West Tampa, Ybor City, Dobyville, and College Hill.⁹ In 1900, over 4,000 African Americans called Tampa home, accounting for nearly twenty-eight percent of the overall population. By 1910, the black population had almost doubled, although the percentage of blacks had declined slightly due to the rapid influx of new white residents.¹⁰ Though the Scrub contained "by far the largest number [of blacks] in any one area in the city," Ybor City served as the "center of the foreign-born Negro population," while College Hill and West Tampa attracted the "overflow" residents, among them the newcomers and the "generally poorly paid" of Tampa's black population.¹¹ As the numbers of blacks increased, "So did white anxiety and fear, resulting in increasing racial restrictions in the Jim Crow racial caste system."¹² Tampa's Anglo population enforced

expectations of behavior through complex hidden transcripts of resistance and defiance. See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds, and trans., (NY: International Publishers, 1971).

⁸Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 17-26, 49; A number of works have brilliantly explored the connections between "civilization," gender, and white supremacy at the turn of the twentieth century. See especially Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), and Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the 19th-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁹Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987), 57, 186, 234-239.

¹⁰In 1900, African Americans represented 27.7 percent of the population (4,382 of 15,839), 23.7 percent in 1910 (8,951 of 37,782), and 22.3 percent by 1920 (11,531 of 51,608). See Susan Greenbaum, *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa* (Tampa: University Press of Florida, 2002).

¹¹Arthur Raper, et al, "A Study of Black Life in Tampa," 1927. Courtesy of USF Special Collections. For further discussion of the Afro-Cuban population in Tampa, see Greenbaum, *More Than Black*. Greenbaum effectively conveys the ways in which black Cubans encountered and reconciled racial and ethnic discrimination in Tampa.

¹²Raper, et al, "A Study of Black Life in Tampa," 2. See also Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988). Ingalls traces the rise in

Jim Crow segregation in public and private spaces in order to limit interracial interactions.

Many stories in the newspapers stigmatized black neighborhoods and relegated minority interests and concerns to the periphery. Few of the homes in Tampa's growing African-American neighborhoods had access to running water, sewer connections, bathing facilities, or regular sanitation service. "The rent quarters are small and close together," wrote Walter T. and Virginia M. Howard, two historians who have documented black living conditions in the city. "They are situated on unpaved streets and narrow alleys. Bathing facilities are scarce: garbage is often uncollected."¹³ The local newspapers effectively captured the urgency with which whites regarded the encroachment of blacks and the potential transgression of segregated spaces. Through the continuous barrage of racially-tinged rhetoric, black spaces emerged in the popular press as mystified burrows of sin and wickedness where passions were indulged and the depravities of "hobgoblins" and "spooks" abounded.¹⁴ In stories like those concerning the Reverend Patterson, the Scrub also became the location where the allure of lascivious behavior (in the form of sexual promiscuity and alcohol consumption) became irresistible even to a "negro of exemplary character."¹⁵

Throughout the pages of local newspapers, white journalists often portrayed African Americans collectively as a prurient race of criminals. Despite Reverend Patterson's "past good record" and standing in the community (as pastor of a local church), both the Anglo press and local law enforcement officials presumed his guilt out of hand.¹⁶ Indeed, to reinforce such sentiments the papers regularly published sensationalized accounts of police forays into the Scrub. In 1896, for instance, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* reported a missing infant thought to be "buried in a back yard." When an investigating officer interviewed the midwife and residents of the house where the baby was allegedly born, he discovered a freshly buried box in the backyard with the child's body inside. The *Tribune* reported that the infant's mother was married to a man that was not the baby's father. Details of these events, the paper remarked, stirred the "people in Scrubdom."¹⁷

Newspapers also frequently reported on homicides committed in predominantly black neighborhoods. A sampling of such stories reveals a number of consistent themes. For instance, a 1912 headline in the *Tampa Daily Times* warned readers of "another negro shooting in Ybor City," by an assailant the paper dubbed "Assassination Sam," a man apparently connected with a number of murders in Ybor City.¹⁸ According to another story published in the 1890s, "The scrub has been the scene of another scandal,

urban vigilante violence directed against Tampa's minority populations at the turn of the century as immigrants and African Americans settled in the region in increasing numbers. In her study of women's activism in Tampa, Nancy Hewitt states that, "The fear of Black domination...had been growing in Tampa since the turn of the century, as national diatribes against race suicide merged with significant increases in African American and Latin populations in the city." Nancy A. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s - 1920s* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

¹³Walter T. & Virginia M. Howard, "Family, Religion, and Education: A Profile of African-American Life in Tampa, Florida, 1900-1930," *The Journal of Negro History* 79:1 (Winter, 1994), 3.

¹⁴"Buried in the Backyard," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 13 April, 1896.

¹⁵"Pastor Commit Arson?," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 4 July, 1899.

¹⁶"Pastor Commit Arson?," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 4 July, 1899.

¹⁷"Buried in the Backyard," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 13 April, 1896.

¹⁸"Assassination Sam is Active," *Tampa Daily Times*, 16 September, 1912.

and as a consequence three negroes are considerably less joyful than they were." The paper explained that Robert Meachem, an out-of-town preacher and prominent African-American politician, became "acquainted with one Georgia McGraw," a local resident. While patrolling the Scrub, a black police officer by the name of Milton "discovered" the couple in "her maiden bower." Upon his discovery, Milton, an alleged former romantic acquaintance of McGraw, shot the couple multiple times, severely wounding them both.¹⁹

The next day the *Tribune* followed up the story with further details. Officer Milton claimed that Meachem had pulled a gun on him, although none was recovered at the scene. However, the paper reported that this "by no means is conclusive evidence of the falsity of Milton's story" because a number of "good Samaritans of the scrub" had stolen the preacher's watch.²⁰ In 1901, the *Tribune* also announced that two young white men "got into bad and fatal company" at a late-night gathering of African-American youths, where a "dusky desperado used them as targets for his revolver." The lesson of the tragedy, the newspaper informed its readers, served as "a warning to the white boys not to attend negro dances."²¹

In highlighting such "crimes," the reports portrayed African Americans as inherently inferior, thereby legitimizing Anglo claims of domination and paternalism while providing a launching point for wide-reaching critiques of the entire African-American race. For instance, in reporting the story of the missing newborn, one journalist declared, "The negro race is nothing if not emotional, and are as equally superstitious. Anything that savors of death and hobgoblins, or spooks, runs them half crazy as a rule."²² A similar example is found in the story of Robert Meachem's shooting. In this case, the *Tribune* reinforced depictions of blacks as an iniquitous and lawless race by cynically mentioning the thievery of the "good Samaritans of the Scrub."²³ The *Daily Times* also contained frequent calls to vigilance, announcing, for example, a "Negro fiend captured by police officers only to escape with handcuffs on."²⁴ Furthermore, the paper's descriptions of "black criminality" extended across class lines, advancing the notion that African Americans, regardless of their economic success or social status, were ultimately limited by the color of their skin. While two of the aforementioned accounts concerned church officials, another also depicted the nefarious conduct of a black police officer. These men, presumably members of the black middle class, were also likely to have been prominent voices within the community. In each of the reports, the newspapers depicted the antagonists as either dishonest in the case of Patterson, prone to act hastily on emotion in the case of Officer Milton, or promiscuous in the case of all three men.

Stories in daily newspapers also transmitted exaggerated and degrading attributes onto black bodies. Regular readers faced a continuous rhetorical barrage that served to effectively dehumanize African Americans and further exacerbate racial stereotypes and violent hostilities. Throughout local newspapers, writers infused black bodies with animal-like characteristics, describing African Americans as, for example, running like

¹⁹"Some Scrub Shooting," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 13 February, 1896, emphasis added.

²⁰"Meachem Was Mending," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 14 February, 1896.

²¹"Two Killed; Negro Dance" *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 29 January, 1901.

²²"Buried in the Backyard," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 13 April, 1896.

²³"Meachem Was Mending," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 14 February, 1896.

²⁴*Tampa Daily Times*, 7 October, 1912.

"scared deer" or possessing the "agility of a cat."²⁵ Other times newspaper stories made this connection less explicitly through descriptions of African Americans as the targets of hunting and sport by law enforcement officials and vigilantes. For example, when a black man being held for murder escaped police custody in October, 1912, the *Tampa Daily Times* celebrated the hunt, announcing that, "The Killer" was "hemmed in a swamp near six-mile creek by officers," and would soon be discovered.²⁶ Another illustrative example occurred in January, 1905 when police arrested W.P. Richardson, "a very muscular negro brute," for allegedly threatening bystanders with a knife. For days afterwards Richardson evaded policemen and "ran amuck" in the Scrub. Commenting on the story, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* editorialized that Richardson "barely escaped a death that is too good for human animals of such low bestial instincts."²⁷

The stories of "exciting manhunt[s]," and posess out in search of "villains" and "assault fiend[s]" conveyed racial constructions that in many cases informed Anglo perceptions and framed the parameters of public knowledge.²⁸ By ascribing animalistic qualities to African-American males, Tampa newspapers indicted the entire black race and implied their inferior evolutionary development. Moreover, such depictions denied blacks their humanity, making it easier for whites to justify the subordination, segregation, and oppression of African Americans. As one story in the *Tampa Morning Tribune* stated when describing the search for an "infamous negro," "People would feel no more compunction of conscience in shooting him down than they would in killing a mad-dog or a rattlesnake."²⁹ Anglos utilized reports, like one involving W. Stevenson, "The Bully of the Scrub," to support and advance these contentions. In December, 1900, an altercation began when Stevenson's girlfriend, "one of the most notorious women in the Scrub," approached Policeman Crumpton to complain that Stevenson "had been treating her brutally." When the officer tried to apprehend Stevenson, the fugitive uttered "an oath and taking hurried aim, fired," narrowly missing Crumpton. The officer immediately returned fire, killing Stevenson. Stevenson, the report implied, met an inglorious demise in "the alley back of Salter's barroom," affording him little more recognition in death than was given him in life.³⁰

Perceptions of African-American sexuality and licentiousness often elicited anxiety and trepidation among white Tampans through frequent portrayals of black immorality and rampant promiscuity. In the respective stories recounting the shooting of W. Stevenson, the "Bully of the Scrub," and Reverend Meachem, newspapers implied that both black antagonists were involved in promiscuous sexual affairs. In addition, both Stevenson and Policeman Milton (who shot Meachem) were depicted as unstable and

²⁵"Chasing a Negro, Officer Shot Thrice," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 23 July, 1901, and "Manhunt for Maas Bros. Burglar," *Tampa Morning Tribune* 3 June, 1900.

²⁶*Tampa Daily Times*, 7 October, 1912.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸See "Negroes Aroused," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 13 June, 1899; "Manhunt for Maas Bros. Burglar," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 3 June, 1900; "Posse Looking for Negro Brute," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 27 July, 1899; "Assault Fiend Arrested," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 29 December, 1897; The subheading of the Meachem story encapsulated many of these elements by declaring that, "A Policeman Pops a Colored Preacher and His Paramour."

²⁹"Black Brute Seeks Noose," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 15 June, 1904; Another illustrative example appeared during "an exciting man-hunt" for Mitchell Hubbard who stood accused of robbing the local Maas Brothers. See "Manhunt for Maas Bros. Burglar," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 3 June, 1900.

³⁰"Police Kill Man in Scrub," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 7 December, 1900, emphasis added.

prone to act on emotion.³¹ Another *Tribune* story, entitled "His Good Angel," recounted the tale of Andrew Williams, a black man arrested for public drunkenness with a five-dollar fine levied against him. When it became known that Williams had only two dollars on him at the time of his arrest, "a negress" named May Virgin offered to help him out of his bind. Virgin convinced Williams to give her his two dollars with the promise that she would return with five dollars to pay his fine. Time passed and Virgin did not return, but later that day the police arrested Virgin for public drunkenness. The *Tribune* snidely commented that "she had spent Williams \$2 to purchase liquor."³² The story of Williams and Virgin revealed a few of the many common depictions of African-American men and women. In the report Williams is portrayed as foolish, or at the least naïve; while May Virgin is shown to be cunning and deceitful, both common characteristics ascribed to black women.

Like May Virgin, other African-American women appear in the pages of the *Tampa Morning Tribune* not only as predatory and deceitful, but also as hypersexualized. Not surprisingly, the Anglo press treated black women as foils for the trope of the "virtuous white female." The papers are replete with stories of dissolute and allegedly promiscuous black women working in bordellos or as prostitutes.³³ In 1912, two white men ventured into the "Tenderloin," a local gathering place where "maidens of dusky hue are to be found." The *Tribune* reported that the two white men, Charles Thompson and E. H. Dugold, "imbibed considerably" in the pleasures to be found in the Tenderloin. While there, Janie Sargent, identified only as a "negro" woman (although it is not clear if she herself was a "maiden"), robbed the two men. On another occasion, the *Tampa Daily Times* announced, "Darktown Belles Got the Worst of It," describing "two cases in which" African-American women "drew knives with which to convince their dusky beaux of the superiority of the charms of the belles." The *Times* interpreted such evidence as "proof that the [black] female is more deadly than the male," and therefore worthy of suspicion and admonishment.³⁴ In similar stories, newspapers used these events to impart lessons about the cunningness of black women who were not reticent about using their sexuality to their advantage. Moreover, many of the traits (their alleged cunningness, predatory and treacherous nature, and hypersexuality) attributed to black women bore a striking resemblance to common constructions of black males. Anglos perceived a pronounced differentiation of gender roles as one of the hallmarks of their own advanced race, constituted, in the words of Joan Scott, "by hierarchical social structures."³⁵ Detecting few gender distinctions between African Americans, conservative white interests positioned black males and females alike (along with other racial and ethnic "others") at the nadir of ideas about culture, refinement, and progress.

³¹"Some Scrub Shooting," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 13 February, 1896 and "Police Kill Man in Scrub," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 7 December, 1900.

³²"His Good Angel," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 17 April, 1912.

³³See, for example: "Reform is Racy," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 9 August, 1895; "Negroes Sent Up; Robbery Charged," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 17 April, 1912.

³⁴*Tampa Daily Times*, 18 September, 1912.

³⁵Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (NY: Colombia University Press, 1999), 25. Scott writes that, "The term 'gender' suggests that relations between the sexes are a primary aspect of social organization ... [and] the terms of male and female identities are in large part culturally determined." In our case, the Anglo construction of gender identity served as a standard by which African-American identities and behavior were measured to be inferior.

Assaults on women received particular attention in the daily press. Tales of sexual assault enabled white reporters to deploy one of their most oft-used racial tropes: describing black men as savage “brutes.” In stories like “An Atrocious Assault” and “Black Brute Seeks Noose,” African-American males were portrayed as being at the mercy of their uncontrollable instincts and animalistic sexual proclivities.³⁶ For example, on a balmy August night in 1899, a “desperate attempt was made by a negro to assault a Cuban woman” living in Ybor City, Tampa’s nearby immigrant enclave. Though the assailant escaped capture, a “large crowd” had soon “gathered in the vicinity,” expressing “much indignation” over the alleged crime.³⁷ Although, as this story makes apparent, women of all shades were vulnerable to the prurient black male trope, the exaggerated virtue of white womanhood made alleged assaults on them particularly devastating and retribution especially sadistic for the accused. The perceived crimes were not limited to individual bodies, but instead impugned the entire African-American male population. These stories perpetuated an imagery of black violence and immorality while encouraging Anglo vigilance and fueling the fires of Jim Crow justice. They produced, in the words of Michel Foucault, an “economy of power,” wherein “the effects of power” were circulated in a manner “adapted and individualized throughout the entire social body.”³⁸

Although on the surface the above stories appear as common, yet unremarkable, by-products of the racism that permeated turn-of-the-century US society, when situated within the context of the discourse of “civilization” they became more meaningful. Anglo readers in Tampa would have known that each of these archetypal characters, represented by Stevenson, Meachem, Virgin, Williams, and others were being implicitly compared to idyllic notions of white men and woman. Descriptions of African Americans as foolish, naïve, cunning, promiscuous, and deceitful stood in stark contrast to white, middle-class Victorian ideologies of gender.³⁹ In many of these stories, African-American men exhibited a marked lack of sexual control, one of the defining characteristics of “civilized manliness” in the late 1890s. Perceptions of black women’s sexuality also effectively reinforced the sanctity of white womanhood. In the case of Andrew Williams and May Virgin, the *Tribune’s* white readership would also have recognized that Virgin’s cunningness effectively emasculated Williams, something not permitted within Victorian constructions of true manhood. Anglos relied upon a myriad of racial tropes and Social Darwinist theories of evolution to argue that African Americans were innately inferior, “as the antithesis of both the white man and civilization.” Though the myriad examples are too many to recount here, local headlines regularly confirmed white suspicions about African-American sexuality, while reinforcing notions of white innocence and male superiority through recurrent depictions of black immorality and licentiousness.⁴⁰

³⁶See “Mob Clamored for Negro Brute,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 6 January, 1903, and “An Atrocious Assault,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 25 December, 1897.

³⁷“Negro Attacks a Cuban Woman,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 11 August, 1899.

³⁸Foucault, “Truth and Power,” 119.

³⁹Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 23.

⁴⁰Quote is taken from: Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 49. Martha Hodes provides a discussion of the politicization and racialization of sexuality in the postbellum US, writing that, “The construction of white female purity in the post-Reconstruction South was dependent upon images of black men as bestial,

Future research will attempt to situate the voices of the black community within this larger discourse of race and sexuality, acknowledging the ways in which African Americans resisted and undermined racial discrimination in Tampa.

and a white woman's innocence was contingent upon assault by a black man rather than a white man." Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 198.

How Tampa Changed American Women's History

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In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a generation of scholars was trained in the new field of women's history. The generations before us—pioneers Anne Firor Scott, Gerda Lerner, and Natalie Zemon Davis, and those who followed immediately after, including Joan Scott, Louise Tilly, Barbara Welter, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Linda Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Darlene Clark Hine—had to teach themselves the field. Oddly, perhaps, those who were self-taught ranged much more widely in their interests than those first trained in the field. Among American women's historians, for example, the early generations offered path-breaking scholarship on white and black women, living in the North and the South, from the middle-class and the working-class, and active in domestic spheres and social movements from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. At least in American women's history, however, work on white, middle-class northeastern women came to dominate the field by the early 1980s, as the cults of true womanhood and domesticity and female worlds of love and ritual gained intellectual currency. This was due largely to scholars like Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Nancy Cott, Kathryn Kish Sklar, Mary Ryan, and others who forged a powerful body of work on nineteenth-century women's lives that shaped the generation of scholars coming of age in its wake.¹ Moreover, the concepts and frameworks they introduced, developed largely for the mid nineteenth century Northeast, were quickly carried into other times and places. For example, Suzanne Lebsock applied them to antebellum Petersburg, Virginia; Glenda Riley to the western frontier; and Estelle Freedman to turn-of-the-twentieth century social movements.²

Those of us who followed just behind this explosion of work in American women's history sought both to expand upon and challenge some of its core assumptions. I received my PhD in 1981, and my dissertation and first book, *Women's Activism and Social Change*, focused on three groups of white women activists in Rochester, New York, from the 1820s to the 1870s.³ This project sought to demonstrate, first, that the cult of domesticity and true womanhood did not keep women confined to the private sphere, not even middle-class white women. Indeed, increasingly severe admonitions to

¹Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1(1975), 1-29; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); and Mary P. Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1780-1865* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²See Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (NY: Norton, 1984); Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5(1979), 512-29.

³Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984; reprint Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

domesticity developed alongside women's growing public efforts. To make this argument, it seemed important to focus on white women of the middle class, since the notions of sisterhood and women's culture that dominated the literature were purportedly built on their experiences. Challenges to these conceptualizations emerged in part from scholars whose experiences in antiwar and feminist movements made it seem unlikely that women of any era could agree on a common social or political agenda simply because they were women. Indeed, social movements, many of us argued, multiplied precisely because women, like men, differ fundamentally on goals, strategies, and priorities.⁴

The northeastern US in the antebellum era, roughly 1820-1860, served as the backdrop for much early work in American women's history. With less overt distinctions by class than in later periods and with far less attention to race than in histories of the South, it was possible to make arguments for common bonds of womanhood. Yet differences of class, race, residency, and religious affiliation certainly existed, and they shaped women's lives in profound ways. In Rochester, NY, for instance, three competing networks of women activists could be traced over several decades. While most of these women were broadly middle-class and almost all of them were white, they came from very different segments of that emerging class (the bottom rungs to its upper reaches); they embraced distinct religious traditions and values, from high Episcopal to evangelical to Quaker; they grew up in far flung communities before converging in Rochester; and they held conflicting views on critical issues like poverty, moral reform, race, and woman's rights. An examination of these distinct and competing networks of women activists could challenge the dominant narrative in which women, relegated to the domestic sphere, bonded with each other and then moved together into the public sphere, first, to uplift the less fortunate and, later, to defend themselves against patriarchal victimization.

When *Women's Activism and Social Change* and a companion article, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood," were published in the mid-1980s, they were part of a broader shift in the field of American women's history.⁵ Scholars, especially historians of African American, immigrant, and working-class women, argued with growing force that differences *among* women were at least as important as those *between* women and men in understanding the gender dynamics of American history.⁶ My early work was intended to

⁴On the links I saw between politics and scholarship, see Nancy A. Hewitt, "The Emma Thread: Communitarian Values, Global Visions," in Eileen Boris and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds., *Voices of Women Historians: The Personal, the Political, the Professional* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 234-247.

⁵Nancy A. Hewitt, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s," *Social History* 10 (1985), 299-321.

⁶See, for instance, Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1978); Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (NY: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983); Barbara Smith, ed., *Homegirls: A Black Feminist Anthology* (NY: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983); Dolores Janiewski, *Sisterhood Denied: Race, Gender and Class in a New South Community* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985); Elsa Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of St. Luke," *Signs* 14(1989), 610-33; and Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Camery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), to name just a few of the central works that influenced me.

be part and parcel of that paradigmatic shift, yet within ten years, whatever cutting edge it initially had, had been blunted. Increasingly my work on Rochester was cited only in that first fat footnote on the bad old days of women's history when scholars focused solely on the lives of white, middle-class northeastern women and a homogeneous women's culture. That is, over time, *Women's Activism and Social Change* was viewed as being of a piece with Barbara Welter, Nancy Cott, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and others whose fundamental assumptions it sought to challenge. Apparently it was impossible to work on white, northern middle-class women and difference simultaneously.

At least by the mid 1980s, to focus on difference meant in large part to focus on women whose race and class identities were outside the white middle class. Having moved to Tampa, Florida in 1981 to take a position at the University of South Florida (USF) History Department, I, too, turned my attention away from white middle-class women and focused instead on local Cuban, Italian and Spanish immigrants. Others were already mining the riches of Tampa's past, pursuing projects on male cigar workers, Italian immigrant families, exiled Cuban rebels, African American civic leaders, and native-born white vigilantes. The women's history angle was largely missing, however, and I leapt in to fill the gap, drawing on the work of colleagues and local history enthusiasts, on oral histories and other archives, and on the wealth of information in the journal *Tampa Bay History*.

This project on Tampa women's history was both shaped by and contributed to larger changes in the field of American women's history. First and foremost, paralleling the new interest in differences among women, distinctions of race, class and region shaped competing experiences of womanhood and women's activism in Tampa. Largely ignored by women's historians before the 1980s, the South in general and Florida in particular provided a seedbed for exactly the kinds of analyses now demanded. Located at the intersection of global movements of capital and labor and marked by the severe racial segregation that defined the post-Civil War South, Tampa served as a cauldron for a range of social and political movements that engaged native-born white, Cuban, Italian and Spanish immigrant, and African American women and men. By 1900, the city's population was roughly one-third native-born white, one third native-born black, and one-third immigrant. Tied to Reconstruction, the Wars of 1898, progressive reform, woman suffrage, labor militancy, and a host of other critical events in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century US history, the city offered a perfect place for studying differences among women.

Yet little scholarship focused on Florida women's history and almost none on Tampa specifically. Nor was it clear that there were sources adequate to uncovering the lives and activities of Anglo, African American and Latin women in the city. The group that seemed most well documented was immigrant women, largely as a by-product of the incredible interest that the Latin community of Ybor City had generated among local historians—popular and academic. Ybor City was the center of South Florida's booming cigar industry, and thus home to large numbers of Cuban, Spanish, and Italian immigrants, who collectively formed a Latin enclave in South Florida. My interviews with elderly Italian and Cuban women cigar workers were eased by the extensive oral histories already collected on their male counterparts. Memoirs of Ybor City residents, many published originally in Spanish, records of mutual aid societies, Spanish and

English-language newspaper coverage of the ethnic enclaves, particularly of revolutionary clubs and strikes, and studies by resident expert Tony Pizzo, scholar Glenn Westfall, and MA student Joan Marie Steffey provided critical resources.⁷ In addition, a number of faculty at USF and University of Florida were working on aspects of Tampa's immigrant history, including Robert Ingalls on anti-radical violence, Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta on the Italian community, and Susan Greenbaum on Afro-Cubans.⁸ At the same time, USF theatre professor Denis Calandra was writing a play, *Cuban Bread*, about the 1931 cigar strike, and independent scholar Doris Weatherford had launched a popular history of Tampa women for the local Athena Society.⁹

Not only did the history of immigrant women in Ybor City seem the most accessible, but it also fit well with the surge of interest in women's labor and immigration history across the country. A book on Latin women workers and activists would complement studies that focused on immigrant women in New York City, Lawrence, Massachusetts, Chicago, and other northern cities.¹⁰ A dozen interviews with women cigar workers, a night course in Spanish and research in Spanish-language newspapers and memoirs, immersion in English-language newspapers, city directories and city council records, and a trip to Cuban archives in 1986 illuminated a range of activities among Latin women. Revolutionary clubs in the 1890s, organized and spontaneous strikes in the early 1900s, temperance and missionary efforts in the Latin enclaves, and alternating currents of class solidarity and gender conflict in the cigar unions reflected a complex world of ethnic, labor and gender struggle rooted in the Cigar City of Tampa.

⁷Tony Pizzo wrote a number of books on Tampa and Ybor City history and collected massive amounts of primary material, now archived at the Special Collections Department at USF Library, Tampa, Florida. See especially, Anthony Pizzo, *Tampa Town, 1824-86: The Cracker Village with a Latin Accent* (Tampa: Trend House, 1968). See also, L. Glenn Westfall, "Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, The Man and His Empire: Development of the Clear Havana Cigar Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (Dissertation, University of Florida, 1977); and Joan Marie Steffey, "The Cuban Immigrants of Tampa, Florida, 1886-1898" (MA Thesis, University of South Florida, 1975). In addition, numerous articles in *Tampa Bay History*, established in 1979 by USF historians Steven Lawson, Robert P. Ingalls, and Gary Mormino, proved valuable as I began my research.

⁸See, for instance, Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988); Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); and Susan Greenbaum, *Afro-Cubans in Ybor City: A Centennial History* (Tampa: Tampa Printing Co., 1986).

⁹*Cuban Bread* was written and staged by Denis Calandra in 1991 and in 2005 was revised and restaged. Doris Weatherford published *A History of Women in Tampa* for the local Athena Society in 1991, which provided the first overview of women's lives in the Tampa area from its early settlement into the late twentieth century.

¹⁰I began my work as other scholars were completing studies on immigrants in other, mostly northern, cities. These included Judith E. Smith, *Family Connections: A History of Italian and Jewish Immigrant Lives in Providence, Rhode Island, 1900-1940* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985); Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1985); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*; Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage-earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Susan A. Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Ardis Cameron, *Radicals of the Worst Sort: Laboring Women in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1860-1912* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

Nearly everyone who works on the Cigar City, or on the cigar industry in Key West, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Spain or elsewhere, becomes entranced with *el lector*, the reader. In most factories, however, the readers are all men so, initially, they seemed tangential to my study. Then in 1989, playwright Jose Yglesias and his sister Dalia Corro mentioned in an interview that a woman had once worked as a reader in Ybor City.¹¹ That woman turned out to be Luisa Capetillo—an anarcho-syndicalist Puerto Rican who wore men's clothes and advocated vegetarianism, free love, and woman suffrage along with union organizing. She spent a little more than a year in Ybor City, but her presence loomed large there, and in the new women's history being written in Puerto Rico, where she served as a kind of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Emma Goldman rolled into one. Capetillo added a new dimension to women's history in Tampa by linking local developments to wider movements for women's rights, working class rights, and social justice.¹²

Still, a project on Latin women in Ybor City might be too narrow or too late, or both. During the mid-to-late 1980s, a dozen studies of women workers, mostly immigrants, had been published, or were on the verge of being published. It seemed that every occupation imaginable was being scrutinized, from store clerks and waitresses to garment workers, cannery workers and domestic servants, and many of them were framed as community studies. Although women cigar makers did not yet have their champion, Patricia Cooper had published a wonderful study on male cigar workers and masculinity.¹³ Could another book on a single occupation in a single community make much of an impact on the rapidly growing field of women's immigrant and labor history?

The other area in which books and articles were proliferating was African American's women's history. Again community studies proliferated as did studies of specific occupations, churches, and social movements.¹⁴ And certainly there was still plenty of work on middle-class white women, though much more of it now was set in the

¹¹Interview with Jose Yglesias and Dalia Corro, by Nancy A. Hewitt, 19 December, 1989, Tampa, Florida.

¹²My early knowledge of Luisa Capetillo came from Yamile Azize, *La mujer en la lucha* (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Cultural, 1985).

¹³On immigrant women, see note 10 above. On women workers, see, for example, Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nissei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*; Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl*; Dorothy Sue Cobble, *Dishing It Out: Waitresses and their Unions in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Miriam Cohen, *Workshop to Office: Two Generations of Italian Women in New York City, 1900-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestic and the Great Migration* (NY: Kodansha International, 1996); and Patricia Cooper, *Once A Cigar Maker: Men, Women and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

¹⁴Among many examples, see, Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (NY: Basic Books, 1985); Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness"; Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolinam, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Tera Hunter, *"To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997)

South or the West rather than the Northeast. In fact, one of the most popular topics was women's activism in the Progressive era, that is the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the period in which Ybor City's women were most active.¹⁵

This compelling and voluminous literature suggested that another perspective on Tampa women's history might be more valuable than a focus on Ybor City alone. Perhaps *Women's Activism and Social Change* in Rochester could provide a model. An exploration of three competing networks of women activists in one city, this time differentiated by race, ethnicity and class, could expand the ways women's historians thought about difference. Such a study would demonstrate not only the ways that race, ethnicity and class shaped each group of activists, but also how the interplay of race, ethnicity and class across groups shaped women's activism in Tampa as a whole.

Fortunately, there was a growing body of work on native-born white and African American women in Florida and in Tampa, much of it written by graduate students at USF, University of Florida and Florida State University. There was growing interest as well in the interactions between African Americans and Latinos, especially Afro-Cubans, and in the radical impulses that tied members of both groups to international networks of anarcho-syndicalists, socialists and communists.¹⁶ This interest converged with explorations of borderlands by historians of the West and of globalization by American historians more generally.

Tampa was a borderland, between the United States mainland and the Caribbean basin, and it was marked by various global connections. Cuban exiles used South Florida as a launching pad for the Wars for Independence in the 1890s; Luisa Capetillo and other anarcho-syndicalist women traveled to Ybor City to join in revolutionary and union movements there; native-born white women missionaries and temperance advocates in Tampa took their message to Latin immigrants and to inhabitants of Cuba, Puerto Rico and other American territorial extensions; and African American radicals joined their Afro-Caribbean counterparts in the local branch of the United Negro Improvement Association.

It seemed that Tampa women could speak to nearly every issue, debate and framework that emerged in American women's history in the 1980s and 1990s. Perhaps they spoke to too many. For despite all the calls for studies of race, class and gender, borderlands and globalization, Progressive reform and working-class radicalism, most studies, wisely, took on only one or two of these issues or focused on only one racial or ethnic group. Moreover, those that focused on interactions between ethnic and racial groups were framed almost wholly as confrontations between white, middle-class

¹⁵See, for example, Lebock, *The Free Women of Petersburg*; Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., *The Women's West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Authority in American West, 1874-1939* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebock, eds., *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993) for just a sampling of a huge literature.

¹⁶The literature on Afro-Cubans and African Americans was especially important to my work on Tampa. See, for example, Lisa Brock and Digna Casteneda, eds., *Races and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (NY: Verso, 1998); Aline Helg, *The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); and Susan D. Greenbaum, *More than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002).

reformers or social workers and their immigrant or African American clients or victims. Much of this work was compelling, but it left one with the sense that African American, immigrant and poor women were incapable of organizing on their own behalf. At the same time, studies that focused on women of color celebrated the ingenuity and agency of their communities but often ignored conflicts within them and alliances with outsiders. One way to balance these competing claims for subordination and agency among diverse groups of women was to highlight internal community dynamics for white women and women of color as well as their interactions with each other across time. The history of Tampa allowed this kind of analysis, indeed begged for it. The existence of three distinct, though overlapping, communities would assure that no easy dichotomies, no bifurcated categories, could dominate the analysis.

In alternately responding to and anticipating shifts in the field of American women's history, I spent far longer researching and writing the study of Latin, African American and white women's activism in Tampa than I had ever imagined. However, the long gestation period for the project turned out to be a blessing. By the time the book *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s* appeared in 2001, American historians and especially women's historians were eager to think about their work in more global contexts; studies of African American women were giving way to studies of women of color; there was increasing interest in ethnic differences among Blacks; and migrations and diasporas—of people and ideas—were suddenly hot. In addition, the history of Tampa touched just enough major events and developments in US history, from Jim Crow to the Wars of 1898 to woman suffrage, that more traditional scholars who felt compelled to engage race, class and gender could find comfortable hooks in *Southern Discomfort*. But perhaps most importantly the idea of placing three different racial/ethnic groups in conversation with each other worked to challenge received wisdom about each of the groups individually and about how women of different racial and class backgrounds interact.

To give just one example, the discussion of woman suffrage in *Southern Discomfort* highlights the particular meanings that the vote had for native-born white women, African American women and Latin working-class women.¹⁷ The first two groups wielded the ballot in the 1920 elections, and the large number of white and African Americans who did so suggest that notions of faint-hearted southern white women and disfranchised southern black women need to be reconsidered. Despite their shared interest in voting, however, it appears that white and African American women generally supported opposing sides in the contest over at-large versus ward-based elections. Moreover, soon after the fall election, without significant protest from white suffrage leaders, Florida's state legislators closed the loopholes that allowed black women to vote and disfranchised them alongside the state's black men. Clearly there was no unified women's political bloc in Tampa.

At the same time, most Latin women, even those who were citizens, chose not to vote in local elections in 1920, but they did wield ballots in what they considered a more important site—the union hall—where they supported an industry wide strike that fall. The strike, as much as the elections, shaped Tampa's economic and political landscape that year. The debates over unionization and woman suffrage also had a global

¹⁷Nancy A. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 234-247.

dimension. In the 1910s, Luisa Capetillo advocated both; other anarcho-syndicalists dismissed woman suffrage as useless given the repressive political regimes in the city and state; while some native-born white suffragists traveled to Cuba and Puerto Rico to promote democratic principles there, though within limits of course. In both cases, middle-class white women from the US joined middle-class Puerto Rican and Cuban women to advocate suffrage for educated women only.

Shortly after *Southern Discomfort* appeared, the stories of Tampa women began to find their way into American women's history more generally. Editors of guides to women's history began to incorporate Tampa into larger narratives of women's labor, immigration and activism. Thus, I was asked to write the essay on Progressive reform for a guide that highlighted race, class and gender as critical components of women's experiences. Women's history encyclopedias, too, began including entries on women cigar workers and individual Tampa activists, like Blanche Armwood Beatty and Luisa Capetillo.

A number of scholars seem to have "discovered" Capetillo about the same time, and a mini-industry has developed in articles, dissertations, MA theses, and documentaries about her life.¹⁸ I authored one article on her for *Latina Legacies*, an edited collection by Vicki Ruiz and Virginia Sanchez Korrol that highlights the lives of sixteen Latino and Chicano women in the United States. An encyclopedia on Latinas, to appear in fall 2005, not only includes articles on Capetillo but also on cigar workers Dolores Patino Rio and on Latin women's involvement in cigar unions and strikes in South Florida.

Not only have individual characters in the Tampa story been incorporated into American women's history, but the larger framework of comparative women's history has been embraced as well. Scholars of Latina/Chicana, African American, Asian American, and Native American women have begun to work together, across the disciplines, to explore common and distinct experiences among women of color. An interdisciplinary three-year project on Representations and Realities of Women of Color and Work was organized by scholars at University of Maryland and funded by the Ford Foundation. This project will include an article on African American and Latin women's activism in Tampa during the 1930s. The Women of Color project also hosted a week-long conference in August 2004 at the Rockefeller Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy, where U.S. scholars met with their counterparts from Africa, England and the Caribbean. The developments traced in *Southern Discomfort* resonated with the work of many of the historians in the group, opening a new audience for work on Tampa women.

Perhaps most importantly, *Southern Discomfort* is part of a whole series of wonderful studies on Tampa and on Florida more generally, published over the past two decades. Together, these books and articles illuminate a wide range of histories and engage a variety of scholarly debates, including those related to women and gender. It appears that Tampa and Florida will finally get their due among American historians.

At the same time, for American women's historians, the model of multi-racial, multi-ethnic, cross-class analyses of women's lives seems to be, slowly, catching on. Graduate students and young scholars are particularly excited about viewing race and

¹⁸See references to this work in Nancy A. Hewitt, "Luisa Capetillo: Feminist of the Working Class," in Vicki L. Ruiz and Virginia Sanchez-Korrol, eds., *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 120-34.

class as more than dichotomous categories—black and white, rich and poor. In 2004, two young historians, Alison Parker and Stephanie Cole, co-edited a volume entitled *Beyond Black and White*, which brought together a number of articles on multi-racial communities in the South and Southwest, including three focused on women. In colonial American women's history, some of the best recent work, by Kathleen Brown, Kirsten Fischer, Juliana Barr, and Gwenn Miller, explores relations among various Native American, African American, and/or European peoples.¹⁹ And the forthcoming collection to be published by the Women of Color and Work Project noted above will highlight multi-racial and multi-ethnic relations in several sites, including Tampa.

Finally, the history of Tampa has dramatically transformed the way I see American women's history—both as a scholar and a teacher. The perspectives I gained from Tampa regarding globalization, hemispheric connections and conflicts, and the complex interplay of race, ethnicity, class and gender have forced me to think anew about more traditional areas of women's history, like the emergence of woman's rights and the battle for suffrage. Pieces of evidence that seemed incongruous before suddenly loom large. For instance, in the same edition of Frederick Douglass' *North Star* that announced the Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention, there was also an announcement about an Emancipation Day celebration. Twenty years ago, I found that pairing hard to interpret. Now it appears as a window into a whole new way of viewing woman's rights and suffrage in America.

Indeed several scholars are now rereading abolitionist newspapers, reconsidering correspondence among woman's rights advocates in the US and elsewhere, and studying debates over property rights and suffrage among African American, Native American, Irish and German immigrant, and Mexican American as well as native-born white women.²⁰ It is clear that there were many discussions of woman's rights—among working girls in New York City, farm women in upstate New York, fugitive slaves throughout their travels, religious and secular radicals in Europe and the US, Mexicans coming under the jurisdiction of US laws, Iroquois and other Indian groups being assimilated into Euro-American ways. Many of them began before the Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention of 1848 and continued long afterward. Moreover, it is now clear that even when we focus on 1848, we need to set debates over women's roles and

¹⁹Stephanie Cole and Alison M. Parker, eds., *Beyond Black and White: Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the U.S. South and Southwest* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 2004); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002); Juliana Barr, "The 'Seductions' of Texas: The Political Language of Gender in the Conquests of Texas, 1609-1803" (Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1999); and Gwenn Miller, "Contact and Conquest in Colonial North America," in Nancy A. Hewitt, ed., *A Companion to American Women's History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 35-48.

²⁰See, for example, Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Louise M. Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1999); Bonnie Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830-1860* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2000); Lori Ginzberg, *Untidy Origins: A Story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Nancy A. Hewitt, "'Seeking a Larger Liberty': Remapping First Wave Feminism," in Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart, eds., *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming).

rights in the context of larger controversies set off by the 1848 revolutions in Europe, the emancipation of slaves in the French West Indies, the Mexican-American War, the massive wave of Irish immigration, the smaller groups of German, Hungarian and other exiles, and the debates among the Iroquois and other Indian groups over written constitutions and patriarchal systems of property and political rights.

The issues raised in the 1840s would reverberate through the suffrage campaigns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, illuminating the complex racial dynamics of "woman" suffrage. For instance, every legislature that passed woman suffrage at the state level before 1920—whether in the supposedly progressive West or the reactionary South—restricted voting rights by race. In the West, it was generally Mexican American, Native American, and Asian American women who were disfranchised rather than African Americans, but the effect was the same. And when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920, granting women suffrage at the Federal level, women of color continued to be disfranchised for years to come. After African American women voted in southern towns and cities in 1920, legislatures closed the loopholes that allowed this aberration. Many Mexican American, Native American, and Asian American women never even gained this one-time opportunity from the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Puerto Rican women, too, were excluded from the ballot into the 1930s, despite being a US protectorate since 1898.

It is clear in rereading newspapers and correspondence and the minutes of meetings and conventions that participants in the Emancipation Day Celebration in Rochester, New York on 1 August, 1848, and the Rochester Woman's Rights Convention on 2 August viewed their efforts in the context of more global and hemispheric developments. And when the counter-revolutions set in across Europe, women radicals worried that this might mark a general defeat for their visions of class, racial and gender justice. Although these women could have predicted the complicated path of suffrage victories and defeats, few historians were as insightful about the racial and class divisions within suffrage ranks until recently. For me, the revelations occurred directly as a result of immersing myself in the study of Tampa.

Clearly other scholars studying Florida are having the same experience. Historians of women and slavery, Jim Crow, immigration, unionization, the New Deal, socialism and communism, civil rights, second wave feminism, sexuality, and numerous other topics are mining the Florida archives like never before. They will change History, or at least our understandings of it.

The Great Society in Central Florida: The Struggle Over Orange County's Community Action Program, 1966-1969

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Introduction

On 8 January, 1964, Lyndon Johnson, in his first State of the Union address since assuming the presidency following John Kennedy's assassination, declared an "unconditional war on poverty in America." What followed Johnson's clarion call was a shift to an activist-oriented social welfare policy agenda that included, among its many programs, educational opportunities, food assistance, and health care. Encapsulated as the "Great Society", the outcome of this ambitious federal government effort is still fervently debated forty years hence, with critics claiming that anti-poverty programs created a permanently dependent class of poor people and defenders seeing such projects as having reduced privation.¹ In this essay, I examine a small piece of the political battle that took place in the latter half of the 1960s, a clash that occurred throughout the country over conceptions of the legitimate role of the national government in delivering social services and encouraging community development. In this instance, the setting was Orange County, Florida.

Orange County Economic Opportunity, Inc. (OCEO) was chartered in 1966 under the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Washington, DC. Created to coordinate the Johnson Administration's (1964-1968) poverty policies, OEO owed its existence to the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964, an omnibus package stressing education and training through such programs as the Job Corps, Work-Study, and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). Community action agencies (CAAs) were encouraged under the Act to stimulate local efforts to meet the needs of low-income people. Title II of the EOA allocated federal funds to programs and called for the "maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the group

¹For the seminal work arguing that the welfare state has left the poor worse off, see Charles Murray, *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980* (NY: Basic Books, 1984). For a similar view, see George Gilder, *Wealth & Poverty* (NY: Basic Books, 1981). In contrast, John Schwarz documents Great Society successes in *America's Hidden Success: A Reassessment of Twenty Years of Public Policy* (NY: Norton, 1983) and Theodore R. Marmor, Jerry L. Mashaw, and Philip Harvey argue, in *America's Misunderstood Welfare State: Persistent Myths, Enduring Realities* (NY: Basic Books, 1992), that attacks on the welfare state are based on false ideas about what social programs are and how they work. Among historians, John Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society, 1961-1974* (NY: Norton, 1992) and Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996) offer sympathetic accounts of the Johnson-era that, nevertheless, come to somewhat negative conclusions about its success. Robert Dallek's *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and his Times, 1961-1973* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1998) makes the quite conventional argument that Johnson's domestic agenda was waylaid by the Vietnam War. Meanwhile, Allen Matusow's scathing critique of the Great Society's feebleness and incompetence, in *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (NY: Harper & Row, 1984) remains, after two decades, the harshest assessment by an academic historian.

served," in other words, the poor themselves.² As such, the Federal government contracted with independent, non-governmental groups rather than municipal and county governments or traditional charitable and aid organizations. Not surprisingly, Community Action Program (CAP) efforts aimed at "empowering the poor" became the most controversial pieces in a complex puzzle of federal programs aimed at overcoming poverty.³

Obstnacy and Opposition

The Orange County community action program was among those experiencing a stormy early existence. Operating responsibilities alone were daunting for a local agency; it had to, among other things, get organized, prepare budget applications, hire personnel, establish operating procedures, and set up accounting controls. In OCEO's case, neither the Orlando City Council nor the Orange County Commission offered much support; the latter indicating that it would never appropriate any funds even as it agreed to make "in-kind" contributions towards the EOA requirement that a portion of CAP funding had to come from local sources. Meanwhile, three of five county commissioners stated that they actually wanted nothing to do with the program.⁴ The OCEO's board of directors exacerbated an already-difficult public relations situation by barring reporters from the area's conservative newspaper, *The Orlando Sentinel*, from one of its meetings. Meanwhile, internal squabbling among board members, several of whom were antagonistic to the underlying purposes of the War on Poverty, prevented OCEO from

²Quoted passage is from section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. As cited in Dennis Judd, *The Politics of American Cities: Private Power and Public Policy* (Glenview: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1988), 317. In separate articles, Roger H. Davidson and Sar A. Levitan discuss how the concept of "maximum feasible participation" meant different things to different people. Both authors also point out that CAP grants initially failed to specify criteria for including low-income citizens in decision-making. See Davidson, "The War on Poverty: Experiment in Federalism," 1-13 and Levitan, "The Community Action Program: A Strategy to Fight Poverty," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 385 (September, 1969), 63-75.

³For what some consider a controversial discussion of the conflict surrounding CAP, see Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (NY: Vintage Books, 1971), 258-281. Piven and Cloward assert that such programs were intended to absorb and direct dissent and discontent by providing tangible, if limited, benefits. Other War on Poverty programs included: Neighbor Youth Corps, the Manpower Development and Training Act, Head Start, Upward Bound, the Teacher Corps, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, school lunch programs, food stamps, Medicaid, neighborhood health centers, Legal Services, and Model Cities. For a critical analysis of the myriad programs that Theodore Lowi calls a "grab bag" approach to the problems of poverty, see *The End of Liberalism: Ideology: Policy and the Crisis of Public Authority* (NY: Norton, 1969), 231-249. For a critique of what Daniel Moynihan calls the "professionalism of reform" inherent to Great Society programs, see *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (NY: Free Press, 1969), 22-35. Moynihan contends that the War on Poverty was declared by a technocratic-elite that assumed responsibility for social change. (It should be pointed out that of he was a part of this elite, having been an assistant secretary of labor and the principal drafter of the Task Force on Manpower Conservation's poverty report in late 1963.) At the time of his critique of the "war" that he helped initiate, Moynihan was an assistant to President Nixon for urban affairs. While in that capacity, he was the chief architect of an ill-fated Family Assistance Plan (FAP) that would have scrapped the existing welfare system and replaced it with a program of income maintenance for the poor. See Moynihan, *The Politics of a Guaranteed Income: The Nixon Administration and the Family Assistance Plan* (NY: Vintage Books, 1973).

⁴*Orlando Sentinel*, 25 April, 1967. The anti-OEO commissioners were Cliff Freeman, Sanford Padgett, and Paul Pickett. Pickett explicitly stated his opposition to "OEO philosophy."

receiving many project grants in its initial year. With the agency literally bordering on dissolution, the board of directors was reorganized in January, 1967.

Reorganization of the OCEO board of directors occurred coincident with an OEO announcement from Washington that, henceforth, all community action agencies would be required to reserve 33% of the seats on their governing boards for the poor. This policy would later be codified in the Quie Amendment which was named for its congressional sponsor, Rep. Al Quie (R-MN). OCEO by-laws provided for a fifteen member board, one-third of whom were to be low-income persons from among the fourteen OEO-designated "poverty pockets" in Orange County.⁵ Five other seats included no low-income stipulation. Each of these ten positions was determined by the vote of approximately 1,100 eligible registered program participants.⁶ The final one-third of the OCEO board was appointed by the county commission, from local municipal governments, dental, legal, and medical societies in the area authorized to work with OEO. The new board selected former state legislator and two-time gubernatorial candidate Brailey Odham as its chairperson. No stranger to political controversy, the progressive-populist Odham, who also waged an unsuccessful 1964 campaign for US Senate as a pro-civil rights candidate, was entering the familiar territory of a contentious political arena.⁷ He said, "I was a compromise chair. I had said that I wanted to see the program stay intact and that I would be glad to serve if the board found itself without a majority candidate. So I was nominated and chosen by consensus."⁸

Thwarting Opportunities

A reported 10,000 families with incomes of less than \$60 a week lived in Orange County in 1967.⁹ Using a base-line income of \$3,000, OEO identified just under one-third (31.8%) of county residents as "poverty-stricken" compared to a national average of just over one-fifth (21.3%).¹⁰ About 70% of those in the county living in poverty were black, compared to a national average of 30%. On one hand, intersecting race and class factors were impossible to avoid in discussion and implementation of OCEO programs. On the other, race-identified politics served to further weaken what support poverty programs had. As political scientist Ira Katznelson notes, southern politicians had opposed economic opportunity legislation because they feared that it would hasten racial integration.¹¹ But if local CAAs strengthened African-American demands for self-

⁵*Orlando Evening Star*, 18 January, 1967.

⁶Turnout in early CAP elections ranged from a low of 1% to a high of 5% of those eligible. Figures are from "Representation Election and Voter Participation in Community Action Programs under OEO," American Arbitration Association, 15 June, 1996, 8-11. Cited in Davidson, "War on Poverty," 10.

⁷For an examination of Brailey Odham's political career, see my *Brailey Odham: Florida's Progressive Populist* (Dissertation, Union Institute, 1995).

⁸Author's interview with Brailey Odham, 14 May, 1994.

⁹*Orlando Sentinel*, 25 July, 1967. Unless otherwise cited, economic figures are taken from this source.

¹⁰*Corner Cupboard*, 6 July, 1967. The *Corner Cupboard* was published weekly in the Orlando/Orange County area in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

¹¹Ira Katznelson, "Was the Great Society a Lost Opportunity?" in *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*, Steven Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 203. Some "big city" officials outside the south also expressed concerns that CAP would upset traditional political arrangements. For a general discussion of the relationship between racial politics and welfare policy, see Thomas Byrne Edsall with Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (NY: Norton, 1991).

determination and institutional control of communities in which they lived, localities were reluctant to reject federal funds outright and few in the South did so.

In 1967, OCEO's first full year of operation, the agency received federal monies of about \$750,000, most of which (\$631,291) went to a Head Start program serving 600 disadvantaged children.¹² Head Start, designed to provide educational, health, and nutritional services to pre-school children, tended to provoke less controversy than other Great Society initiatives and the program has, in fact, generally enjoyed bipartisan support from its inception. However, the OCEO Head Start program came under fire from the Orange County Dental Society (OCDS). Dr. Lewis S. Earle, a conservative Republican and OCEO board member, opposed to its existence and defended the Society's refusal to participate in the dental portion of Head Start (for which it was the only locally OEO-authorized organization). OCEO's charter could have been revoked for failing to provide pre-school dental care, which was the goal of its opponents from the beginning.¹³

Citing an already-existing OCDS clinic for indigent children, complaining about wasted federal spending, and alleging political corruption, Earle argued that OCEO was primarily used to provide patronage jobs.¹⁴ Odham, defying anyone to show evidence of such manipulation, stated that the agency only had five full-time employees.¹⁵ He recalls, "I got so aggravated with them [Dental Society] because it was unthinkable that they would refuse care to children. And, they were going to be paid for their services."¹⁶ His aggravation eventually led him to propose that board membership should be restricted to those who "subscribe to the purpose of this [OCEO] organization."¹⁷

The all-white dental society did not want to care for black children. By refusing to participate, dentists were not subject to civil rights suits for practicing racial discrimination in a program involving the use of Federal dollars. Plus, their inaction left the agency with a surplus of almost \$85,000 for the fiscal year which led Earle and other adversaries to question the judgment of those submitting grant requests. A petition asking that record books be impounded and a court-directed audit be carried out was denied by a circuit judge.¹⁸ Several antagonists eventually resigned from the OCEO board. One hostile member who stayed on was Professor Paul Douglass of Rollins College (Winter

¹²*Orlando Evening Star*, 18 January and 1 April, 1967. OCEO funds for this period compared unfavorably with community action programs in Florida counties such as Dade (\$13M), Duval (\$10M), Broward (\$9M), and Pinellas (\$7M) even when their larger populations are taken into account. *Orlando Sentinel*, 6 April, 1967.

¹³Charter revocation would have been discretionary. As Theodore Lowi points out, the language establishing community action programs was open-ended. It provided for a laundry list of activities that local programs would "likely" include such as..."establishing programs for the benefit of preschool children." Quoted phrases are from *The War on Poverty*, Senate Document 86, Committee on Labor and Welfare, 88th Congress. Cited in Lowi, *End of Liberalism*, 236-237.

¹⁴*Orlando Sentinel*, 24 May, 1967.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 25 July, 1967. While the newspaper account indicates no challenge to Odham's number, he appears to have erred by two full-time employees. OCEO had a director, assistant director, program administrator, three field workers, and a secretary-book keeper. Part-time employees included teachers, teacher's aides, nurses, cooks, janitors, and delivery drivers. *Corner Cupboard*, 2 February, 1967.

¹⁶Odham interview, 14 May, 1994.

¹⁷*Corner Cupboard*, 28 September, 1967.

¹⁸*Orlando Evening Star*, 28 August, 1967

Park) who was also on the advisory board of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), a conservative 1960s student group with origins in the John Birch Society.¹⁹

Bickering and Inadequate Funding

Despite praise for Brailey Odham's leadership from both supporters and opponents of the anti-poverty program, the agency continued to be plagued with problems. Name-calling and personality clashes that had characterized the original board carried over into the organization's second year. Odham recalls that

there was little public attendance and it was hard to keep anyone involved to do battle with an irritating group that attended every public meeting to disrupt things. One guy, a radical rightist named Jake Braswell, would take over the floor and no one held him in check. He would incense the black members. We fought one battle after another. Following one meeting, a fellow board member [African-American funeral director Willie Bruton] told me that no white man was ever again going to make him sit on the back of the bus. I was struck by the intensity of his feeling.²⁰

Braswell, a self-appointed "watchdog" of the organization, fought unsuccessfully to have the Orange County Commission pass a resolution "disowning" OCEO. The lawyer and one-time candidate for the Florida legislature wanted commissioners to "tell Washington to take their program out of the county."²¹ He repeatedly charged that the program was rife with nepotism and that the public did not have access to the organization's records, an allegation to which Odham responded, saying "every time I'm aware of that he's requested information he's been given it."²² Constantly at loggerheads with Odham, Braswell called for his resignation as "head of the supposedly non-political OCEO" upon learning that he [Odham] was scheduled to emcee a local Democratic Women's Club BBQ.²³

Ongoing disputes ranged from criticism of the amount of money earmarked for employee salaries and questions about rental agreements for Head Start centers to arguments about why some Federal funds were withheld. There were debates over the legality of board transactions following an Odham ruling suspending several members for missing meetings. Verbal fights erupted over the availability of meeting minutes and access to information for board members. Disagreement also arose among members with respect to the dismissal of two employees, one of whom had been mistakenly hired for a job that was unfunded and non-existent. In fact, personnel issues abounded: 1) charges of "Negro" racism were leveled following the dismissal of eight white teachers, despite the fact that they were all replaced by white teachers; 2) a physician with whom OCEO contracted to serve as "medical director" resigned on grounds that he had understood that he was to develop medical histories of children, not give medical exams to them; 3) a

¹⁹*Orlando Sentinel*, 19 December, 1967. For an in-depth discussion of YAF, see John A. Andrews III, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

²⁰Odham interview, 14 May, 1994.

²¹*Orlando Sentinel*, 25 April, 1967.

²²*Ibid.*, 28 October, 1967.

²³*Ibid.*, 20 July, 1967.

white applicant for the assistant director's position alleged discrimination after an African-American was hired for the job; 4) the agency's director defaulted on a personal loan and was arrested for attempting to cash a worthless check.²⁴

For its part, the Orange County Commission passed a resolution, which it sent to OEO director Sergeant Shriver, decrying the Federal survey used to identify fifteen "poverty pockets" in the county (one neighborhood that complained about being on the list was eventually withdrawn as a target area). The VISTA program came under attack when the board proposed bringing in additional volunteers; persistent critic Braswell attempted, again without success, to get the Orange County Commission to adopt a "VISTA go-home" resolution.²⁵ Even the presence of reporters at board meetings became an issue, although Odham's position of openness on this matter apparently held sway after he asserted that a "greater service" would be done by providing the press with information instead of "suppressing it."²⁶ Meanwhile, Braswell accused OCEO of padding its budget with local "in-kind" contributions in order to obtain federal funds for the following year.²⁷

In addition to the aforementioned political wrangling, Great Society programs in Orange County faced several legal battles. An attorney filed suit alleging that OEO legal services lawyers "strongly identified with the civil rights movement" were engaged in "unfair competition with private attorneys."²⁸ The lawyer's action, which was dismissed, was an attempted "pre-emptive strike" in that no local legal services office existed at the time he went to court. Additionally, agency critic Braswell provided *pro bono* legal representation for a former OCEO worker in an "unfair termination" complaint that a circuit judge denied.²⁹ The local agency was subjected to three local audits, an OEO audit, and a General Accounting Office (GAO) audit. Further, an Orange County grand jury spitefully recommended a second GAO audit on the heels of a report indicating that OCEO had sufficient local operating control and an adequate accounting system. In the midst of all this controversy, OEO director Shriver awarded the organization Florida's only national service award for the 1300 volunteers it relied upon to carry out its work.³⁰

Conclusion

Elected for a two-year term, Braley Odham resigned as OCEO chair after twelve months. Citing business commitments as the principal reason for leaving, he also acknowledged that the opposition's effectiveness in limiting the organization's ability to function was a factor in his decision.³¹ Opponents even blocked job counseling for the

²⁴ *Corner Cupboard*, 2 March, 1967; 11 May, 1967; 22 June, 1967; 31 August, 1967.

²⁵ *Orlando Evening Star*, 23 January, 1968.

²⁶ *Orlando Sentinel*, 17 May, 1967.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 16 October, 1967. Originally, the local contribution was set at 10%; Congress raised the figure to 20% in 1967. See Davidson, "War on Poverty," 8.

²⁸ The attorney who brought the suit was Russell Troutman. *Orlando Evening Star*, 4 August, 1966.

²⁹ *Orlando Sentinel*, 7 May, 1967.

³⁰ *Orlando Sentinel*, 10 January, 1968.

³¹ Odham did not mention that he considered himself lucky for an absence of Menieres attacks while serving in his capacity as OCEO chair. He had developed the ailment, an inner problem with symptoms of nausea and dizziness similar to vertigo, during his 1964 campaign for the US Senate. While the illness was not life-threatening, it was socially disabling because Odham never knew when symptoms might occur. On medication, Odham fretted about oncoming attacks; thus, it had been with some trepidation that he had answered the OCEO call. Odham interview, 14 May, 1994.

unemployed. More significantly, however, community development opportunities, for which the Federal government would have contributed up to 75% of the cost, were missed during his tenure. Thus, between \$750,000 and one million Dollars available to erect a neighborhood center in Orlando's African-American Washington Shores community, construct a public health clinic for the needy, and build both day care and recreation facilities were lost. Speaking about these matters almost three decades later, Odham said,

someone in municipal and county government had to cooperate locally. But, the political officials didn't subscribe to the beliefs of the OEO program. Now, I had made it clear that as long as I was on the board, this guy Braswell was not going to control the program. We had managed to replace a weak white administrator with a stronger black administrator and a fairly active black group developed. Once those things were done, there wasn't much reason to stay on. The only program we had with any money was Head Start and it had been set up before I became involved. The amount of money spent for things such as housing was so small it couldn't begin to solve the problem. People like to say that the poverty programs were a great waste of money but, really, they were never given a chance to work.³²

Odham's comments affirm the view of analysts who suggest that the Great Society's CAP floundered on its decentralized administrative foundations, as well as that of liberal and left-wing critics who claim that Johnson's poverty war was never seriously funded.³³ At the very least, the effort was waylaid by a combination of the "conservative coalition" of congressional Republicans and southern Democrats and the growing costs of the Vietnam War.

OEO programs were caught between two objectives from their beginning—reduction of poverty and creation of more equal opportunities. Towards these goals, the total federal CAP allocation for years 1965-1969 was just under \$3.5 billion, distributed among more than 1,000 community action agencies covering about two-thirds of the

³²*Ibid.* The view expressed by Odham has been crowded out in the general disillusionment with welfare programs, a sense that "big government" failed, and the rise of neo-liberal market-oriented ideas. Today, critics routinely claim \$5 trillion in "wasted" federal welfare spending (although their time periods differ with some tracing such expenditures to the end of World War II and others to Johnson Administration policies in the mid-1960s). The conservative Heartland Institute (<http://www.heartland.org/>) think-tank appears to be a prime source of this widely-cited figure.

³³For discussion of the ways in which the CAP's decentralized features and local control detached it from the political control of the White House and exacerbated the political dimensions of administration, see Davidson, "War on Poverty"; James L. Sundquist, "Coordinating the War on Poverty," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 385 (September, 1969), 41-49; Richard M. Flanagan, "Lyndon Johnson, Community Action, and Management of the Administrative State," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 31:4 (December, 2001), 585-608. For assertions that the growth in expenditures for US welfare programs was in universal entitlements such as Social Security and Medicare—programs whose elderly recipients tend to be members of the working and middle classes. See James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle against Poverty 1900-1980* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (NY: Pantheon, 1990); William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (NY: Random House, 1997).

nation's counties.³⁴ Put another way, less than two cents of each federal tax dollar went to finance economic opportunity programs.³⁵ Thus, most CAAs resembled OCEO, small-staff operations largely confined to Head Start. Even there, CAP monies were too thinly spread; in Orange County, this meant about 3,000 children were on a waiting list when there was funding for only 20% of that number.³⁶ By this time, Congress had limited local flexibility and initiative in favor of "national emphasis" programs, legislators directing 40% of all OEO funds to Head Start alone.³⁷ Then, late in 1967, Congress potentially reined-in local CAP programs even more by enacting the so-called Green Amendment—named for Rep. Edith Green (D-OR)—which granted local elected officials the authority to designate the community action agency in their area.

OCEO's internal bickering, employee difficulties, and public relations trouble continued into 1968 even as the agency's funding peaked at almost \$900,000. Dispute ensued over whether missing organizational records had been stolen or had disappeared in the face of yet another audit. The assistant director, a former AFL-CIO organizer rumored to be affiliated with the Southern Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) was arrested for "procuring a prostitute" and found guilty of the misdemeanor offense.³⁸ Odham's successor, an African-American Episcopal minister, was characterized as a "black power" advocate and subjected to red-baiting tactics. The ever-present Jake Braswell produced a 1961 Florida legislature report placing him at a meeting where "known communists" were in attendance.³⁹ Stung by the litany of negative press coverage, the board voted to bar reporters from its meetings. Finally, in 1969, as a nation-wide backlash against the War on Poverty was emerging in the aftermath of urban rebellion, the Orange County Commission exercised its authority under the Green Amendment and assumed control of OCEO.⁴⁰

³⁴Levitan, "Community Action Program," 71.

³⁵*Orlando Sentinel*, 28 August, 1967.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 21 April, 1967.

³⁷Figure cited in Flanagan, "Lyndon Johnson," 601.

³⁸*Corner Cupboard*, 11 January, 1968.

³⁹*Orlando Sentinel*, 31 January, 1968. *Corner Cupboard*, 21 March, 1968; 4 April, 1968.

⁴⁰The Nixon Administration would eventually transfer a number of OEO programs either to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) or the Department of Labor. OEO was dismantled in 1974, and its successor, the Community Services Administration (CSA), was abolished in 1981. Local CAAs became eligible for Community Services Block Grants (CSBG) and many continue to exist to the present. As for the "backlash" against federal anti-poverty efforts, a series of "shock waves" in the 1970s ranging from post-Vietnam syndrome, Watergate, and the Iran hostage crisis to oil embargoes, "stagflation," and the energy crisis undermined, American self-confidence. In this political climate, the conservative argument that government programs cause more damage than good, to the point of harming the poor the most of all social groups by relegating them to a permanently dependent underclass status, had resonance. This charge was even more appealing when coupled with one asserting that attempts to achieve greater social equity had come at the cost of declining economic efficiency.

An Isolationist Commentator in an Internationalist Era: Felix Morley and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1945-1960

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Journalist and educator Felix Morley, a recipient of a Pulitzer Prize during the 1930s who died in 1981, was born in Haverford (a small town west of Philadelphia), Pennsylvania, in 1894. His father, an English Quaker and renowned mathematician, had emigrated to the United States to teach at Haverford College, a pre-eminent Quaker institution where the young Felix was later educated. His Anglican mother, incidentally, was an excellent violinist with literary skill that she passed on to her three sons. The Rhodes Scholarship that Felix obtained allowed him to study at Oxford University from 1919 to 1921, where he developed an interest in political science.¹ Despite this interest, it was in the field of literature that he obtained a PhD from George Washington University in 1940. In the years leading up to this moment, Felix Morley, who had favored Herbert Hoover for president in 1928 and 1932,² held several jobs, including member of the *Baltimore Sun's* editorial staff (1922-1929)—where he acted as a correspondent in the Far East (1925-1926) and in Switzerland (1928-1929)—and editor of the *Washington Post* (1933-1940). During the Second World War, he was president of Haverford College, his alma mater. Still passionate about writing, he founded in early 1944, with journalist Frank Hanighen, the Washington newsletter *Human Events*, going on to serve as president and editor from 1945 to 1950. The purpose of this publication was to provide an analysis, in an unusually candid way, of the problems of the day.³ During the postwar years, he also wrote extensively for *Barron's*, *Nation's Business* and *Pathfinder*.⁴

Morley, author of many books during his career (including a pro-League history entitled *The Society of Nations* published in 1932 and *The Foreign Policy of the United States* appearing in 1951), was a strong critic of the internationalist foreign policy of the

¹A few years later, he was a lecturer on current political problems at St. John's College of Annapolis, Maryland. *Who's Who in America, 1956-1957*, 29: (Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, 1956), 1829.

²In his memoirs, Morley affirmed however that he reluctantly voted for Franklin Roosevelt in 1936. Felix Morley, *For the Record* (South Bend: Regnery/Gateway, 1979), 297.

³Regarding the beginnings of *Human Events*, Morley confided: "Hanighen was urging partnership in launching an outspoken weekly newsletter, with special appeal for advocates of a reasonable, non-punitive and lasting peace. He would do the reporting for this if I would direct the critical comment. The idea was attractive. Quakers should be interested in such a publication and it might have a beneficial connection with Haverford. It would permit continuation ... of the analytical articles which I enjoyed writing but had ceased to produce. A good eighteenth century title for the undertaking, I told Hanighen, would be *Human Events*, after the resounding opening of the Declaration of Independence: 'When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary ...'" (*ibid.*, 396); see also Felix Morley to Bertrand de Jouvenel, 31 March, 1950, Felix Morley Papers [hereafter cited as FMP], Box 16, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.

⁴The biographical information about Morley comes mainly from *Who's Who in America* (see footnote 1), his memoirs (see footnote 2), Oscar Johannsen's article "Felix Morley: The Journalist Philosopher" at www.cooperativeindividualism.org/johannsen_morley_bio.html, Joseph Stromberg's article "Felix Morley: An Old-fashioned Republican" at www.antiwar.com/stromberg/s120799.html, and Justus Doenecke's books review "American Dissidents" published in the December 1979 issue of *Reason* (FMP, Box 13).

Truman and Eisenhower administrations. For instance, during the early Cold War period, he frequently denigrated the United Nations, the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) and the North Atlantic Treaty. In the early 1950s, Morley, a resident of Gibson Island, Maryland, also endorsed the Republican candidacy of isolationist Senator Robert Taft (Ohio).

This paper, based primarily on an examination of Morley's personal archives at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library (West Branch, Iowa), aims to present the isolationist stance of this colorful commentator who has received scant attention from scholars. Another objective of this paper is to analyze his attitude and assess his impact in the field of foreign policy during the years 1945-1960.

"Our foreign policy has been stupid"

During his long career, Felix Morley, in reference to his particular views on US foreign policy, rejected the "isolationist" label occasionally given to him. In early 1941, for example, he was unequivocal in a letter concerning this label: "I am not an isolationist ... I was a very staunch supporter of the League of Nations and did what I could to secure American membership therein. As Editor of the [*Washington Post*], I strongly opposed passage of the Neutrality Act, believing that this refusal to distinguish between the aggressor and his victim could only result in encouraging aggression. I think the United States should cooperate to the utmost in world organization for peace."⁵ The language was not really different some thirty years later: "I regard myself as a true classical Liberal... The bastard term 'libertarian' does not fill the bill and I feel the same about 'non-interventionist' as distinguished from the nationalistic and often xenophobic 'isolationist'. Non-interventionist is utterly negative whereas my position has always had some strongly positive, internationally cooperative aspects. For instance, I worked hard ... for a better understanding of other governments and peoples (I speak both French and German well) and for the greatest possible measure of Free Trade."⁶ However, an examination of his attitude during the Truman-Eisenhower era shows that he emerged as a 'moderate' supporter of an isolationist US foreign policy. But what is meant by the notion of 'isolationism' during these years? Although the term has never been easy to define,⁷ much like the concept of 'internationalism,'⁸ it is generally used "to indicate a policy of abstaining from an active role in international affairs."⁹

⁵Felix Morley to Robert E. Wood, 4 January, 1941, FMP, Box 1.

⁶Felix Morley to Justus Doenecke, 24 March, 1973, FMP, Box 13.

⁷Historian Justus Doenecke, for example, has affirmed: "Defining *isolationism* has long been a problem ... Scholars of isolationism ... find it a loaded term and one possessing such emotional connotations that dispassionate analysis is indeed difficult. Wayne S. Cole defines isolationists as people who opposed intervention in European wars and who believed in America's unimpaired freedom of action. They often differed from pacifists ... in being strident nationalists and in endorsing strong military preparations. Some isolationists, Cole noted, welcomed certain forms of imperialism and were not averse to military action in Latin America or Asia. Another historian, Manfred Jonas, finds two strands dominant in American isolationism: 'unilateralism in foreign affairs and the avoidance of war'. In discussing the former point, Jonas notes that the isolationists ever sought to maximize the options open to the country. At no time did isolationists seek literally to 'isolate' the United States from either the world's culture or its commerce." Justus D. Doenecke, *Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1979), 11-12.

⁸*Ibid.*, 12.

⁹John Findling, *Dictionary of American Diplomatic History* (NY: Greenwood Press, 1989), 265.

Having said that, many foreign policy issues of the Truman years confirm the isolationist bent of Felix Morley. These issues include: the United Nations, the Greek-Turkish Aid Program and the European Recovery Program of the 80th Congress, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of 1949, and the Korean War (1950-1953).

To begin with, the UN and its charter were not seen favorably by the journalist. Describing the UN Charter as "a constitutional monstrosity" and "an imperfect document,"¹⁰ Morley deplored its vagueness and its excessive length. Regarding this last point, he said in 1945: "The Charter of the United Nations ... contains 19 chapters, 111 separate articles and upwards of 9000 words of text. The Covenant of the League of Nations, by comparison, is composed of 26 articles and ... has less than half the verbiage of the San Francisco document. The original Constitution of the United States, before the adoption of the Bill of Rights, contained only seven articles and just under 4300 words."¹¹ Morley further lamented the fact that the UN Charter did not include a right of withdrawal from the new organization: "Unlike the Covenant of the League of Nations, which permitted withdrawal of a member in good standing on two years' notice, no such right of separation from the organization is allowed in the San Francisco Charter."¹² As he elaborated: "Public opinion in the United States is notoriously volatile. In spite of present enthusiasm for an alliance with Great Britain and Russia, popular sentiment could very possibly sometime swing back to support of George Washington's belief that: '[It is] our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world' ... A reservation to permit the United States to withdraw amicably from the United Nations, on a two-thirds recommendation by both Houses of Congress ... is a very modest precaution which would in no wise hamper the successful functioning of the new organization."¹³ Naturally, Morley's critical stance towards the United Nations did not vanish during the following years. In 1946-47, for instance, he deplored the fact that the world organization, consisting essentially "of a dominating alliance of five great powers," was "far from being united"¹⁴ and, in a context where the Soviet Union did not miss an opportunity to exercise its veto power in the Security Council, he referred to "the almost complete stalemate in the United Nations."¹⁵ In the same vein, he believed that

¹⁰Felix Morley, "The San Francisco Charter," *Human Events*, 4 July, 1945, FMP, Box 41; Felix Morley, *The Charter of the United Nations: An Analysis*, National Economic Problems, No. 416, FMP, Box 36.

¹¹Morley, "The San Francisco Charter."

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.* During the Truman years, Morley frequently alluded to George Washington's famous message of 1796 (which gave a significant impetus to the isolationist doctrine in the US), characterizing it in 1946, for example, as the "profoundly thoughtful Farewell Address." Felix Morley, "Speech on Foreign Policy," 1946, FMP, Box 39. On the same occasion he added: "It is undeniable that all of the Founding Fathers were 100 per cent Isolationists. That was true of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Monroe, Jay, John Marshall ... Isolationism and Americanism, in the early days of this Republic, were synonymous, and I think inevitably as well as intelligently so" (*ibid.*). He spoke no differently in his 1951 book on US foreign policy: "Isolationism from Europe was not a personal foible of the 'Father of his Country'. It was a well-reasoned policy approved and advanced by all the revolutionary leaders, including even Alexander Hamilton." Felix Morley, *The Foreign Policy of the United States* (NY: American Enterprise Association, 1951), 39, FMP, Box 36.

¹⁴"Assail U.S. World Policy," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 9 April, 1946, FMP, Box 39.

¹⁵Felix Morley, "The Fiasco of the United Nations," *Human Events*, 13 August, 1947, FMP, Box 41. According to Morley, the fact of granting "preeminent authority in the Security Council, where the veto operates, instead of in the Assembly, where action may be decided by a two-thirds vote" constituted a major blunder of the UN Charter. *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 19 March, 1951, A1546.

establishing the seat of the UN in America was a mistake: "Now we have the Secretariat, well-salted with Communist employees who are all potential if not actual spies, firmly established with diplomatic immunities in our midst."¹⁶ In his 1951 book entitled *The Foreign Policy of the United States*, Morley also identified another defect of the UN Charter: "the failure to formulate any definition of aggression," which, in his viewpoint, "seems a really extraordinary omission in an instrument designed primarily to prevent what is not defined."¹⁷

Not surprisingly, Felix Morley, far from being laudatory with regard to bipartisanship,¹⁸ was not the greatest supporter of the two main Cold War initiatives approved by the Republican 80th Congress: the Greek-Turkish Aid Program (also known as the Truman Doctrine) and the European Recovery Program (also known as the Marshall Plan). For the journalist, the Greek-Turkish Aid Program, a program totaling \$400 million Dollars and recommended by President Truman in his famous congressional speech of March, 1947 as a means of thwarting pro-Soviet guerrillas in Greece and Turkey, was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823: "The diplomatic record supports the contention that one of the two pillars of the Monroe Doctrine is no political intervention in Europe on the part of the United States ... But the course now advocated by the Administration seems to be one which will both ignore the United Nations and destroy the validity of the Monroe Doctrine. In effect we are asserting that we can meddle in what Russia considers its sphere of influence while maintaining that the Russians must not attempt identical tactics toward us."¹⁹

Regarding the European Recovery Program, proposed by Secretary of State George Marshall in early June, 1947 and aimed at providing massive economic assistance to Western European nations, Morley, a fiery opponent of the Morgenthau Plan,²⁰ expressed his skepticism at the end of the same year:

There is little doubt that the program of charity for Western Europe is politically advisable. In its absence Communism is practically certain to extend its gains this winter and may well eventually bring the whole European Continent, including Great Britain, under the control of Moscow. The question as to which there is more doubt is whether American assistance, on the scale demanded, will in the long run prove more than a stopgap. It might well weaken the United States and fail to

¹⁶Morley, "Fiasco of the United Nations." See also *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 26 January, 1953, A285.

¹⁷Morley, *Foreign Policy of the United States*, 35.

¹⁸For instance, he attacked America's bipartisan foreign policy during these years "as one which discourages criticism." "City Clubbers Hear Critic of Foreign Policy," *Cleveland News*, 20 October, 1951, FMP, Box 39. It must be noted that the bipartisanship was, basically, this agreement among the leaders of the two major parties not to bother the public with foreign policy disputes after World War II.

¹⁹Felix Morley, "Greece and the Monroe Doctrine," *Human Events*, 12 March, 1947, FMP, Box 41.

²⁰*Congressional Record*, Appendix, 6 June, 1946, A3250. Prepared by Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, the Morgenthau Plan, completed in September, 1944, called for the complete demilitarization of Germany, to be accomplished by means of a number of measures, one of which was the dismantling of armaments and heavy industrial plants. It was rejected in 1945 by the Truman administration.

strengthen Western Europe ... In short, there is neither security, nor any certainty of efficacious use, behind this sixteen billion dollar touch.²¹

Implementation of the Marshall Plan indeed seemed to confirm some of Morley's apprehensions, as he stated in 1949: "There are unmistakable signs that the plan, for all its accomplishments, is failing to make western Europe self-supporting. Most of these signs come from Britain ... Under the Marshall [P]lan we are now subsidizing Great Britain at the rate of about \$2,500,000 a day. But even so there is a growing shortage there of the dollars England needs in order to buy essential raw materials from this country and Canada."²²

As for the North Atlantic Treaty, ratified in Spring, 1949 by twelve European and North American signatories who pledged that an attack on any member would trigger an unanimous counterattack by all, Felix Morley was quite bitter: "[The proposed alliance] is at best an undesirable, unsatisfactory, and uninspiring stopgap ... One basic trouble with this alliance is that by its terms the American people abandon all control of their own destiny. If Russia and Norway go to war, we also go to war, regardless of whether or not Norwegian mistakes helped to provoke the conflict."²³ The journalist's resentment of NATO was still perceptible in early 1951 when he wrote, among other things, that "there is no question that defense of the remaining colonial possessions of the European empires—in Africa and Asia as well as America—is an essential strategic concept of NATO."²⁴ Incidentally, a few months later, he declared: "Now ... we seem to have put all our eggs in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization basket. Let us remember that no military alliance has ever saved a nation."²⁵

Furthermore, the journalist, exasperated by the Point Four Program of 1949 which was intended to provide technical and capital assistance to the underdeveloped areas of the world,²⁶ portrayed the Korean conflict as "a costly and demoralizing war"²⁷ and deplored the fact that the American military participation was decided "by Presidential edict."²⁸ It must be noted that Morley, with the presidential campaign of 1952 approaching, also supported the candidacy of the Republican Senator Robert Taft whose isolationist stance in foreign policy was well-known.²⁹ As he told the City Club forum of Cleveland at the end of 1951: "[Robert Taft is] not merely the only announced candidate for president but also the only possible candidate of either party having a clear understanding of today's problems and the courage to confront them."³⁰ Incidentally, a

²¹Felix Morley, "Can America Save Europe?" *Human Events*, 1 October, 1947, FMP, Box 41.

²²*Congressional Record*, Appendix, 13 June, 1949, A3643.

²³*Congressional Record*, Appendix, 25 March, 1949, A1759.

²⁴Morley, *Foreign Policy*, 74.

²⁵"City Clubbers Hear Critic of Foreign Policy," *Cleveland News*, 20 October, 1951, FMP, Box 39.

²⁶Morley, *Foreign*, 68-70.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 37.

²⁸Felix Morley, "The Ethics of Foreign Policy," 21 November, 1951, FMP, Box 41.

²⁹The Ohio politician was one of 13 senators to vote against the Atlantic pact in 1949. Eleanor W. Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Truman Years* (NY: Facts On File, 1978), 535.

³⁰"U.S. Near Decision, Morley Declares," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 21 October, 1951, FMP, Box 39. Morley had already eulogized Taft during the electoral year of 1948, as revealed by this excerpt: "Taft is the only man in the run ... who has sounded warnings about Russia without any 'war-mongering' ... and who is universally respected for his courage and his integrity." Felix Morley to Robert A. Taft, 18 March, 1948, FMP, Box 2.

few months later, Morley still noted that "foreign policy ... is enormously costly, meaning that it drains the resources of the people."³¹

Lastly, it should be emphasized that the isolationist sentiment of Felix Morley remained alive during the Eisenhower era, although nothing is known about his positions on issues such as the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) of 1954, the Formosa Resolution of 1955 or the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957.

On the one hand, the journalist, who had left *Human Events* in early 1950 following some disagreements with the newsletter's stockholders,³² believed in the legitimacy of the Bricker Amendment. Introduced in January, 1953 by Republican Senator John Bricker (Ohio), who feared that UN treaties might include provisions that could infringe on US sovereignty or compromise the free-market economic system, this constitutional amendment aimed to prevent any treaty from taking effect as American law unless authorized by special congressional legislation. As Morley asserted in a speech delivered at the Air War College in Alabama: "The strength of American opposition to any flirtation with dictatorship is shown, very clearly, in the sentiment for the Bricker Amendment ... The fundamental thought of the Bricker Amendment, and of the opposition to [bipartisan] [f]oreign [p]olicy, is much the same. In both cases there is the conviction that the executive arm of government gains steadily in power, and that to prevent this trend growing into a dictatorial torrent, Congress must assert its prerogative."³³ Unfortunately for the journalist, the Bricker Amendment, opposed by President Eisenhower, was defeated by a narrow margin in early 1954.

On the other hand, Morley's isolationist attitude was clearly perceptible in a November, 1954 address delivered to the Conservative Society of Yale Law School: after referring to the soundness of Washington's Farewell Address and railing against the fact that the American nation continued "to pour billions of public money into the far corners of the earth," he concluded that "our foreign policy has been stupid."³⁴

An Assessment of Morley's Isolationist Stance

Having completed this brief portrait of Felix Morley's attitude regarding postwar US foreign policy, some questions immediately come to mind: what were the bases of his isolationism? Should one rely exclusively on the arguments the colorful journalist raised in his writings and speeches for a full understanding of his conservative attitude concerning foreign affairs? Did he turn out to be an influential member of the isolationist community during the postwar period?

First of all, the isolationism of Morley in the Truman-Eisenhower years is not so surprising if one simply considers his religious beliefs. In fact, one might note that pacifism, a dogma hardly compatible with an interventionist foreign policy in his eyes, is an important component of the Quaker faith and, as historian Justus Doenecke has

³¹Felix Morley, "National Security and Foreign Policy," 28 April, 1952, FMP, Box 26.

³²Morley justified his resignation in these terms: "Our enterprise, while it has gained an enviable prestige and reputation, is making no real progress towards financial stability ... It was my thought ... that our salaries from HUMAN EVENTS should be sharply reduced, so that its budget might be balanced." Felix Morley to the Stockholders of *Human Events*, 13 February, 1950, FMP, Box 16; see also Morley, *For the Record*, 436-437.

³³Felix Morley, "The Problem of Bi-Partisan (*sic.*) Foreign Policy," 12 October, 1954, FMP, Box 26.

³⁴Felix Morley, "Conservatism and Foreign Policy," 10 November, 1954, in *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 15 January, 1955, FMP, Box 27.

pointed out, it seems plausible to believe that it was from the Society of Friends that Morley received his distaste for war.³⁵ His pacifism was also, quite plausibly, stimulated by the fact that, as an ambulance driver on the Western Front during World War I, he witnessed carnage at the towns of Ypres (Belgium) and Loos (France).³⁶ The fact that Morley also had a wide circle of acquaintances that included isolationist politicians such as William Borah, Robert Taft and Herbert Hoover was undoubtedly another element explaining his conservative position in foreign policy.³⁷ Morley, in his autobiography, referred for instance to his "close collaboration with Bob Taft,"³⁸ as well as his cordial and assiduous relationship with the former Republican president³⁹ (who was incidentally a Quaker as well).

Whatever the source of his pacifist attitude, Felix Morley, as has been implied, did not come across as an 'extreme' isolationist; in fact, his isolationism was rather 'moderate'.⁴⁰ Thus, although he criticized the UN Charter, he admitted that "is not to suggest that it is unworkable"⁴¹ and, according to the information available, he never publicly endorsed bills providing for US withdrawal from the UN such as the one in 1951, HR 5081 (introduced by North Dakota congressman Usher Burdick).⁴² It is important to keep in mind that Morley's credentials were not necessarily those of a 'typical' isolationist if one considers that this journalist, who made several trips abroad during his life (to England, Switzerland, the Far East, etc.) and had given his enthusiastic support to the League of Nations,⁴³ declined several invitations to join America First before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.⁴⁴ In the early Truman years, he even contended that a return to isolationism, "as the world is now constituted, would ... be disastrous."⁴⁵ In addition, Morley, a native-born Pennsylvanian and a Maryland resident,

³⁵Doenecke, "American Dissidents." It must be noted, however, that Morley, late in his life, decided to leave the Society of Friends to become an Anglican.*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Stromberg, "Felix Morley." Borah (1865-1940), a Republican senator from Idaho, was chiefly remembered for his fierce opposition to American membership in the League of Nations while Hoover (1874-1964), during the Great Debate on foreign policy of 1950-1951, advocated a 'Fortress America' approach with emphasis on US strategic air and naval power. Wayne S. Cole, "Isolationism," in Richard S. Kirkendall, ed., *The Harry S. Truman Encyclopedia* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1989), 180.

³⁸Morley, *For the Record*, 439.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 360, 366, 376, 416, 441, 445.

⁴⁰In an article dealing with isolationist senators during the Truman-Eisenhower years, historian Richard Grimmett has stated that a member of the upper house "was considered an extreme isolationist if he voted for the isolationist position on at least eighty-five percent of the scaled votes in a given year," Richard F. Grimmett, "Who Were the Senate Isolationists?" *Pacific Historical Review*, XLII (1973), 488.

⁴¹Morley, "The San Francisco Charter."

⁴²*Congressional Record*, 2 August, 1951, 15304.

⁴³For such support on behalf of the League of Nations, historian Justus Doenecke has even described Morley as "a strong internationalist" during the 1920s and 1930s. Doenecke, *Not to the Swift*, 39. In his 1951 book dealing with US foreign policy, for instance, Morley, praised the League of Nations in these terms: "During the twenty years from 1919 to 1939 the League of Nations achieved many solid accomplishments in the field of inter-governmental organization. It did much to develop international administration in many technical fields." Morley, *Foreign Policy*, 31.

⁴⁴Morley, *For the Record*, 367. Morley confessed, however, in Spring, 1941 that the America First Committee, born in late Spring, 1940 to keep the American nation out of war and which included as prominent members Charles Lindbergh and influential editor William Randolph Hearst, "is doing a tremendous service at this time." Felix Morley to Isaac A. Pennypacker, 6 May, 1941, FMP, Box 1.

⁴⁵"Assail U.S. World Policy," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 9 April, 1946, FMP, Box 39.

did not really live in an 'isolationist environment'. In fact, it was obvious during the postwar years that the isolationist sentiment was mostly perceptible in the Midwest, as historian Wayne Cole has implied: "Among those [in Congress] who wrote, spoke, or voted against Truman's Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine aid to Greece and Turkey, and the North Atlantic Treaty were Senators Robert A. Taft and John W. Bricker of Ohio, Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, William Jenner of Indiana, [Kenneth] Wherry [Nebraska], and [William] Langer [North Dakota]."⁴⁶

In the end, it seems tempting to assert that the influence of the journalist with regard to the field of foreign policy, in an age which coincided with the heyday of US internationalism, was rather insignificant. It should not be forgotten, however, that Morley, obviously not an admirer of President Truman,⁴⁷ appeared as a respected and distinguished figure in the conservative (and isolationist) circles, as clearly exemplified by the fact that his name was frequently quoted during these years. This situation is not so surprising since Morley, particularly through his newsletter *Human Events* in which his isolationist rhetoric was eloquently exposed, reached a non-negligible audience, as the journalist acknowledged a few years after its founding: "*Human Events* made many friends, gaining subscribers in nearly every state and overseas. By 1947 the paid circulation, at \$10 a year, had risen to nearly 5,000."⁴⁸ Moreover, it must be noted that members of Congress such as Burton Wheeler (Montana), Clare Boothe Luce (Connecticut), Walter Judd (Minnesota), Lawrence Smith (Wisconsin), Howard Buffett (Nebraska), Henry Talle (Iowa), William Jenner (Indiana), Daniel Reed (New York), James Kem (Missouri), William Langer (North Dakota), Gordon McDonough

⁴⁶Cole, "Isolationism," in Kirkendall, 180. Several different explanations of Midwestern isolationism exist. Scholar Ted Carpenter has written: "The region's geographic insularity coupled with its relative lack of dependence on foreign commerce allegedly created intense support for a noninterventionist foreign policy. Other writers note the presence of large numbers of ethnic groups, especially Germans, who embraced isolationism in order to avoid situations that might provoke war between their adopted country and their former homeland. Another view sees the Midwestern preference for nonentanglement rooted in long-standing agrarian and populist hostility toward Eastern finance capitalists and their European allies. Still other scholars stressed that isolationism has been primarily Republican party dogma and is closely related to ruralism and domestic conservatism" Ted Galen Carpenter, "The Dissenters: American Isolationists and Foreign Policy, 1945-1954" (Dissertation, University of Texas, 1980), 2-3. See also Leroy N. Rieselbach, "The Basis of Isolationist Behavior," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 24:4 (Winter, 1960), 645-646.

⁴⁷In 1948, for instance, the journalist lambasted the Chief Executive and his foreign policy in these terms: "It was Truman who signed the Potsdam agreement, which made the Communists hegemony in central Europe certain. It was Truman who led the Republic blindfolded into the snare and delusion of the United Nations. It was Truman who, for political purposes, surrendered to Zionist pressure and thereby assured the humiliating tragedy of Palestine ... Finally it was Truman who personally endorsed the two cold-blooded atrocities by which America destroyed all of its moral supremacy in the last war—the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, after Japan was licked; and the Nuremberg trials, a travesty of justice accomplished in concert with a government which the President himself now indicts as a menace to American institutions." *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 30 March, 1948, A2012.

⁴⁸Morley, *For the Record*, 424. He added in 1950: "As for the success of *Human Events*[...] it was very real. The actual circulation, under my direction, never got above 4500, and of this number approximately half were gift ... But people all over the country got the underlying idea and my correspondence, in regard to the publication, was larger than I received as editor of the *Washington Post*, with forty times the circulation. A particularly interesting development was the number of intelligent people ... who wanted to write for *Human Events*. We were simply deluged with unsolicited contributions, many of them of quite high quality ... I think *Human Events* demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that there is room in this country for a journal of ideas." Felix Morley to Bertrand de Jouvenel, 31 March, 1950, FMP, Box 16.

(California), Everett Dirksen (Illinois) and John Bricker (Ohio) made, on Capitol Hill, allusions to him and his ideas during the postwar years.⁴⁹ The same may also be said for the conservative (and isolationist) newspaper *Chicago Tribune*.⁵⁰

Journalist Felix Morley, in short, was a key member of the US isolationist community during the early Cold War years. His anti-internationalist stance was particularly obvious between 1945 and 1953 when he successively found fault with the UN, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty and the US intervention in Korea. Morley's isolationist attitude, which stemmed in part from his pacifist beliefs, was not drastic in its tone, however, since this former supporter of the League of Nations apparently refused, among other things, to accept an American withdrawal from the UN. It would be interesting now, in order to determine the uniqueness of Morley's position on foreign policy, to compare his rhetoric with that of other prominent isolationist commentators of the postwar era such as John O'Donnell, George Sokolsky, Westbrook Pegler and John Flynn. For instance, the colorful journalist Flynn (1882-1964), a fiery supporter of the Bricker Amendment, was far from being enthusiastic regarding the United Nations, the European Recovery Program and NATO

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⁴⁹*Congressional Record*, 3 July, 1945, A3222; 14 December, 1945, A5531; 6 June, 1946, A3250; 30 January, 1948, A545; 30 March, 1948, A2012; 7 February, 1949, A555; 18 March, 1949, A1564; 13 June, 1949, A3643; 11 July, 1949, A4432; 18 January, 1950, A362; 4 December, 1950, A7421; 26 January, 1953, A284; 28 May, 1953, A3028. Lawrence Smith, incidentally, portrayed Morley as "an outstanding journalist and author." *Congressional Record*, 2 April, 1951, A1737.

⁵⁰*Chicago Tribune*, Editorials, 19 August, 1952; 8 December, 1954, FMP, Boxes 32 and 27.

⁵¹See, for example, Richard C. Frey, Jr., "John T. Flynn and the United States in Crisis, 1928-1950." (Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1969), 256-257, 304-305.

Francis of Assisi Among the Saracens: Orthodox Pacifism in the Middle Ages

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At the time when the Christian army was besieging Damietta the holy man of God [Francis] was present with some companions, for they had crossed the sea in a desire for martyrdom ... He said to his companion: 'The Lord has showed me that if the battle takes place on such a day, it will not go well with the Christians ... The holy man therefore arose and approached the Christians with salutary warnings, forbidding the war, denouncing the reason for it. But truth was turned to ridicule, and they hardened their hearts and refused to be guided.'¹

Thomas of Celano

Francis of Assisi's journey to the East in 1219 is one of the most famous missionary endeavors of the Middle Ages. Giotto has immortalized the event in his well-known painting in the Upper Basilica in Assisi. Dante Alighieri, Giotto's near contemporary, also describes this occurrence in Canto XI of his *Paradiso*.² The fame of this incident is one of the factors that complicates the task of the historian for the facts are obscured by the myth that has developed around the event. The most extensive early accounts of Francis' journey appear in Thomas of Celano's *Lives*, produced in 1229 and 1244. These accounts, excerpted above, raise a series of important questions. What was Francis doing at Damietta, seeking martyrdom or the conversion of his audience? How unique was Francis' preaching mission among the Saracens? Why did Francis criticize the crusaders he encountered? These are all questions that this paper attempts to answer. This study posits that a proper understanding of these events points to the conclusion that Francis was one of the first orthodox medieval pacifists in the Christian West.

Through careful analysis of early Franciscan writings and a variety of other sources from the period between 1050 and 1250 this study argues that Francis' activities in Egypt have not been sufficiently examined within the broader context of his life and mission. Historians have too often generalized from other missionary accounts and the subsequent history of the Franciscan Order, concluding that while Francis may have abstained from violence, he was nevertheless a supporter of crusade.³ Others, such as John Tolan, have argued that Francis' mission was directed at martyrdom rather than the

¹Marian Habig, ed., *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies, English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis of Assisi*. 3rd ed., trans. Raphael Brown, Placid Hermann, Paul Oigny, Nesta de Robeck, and Leo Sherley-Price (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973), 388.

²Mark Musa, ed. and trans., *The Portable Dante* (NY: Penguin Books, 1995), 457.

³This interpretation appears in specialist works such as Elizabeth Siberry's *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 18; Tomaz Mastnak's *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 185; and in more general studies of the crusades such as Carl Erdmann's *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977).

conversion of the Muslims.⁴ The following reevaluation suggests that alternative interpretations can just as easily be made to fit the facts. The contours of Francis' understanding of missions was profoundly shaped by the efforts of he and his followers to live and preach the *vita apostolica*. His own conversion is said to have culminated in his going out to preach in response to the reading of Matthew 10:7: "As you go, preach this message, *The kingdom of heaven is near.*"⁵ Celano also informs us that when preaching Francis "always most devoutly announced peace to men and women, to all he met and overtook."⁶ The connections between these various strands of Francis' thought supports the thesis first put forward by Keith Haines over twenty years ago, that Francis was a pacifist.⁷

Before examining Francis of Assisi's role in and reaction to the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221) it is necessary to step back and consider the broader history of Christian interaction with the Islamic world. Even in the seventh and eighth centuries, when Islam first began to spread beyond the borders of Arabia, the Christian response took several forms. Some collaborated, some sought to convert their Saracen neighbors, and other engaged in aggressive and violent defense of their beliefs. Even during the period of the crusades (1095-1221), the approach to Islam remained multifaceted. Conversion, in particular, was advocated as a highly desirable solution to the imposing Islamic presence.

In his article, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," Robert Burns examined the attitudes and pronouncements of several medieval popes with regard to the Saracens.⁸ His research reveals that even those who were strong advocates of crusade also encouraged efforts to convert Muslim peoples. Eight years before he called for the First Crusade (1095-1101) at the Council of Clermont (1095), Urban II (r. 1088-1099) had written to the new archbishop of Toledo, "With warm affection we exhort you, reverend brother, that you live worthy of so high and honored a pontificate, taking care always not to give offense to Christians or to Muslims: strive by word and example, God helping, to convert the infidels to the faith."⁹

Benjamin Kedar has questioned the extent to which the morality of crusading related to the espousal of the idea of missions.¹⁰ A call for the conversion of the infidels was not necessarily at odds with advocacy of violent crusading. Peter the Venerable (c. 1092-1156), who commissioned a translation of the Koran in the 1140s, provides an important example of the way in which both projects could be combined. In the introduction to his *Book against the Abominable Heresy or Sect of the Saracens* (c.1143/44) he says to his imagined Muslim audience, "I approach you not, as our people often do with arms, but with words; not with force but with reason, not in hatred but in

⁴John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), 218.

⁵Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings*, 246-247.

⁶*Ibid.*, 248.

⁷Keith Haines, "Attitudes and Impediments to Pacifism in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 369-388, 374.

⁸Burns, Robert, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *The American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 1386-1434.

⁹*Ibid.*, 1389.

¹⁰Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 99.

love."¹¹ And yet it was the same man who actively preached the Second Crusade (1145-1147) and who wrote to an unnamed crusader king that although he was unable to accompany him to the East to crush the enemies of Christ he would aid him with his prayers as much as he was able.¹²

By the middle of the eleventh century a general consensus seems to have developed that violence in the cause of Christ was justified. The foundational arguments for ecclesiastically controlled war had already begun to be developed during the pontificate of Gregory VII (r. 1073-85).¹³ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this earlier justification for holy war was further developed. In *Causa XXIII* of Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140) the great canon lawyer examined the major objections against ecclesiastical war and then proceeded to answer them. This section of the *Decretum* seems quickly to have become a proof-text for crusade advocates and defenders. When, in the 1150s, the Patriarch of Jerusalem began to question the validity of Christian violence following the failure of the Second Crusade, Peter of Troyes quoted Gratian to prove that those who killed enemies of the Church in time of war were not guilty of murder.¹⁴

This does not mean that criticism of the crusades did not exist. In his foundational study of the crusading ideal, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (1935), Carl Erdmann included a chapter entitled "For and Against Ecclesiastical War" in which he noted a history of dissent dating back to the time of the First Crusade and beyond.¹⁵ In her important work, *Criticism of Crusading*, Elizabeth Siberry has conducted a more nuanced investigation. She distinguishes between two kinds of criticism: that directed against particular crusades or abuses and that directed against the idea of crusade itself. She concludes, "In the Central Middle Ages most critics were concerned with abuses or with particular aspects of the crusading movement, rather than with the concept itself."¹⁶

In her discussion of the first type of criticism, Siberry addresses several of the most frequent concerns raised by critics. One of the major objections to the crusades was the cost associated with them. This could take both secular and religious forms. During the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the Spanish representatives sought exemption from taxes intended to fund the Fifth Crusade, not because they objected to crusade as such, but because they felt that their money would be better directed at the *Reconquista*, the effort to drive the Moors from the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁷

Another major cause of concern was that crusades were not being directed at the appropriate enemies. During the period between 1095 and 1250 crusades took place within Europe's boundaries: against Moors in Spain, but also against heretics in the Languedoc region, pagans on Europe's northern frontiers, and against schismatics on the borders with Byzantium. The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r. 1220-1250) was also the object of a papally-sanctioned crusade. Sudden or unexpected defeat also prompted

¹¹Peter the Venerable, *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, ed. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 231.

¹²Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 100.

¹³Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 229.

¹⁴J. Leclercq, "Gratian, Pierre de Troyes et la seconde croisade," *Studia Gratiana* 2 (1954), 589-593.

¹⁵Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 229-268.

¹⁶Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 217.

¹⁷P.A. Linchan, "Religion, Nationalism and National Identity in Medieval Spain," *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), 188-192.

criticism. The poet Neidhart von Reuenthal (active 1210-1240), present at the siege of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade among the followers of the German prince Leopold of Austria (1176-1230), encouraged the crusaders to return home when he saw the successes of the Christians' Saracen foes.¹⁸ These criticisms were spoken in the same location and during the same period as those of Francis, although they spring from a different source.

Using Siberry's system of organization, the second major type of criticism was that directed at the concept of crusade itself. Most of what we know about these critics comes from the responses of those advocates and preachers of crusade who answered them. For example, Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141) responded to criticisms of the Order of Templars by declaring, "For we have heard that some of you have been troubled by foolish men, claiming that the profession to which you have devoted your lives ... is illicit or pernicious, in other words that it constitutes a sin."¹⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux also produced a treatise, *De laude novae militiae*, intended to refute the arguments of those who attacked the activities of crusaders.²⁰

Who is it that these apologists found it necessary to defend themselves against? Siberry has argued that "Apart from ... [a few] anonymous criticisms, the only other pacifist objections to the crusades were advanced by the Cathars and Waldensians."²¹ In Keith Haines' study, "Attitudes and Impediments to Pacifism in Medieval Europe," which Siberry cites frequently, the author has provided a slightly longer list that includes other poverty movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²² Haines declares, "Yet not all men indulged in the duties, diversions and pastimes of war; there were those who found the taking of human life to be objectionable and sinful, and who openly and outrightly refused to fight ... they clung strictly and tenaciously to the pacifist ideal."²³

Given that several of Francis of Assisi's biographers believe he may have been familiar with some of the ideas of these heretical groups,²⁴ it is important to examine more closely what the nature of their criticism was and if they could have exerted any influence on Francis' perspective. In his extensive study of medieval heresy, recently updated and reissued, Malcolm Lambert suggests that the Cathar sect probably appeared in Europe in the middle of the twelfth century.²⁵ For the purposes of the present study, it is the Cathar rejection of violent warfare that is of most interest. In an anonymous treatise dating from the first half of the thirteenth century a Provençal member of the sect quoted Jesus' statement in Matthew 19:17-18 that those who commit murder will not enter into the kingdom of heaven. He then justified the Cathar attack on the Catholic Church accusing, "for it is not persecuted for the goodness or justice which is in it, but on the contrary it persecutes and kills all who refuse to condone its sins and its actions ... Nor is it like a sheep among wolves, but rather like wolves among sheep or goats, for it endeavors to rule over pagans and Jews and Gentiles."²⁶

¹⁸Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 193.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 209.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*, 212.

²²Haines, "Attitudes and Impediments to Pacifism," 375.

²³*Ibid.*, 370.

²⁴Paul Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (NY: Scribner's, 1895), 40.

²⁵Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 62.

²⁶Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 213.

One of the ways in which the Cathar sought to set themselves apart from their Catholic adversaries was through the holiness of their lives and their abhorrence of war may have been one element of this. It may also have arisen from their dualism and their efforts to avoid the impurity of spilt blood. The Waldensians, recognized briefly by Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181) at the Third Vatican Council in 1179, also seem to have rejected the shedding of blood. Early in the thirteenth century the inquisitor Stephen of Bourbon wrote, "They say that all judges commit a sin in pronouncing the death penalty and they regard as murderers and damned souls those who preach war against the Saracens and Albigenses and other men."²⁷ These examples validate the conclusions of Siberry and Haines that it is to the heretical poverty movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the historian must look for a clearly articulated ideology of pacifism.

When Siberry looks at Francis and his followers she places them squarely in the first category of critics, those who criticized particular abuses or particular crusaders. On the surface, Francis appears to be another Peter the Venerable, abstaining from violence himself and yet advocating crusade as a valid approach to the Islam world. Most historians seem to have accepted this interpretation. Yet this comparison breaks down when one considers that this evaluation of Peter is based on his own words. Evaluations of Francis' understanding of crusade, perhaps because of the limited number of sources available, have tended to be based on observations of the later activities of his order. Siberry's statement that "[i]t is wrong to suggest that in the thirteenth century the crusading movement aroused opposition from the new orders of friars," requires reexamination when applied to Francis himself.²⁸

At times even Siberry acknowledges that Francis cannot be made to fit neatly into the category of those who criticize only the abuses of crusade.²⁹ Her difficulty arises from the same passage with which this study began: Celano's account of Francis at Damietta. Celano describes the scene: "The holy man [Francis] therefore arose and approached the Christians with salutary warnings, forbidding the war, denouncing the reasons for it."³⁰ The story is so brief and the details so scant that it is impossible to determine from this passage exactly what form Francis' criticisms took. Her decision to classify Francis as she does seems predicated on two principles: the subsequent history of the Franciscan Order and the evaluations of earlier scholars in the secondary literature. Siberry seems to have misrepresented the position of Keith Haines who serves as her most important reference, for Haines had concluded, "Perhaps the individual who came closest to the true pacifist was St. Francis of Assisi."³¹

One of the most fascinating things about Francis was his ability to take ideas that were quasi-heretical and to provide an orthodox alternative acceptable to the Church. Both M.D. Lambert³² and Ellen Scott Davison³³ have examined this characteristic of his personality in relation to apostolic poverty. A similar argument can be made with regard

²⁷*Ibid.*, 215.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 18.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings*, 388.

³¹Haines, "Attitudes and Impediments to Pacifism," 374.

³²M.D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210-1323* (London: SPCK, 1961).

³³Ellen Scott Davison, *Forerunners of Saint Francis* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928).

to pacifism. One key component of this project is to demonstrate the possible connections and modes of transmission between these groups and Francis during his formative period.

There is definitely a geographical connection between these groups and Francis. Lambert argues that, "Lombardy, and to a lesser extent, central Italy in these decades (1180s and 1190s) was rapidly attaining the distinction of being the land of heresy *par excellence*, rivaled only by Languedoc."³⁴ Here Francis' hometown of Assisi can be found and here he grew to maturity. There is little available evidence to suggest any direct connection between these heretical groups and Francis. There are, however, possible lines of transmission that ought to be noted. Francis' father was a cloth merchant and Paul Sabatier has argued that Pietro would likely have encountered the 'Poor Men of Lyons' or Waldensians during his travels to the markets of France.³⁵ Francis may also have heard some stories about the Humiliati, sanctioned in 1201, and the Cathar, against whom Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) initiated a crusade in 1209. Both were active in Francis' region.³⁶

One should not overstate, however, the similarities between Francis and other poverty movements of his period. He was always careful to maintain his orthodoxy, something that none of the others were able to do for an extended period. One way in which Francis set himself and his movement apart from earlier groups such as the Waldensians was by his attitude towards priests. In the unofficial Rule of 1221 Francis instructed the brothers, "All the friars are bound to be Catholics, and live and speak as such ... We must regard all other clerics and religious as our superiors in all that concerns salvation ... We must respect their position and office, together with their ministry."³⁷ He also repeated this admonition in his *Testament*.

Having noted this distinction between religious and ordinary believers, it is equally important to recognize that this was not the fault line that Francis selected to distinguish between those inside and those outside his order. That line fell elsewhere, or perhaps it would be more accurate to reject such language entirely when speaking of the earliest days of the movement. This is significant because one of the most obvious objections to the present argument is that Francis was simply a strong advocate of clerical abstinence from violence. But Francis' message, a call to return to the *vita apostolica*, was not intended for the religious alone.

Like the Waldensians or the Humiliati, the Franciscan Order began as a lay movement. Until 1220, the boundaries of the Order were fluid. It was on 22 September of that year, in the bull *Cum secundum consilium*, that the year of novitiate was introduced.³⁸ The Rule of 1221 makes it clear that this addition was introduced at the insistence of the pope.³⁹ From the earliest days of the movement, Francis' way of life was based on his understanding of the gospel texts. In his preface to David Flood's study of the *regula non bullata*, Kajetan Esser, OFM, describes the early rule as "an effort to form the individual and communal life of the brothers based simply on the gospel. For the references to the gospel always return. Francis and his brothers were men of the

³⁴Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty*, 87.

³⁵Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis*, 40.

³⁶Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings*, 43.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 46.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 21.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 32.

gospel."⁴⁰ Bonaventure made a similar evaluation in his *Vita* in the 1260s, a work that became the official history of the saint within the Order. Francis' contemporaries recognized the source of his ideas and the universality of his message. When he approached the pope in 1210 seeking approval for himself and his followers, some argued that his way of life was too difficult. However, John of St. Paul, Bishop of Santa Sabina, responded, "We must be careful. If we refuse this beggarman's request because it is new or too difficult, we may be sinning against Christ's Gospel, because he is only asking us to approve a form of Gospel life."⁴¹

Even after 1220, when the boundaries of the official Order became more fixed, Francis continued consciously to exert a strong influence on the layman. In 1221, he produced a rule of life for the newly created Third Order, men and women who desired to follow Francis' example but who were unable to leave the world. One key component of their way of life was that they abstain from any form of violence. It is one thing to be at peace with your Christian neighbor and quite another to be at peace with the Muslims occupying the Holy Land. Nevertheless, a close reading of Francis' writings reveals that he intended his conception of peace to be applied that broadly. Near the conclusion of the earliest extant rule of the Franciscan Order (1221) Francis wrote, "Remember the words of our Lord, *Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you*. Our Lord Jesus Christ himself, in whose footsteps we must follow, called the man who betrayed him his friend ... Therefore, our friends are those who for no reason cause us trouble and suffering, sham or injury, pain or torture, even martyrdom and death."⁴² David Flood has suggested that this section of the Rule was a testament or last will that Francis produced for his brothers before departing for Egypt in 1219.⁴³

Although Francis did not see missions exclusively as a means of attaining martyrdom, it is quite evident that he anticipated his own death at the hands of the Saracens. Celano makes this clear but we need only look at the section of the Rule just quoted.⁴⁴ The fact that Francis thought it necessary to prepare a testament for his followers is a strong indication that he believed he would not be coming back. Perhaps most telling is the fact that Francis concludes this early testament by quoting John 17:6-26, the prayer that Jesus prayed for his followers before his own death on the Cross.⁴⁵ Why is it so important to establish that Francis thought that he would be martyred in the East? Precisely because this means that when Francis said that we must consider as friends those who torture and kill us, he meant to extend this designation to cover the Saracens.

Celano's account of Francis' activities in the East, particularly his interaction with Sultan al-Kamil, raises one more important and related question. Was his driving motivation the desire for martyrdom? If so, this would undermine the thesis that Francis saw the conversion of the Saracens as a valid non-violent alternative to crusade. Both Celano and Dante seem to see martyrdom as his primary objective. Historians have

⁴⁰David Flood, OFM and Thaddee Matura, OFM, *The Birth of a Movement: A Study of the First Rule of St. Francis*. trans. Paul Schwartz, OFM and Paul Lachance, OFM. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1975), ix.

⁴¹Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings*, 652.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 47.

⁴³Flood, *Birth of a Movement*, 46.

⁴⁴Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings*, 277.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 49-50.

picked up on this emphasis on martyrdom in the early biographies and used it to explain the orientation of Francis and his followers. In his recent work, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, John Toland has dedicated a chapter to the Franciscan approach to missions among the Saracens, characterizing it as primarily geared towards martyrdom. He concludes, "Missions to the Saracens, for the Franciscans, was part of the *vita apostolica*, serving to bring friars to glorious martyrdom and, incidentally, to convert unbelievers."⁴⁶ To make such a sweeping generalization for a large religious order is to do a disservice to the diverse individuals who engaged in Franciscan missions during the thirteenth century. Like Siberry, Toland has also drawn conclusions based on later developments within the Order and projected back to explain Francis' motivations. When one examines Francis' missionary activities within the broader context of his life a more complex picture emerges.

From the very beginning, Francis understood his mission to be tied to preaching. During the feast of St. Matthias, 24 February, 1208, Francis heard the reading of Matthew 10:7-10, which described the manner in which Jesus sent his disciples out into the world. On hearing these words Francis is said to have declared, "This is what I wish, this is what I seek, this is what I long to do with all my heart."⁴⁷ All the early sources agree that this event marked a turning point in Francis' ministry. These words of Scripture led Francis into the squares of Assisi to preach to others and to win his first disciples.⁴⁸

Preaching seems always to have been at the core of the Franciscan way of life. Celano recounts that when the number of Francis' followers reached eight, he divided them into four groups of two and sent them out into the Italian countryside. Francis instructed them, "Go, my dearest brothers two by two into the various parts of the world, announcing to men peace and repentance unto forgiveness of sins [emphasis added]."⁴⁹ As the order grew, the scale of these missions became more ambitious. Celano himself took part in a mission to Germany that began in 1217. Francis' attempted missions to Syria, Spain, and Egypt should be seen as simply another component of the larger preaching aims of the Order.⁵⁰

One of the strongest indications that Francis saw missions to the Saracens as flowing out of his wider call to preach is the presence in both of the Order's rules of a chapter dedicated to those who feel called to such missions. The Rule declares, "And so the friars who are inspired by God to work as missionaries among the Saracens and other unbelievers must get permission to go from their minister ... [who] should give them permission and raise no objection."⁵¹ These instructions are followed by fifteen scriptural injunctions intended to guide and encourage the brothers.

A careful reading of the Rule's discussion of missions reveals a complex situation. While some passages seem to advocate martyrdom, others suggest that this ought not to be the primary objective of the brothers. Francis quotes Jesus' instructions in Matthew 10:23, "When they persecute you in one town, flee to another."⁵² When considered in light of the model of the *vita apostolica* upon which Francis based his way

⁴⁶Toland, *Saracens*, 218.

⁴⁷Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings*, 247.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 246-247.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 252.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 274-277.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 43.

⁵²*Ibid.*

of life, it becomes more difficult to interpret the Rule's call to missions simply as a call to martyrdom. Benjamin Kedar has pointed out that, "The relationship between preaching and martyrdom was not devoid of tension. On the abstract level, it was [*and is*] easy to present martyrdom as the ultimate completion of preaching ... But the individual missionary leaving for the lands of Islam had to make up his mind whether his foremost aim was to persuade the infidels of Christianity's truth, or to attain self-fulfillment by suffering death at their hands."⁵³

Certainly there were those among the early Franciscans who sought martyrdom above all else. Nevertheless, Tolan's characterization of all Franciscan missions as motivated by a desire for martyrdom does not recognize either the motives and choices of individual friars or the gospel model on which missions were originally based. Kedar's description of the mission provisions of the Rules as "measured injunctions" appears much more accurate.⁵⁴

Francis' missionary journey to the court of the sultan during the Fifth Crusade is a fascinating and remarkable story, retold and represented in a variety of forms over the last seven centuries. But when one looks at the original details one finds that important questions present themselves. It is much easier to tell a story than to really understand it. When historians have attempted to explain Francis' activities their conclusions have too often been founded on insufficient analysis of the early sources. Generalizations based on accounts of other missions, and even on the subsequent history of the Franciscan Order, are not satisfactory. Francis' program was universal, growing out of his efforts to return to the *vita apostolica*. His message of peace was not just for the clergy but for ordinary men as well. A strong case can be made that Francis even intended his concept of peace to be applied to Christendom's Muslim foes. While the arguments put forward above strongly support Keith Haines' thesis that Francis was one of the few orthodox medieval pacifists, additional research is needed before a more conclusive ruling can be made. What is apparent is that this thesis fits the facts just as well, and perhaps better, than the traditional interpretation.

⁵³Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 125.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

A Queen's Piety: Elizabeth of Habsburg and the Veneration of Saints

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This paper continues the discussion of various aspects of the life and contexts of the Habsburg archduchess Ysabel which I began at the FCH meeting in Jacksonville in 2003 and continued in Lake City in 2004. Ysabel lived between 1554-1592. The first paper discussed Ysabel's portrait by the French court painter Francois Clouet¹ The second tried to place her activities in various spaces of central Europe in the last two decades of her life² This paper is the third and last element in what I see as a triptych depicting this archduchess.³

I will analyze Ysabel's saints veneration practices as revealed in sources dealing with her time in Prague and particularly in Vienna in her widowhood following the death of husband King Charles IX of France in 1574. (Charles was born in 1550 and ascended the French throne in 1560 after the death of his older brother, King Francis II.) My analysis will also seek to point out some differences between Ysabel's piety and that better-known set of religious practices called "Pietas Austriaca" by the Austrian historian Anna Coreth. Coreth's work has recently been translated into English.⁴The US publication of this important discussion of Habsburg religious practices provides me with the opportunity to discuss some aspects of that dynasty's piety in a slightly earlier period than the one emphasized by Coreth. As we will see, Ysabel's activities were similar to those sketched by Coreth as characteristic for the early modern central European Habsburgs. Coreth emphasized devotions to the Eucharist, the Holy Cross, and Mary, and, to some extent, other saints' cults. Ysabel supported those broad, general devotions, devotions which have often been linked to the Counter-Reformation, as well as those dedicated to specific female saints such as Christina, Anna, and Elizabeth. Even Ysabel's veneration of St. Leopold, an increasingly-popular cult among the Habsburgs at

¹"Pearls in a Portrait: François Clouet's 1571 Depiction of the Archduchess Elizabeth of Habsburg," Will Benedicks and Kyle Eidahl, eds., Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians 10-11 (2004), 109-112.

²"A Woman's Space: Rule, Place and Ysabel of Habsburg, 1570-1592," Joseph F. Patrouch, ed., Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians 12 (2005), 113-121. Later that Spring I delivered a second paper on the archduchess at a conference in Olomouc (Czech Republic): "Dowager Queen Alžbeta (1554-1592): From the Wars of Religion in France to Prague," Mila Rechcigl, ed., Selected Proceedings of the 22nd World Congress, Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (In Press). For a general introduction to Elizabeth/Ysabel, together with further references, see my article "Elisabeth of Habsburg," Anne Commire and Deborah Klezmer, eds., Women in World History. (Waterford, CT: Yorkin Publications, 2000), V, 129-133.

³My thanks to the panel chair, David B. Mock, for his comments. I also benefited from the comments and discussion by my fellow panelists, Leslie Schumacher and Brad Pardue.

⁴Anna Coreth, Pietas Austriaca. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb, trans. (W. Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2004). Orig. Ed. 1959. Marc R. Forster reviewed the translation in Catholic Historical Review 150 (2004), 798-800.

this time, allowed space for female participation with the presence of St. Leopold's wife Agnes in his legend.

Presenting the paper at a conference organized under the auspices of Florida's first Roman Catholic institution of higher learning, St. Leo University, provides the opportunity to detail what evidence exists of Archduchess Ysabel's particular, individualized pattern of saints veneration. Through an examination of primary sources such as documents dealing with the consecration of her convent in Vienna as well as other archival evidence drawn mostly from Viennese archives and dealing with her activities, some conclusions concerning her identity as depicted in her devotions to particular saints will be attempted. It may be appropriate here to mention that Pope St. Leo IV is legendary for building the walls enclosing Vatican Hill in Rome in the ninth century, and Elizabeth played a role in the refortification of Vienna and the Habsburg lands following the growth in popularity of the teachings of Martin Luther and other Christian reformers, as well as the siege of the city by the Ottoman army, earlier in the sixteenth century.⁵

After leaving her daughter behind in France in the care of her mother-in-law Catherine de Medici and the new king, Henry III (King of Poland 1573, King of France 1574-1589), Ysabel returned to central Europe during the winter of 1575-76. It seems that for some time she resided in Prague with her mother, King Phillip II of Spain's sister, the soon-widowed Empress Maria. (Ysabel's father, Emperor Maximilian II, died in October, 1576 during the final stages of the *Reichstag* which was being held there. He had been King of Hungary and King of Bohemia and had become Holy Roman Emperor in 1564.) While in Prague, Ysabel dedicated some of her resources to the rebuilding of the All Saints Chapel in the Hradchin castle. It had been badly damaged in a fire decades before. With this activity, we see her interest in saints veneration practice physically coming to the fore.⁶

The reconstruction of the Prague castle chapel is evidence of Ysabel's interest in general practices associated with the veneration of the saints, including their images and relics. These practices had been explicitly permitted (and promoted) fewer than twenty years before at the great Roman Catholic council held in an important episcopal seat located in the southern reaches of the Holy Roman Empire, Trent. That council's 25th session 3-4 December, 1563 affirmed saints veneration and outlined the important role

⁵A number of early modern writers identified Ysabel with walls. For example, in her biography published by the Franciscan friar Antonio Stöckler a century after her death, the friar wrote of how Ysabel wanted to build a wall between God's anger and sinners through her support of the poor. Stöckler was responsible for the supervision of the Viennese convent she had founded. Antonio Stöckler, "Das Leben der Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen / Frauen Elisabeth ..." 225-235 in his *Der Croniken Der Heiligen Mutter Clara. Anderer Theil* (Vienna, n.p.: 1675). Here, 229. Stöckler echoes the theme of the funeral sermon for Elisabeth preached by famous bishop Melchior Khlesl: *Christlich und Catholische Leichpredigt Über die Hochkläglich und schmerzlich Begräbnuß / der Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frawen / Frawen Elisabeth ...* (Vienna, n. p. 1592).

⁶This phase of Ysabel's career is discussed in more detail in the paper mentioned above in footnote 2. For a general introduction to the context of the rebuilding of the castle, see Ivan Muchka, "Die Prager Burg zur Zeit Rudolfs II. Neue Forschungsergebnisse," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 85-86 (1989-90), 95-98.

that bishops were to play in the supervision of the various practices associated with such veneration.⁷

The evidence to be discussed here centers more about the widowed queen's undertakings in the city of Vienna. She moved there in the early 1580's in the wake of the reorganization of residences and jurisdictions which followed the death of her father and the negotiations among her siblings concerning inheritance portions. As part of this reorganization, her older brother, Archduke Ernst, was given administrative responsibilities for the Austrian archduchies on the Danube and, as residence, the Hofburg castle in Vienna.⁸

In Vienna, Elizabeth purchased properties near the castle district and sponsored the building of a Franciscan convent ("Poor Clares") dedicated to Our Lady Queen of Angels.⁹ The cornerstone of the church was laid on 5 March, 1582. The church was consecrated 2 August the following year. Pope Gregory XIII (ruled 1572-1585) announced a particular indulgence associated with the cloister church's consecration.¹⁰ The convent would become known as the Queen's Cloister. It was endowed with various properties around the province, mostly those associated with the shut-down house of Benedictine nuns at Erlakloster near the border with Upper Austria. A number of women from the duchy of Bavaria, as well as others associated with Ysabel's court, would people this important center of reformed Catholic practice.¹¹ Records associated with the convent show that, while Marian devotion was of course central to the religious practices there (and presumably similarly central to Archduchess Ysabel), there was a rich texture to the widowed queen's piety, a texture that reveals her particular coloring of the pious practices associated with the Habsburgs by historians such as Coreth.

Sources now in the Viennese archdiocesan archive dated 1583 list the various relics to be found in the three altars of the convent church.¹² The main altar contained fifteen relics, including a part of the belt of the Virgin, a relic of one of the Holy Innocents, and relics of a number of martyrs, including St. Stephen the Protomartyr, an important local cult to which the Viennese diocese and its cathedral was dedicated. In addition to St. Mary and St. Pantaleon, a patron for midwives, Saints Catherine, Ursula and Elizabeth of Hungary were also represented in the list. Important for his ties to the imperial title held by Ysabel's brother Emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576-1612), a relic of Charlemagne ("S. Carolo Imperatore") was also at the main altar of the convent. Legend

⁷„On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images," *Thè Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, H.J. Schroeder, trans. (Rockford, IL: TAN Books, 1978), 215-217.

⁸Viktor Bibl, "Erzherzog Ernst und die Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband 6 (1901), 575-596.

⁹On the general context of female cloistered religious life in the city in the 1580s, see Joseph F. Patrouch, "Das Königinkloster: Wiener Klosterfrauen um 1580," *Pro Civitate Austriae* NF 7 (2002), 45-52.

¹⁰A copy of Pope Gregory's letter granting a plenary indulgence to visitors to the Queen's Cloister on the festival of its consecration (August 2) is dated Rome, 1 April, 1583. It can be found in the Archive of the Archdiocese of Vienna: Wiener Klöster/Aufgehoben Klöster/Königinkloster [DAW/K/AK/K].

¹¹For the general situation of females religious in Munich, the capital of the duchy of Bavaria, at this time, see Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004). The nuns who started the Queen's Cloister came from the Angerkloster in Munich.

¹²Copy. Tabella memorialis de Consecratione temple S. Mariae de Angelis @ summi Altaris." DAW/K/AK/K.

had it that Charlemagne had been in Vienna during one of his campaigns and had played a role in the foundation of St. Peter's Church there.

A second altar was dedicated to the Holy Cross. This cult seems to have been particularly important to Ysabel's mother, Empress Maria. Marianne Strakosch, in her unpublished 1965 Vienna dissertation on the life of Archduchess Ysabel, explains that the empress had given Ysabel a Cross reliquary which the empress had received from the duchy of Troppau, Silesia.¹³ (Maria held important rights and received incomes from various subsidiary lands of the Bohemian Crown, including Silesia and the Lusatias, as part of her widow's portion.) In addition to a piece of the Cross, the Queen's Cloister Holy Cross altar also contained relics of a dozen other saints, including (again) the Innocents.

Revealing a Bohemian flavor not surprising in a convent sponsored by the daughter of the King and Queen of that kingdom, a royal princess who had resided for some years in Prague and who came to Vienna with a number of Bohemian noble and – altar also contained relics of Saints Vitus and Václav. Two virgin martyrs (Saints Petronella and Cordula) remind us that the community was a strictly-sequestered contemplative society of women dedicated to celibacy.

Saints Anne and Mary Magdalene shared the dedication of the convent church's third altar. The documents list thirteen relics. The altar was consecrated by the bishop of Vienna, Johann Caspar Neubeck, together with the Holy Cross altar, on the Festival of Saint Anne 26 July, 1584. (Neubeck served as Bishop of Vienna for two decades, from 1574-1594.¹⁴) The majority of the relics listed as being at this altar were relics of female saints: Saints Anne, Mary Magdalene, Margaret, Lucy, Cecilia, Martha, and Elisabeth of Hungary (again). When Bishop Neubeck was at the convent to consecrate these two subsidiary altars, he also took the opportunity to bless the church's modest steeple and its three bells. He blessed the largest bell in honor of Jesus, the Holy Cross, and Saints Mary and Anne. The second bell was blessed in honor of the Angels and Saints Clare and Elizabeth, and the small bell honored the archangel, St. Michael. (The parish church of St. Michael was right around the corner from the convent, and Saints Mary and Michael were often historically linked.)

The roles of Saints Anne and Elizabeth of Hungary deserve further discussion due to the obvious weight placed on their veneration at the Queen's Cloister. Ashley and Sheingorn in their edited collection of essays on the importance of the cult of St. Anne in the Later Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century, stress, "her function as intercessor for married women and mothers."¹⁵ They go on to discuss how the legends associated

¹³Marianne Strakosch, *Materialien zu einer Biographie Elisabeths von Österreich, Königin von Frankreich* (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1965), 105. Strakosch goes on to relate various legends associated with this cross, including one in which it was related that two blasphemers were killed by it, and another that the Christ figure turned toward Ysabel once while she was praying. This Cross reliquary was apparently kept not in the convent church, but in its chapel dedicated to Saint Barbara.

¹⁴Roderick Geyer, *Dr. Johann Caspar Neubeck, Bischof von Wien 1574-1594* (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1956).

¹⁵Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Introduction," *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: St. Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 48. The authors state that her cult was especially important in the period approximately 1450-1550 and that it began to decline in significance after the Council of Trent.

with the cult of St. Anne and her family, and particularly the popular depictions of Anne with her daughter St. Mary and her grandson Jesus, could appeal both to the patrician oligarchy and to nobles with their sense of lineage. In Vienna in the 1580s, it was particularly important to appeal to both of these groups. Most burghers and nobles in the area, it appears, had accepted Luther's critiques of traditional Latin Christianity. St. Anne provided the model of an ideal spouse, mother and widow to the middle-class women of the city, as well as to the noblewomen in the castles and estates out in the country.¹⁶

In addition, linking up with the veneration of St. Anne had a very particular context in Vienna. A pilgrims' hostel had been endowed by the Viennese burgherwoman Elisabeth Wartenaue in 1418. Between 1518 and 1520 a chapel dedicated to St. Anne had been built as part of this hostel complex.¹⁷ After the destruction of the city hospital outside of the Carinthian Gate during the Ottoman siege in 1529, the local ruler, the Spanish-raised Ferdinand of Habsburg (later as Emperor Ferdinand I, ruled 1556-1564), organized the move of the "Poor Clares" out of their convent near the Pig Market to the cosier confines of St. Anne's Church and its apartments. The hospital would now be located in the old convent buildings, and the nuns were transferred. It is not known what role Ferdinand's wife Anna played in all this.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, with the declining interest in the cloistered life on the part of the Viennese citizens, the last Franciscan nuns were eventually transferred out of the St. Anne complex to the other surviving female houses in the city. Emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576-1612), opposing his sister Ysabel's wishes to recover the complex for her new foundation, (which she apparently saw more as a continuation of the previous house of "Poor Clares,") instead assigned the property in 1582 to the new and vocal order of the Jesuits. In any case, the veneration of St. Anne at the new Queen's Cloister linked up with previously-existing patterns of female worship in the city.¹⁸

St. Elizabeth of Hungary seems to have played a particularly important role in the life of the nuns at the Queen's Cloister. Ysabel, a daughter of the King and Queen of Hungary, clearly saw the parallels between her life and that of her namesake, St. Elizabeth. Both widows, the two women chose not to remarry and instead dedicated themselves to helping the poor and less fortunate. It is not possible here to go into the entire convoluted story, Ysabel's brother, Archduke Maximilian (1558-1618), had entered the Teutonic Knights in 1584 and quickly was named one of the leaders of that crusading order. In addition, a group of Polish nobles pushed his cause in the tumultuous election to the throne of that country which took place in 1587.¹⁹ Ysabel backed his unsuccessful military campaign to claim the Polish throne and, after he was released from captivity, he returned to the Habsburgs' lands and donated some of the Teutonic Knights'

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 51-53.

¹⁷Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien* (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1992), I: 115-116, 578-79; *Ibid.*, (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1995), IV: 554.

¹⁸Perhaps it should be pointed out that, of the twelve women listed as nuns at the Queen's Cloister in June 28, 1584, four of them were named Anna. (The others were: Ursula, Barbara, Maria, Elisabeth, 2x Agnes, 2x Magdalena.) "Summa Unndt Inhalt des Revers briefs des Convents S. Clara Zu Wiens," DAK/KAK/K.

¹⁹Heinz Noflatscher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynastie, Maximilian der Deutschmeister (1558-1618)* (Marburg: Elwert, 1987).

relics of St. Elizabeth, their patron, to Ysabel and her cloister. The head of the saint became one of the house's most prized possessions.²⁰

The archival sources in Vienna point to Ysabel's acquisition of the relics of another female saint in 1587: the virgin martyr St. Christina. While there appears to have been some concern over the way by which the convent acquired the relics, which apparently had been at the castle church in Retz, Austria, Pope Sixtus V (ruled 1585-1590) officially sanctioned the convent's possession of them. He also reaffirmed the indulgence which had been granted to the cloister by his predecessor. These procedures were tied to the visit of the papal nuncio Aldobrandini in July of the following year.²¹ (Aldobrandini would be elected pope a week after Ysabel's death in January, 1592. He took the name Clement VIII.)

I have pointed to the importance of regulations concerning sexual behavior in the Counter-Reformation in other venues, and Ulrike Strasser has also discussed the issue in some detail in her book on Munich.²² Here I would simply like to point out that the Queen's Cloister and its ties to the veneration of celibate widows and virgin martyrs fitted in well with the general emphasis on the policing of clerical behavior. Of necessity I will have to exclude here any discussion of the peculiar aspects of Marian devotion which the sources reveal about Ysabel.²³

The evidence indicates that, in addition to her support for the veneration of widows and virgins, Ysabel also was connected to a cult which was much more about procreation and fecundity, the cult connected to the Habsburgs' veneration of the Babenberg Dynasty's St. Leopold.²⁴

St. Leopold died in 1136. He was a member of the Babenberg Dynasty, the ruling family in the area now known as Lower Austria. He and his wife, the margravine Agnes, (died 1143) founded a monastery at Klosterneuburg, a castle not far outside of Vienna on the Danube River. Agnes was the daughter of the emperor Henry IV and the sister of his son, Emperor Henry V (ruled 1106-1125). The Habsburg emperor Frederick III (ruled 1452-1493) had succeeded in convincing the pope to canonize Leopold and, over the course of centuries, Leopold became a key figure in the legitimization of Habsburg rule in what can loosely be called "Austria." St. Leopold was canonized on the Feast of the

²⁰F. Kűch, "Zur Geschichte der Reliquien der Heiligen Elisabeth," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1926), 198-215.

²¹Letter from Sixtus V dated Rome, 25 September, 1587. Bull dated 22 October, 1587. DAK/K/AK/K.

²²Joseph F. Patrouch, "Sexualität und Herrschaft: Sexuelles Fehlverhalten in Strafprozessen vor drei grundherrlichen Gerichten Oberösterreichs," Daniela Erlach, et al, eds., *Privatisierung der Triebe? Sexualität in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/M: Peter Lang, 1994), 151-165. Strasser, *State of Virginitly*.

²³The specifics of the cult of "Mary Queen of Angels" would be well beyond the scope of this paper. This cult is also tied to Pope Sixtus V, it appears, in his advocacy of the veneration of the Virgin's House at Loreto, and the role of angels in the legend. See "Biblical Basis of Mary's Queenship of the Angels," n.a., *Dictionary of Mary* (NJ: Catholic Book Publishing Company, 1997), 21. See also "Loreto (Italy)" 258-260. Strakosch reports that the Vienna convent had a Loreto chapel, as well as chapels dedicated to St. Mary's intercession for the poor and St. Mary more generally. Another one housed a copy of the famous Mary portrait from Maria Maggiore in Rome. Strakosch, *Materialien*, 104. Ysabel's support for the important pilgrimage to Mariazell should also be mentioned.

²⁴A good overview of the cult generally is provided in the exhibition catalog: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, *Der heilige Leopold: Landesfürst und Staatssymbol*, Katalog des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums NF 155 (Vienna: Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, 1985).

Epiphany, 1485. By the time of Archduchess Ysabel a century later, it had become an important aspect of the Counter-Reformation in "Austria" to point out the legitimacy and continuity of the claims of the ruling family. In order to do this, elaborate family trees were composed and displayed.

The most important of these was displayed at the Klosterneuburg monastery itself, just outside of Vienna on a hill overlooking the Danube. In fact, at the time of St. Leopold's canonization in the late fifteenth century, a massive family tree had been composed showing the various male and female members of the Babenberg Dynasty. This famous wooden screen, over 24 feet in width and ten feet high, was displayed at the monastery.²⁵ In 1585, Ysabel received a relic of St. Leopold from her brother, Archduke Ernst. (It was a hipbone.) Ernst had received it from the Provost of Klosterneuburg, Balthasar Polzman. Polzman, together with the bishop of Vienna, Neubeck, were busily trying to reinvigorate devotion to St. Leopold.

Ysabel commissioned an elaborate reliquary: it would be a complicated piece of embossed metalwork, showing a family tree of saintly relatives rising from a seascape and recalling both the giant wooden panel painting of the Babenberg family tree and the massive seven-armed Romanesque candelabra which still stands in Klosterneuburg and is thought to have originally housed branches of the elderberry tree where, legend has it, Margravine Agnes' veil was found by St. Leopold, indicating to him where the new monastery should be built.²⁶

This rather vague reference to Margravine Agnes touches on a long story of pregnancies and progeny: Ysabel took aspects of the past: bone fragments and fragments of stories. She combined them in the 1580s into something which looks like the picture of Habsburg piety painted by Anna Coreth, but which also reveals a set of local, female connections to the big stories. While the "big picture" looks similar (Coreth's emphasis on Eucharist, Cross, and Mary), it is in the details that things become more complicated.

While Archduchess Ysabel supported the reformed Catholic positions on the Eucharist, the Cross, St. Mary, and saints' veneration more generally, it is also clear that a detailed analysis of which saints were venerated, and how and where and when, shows spaces for interpretation. It seems that at the Queen's Cloister, female role models were given ample space. Anna Coreth's seminal work on "Austrian Piety" does not require a total revision. But it does require some new vision.

²⁵Floridus Röhrig, *Der Babenberger Stammbaum im Stift Klosterneuburg* (Vienna, n.d.)

²⁶On the Leopold reliquary: NÖ Landesregierung, *heilige Leopold*, 398-401. (With ill.) On the candelabra: *ibid.*, 167-169.

A Visual Conversation: Media Images During Wartime, 1898-1918

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Introduction

This article is an examination of mass media images produced in the United States during the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War and World War I (WW I). These images, from a variety of mainstream and alternative media, were part of a vast visual conversation. When examined with care, they open a window onto the cultural landscape of the turn of the last century. This essay uses that window to analyze the way feminine and masculine gender roles are sharpened during wartime and are incorporated into the rhetoric of both the pro and anti-war factions. It might be argued that mainstream America envisioned the wars as Theodore Roosevelt and Rudyard Kipling did: a virtuous exercise in white masculinity.¹ As the dominant ideology, this shaped the framework for debate for many if not most of the important issues at the turn of the last century. In their own visual rhetoric, anti-imperialists, socialists, and woman suffragists all represented men and women in roles laden with gendered expectations similar to those created by the pro-war mainstream media.

Background

In 1898, the US was poised to turn its attention from the Western Hemisphere to the creation of an overseas empire and the development of an international role that would ultimately lead to American involvement in WW I. The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War (1898) was one of the earliest examples of full-blown American Imperialism. The war was officially intended to liberate Cuba from Spain, but US motivations were complex. Humanitarianism, paternalism, and simple greed all played a role promoting the eventual conflict. Some proponents of the war, most notably future president Theodore Roosevelt, even argued that the US needed a war to revitalize its national character and save the men of the country from effeminacy.² This attitude is present in some of the political cartoons of the war and in some of the visual and verbal criticisms of President William McKinley (in office 1897-1901), as he delayed war with Spain longer than some war enthusiasts wished.

Other proponents included the famed "yellow press" newspapers, known more for their sensationalism than their accuracy. The most notable of these were Joseph Pulitzer's *New York Journal* and Randolph Hearst's *New York World*. These publishers had an interest in whipping up American jingoism so they could publish news articles that would help them to achieve dominance in their journalistic rivalry. Depictions of the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War were not as government-directed as later wartime

¹This attitude is found in Kipling's "White Man's Burden," *McClure's Magazine* 12 (February, 1899) and in many statements by Theodore Roosevelt. For more information on this topic see Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

²*Ibid.*

media would become, but it was plentiful and generally supportive nonetheless. The war was not without its critics, however. Anti-imperialists like Mark Twain, Andrew Carnegie, and Jane Addams squared off against the pro-war jingoes in public discourse, but the anti-imperialist impact was limited.³

During Woodrow Wilson's presidency (1913-1920), his "Missionary Diplomacy" continued to increase American influence around the world, culminating in US participation in "The Great War," as WW I (1914-1918) was once known. The war began in Europe in 1914. The US maintained an officially neutral stance until April, 1917. During the intervening years, Wilson and many Americans were drawn increasingly to support Britain, France, and Russia against Germany and Austria-Hungary (the Central Powers). When the US finally declared war against the Central Powers, Wilson claimed it was necessary to "make the world safe for Democracy," but Wilson had also spent much of his first term arguing that the war was not worth US involvement. In fact, Wilson's campaign slogan in 1916 had been "He Kept Us Out of War." In order to convince the American people that the about-face made sense, the president and his administration began an intensive propaganda and censorship campaign like none seen before in the US.⁴

Less than a week after the declaration of war, Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) and hired journalist George Creel to head it. The CPI, often referred to as the Creel Committee, developed into a massive propaganda machine. Historians James Mock and Cedric Larson describe the CPI as a "gargantuan advertising agency" with a hold on the nation's media similar to what a totalitarian dictatorship would have held.⁵ Robert Jackall and Janice Hirota credit the Committee with unifying the voices of opinion makers so that most of them willingly promoted the war as a righteous crusade for democracy.⁶ Creel himself claimed that his goal was "to keep patriotism at 'white heat.'"⁷

US media had consistently expressed enthusiasm for the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War. During WW I, the US witnessed an almost complete integration of government and mass media in the campaign to support the war. The CPI provided directives to editors, illustrators, fiction writers, and even advertisers. While during the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War filmmakers such as Thomas Edison had produced pro-war films, Creel and his deputies in the Committee's Division of Films mobilized WWI-era filmmakers to the extent that at least two 1918 Hollywood films were simply pro-war propaganda: "The Kaiser, The Beast of Berlin" and "To Hell with the Kaiser."⁸ Better known today are the propaganda posters from WW I, some of which will be

³Richard E. Welch, Jr, *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979) is a good summary of the different anti-imperialist groups and their impact.

⁴For more detail on the CPI, see Chapter I, "Advertising the Great War," in Robert Jackall and Janice M. Hirota, *Image Makers: Advertising, Public Relations, and the Ethos of Advocacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 11-35 and James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War* (NY: Russell & Russell, 1968). Also see Creel's version of events in George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (NY: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920).

⁵Mock and Larson, *Words That Won the War*, 4.

⁶Jackall and Hirota, "Advertising the Great War," 13-15.

⁷Quoted in Brett Gary, *The Nervous Liberals* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 19.

⁸Jackall and Hirota, "Advertising the Great War," 14, 20.

examined for this article. These posters demonstrate the quantity and quality of propaganda that is possible when government, advertising, and the visual arts combine forces in a coordinated campaign.⁹

Despite the best efforts of the Creel Committee, the Great War was not unanimously applauded. Some of the pacifists and anti-imperialists who had been outraged by the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino war were converted to Wilson's cause. Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, for instance, had been an anti-imperialist during the previous conflict but worked to mobilize labor unions in support of WW I. On the other hand, prominent socialists Eugene Debs and Bill Haywood were both jailed for their anti-war activities. Jane Addams, best known as the founder of the Settlement House movement, continued to argue against war in general.¹⁰ Most woman suffragists, on the other hand, supported the war effort in a variety of ways but also publicly argued that their patriotic efforts should be rewarded with equal civil and political rights. These alternative voices produced and distributed media images of their own to publicize their points of view, some of which will be examined in this paper.

Visual Rhetoric

The images created during both these wars are often considered propaganda, here used to mean rhetoric of any kind intended to persuade by evoking an emotional response. If the predominance of representations of vulnerable women is any indication, propagandists assumed that this would be one of the most heart-wrenching types of imagery. This sensationalizing of sexual violence for propaganda purposes is also evident in some news stories featured prominently in the "yellow press," such as the well-known incident involving a jailed Cuban girl named Evangelina Cisneros who was rescued from captivity by one of Hearst's *New York World* reporters. Of the "yellow journalists," Hearst has the dubious honor of being the most prone to invent stories. Hearst allegedly instructed artist Frederick Remington, "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." Figure 1 is one of the pictures that may have inspired this anecdote.¹¹

⁹See Peter Paret, Beth Irwin Lewis, and Paul Paret, *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

¹⁰For more on this see Robert David Johnson, *The Peace Progressives and American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

¹¹Frederick Remington, "Spaniards Search Women on American Steamers," *New York Journal* (1898); "Crucible of Empire: The Spanish American War," <http://www.pbs.org/crucible/frames/resources.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).



Figure 1

Remington drew this illustration to accompany an article about a woman strip-searched by Spanish authorities. Only later was it reported by Heart's rival Joseph Pulitzer that the woman had been searched by police matrons and not the leering men portrayed here. Note that Remington's illustration emphasizes the woman's whiteness in contrast to the men's swarthy coloring, despite the fact that the woman in the actual incident was Cuban and unlikely to have been any fairer skinned than the agents who searched her.

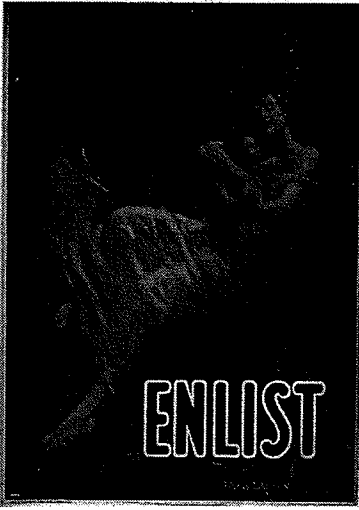


Figure 2

Figure 2, one of the best known from WW I, is also an allusion to a real event.¹² In this case, it references the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The drowned woman is presented sensually and yet maternally. Her arms are still wrapped protectively around her child, her shoulder is bared seductively, and her dress clings to her shapely legs. Both of these pictures present women as helpless, sexualized victims in need of rescue by noble American men. Figures 3 and 4 also take up the maternal theme, but in this case the mothers are alive and grieving for the dying or wounded. "The Cuban Mother" in Figure 3 is holding her dead or dying son while a vulture lurks in the background.¹³ The son has the face of a full-grown man, and presumably is not a child but a revolutionary soldier. The mother's face is not even shown. She is an anonymous symbol and, like the women in previous illustrations, demonstrates feminine inability to protect herself or her loved ones.

Likewise, Figure 4 represents "The Greatest Mother in the World," the Madonna in one of the most famous WWI-era Red Cross posters.¹⁴ This Red Cross nurse cradles a much smaller soldier in a stretcher in her lap. This is reminiscent of the *Pieta* figures in which Mary holds the dead Christ in her lap. Although Paret, *et al* describe this picture as a portrayal of "female power and masculine helplessness," the combination of nurse and

¹²Fred Spear, "Enlist" (1915), "World War I and World War II Posters," Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awppnp6/worldwars.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).

¹³Artist Unknown, "The Cuban Mother" *New York Journal* (1898); "Crucible of Empire: The Spanish American War," <http://www.pbs.org/crucible/frames/resources.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).

¹⁴Alonzo E. Fonniger, "The Greatest Mother in the World" (1918), "World War I and World War II Posters," Library of Congress, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/wwiposquery.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).

mother in this image reinforces women's nurturing role but in its most passive sense.¹⁵ Little in this poster supports the idea of an active role for women in wartime: the nurse looks imploringly up to the corner of the frame, not directly at the viewer. The allusion to Mary adds a religious element that only reinforces the idea that this inactive, submissive pose is divinely ordained.



Figure 3

¹⁵Paret, Lewis, and Paret, *Persuasive Images*, 60.

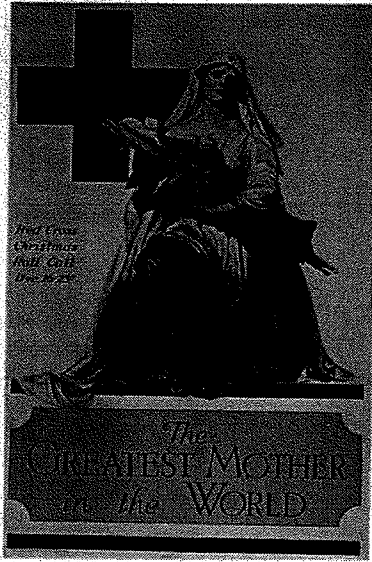


Figure 4

By contrast, the ideal male behavior during wartime is clearly assertive and perhaps even aggressive. Artists gave the idea of the sissy great play during both of these wars. In Figure 5, President McKinley is portrayed as a coward who holds the manly Uncle Sam back, while Sam attempts to protect a woman, probably the symbolic representation of Cuba, who is cringing under attack from a vulture.¹⁶ People who did not support the war, this implies, are cowards like McKinley, and out of step with the energetic and masculine American ideal.

¹⁶Artist Unknown, "Let Go of Him, McKinley!" *New York Journal* (1898), "Crucible of Empire: The Spanish American War," <http://www.pbs.org/crucible/frames/resources.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).

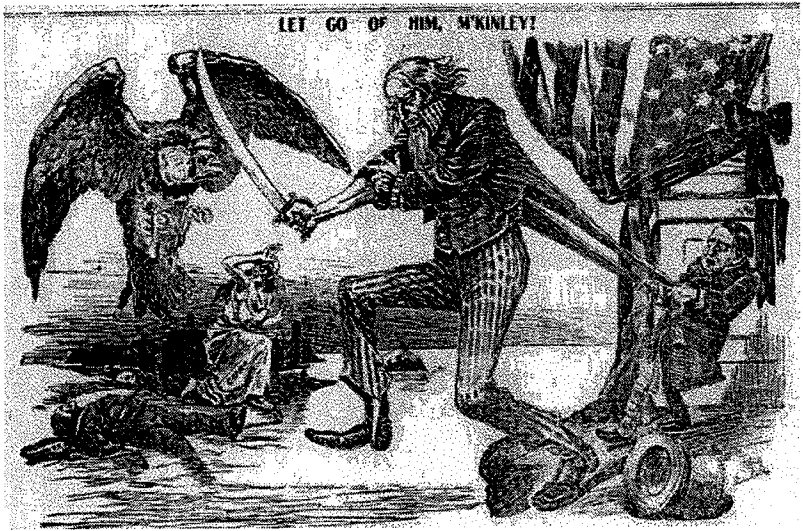


Figure 5

WW I posters used similar imagery. Figure 6, “Protect the Nation’s Honor,” portrays Uncle Sam demanding American men come to the rescue of America and American womanhood.¹⁷ In this poster, Columbia appears devastated by some attack, perhaps even a sexual assault. This is implied by the use of the term “honor” and by Columbia’s cowering posture, with just a hint of an exposed breast. In “Halt the Hun,” (Figure 7) there is an addition of a child in danger and seems designed to appeal to the masculine protective instinct.¹⁸ In it, the faceless German soldier is pushed aside by the lantern-jawed American man. Both defenders hold swords, the typical iconography of a noble cause. In Figure 6, Uncle Sam seems to be offering the sword to those who are brave and bold enough to be almost knights in the service of the US. The man in Figure 7 has taken up the challenge, but he is so idealized as to protect the woman without even using his sword. His strong arm suffices.

¹⁷Schneck, “It’s Up to You” (1917), “World War I and World War II Posters,” Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awpnp6/worldwars.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).

¹⁸Henry Raleigh, “Halt the Hun!” (1918), “World War I and World War II Posters,” Library of Congress, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/wwiposquery.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).



Figure 6

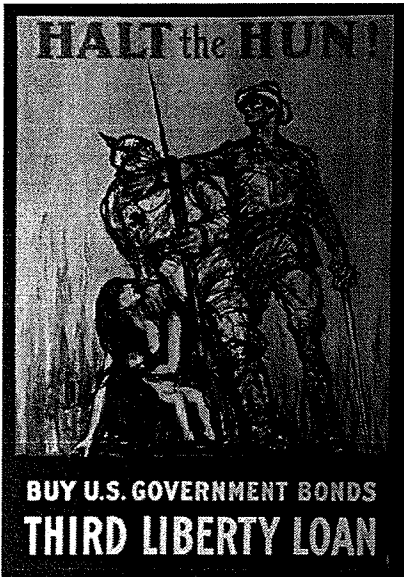


Figure 7

In both cases there is a clear gender division: women are vulnerable and maternal and men are either attackers or defenders. While these images damage women's chances for equal respect in an atmosphere in which physical prowess receives the highest respect, it also damaged men's ability to step out of the proscribed masculine role. Men's willingness to question the war was undermined by an atmosphere that implied that no real man would resist a war when so many vulnerable women need protecting? During WW I, former President Theodore Roosevelt, adamant as always on the question of masculinity, made this point clear in a speech to the Harvard Club in which he called pacifists "a whole raft of sexless creatures."¹⁹

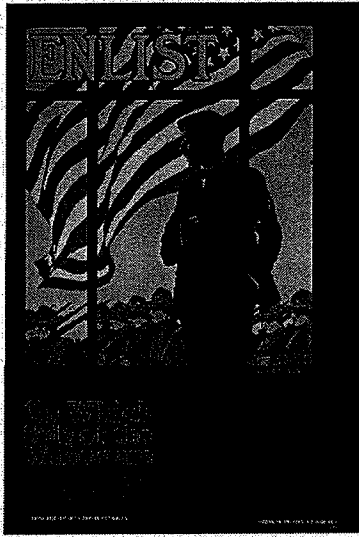


Figure 8

Men who did not protect women were, like McKinley in the earlier cartoon, seen as weak and unmanly. The US soldier was often visually contrasted with a figure known as the "slacker." The slang term "slacker" developed during WW I to describe men who shirk military service.²⁰ In Figure 8, the slacker is presented almost fearfully peering out the window while soldiers march by outside.²¹ His glasses, fancy suit, and hesitant pose combine to present an image of passivity and effeminacy. Even the space he inhabits is connected more with the domestic, feminine realm than the public space occupied by the

¹⁹Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001), 369.

²⁰See H.L. Mencken, Chapter 11: "American Slang," *The American Language* (1921), www.bartleby.com.

²¹Laura Brey, "On Which Side of the Window Are You?" (1917), "World War I and World War II Posters," Library of Congress, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/wwiposquery.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006).

soldiers outside.²² Thus, when the artist asks “On Which Side of the Window are You?” she is asking her male audience if they are true men.

An additional and important feature in this image is that the soldiers appear in company, representing both the promise of manly camaraderie in the military and the pressure of pro-war public sentiment. Like the vast majority of the propaganda art, this theme was thoroughly coordinated with the other branches of the CPI. Creel’s famous “Four Minute Men,” the volunteer army of speakers, received talking points on this very topic. They were encouraged to emphasize that “fighters despise a slacker.” Specifically, the CPI recommended they tell their audience, “How the red-blooded American soldier abhors a slacker! The traitor he hates! The coward he pities! But the slacker who deliberately puts the burden on his brother? No words can express the contempt!”²³

Anti-war rhetoric during the two wars also demonstrated some remarkable similarities despite the fifteen years between the wars. In Figure 9, “Republicanism Down to Date” an illustration published in by the anti-McKinley journal *The Verdict*, Uncle Sam is no longer the fighter from earlier figures.²⁴ Instead he is the victim of America’s growing imperial aspirations. It appears that Uncle Sam is being used as a silencer for the cannon, as Mark Hanna, a Republican leader and prominent imperialist, advises a cowering McKinley, “Don’t be afraid Mac. It won’t make much noise.” This is reminiscent of the famous quote that Admiral “Dewey took Manila with the loss of one man and all our institutions.” Some anti-imperialists were much concerned with the potential consequences to democratic necessities like free speech and elective government if the US were to retain possession of the Philippines in particular.



REPUBLICANISM DOWN TO DATE.
HANNA, "DON'T BE AFRAID, MAC! IT WON'T MAKE MUCH NOISE."

Figure 9

²²Paret, Lewis, and Paret, *Persuasive Images*, 56.

²³Quoted in Jackall and Hirota, “Advertising the Great War,” 25.

²⁴Horace Taylor, “Republicanism Down to Date,” *The Verdict* (25 September, 1899); “McKinley and Political Cartoons,” Ohio State University

<http://history.osu.edu/projects/USCartoons/Verdict/HT/25Sept1899.htm> (accessed 22 February, 2006).

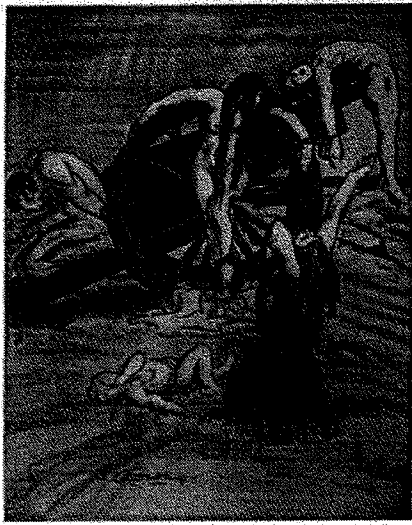


Figure 10

Figure 10, "Conscription," was a WW I-era illustration from the Socialist journal *The Masses*.²⁵ This was one of the images used in the court case against the journal when it was censored by the Wilson administration and run out of business during the resultant court battle. As might be expected from a socialist perspective, this artist was particularly concerned with the human cost of the draft and gives a very literal interpretation of the term 'cannon fodder.' This illustrator chose mostly naked female figures, despite the draft's primary impact on men. Like the pro-war images, this anti-war picture uses the image of the vulnerable and sensual female victim to solicit an emotional response from the viewer.

A more striking example of the similarities between pro and anti-war visual rhetoric can be seen in Figures 11 and 12, one from a WW I enlistment poster and the other from *The Masses*. This was particularly evident during WW I, when alternative voices borrowed the mainstream pro-war media's visual rhetoric and used it to critique the war. WW I illustrations routinely portrayed Germany as a monster abducting a female personification of Europe or America. This is the case in Figure 11, an enlistment poster in which Germany is presented remarkably like King Kong.²⁶ Here, a large gorilla

²⁵Henry Glintenkamp, "Conscription," *The Masses* (August, 1917); "Henry J. Glintenkamp," Marxists Internet Archive, http://www.marxists.org/subject/art/visual_arts/satire/glint/ (accessed 25 March, 2006). See also "Images of American Radicalism: Cover Illustrations from the Masses 1913-1917," Michigan State University, http://www.lib.msu.edu/coll/main/spec_col/radicalism/exhibits/masses/.

²⁶H.R. Hopps, "Destroy this Mad Brute" (1917), "World War I and World War II Posters," Library of Congress, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/vvipoquery.html> (accessed 22 February, 2006). This menacing figure appeared in advertisements, posters, and cartoons. These images predate the first King Kong movie (1933) by fifteen years and may very well have been the inspiration for it. It is likely that some of the fascination

wearing a *Pickelhaube*, a traditional German helmet, carries a much smaller woman in his clutches. The beast is arriving on the shores of America, fresh from his rampage through Europe, represented by the woman in his arms. The female victim is again sexualized, with an exposed torso. *The Masses* used the same kind of imagery in Figure 12, "Come on In, America, the Blood's Fine," to present war as the abducting monster instead.²⁷ These images are much less sexual, although still female. The focus is on the menace of the skeletal figure of war.

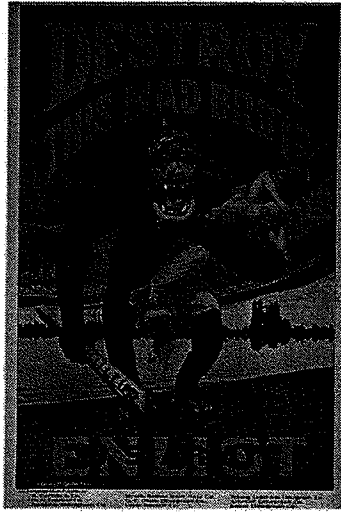


Figure 11

with dangerous gorillas derived from the Tarzan of the Apes series by Edgar Rice Burroughs, first published in 1912 and first made into a movie in 1918.

²⁷M.A. Kempf, "Come On In, America, the Blood's Fine," *The Masses* (June, 1917); "Max Eastman," Spartacus Educational, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Jeastman.htm> (accessed 25 March, 2006).



Figure 12

Women suffragists used gendered images in a similar fashion. They took full advantage of the WW I-era “slacker” stereotype in their visual arguments for woman suffrage. A mainstream example of the type borrowed by the woman suffrage cartoonists can be seen in Figure 13, “Men Wanted.”²⁸ It was created for *Life* by Charles Dana Gibson, creator of the Gibson girl illustrations and head of the CPI’s Pictorial Division. Gibson, although known for his strong female images, also used seductive imagery to applaud soldiers and ridicule slackers. In this image he implies that military men are more virile than civilians. The slacker lurking on the corner here is round-shouldered and unattractive. He wears a dandy’s clothes but does not even get a glance from the young woman walking with the sailor. The sailor, by contrast, appears taller and is certainly more muscular than the other man. The sailor looks down at the woman protectively and somewhat possessively while the other man looks on with dull eyes. The slacker, in an insult to his virility and his sexuality, actually seems to have little interest in the attractive woman. This cartoon seems to imply that, since women are attracted to men bold enough to join the military, men who do not join must not find women attractive.

²⁸Charles Dana Gibson, “Men Wanted,” *Life* 70:1813 (26 July, 1917), 137.



Figure 13



Figure 14

In the next image, Figure 14, a suffrage cartoonist used the slacker as a foil for suffragists.²⁹ The illustration is titled “-But He Can Fight,” a reference to the anti-suffrage argument that only those who can serve in the military (i.e. men) or have the physical strength to enforce the laws have a right to vote. This man is clearly not serving in the military. He looks more like a dandy, and probably a drunk as well. The only figure of activity in this illustration is the woman doing the dishes. In other words, the man is good for nothing at all. Note that the man in this image is remarkably similar to the slacker in Figure 13. Like him, he is presented in an inactive pose, seated in this case, and in the background rather than the foreground of the image.

Each of these many images reflects the way gender roles were polarized by war rhetoric. They reflect important debates about American foreign policy goals, woven together with perceptions about what it meant to be masculine or feminine in wartime. The dominant gender ideology clearly presented true men as actively pro-war, motivated at least in part by the need to protect US women. Men were, or should be, the fighters and if they were not then they were not worth much as men. Women were primarily to be protected, whether from the Spanish, the Germans, or the war itself. Anti-war advocates fought an uphill battle against this attitude, and compensated in part by presenting anti-war men as the true defenders of vulnerable women. Woman suffragists, meanwhile, also found it expedient to incorporate traditional gender expectations by ridiculing men who did not live up to the masculine ideal. As this visual conversation indicates, none of the groups directly challenged the established gender roles and in fact may have solidified them.

²⁹Eloise Valiant, “-But He Can Fight,” *Maryland Suffrage News* (May, 1915), 8.

Save Our History: The Political Battle to Save Florida's Old Capitol Building

*Seth A. Weitz
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An anonymous letter dated 10 April, 1976 and addressed to Florida's Secretary of State Bruce Smathers and Governor Ruebin Askew (1971-1979) illustrated the frustration and outrage felt by many Floridians at the prospect of losing one of the state's historic landmarks. This indignation grew from reports that the state's original Capitol building, constructed in 1845 and altered on numerous occasions in the first half of the twentieth century, was facing demolition. The letter contained no return address and no signature, but its message was clear: "What? Tear down the old capitol?? FOR SHAME!! Puhleeeeeeeze save it!!!"¹ That the letter was addressed to the Secretary of State and the Governor was no mistake either. Smathers was the leading proponent for saving the old structure, while Governor Askew, who would make a futile attempt to win the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1984 ultimately won by Minnesota Senator Walter Mondale, was initially staunchly in opposition to any preservation efforts. Askew was backed by Speaker of the House of Representatives in Florida, Donald Tucker, a Democrat from Tallahassee whose virulent nature and often offensive commentary on the subject made him an easy target for the large grassroots organization that eventually prevailed. The path taken to preserve Florida's historic Capitol was a long and arduous journey that spanned the decade of the 1970's and culminated with the completion of the restored 1902 building in 1982.

Tallahassee was not Florida's capital when the territory was ceded to the United States from the Spanish Crown through the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819. Before Tallahassee was even founded, Florida was dominated by Pensacola in West Florida and St. Augustine in East Florida. They alternately held sessions of the territorial legislature in their cities, which left delegates scurrying back and forth between the two situated 400 miles apart. When the first session met in July, 1822 in Pensacola "the members from St. Augustine had traveled fifty-nine days by water to attend," with one delegate, Thomas Lytle, losing his life in a storm.² When the second session of the Florida Legislative Council met in St. Augustine in 1823, the delegates from Pensacola were shipwrecked and barely escaped death.³ The solution to this dangerous situation benefited the new settlers of Middle Florida as commissioners John Lee Williams and William H. Simmons selected "the present day site of Tallahassee as the location for the new capital of Florida."⁴

¹Anonymous letter to Secretary Smathers and Governor Askew, 10 April, 1976, Florida State Archives, "Save the Capitol Files," Box MS-195.

²Charlton W. Tebeau. *A History of Florida*. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1972), 122.

³Michael Gannon. *Florida, A Short History*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 28-29.

⁴Edward E. Baptist. *Creating an Old South, Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 13.

What is known as the Old Capitol building today is the restored version of the 1902 building which can trace its roots back to 1845. As early as 1829, Floridians had urged their government to create a permanent Capitol building in Tallahassee.⁵ The construction of a permanent structure, however, did nothing to quell the debate over the Capitol building. In 1900, an editorial in the St. Augustine *Examiner* proclaimed that "old memories linger pleasantly around the old Capitol, but it is old, all old; it belongs to the past ... the present capitol building is an antiquated structure, entirely inadequate to the needs of the state government."⁶ Additions and renovations were made in 1902, 1923, 1936, and 1947, but, by the mid-1950's voices emerged that once again questioned the wisdom of "continuing to patch up the old one (capitol)."⁷

The idea for a new Capitol building emerged in 1956 when Supreme Court Justice Harold Sebring was named to head a commission on the matter. The commission lacked legislative support and quickly died out but was revived in the late 1960's. Overcrowding in the Capitol's office space had been an issue since 1899, and almost every successive legislative session toyed with the idea of moving the seat of government from Tallahassee. In 1967 the Florida legislature seriously flirted with the idea of moving the capital to Orlando after legislation was introduced by Senator Lee Weissenborn. The lobby of the new Capitol honors the Senator with a plaque which claims that Weissenborn's valiant efforts to move the Capital to Orlando was the prime motivation for construction of the new building.⁸ None of these efforts ever gained much momentum but they did create swift and strong reaction from Tallahassee's *Daily Democrat*. In 1923, the same year that a major renovation and addition to the Capitol was completed, an editorial ran in the paper that exclaimed "there is nothing at Tallahassee except the Capitol and the Women's college and Tallahassee is the right place for both institutions ... let the Capitol remain in the place where it was born ... a place rich with the tradition of the Old South."⁹

The new commission formed in the late 1960's was a proactive body with support from the legislature and Governor Claude R. Kirk (in office 1967-1971), Florida's first Republican chief executive since 1872. The committee hired world-famous architect Edward Durell Stone of New York to design the proposed building. As quoted in the Tallahassee *Democrat*, Stone was instructed to create plans for a "modern Capitol that reflected the character of all of Florida, not just the ante-bellum, magnolia and honeysuckle atmosphere of Tallahassee."¹⁰ This view was a precursor to the propaganda spewed from the mouths of the opposition to restoration as the decade progressed. The proponents of the new Capitol project included many in the legislature and government that did not see the necessity of maintaining the old historic structure. Those who did have a notion of the importance for historical preservation and Florida's past decided that the miniscule 1845 Capitol building should be restored as to be as unobtrusive as possible to the new edifice. Governor Kirk's cabinet approved the plans for restoration in 1969 with Kirk acting as the lone dissenting vote. He lambasted his cabinet for "promoting

⁵Tallahassee *Floridian*, 10 November, 1829.

⁶St. Augustine, *Examiner*, 6 November, 1900.

⁷Tallahassee, *Democrat*, 30 April, 1977.

⁸Julianne Hare. *Tallahassee, A Capital City History*. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 136-137.

⁹Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, 23 May, 1923.

¹⁰Tallahassee, *Democrat*, 30 April, 1977.

palatial palaces for political potentates.”¹¹ Despite the cabinet vote, the matter of the old Capitol was never resolved because a final decision was not made. Most of the architects and planners of the new Capitol actually *had* considered the question settled. They believed, but never publicly stated, that the decision to erect the 22-story building directly behind the old Capitol spelled doom for the historic landmark. An editorial written in Tallahassee’s newspaper proclaimed that the decision to implement a *fast track* construction of the new building presupposed razing the old building.¹²

Not everyone in the Tallahassee or Florida as a whole was pleased with the designs for the new Capitol. Even before a push began to demolish the old Capitol, editorials surfaced in newspapers throughout the state where readers and columnists voiced their displeasure at what many labeled Stone’s monstrosity. Stone publicly announced: “I don’t care what they want ... this is what they are going to get ... it will be good for Florida” in response to the rising criticism over his plans for the new Capitol.¹³ He did not realize how his arrogance would those who favored preservation. The proponents of the new Capitol, who would later become the main advocates for demolition of Florida’s historic Capitol, including Supreme Court Justice B. K. Roberts, stated that the new structure would “make government more of a blessing and less of a burden,” by providing a modern structure for a growing state government.¹⁴ Roberts, Askew and their allies underestimated not only Bruce Smathers, but more importantly a large portion Florida’s population who instantaneously became avid preservationists and rallied to save the old Capitol.

A problem arose when it was revealed that restoration of the Capitol to the way it appeared in 1845 was not feasible because there was not enough evidence remaining to properly reconstruct the building. Governor Askew and his administration had basically overlooked this blunder and went ahead with construction of the new Capitol without any solution pertaining to the historic building. Bruce Smathers, son of legendary and controversial US Senator from Florida George Smathers (1951-1969), began exploring conservation alternatives to the 1845 plan in 1976. Smathers, who would lead the drive for conserving the old Capitol, worked with the Division of Archives, History and Records Management of the Department of State to create a plan that would save money for taxpayers in the long run, while at the same time preserve what many felt was the most important building in Florida’s history. He also highlighted the fact that the old Capitol could be used as additional office space which was a major reason the new building was constructed in the first place.¹⁵

The efforts of Smathers were met with an outpouring of support from the populace around the state. Virtually every local historical society within the state as well as the Florida Historical Society lent assistance. Countless letters were written to newspapers around the state as well as to state Representatives and Senators. Many people were upset with assertions made by the opponents of the old Capitol who claimed that Florida had no history worth saving. Recent immigrants to the Sunshine State joined “natives” in rallying to the cause as witnessed in the case of Charlotte R. Morgan of

¹¹Quoted in Jacksonville, *Times-Union and Journal*, 26 December, 1971.

¹²Tallahassee, *Democrat*, 20 May, 1977.

¹³Quoted in *Ibid.*, 6 March, 1973.

¹⁴Quoted in *Ibid.*, 29 October, 1973.

¹⁵Lee H. Warner “Florida’s Capitols.” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 61:3 (January, 1983), 258-259.

Lakeland. Morgan had moved to central Florida from Springfield, Illinois, in 1973 and immediately became one of Secretary Smathers' biggest supporters and allies in the fight to save the old Capitol. In a letter written to Smathers, Morgan noted the similarities between the struggle in Florida and one that she had been an active part of a decade earlier in Illinois. She had helped lead a fight to save the original Illinois state Capitol from demolition. Morgan highlighted the importance of history to a state and the people by reminding the Illinois legislature that this was the same building that witnessed the beginning of Abraham Lincoln's political career in the 1830s. She went further to note that the restored building stood as one of the Midwest's finest restoration sites as well as the home of Illinois' famous Historical Library.¹⁶

As Secretary Smathers and legislators were bombarded with letters of support, the opponents to restoration, led by Governor Askew and Speaker Tucker, cited and played up a report from 1971 that commented on the physical durability of the old Capitol. The main priority of Ruebin Askew's first term as governor, which began in 1971, was to complete the construction of the new Capitol building. This led to the selection of the William Bishop Consulting Engineers of Tallahassee firm to study the feasibility of restoring the old Capitol building. The committee reported that "structurally, the center section of the building has deteriorated to a point where it is inadequate to be of any value in the future development of the Capitol Center."¹⁷ Proponents of restoration immediately responded by noting that Bishop was an ally of Askew and this was the sole reason he was selected to lead the committee. Diane Self Owen, Florida State Chairman for Preservation Action, claimed that the last six words of the committee's report were omitted in order to provide propaganda for Askew and his allies. According to the Jacksonville *Journal*, the forgotten words noted that the old Capitol was structurally unsound to be included *within* a larger structure, meaning the new Capitol.¹⁸

Lee Warner, of Tallahassee's Historic Preservation Board, a non-profit organization, stated "the unhappiness came from the fact that other firms were not considered."¹⁹ The decision was also made behind closed doors out of the view of the public. State Senator Pat Thomas proposed a bill in the Florida Legislature that called for a new study of the old Capitol and more importantly an open selection of an unbiased firm. Thomas' bill would have called for the selection of a firm by the Department of General Services as outlined by Florida's Professional Negotiations Act. According to the Tallahassee *Democrat*, the bill was a moot point since the decision to hire Bishop was upheld by the Governor and his allies.²⁰ Smathers was also not content with the selection of Stone. In both cases, the selections of Stone and Bishop, Smathers was disappointed. He stated to the *Floridian* that he had hoped that a firm that had been previously involved with historic preservation would have been selected.²¹

After it was resolved that the restoration of the Capitol to either the 1923 or 1902 version would in fact not be a hazard, the opponents of preservation turned their attention to money. Secretary Smathers fired back claiming that taxpayers would only have to pay

¹⁶Letter from Charlotte R. Morgan to Secretary of State Bruce Smathers, 28 March, 1977, Florida State Archives, "Save the Capitol Files," MS-195

¹⁷Quoted in Tallahassee, *Democrat*, 11 April, 1978.

¹⁸Jacksonville, *Journal*, 2 January, 1978.

¹⁹Quoted in Tallahassee, *Democrat*, 11 April, 1978.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Floridian*, 28 November, 1976.

four dollars per square foot to restore the building. Smathers went further and was aided by Diane Self Owen. They both claimed that preservation of the 1902 structure would provide the state with 30,000 additional square feet for office space. This was important since the state had admitted to renting over 980,000 square feet and the new Capitol only provided an additional 340,000 square feet.²²

Proponents of demolition of the old Capitol appeared to be blinded by an infatuation with the new office building which Governor Askew exclaimed was "going to be a beautiful capitol."²³ Askew's preference for demolition, according to his critics, stemmed from his view that to fully appreciate the *beauty* of the new Capitol one must see it surrounded by all the open space that was envisioned by Stone when he drew up the plans. This open space referred to the land currently occupied by the old Capitol. While numerous opponents attacked Askew and the proponents of demolition for their blatant disregard of history, others, mostly legislators and government officials, simply assailed the new Capitol. The former president of the Florida Chapter of the American Institute of Architects bluntly stated that Stone's creation was "a poorly conceived symbol of neo-classical pabulum."²⁴ An anonymous aide to one of Askew's cabinet members went further by proclaiming that "this great phallic symbol at the end of U.S. 27 ... is a great concrete slab with no personality."²⁵ Attorney General Robert Shevin summed up the situation when he clearly remarked "I don't think it looks like a Capitol building."²⁶

Smathers did not rely solely on factual data of the building's soundness to make his case. He tried to strike a sentimental chord with Floridians. He likened the Capitol to some of America's oldest and most treasured landmarks by saying "our state Capitol, 1845 to the present, is a combination of Independence Hall and the nation's Capitol ... part of the quality of life is our heritage."²⁷ As late as 1977 some in Florida hoped the conflict and dilemma would simply disappear, but State Senator Kenneth Myers, a Democrat from Miami echoed the reality when he claimed "we can't bury our heads in the sand and say the problem is going away."²⁸

Diane Self Owen challenged Askew and Tucker, and more importantly motivated the populace of Florida by appealing to reason. She stated "in a way, the old Capitol is a symbolic thing ... if the legislature isn't willing to save the old Capitol; I don't see where we stand a prayer of saving anything else."²⁹ Secretary Smathers first brought the issue to the attention of Senator Robert Williams in 1975 when it became apparent that nothing was being done to act on recommendations to save the Capitol. While Smathers' endeavors were invaluable, the most important effort was made at the local level including a grassroots campaign sponsored by local preservation societies and historical associations. A town hall meeting aptly titled, "A Public Forum on the Future of the Old Capitol," was staged in March, 1977 in Tallahassee and was well attended by people from various walks of life hailing from different regions of Florida. The meeting included remarks by Secretary Smathers, Lee Warner, as well as numerous other concerned

²²Jacksonville, *Journal*, 2 January, 1978.

²³Quoted in *Floridian*, 28 November, 1976.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Jacksonville, *Journal*, 2 January, 1978.

citizens. Before the meeting was adjourned, a vote took place which showed overwhelming support for restoration. Of the 120 ballots cast, 116 or 96.7% voted for restoration of some sort. Only four people voted for demolition. The most popular alternative was the 1923 model which garnered 75.8% of the vote with the 1902 plan only gaining 10 votes. In the end, the 1902 model was decided upon as the most cost and space efficient version.³⁰

A year following the town hall meeting, another event took place in Tallahassee. The Daughters of the American Revolution, Florida Federation of Women's Club and Springtime Tallahassee sponsored *Save the Capitol Night*.³¹ Fiery rhetoric was employed at the meeting in favor of preservation and restoration. One concerned citizen noted that without the old Capitol, the new Capitol is nothing more than an ordinary high rise office building.

The Pensacola *Journal* conducted a poll in April, 1978 that confirmed Askew's fears; the people of Florida favored a restoration effort. Of those polled, 66.7% favored restoration, 9% were in favor of demolishing the building, while 24.3% said they were not sure.³² The voices of the people were echoed in the halls of Florida's legislature in May 1978 when the Senate voted 25-7 in favor of preservation, followed by a 103-12 vote in the House six hours later in favor of saving the 1902 version.³³ Bruce Smathers had previously staged a sit-in, refusing to leave his office in the old Capitol until legislation was passed saving the historic building. He was evicted on 17 May, a couple of days preceding the favorable vote. Despite the vote, there was still concern as to how Governor Askew would react to the legislation, but Representative Herb Morgan of Tallahassee was confident the governor would not veto the bill. Questions had arisen over Askew's intentions, when a week before the vote came to the floor, Assistant Secretary of State Dave McNamara authored a scathing letter to the Governor in which he accused the chief executive of being guilty of a "cruel hoax" in ordering all occupants, including Smathers, out of the building because he deemed it unsafe.³⁴

The vote in the legislature, however, did not end the debate. The restoration work was not immediately started, and this led to another concerted effort to demolish the old Capitol in 1979, steered by State Senator Dempsey Barron of Panama City. Barron claimed the old Capitol was a "dilapidated mess with no historic value" and that restoration "might turn into a boondoggle."³⁵ Barron was the loudest critic of the old Capitol in 1979, and another motion to demolish the Capitol was set forth after the 1978 vote for restoration. This time Barron was aided by Senator Harry Johnston of West Palm Beach who had sponsored Barron's bill. Johnston claimed it was "fiscally irresponsible to try and renovate the old Capitol" after a seven million dollar price tag was slapped on the project.³⁶ A vote was taken in the Senate for demolition of the building and it passed 22-17. Many Senators who had previously voted to save the Capitol a year before had

³⁰Memorandum from Nancy Dobson, Director Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board to Florida House of Representatives, 23 March, 1977, Florida State Archives, "Save the Capitol Files," MS-195.

³¹Springtime Tallahassee is an organization dedicated to the promotion and preservation of Tallahassee history created in 1968 to bolster tourism.

³²*Pensacola Journal*, 4 April, 1978.

³³*Tallahassee Democrat*, 30 May, 1978.

³⁴*Tampa Tribune*, 12 May, 1978.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 8 June, 1978.

³⁶Quoted in *Tallahassee Democrat*, 17 May, 1979.

changed their minds after being persuaded by Barron and Johnston. Senator Childers went a step further when he proclaimed that the old Capitol did not hold any value to the present-day citizens of Florida. He ridiculed preservationists by exclaiming "all those people who saw the 1902 Capitol aren't here, they won't see it, they're dead."³⁷ Childers also claimed that the building was ready to cave in and was unsafe, a charge Askew had made the previous year when he ordered the landmark closed. Derek McLean, the state's project director for restoration shot back, denying the charges and also claimed that the task would be completed \$38,000 under budget.³⁸ The scare thrown into the preservationist community was short lived as the House did not pass the demolition bill and the legislature upheld the appropriated funds, seven million dollars, for restoration of the 1902 capitol.

Dr. Lee Warner, currently serving as Alabama's State Historic Preservation Officer, when commenting on the decade debate and the compromise that ensued, noted that the "result is the Florida capitols as they appear in 1982, are an imposing and functional combination of structures that serve the state's functional and symbolic needs well."³⁹ The long and grueling battle also served as the impetus for the creation of the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation, founded in 1978 by the very people who fought Governor Askew to save the Capitol from demolition. The battle to save the old Capitol building served a larger purpose by motivating the community to act for preservation while reminding Floridians how important the state's history is to its citizens.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Warner "Florida's Capitols," 260.

An Historical Perspective on Public School Desegregation in Florida: Lessons from the Past for the Present

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In 1896 many people in the Deep South applauded the Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which held that separate facilities for blacks and whites did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's "due process" clause as long as those facilities were equal in services. Even before the *Plessy* case gave legal sanction to separation in Florida, local jurisdictions took their segregationist cue from Tallahassee. The Florida Constitution of 1885 provided that, "White and colored children shall not be taught in the same school ..."¹ *Plessy* in 1896, and other state statutes in 1905, 1913, and 1939, reinforced the separate schools doctrine.² The experiences of state-local interaction to perpetuate segregation in the public schools of Lee County, Florida until 1969, fifteen years after the landmark *Brown* decision struck down public school segregation, provides key lessons on how the segregationist system worked in the "Sunshine State" from post-Reconstruction to recent times. The education of black students in Lee County remained limited to church and private instruction until 1913, when the Lee County Board of Public Instruction allocated meager funds to support the education of the growing black population in Lee County. The Board subsequently created a segregated school in Fort Myers, the county seat, which served blacks on a segregated basis until 1969.

On 18 May, 1954, the county awoke to find this segregationist practice under attack as a result of *Brown*, tendered by a unanimous Supreme Court. The ruling declared separate schools for white and black students inherently unequal and thus in violation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the US Constitution.³ Although a frontal attack on *Plessy*, state officials immediately set in motion policies designed to repudiate the Court ruling. Acting Governor Charley E. Johns went so far as to suggest "a special legislative session on school desegregation" in the aftermath of *Brown*. Although Johns did not pursue the idea in his next Cabinet meeting, he traveled to Richmond, Virginia to attend a conference on segregation at which he proclaimed that the vast majority of people in Florida—black and white—favored segregation. As reported on the front page of the *Fort Myers News-Press*, Johns followed that action by proposing to the Southern Governors' Conference that the US Constitution be amended to allow states "to maintain separate but equal public schools for the races."⁴

¹Florida Constitution (1885), Article 12, Section 12.

²See J. Irving E. Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1974), 5-13; Joseph Aaron Tomberlin, "The Negro and Florida's System of Education: The Aftermath of the *Brown* Case" (Dissertation, Florida State University, 1967), 2-15.

³*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

⁴Tallahassee *Democrat*, 18 May, 1954; "Johns considers Special Session of Legislature," *Fort Myers News-Press*, 18 May, 1954; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, 9 June, 1954, 11 June, 1954, 16 June, 1954; St. Petersburg *Times*, 12 June, 1954; "Johns Suggests Governors Act on Segregation," *Fort Myers News-Press*, 12 November, 1954.

Almost simultaneously, Johns' adversary in the Democratic primary for governor in 1954, "moderate," yet pro-business, State Senator LeRoy Collins of Tallahassee assured his followers that he had never been a supporter of desegregation, that he "would support a continuance of ... established customs in the South," and that *Brown* would not alter his views on that subject.⁵ While promulgating a more measured response than Johns, Collins nevertheless chose a segregationist rather than a desegregationist path. In retrospect, the most pensive, pragmatic, and flexible state-level politician on the race issue, Senator Collins, had now set the ground rules for "moderation" in post-*Brown* Florida: moderation would embrace pro-segregationist and non pro-integrationist policies at the state level.

Although termed a moderate like Collins on the desegregation issue, Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thomas D. Bailey, seemed to also signal intractability on the race issue in May, 1954, when he stated: "the greatest danger we have isn't just the segregation issue. We have a lot of people down here who hate to be pushed around, whether the state of federal government is doing the pushing."⁶ The Republican candidates for governor shared common ground with Johns, Collins, and Bailey by declaring that *Brown* did not apply to Florida "in its present status."⁷

Yet the message resonated even more profoundly at another level. For the leaders of Florida had also declined to lend any moral support to *Brown*. Without either moral or legal stands on *Brown*, Tallahassee ensured that segregation would remain a pillar of Florida's public education system. Perhaps the public pronouncements of Florida's officials seemed less virulent than those of the leaders of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama, and, subsequently, persuaded scholars of the "moderation" factor in the Sunshine State. Even so, it is difficult to understand how all but the most die-hard segregationists in post-*Brown* Florida would have viewed the state's intransigence as moderate.

Lee County Board Minutes show that members were confident that they would have state support to evade compliance with the Court's demands. They believed that segregation could continue under existing state laws regulating the attendance of children at county schools. The Board's legal advisor, attorney F. Ewing Barnes, proclaimed as well, that the county could continue segregation on this basis. Barnes assured Board

⁵Tomberlin, "Aftermath of the *Brown* Case," 36; Thomas R. Wagy, "A South to Save: The Administration of Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida" (Dissertation, Florida State University, 1980), 57-102; LeRoy Collins, "Past Struggles, Present Changes, and the Future Promise for Civil Rights in Florida and the Nation," in Charles U. Smith, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement in Florida and the United States: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Tallahassee: Father and Son Publishing, 1989), 15; Tallahassee Democrat, 16 May, 1954 and 18 May, 1954; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, 18 May, 1954; Miami Herald, 18 May, 1954.

⁶Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, 23 May, 1954. The crux of the conclusion that Florida's leaders followed a "moderate" approach to *Brown* rests on the assumption that pro-business advocates, such as Collins, recognized that Florida's urbanization, immigrant base, and dependence on tourism called for Florida to dissociate itself from the more rabid actions of other Southern states. See, for example, Wagy, "A South To Save," 103-190; David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, "Race Relations of Florida Gubernatorial Politics Since the *Brown* Decision," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (1976), 154.

⁷Jacksonville, Florida Times-Union, 19 May, 1954.

members that state and local and not federal authorities would determine which school a student attended.⁸

To preempt a Court challenge to the anti-integration measures, Florida's Attorney General Richard W. Ervin was quoted in a newspaper as promoting "a Constitutional method by which Florida could preserve segregation in its public schools," and prepared legal arguments to show the Federal Bench why Florida would need an indefinite time period to consider desegregation of its schools. The State Cabinet allocated \$10,000 to Ervin to prepare his argument. Ervin, later a chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court, purportedly undertook this action in response to a Court invitation to answer the ambiguous time-line parts of the *Brown* ruling. He completed his *Amicus Curiae Brief of the Florida Attorney General* in September, 1954. In his brief, Ervin argued that without a deadline, Florida could eventually orchestrate full integration. While some have argued that Ervin constructed the brief to "ease in" integration, in reality Ervin's actions resulted in yet another roadblock to the implementation of *Brown* in the State of Florida.⁹

While touted as an effort to allow Florida and other states to gradually desegregate their public schools, the brief actually proposed numerous legal roadblocks to local school desegregation. Ervin offered arguments as to why immediate desegregation was impractical, including studies purporting to document 75% of Florida's white population opposing desegregation. He declared a need to revise administrative procedures in the schools, and in a tacit rejection of the separate but unequal argument, he cited the unfair competition between black and white students was due to the inferiority of the black schools. Ervin asked further that the Court consider that local communities needed time to adjust to the sociological and psychological shock of forced desegregation. In *Brown v. Board of Education II* (1955) the Court embraced a good portion of Ervin's logic.¹⁰

On 31 May, 1955, the Supreme Court rendered its decision in *Brown II*. The judgment handed state and local officials the responsibility for ending school segregation under guidelines to be established by the respective Federal District Courts. The Court's ruling established no timetables nor deadlines, but simply ordered desegregation as "soon as practicable." The Fort Myers *News-Press* reported in a related article that the \$10,000 expended in preparing the *Amicus* filing was the best money the state had ever spent.¹¹ For Tallahassee, as with Lee County, the die had now been cast. The reaction to *Brown*

⁸"Official Minutes of Meetings of the Lee County School Board," Minutes, 18 May, 1954. Hereafter cited as Minutes.

⁹"Says Plan Would Ban Integration, Be Constitutional," Fort Myers *News-Press*, 17 March, 1955; Charles U. Smith and Charles Griggs, "School Desegregation in Florida," in Smith, *Civil Rights Movement*, 18-83; Charlton W. Tebeau and Ruby Leach Carlson, *Florida From Indian Trail to Space Age: A History*, vol. 2 (Delray Beach, FL: Southern Publishing Company, 1965), 1-104; Fort Myers *News-Press*, 19 May, 1954; "Richard Ervin, 99, Ex-Attorney General," Fort Myers *News-Press*, 27 August, 2004; *Southern Education Reporting Service*, *Southern School News* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, 8 June, 1955), 18-19; Manning J. Dauer, *Florida's Politics and Government* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1980), 504.

¹⁰Smith and Griggs, "School Desegregation in Florida," 183; Florida, *Amicus Curiae Brief of The Florida Attorney General*, September, 1954, 18-24; *Brown v. Board of Education II* 349 U.S. 234 (1955).

¹¹"Justices Direct District Judges Guide Program," Fort Myers *News-Press*, 1 June, 1955; *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 v.s. 294 (1955); "State Relieved," Fort Myers *News-Press*, 1 June, 1955; "Desegregation Postponed Ervin Says," *Miami Herald*, 3 June, 1955, 1-A.

would be one of delay, obfuscation, and obstruction. In the midst of the gubernatorial election the following year, Governor Collins carefully extended and expanded his non-radical, pro-segregationist image. Examples of this can be seen in Collins' legal, non-confrontational public position on the segregation issue in the campaign of 1956, while quietly supporting a committee to explore legal measures by which the state could fortify its system of segregated practices.¹²

The committee, headed by retired Circuit Judge L.L. Fabisinski of Pensacola, convened on 21 March, 1956. It recommended the strengthening of local school boards and the enhancement of the governor's powers of law enforcement, measures the state later adopted in actions perpetuating segregation. Governor Collins and the Legislature approved the findings of the Fabisinski Commission, agreeing that the measures adopted, including a Pupil Assignment Act and a new "Private School corporation Act," were sufficient to maintain a separate public school system.

As a result of the state-level attempts to derail the Court's desegregation order, Lee County's Board remained unaffected by the school desegregation movement now creeping across the South, to include some of the more progressive districts in Florida such as Miami-Dade.¹³ A decade went by before Lee County's School Board even proposed a desegregation plan. This effort finally came as a result of the federal *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, which effectively trumped the State of Florida's *de facto* policy of segregation, or at least Tallahassee's guidelines for segregation at the county level. Governor Bryant, and his immediate successors, Haydon Burns and Claude Kirk, Jr., all staunch segregationists, saw little reason to make defiance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 cornerstones of their policies, as they moved instead to prioritize such measures as outdoor recreation and increased powers for the governor's office.¹⁴

In essence, Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided for the enforcement of desegregation that the courts lacked. The Department of Justice could now act as a plaintiff to legally force school districts to comply with federal desegregation guidelines. Additionally, federal funds could be withheld from school districts which continued to be segregated.¹⁵ Responding to the new Federal mandate, which effectively defused gubernatorial and legislative pro-segregation policies and nullified state actions such as the Pupil Assignment Act and the Fabisinski Commission blueprint, Lee County moved into a new level of reality regarding desegregation.

Shortly after passage of the Civil Rights Act in July, 1964 (opposed by both of the US Senators from Florida), the Board proposed its initial plan for desegregation. The plan called for gradual implementation, starting with the first grade in 1965, then proceeding to grades 2-3 in 1966, grades 4, 5, and 6 in 1967, grades 7, 8, and 9 in 1968, and grades

¹²Time, 10 November, 1957.

¹³Jackson, "A History of School Desegregation," 145, #14, 241.

¹⁴Allen Morris, comp., *The Florida Handbook, 1933-1994* (Tallahassee, Peninsular Publishing, 1993), 342-45.

¹⁵US Civil Rights Act, 1964 Title VI, 42 USC, 2000d-2000d-7, available from <http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/coord/titlevistat.htm>; accessed 15 February, 2003. See David R. Colburn, "Florida's Governors Confront the *Brown* Decision: A Case Study of the Constitutional Politics of School Desegregation," in Kermit L. Hall and James W. Ely, eds., *An Uncertain Tradition: Constitutionalism and the History of the South* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 326-355.

10, 11, and 12 in 1969.¹⁶ Even though the Board now faced the possibility of stiff Federal intervention for delaying school integration, it felt confident that an attenuated plan would both placate federal authorities and satisfy the black community. The Board miscalculated on both accounts.

On 4 August, 1964, John H. Blalock, in tandem with the local and national NAACP, filed suit in the Federal District Court in Tampa, asking for an injunction enjoining the Lee County Board of Public Instruction from continuing its policy, practice, custom, and usage of a bi-racial school system for its 11,576 white students and its 2,583 black students.¹⁷ *Rosalind Blalock, et al. v. the Board of Public Instruction of Lee County, Florida, et al.* argued that Lee County's dual system resulted in forced segregation of its diverse student population, "acting under color of the authority ... of the state of Florida ... on a racially segregated basis ... provided by the Florida Pupil Assignment Law. . . ."¹⁸

On 1 September, 1965, all parties reached a tentative accelerated desegregation plan, which presumably would satisfy the goals of *Blalock* and place the County in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.¹⁹ Token staff and student integration was to begin in August, 1965. Since no black teachers were assigned to white schools, the NAACP challenged the county on this practice.²⁰ The NAACP argued that Lee County continued to maintain a dual system through its attendance zones and had not proceeded in good faith with a district-wide desegregation plan that affected by 1966 the integration of only twenty-six children in a district with nearly 16,000.²¹

As with the previous plan, the School board's revised plans from 1966 through 1968 did not accelerate Lee County's school desegregation to the satisfaction of the US Justice Department and the local and state NAACP.²² Lee County still had identifiably all-black schools and all-black or all-white faculty and fewer than 4 percent of the county's black children attended integrated schools (787 out of 3,369 black students). The presiding judge then ordered the county to formulate a new desegregation plan.²³

The Board filed a motion to amend the court's findings, but was denied the appeal on 9 June, 1969.²⁴ The Board then considered appealing the case to higher courts, but its attorney counseled that such an appeal would prove futile. Moreover, the Board's attorneys determined that the county could face penalties for an unsuccessful appeal.²⁵ It had finally become apparent to the Board and its counsel that the state could not provide further justification for delay and that the power of the Federal government could not be

¹⁶Stone and Carter, *The First One Hundred Years*, 77; "School Board Moves to Kill Integration Suit," Fort Myers News-Press, 23 October, 1964.

¹⁷*Blalock v. Lee County Board of Public Instruction Civil Action 64-168-T* (1964); see Jackson, "A History of School Segregation," 149.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹"Defendants Compliance With Final Decree," 1 September, 1966, *Blalock v. Lee County*; "Court Rejects Lee's Plan on Integration," Fort Myers News-Press, 11 February, 1965.

²⁰"District Court Suit Filed Asking Lee County School Desegregation Speed Up," Fort Myers News-Press, 27 July, 1966; "Motion for Further Relief," 25 July, 1966, *Blalock v. Lee County*.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²"Switch in Integration Plan to Be Sought," Fort Myers News-Press, 13 December, 1968.

²³"Order by Judge Lieb," 12 February, 1969, *Blalock v. Lee County*.

²⁴"Order Denying Defendant's Motion for Amendment," 9 June, 1969," *Ibid.*

²⁵Fort Myers News-Press, 11 June, 1969; Minutes, 16 June, 1969; "Board Considers Appeal in Desegregation Case," Fort Myers News-Press, 13 August, 1969.

circumvented. The local board now submitted a plan for total integration on 31 December, 1969.²⁶ After a decade and a half the Lee County School Board had accepted, however, unwillingly, the High Court's decision in *Brown*.

Conclusion

The eradication of dual school systems in Lee County, Florida came only after constant pressure applied by local citizens, the NAACP, the Federal Courts, and the US Department of Justice. For a decade, historical and newly-promulgated measures had worked to prevent desegregation in Lee County Schools. It took the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the *Blalock* case to move a recalcitrant board away from those state guidelines on segregation towards compliance with federal law and Court orders. It also took these Federally-supported measures to move Lee County to finally eschew the segregationist lessons of the past, which had so steadily trickled out of Tallahassee, to move into a modern era of compliance with the dictates of *Brown*. Viewed as a case study, the experience of Lee County, Florida reflects all too poignantly what it took to move Florida from a segregationist past to an integrationist present.

²⁶"Notice of Compliance," 31 December, 1969, *Blalock v. Lee County*. On 2 July, 1969, the school regulating authority in Lee County changed its official designation from Board of Public Instruction to District School Board of Lee County.

David Levy Yulee: Conflict and Continuity in Social Memory

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David Levy Yulee was one of nineteenth-century Florida's most enigmatic and distinguished leaders. Since his death in 1886, Floridians have chosen to remember different aspects of his remarkable life. Some communities have concentrated on his political career, especially his relationship with the Confederacy. Known notoriously by some as the "Florida fire-eater," he also led the state in secession from the Union and maintained contact with leading Confederate officials throughout the Civil War. Other communities have focused on his role in the Florida Railroad and land development. Yulee was among the first and most prominent real estate developers in the state and many north central Florida communities owe their existence to his cross-state railroad which was the state's most extensive railroad until the early twentieth century. Yulee's accomplishments are perhaps more noteworthy when considering his Jewish ancestry. Until recently, Floridian's collective memory had largely ignored this part of his life. These various perspectives of Yulee's life are harbored in the state's social memory and embodied in its public history.

Social memory, one of several interchangeable labels including historical and collective memory, can be defined as the public recollection of the past. It is the way in which communities choose to remember, and forget, events and figures important to them. From social memory communities build and strengthen their identity, or at least a part of the community's identity.¹ Oftentimes there is conflict over the vehicle of social memory, public history, because it perpetuates in concrete form one of several changing, and often competing, abstract ideas. Public displays of history solidify a perspective that is increasingly seen as immutable. Essentially, public history is a public display of power. This expression of dominance reinforces existing social and political hierarchies and beliefs while also projecting them onto future generations. Concurrently, while it emphasizes the attributes that one group within the community may value, it also suppresses the perspective and values of other groups. For example, in Natchez, Mississippi, "white" memory recollects an antebellum past of plantation luxury and loyal black slaves a past that simultaneously reinforced white authority in the existing power structure. Only with the Civil Rights Movement and increasing national attention were subordinated blacks able to promulgate their version of the past. These contesting memories, played out throughout the South, are redefining Natchez.²

Yulee should first be introduced in a brief biography before exploring how he was remembered after his death. David Levy Yulee was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands in

¹See William F. Brundage, ed., *Where These Memories Grow* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 1-24. Also, Susan A. Crane, "Writing the Individual Back Into Collective Memory," *American Historical Review* 102:5 (1997), 1372-1385; Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of a Method," *American Historical Review* 102:5 (1997), 1386-1403; David Paul Nord, "The Uses of Memory: An Introduction," *Journal of American History* 85:2 (1998), 409-410.

²Jack E. Davis, *Race Against Time: Culture and Separation in Natchez Since 1930* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

1810.³ His father, Moses Elias Levy, was a successful merchant and a practicing Jew who obtained a Spanish land grant in Alachua County, Florida in 1821. David was brought to Florida as a young child by his father before being sent to boarding school in Norfolk, Virginia. After returning to Florida Levy studied law under future Florida Territorial Governor Robert Reid (1839-1841) in Saint Augustine. By 1832 Levy was a lawyer and immediately became active in territorial politics. Under Reid's guidance he quickly rose in the ranks of the state's Democratic Party, serving as a territorial delegate from 1841 to 1845. Levy adamantly pushed for statehood and was at least partially responsible for drafting the state's first constitution. Upon Florida's admission into the Union on 3 March, 1845, Levy was promptly elected to the US Senate as one of the new state's first senators.

A year later, in 1846, Levy married Nannie Wickliffe, the daughter of former Kentucky Governor Charles A. Wickliffe (1839-1840). At this time Yulee also officially changed his last name from Levy to Yulee by an act of Florida Legislature.⁴ Following an unsuccessful re-election bid in 1851, Yulee began enacting his plans for a cross-state railroad.⁵ He had been formulating this plan for years and finally had the time to engage himself in it before returning to the Senate in 1855. With tensions increasing between the North and the South, Yulee championed states rights and viewed secession favorably when given a lack of alternatives. Under these circumstances he led the Southern walkout from the Senate in January 1861. Although maintaining close relations with several prominent Confederate leaders, including President Jefferson Davis, Yulee remained only unofficially involved with the Confederacy for the remainder of the war.

Yulee spent the war years tending his plantations and protecting his railroad. The Florida Railroad, Yulee's private enterprise, was completed just prior to the outbreak of hostilities, but only ran briefly before service was interrupted by the war. In 1862, Union forces captured Fernandina and Cedar Key, the railroad's terminal points while the Confederacy retained the bulk of the line between them. The Confederate government hoped to dismantle the usable rails and re-build tracks in other, more vital parts of the Confederacy, but Yulee fought this decision by acquiring an injunction against the state, a decision that saved the railroad but brought his Confederate loyalties into question.⁶

³The following brief biography comes primarily from Leon Huhner "David Levy Yulee, Florida's First Senator," in Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson, eds., *Jews in the South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1973). Other sources include Celeste H. Kavanaugh, *David Levy Yulee: A Man and His Vision* (Fernandina Beach, FL: Amelia Island Museum of History, 1995); Charles Wickliff Yulee, "Senator Yulee of Florida: A Biographical Sketch," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 2:1-2 (1909); Arthur W. Thompson, "David Yulee: A Study of Nineteenth Century American Thought and Enterprise" (Dissertation, Columbia University, 1954); Mills M. Lord, *David Levy Yulee: Statesman and Railroad Builder* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press), 1940.

⁴Much debate, beyond the scope of this paper, centers on the reasons for his name change. Adler suggests he changed his name to enhance his political career and rebuke his father while Mickler and Young Smith claim it was changed to pacify his wife and father-in-law who reportedly exclaimed "it's not that I fault your Jewish grandmother, it's just that I can't think of a son-in-law with a Jewish name." Joseph G. Adler, "The Public Career of Senator David Levy Yulee" (Dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1973), 39; Latrell E. Mickler, "Florida's First Senator," *Florida Living* (September, 1988), 11; Dorothy Young Smith, "David Levy Yulee," *Co-op Chatter* (March, 1972), 7.

⁵Mills M. Lord, *David Levy Yulee: Statesman and Railroad Builder* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1940); Frank W. Sweet, *Yulee's Railroad* (Palm Coast, FL: Backintyme, 2000).

⁶Characterizations of Yulee's allegiance to, and involvement with, the Confederacy have varied. For instance, Fairbanks assesses Yulee as "among the most radical of the southern leaders," and Cutler claims

Federal authorities did not question his allegiance, and in 1864 they attacked and burned his plantation near Homosassa, Florida. His family fled to "Cottonwood Plantation" in Archer, Florida where, in the waning days of the Civil War, Yulee assisted in the flight of Jefferson Davis's baggage train. As the war ground to a halt Levy was sent as part of a Florida delegation to petition for readmission into the Union, but was arrested in Gainesville, Florida, and imprisoned at Fort Pulaski, Georgia.⁷

After being pardoned in 1866, he concentrated exclusively on his railroad and the acquisition of property along the rail line. However, by 1877 the railroad was in dire financial straits and Yulee was forced to sell his majority share. He briefly retained an active role as a vice-president, but retired in 1881. He and his wife retreated to Washington, DC, where she died in 1886 and he, a year later, in 1887.

Consciously or not, recollections of David Levy Yulee permeate the memories of Floridians, proof of which can be found in public history throughout Florida. In the town of Yulee and throughout Levy County there are bridges and streets, buildings and residence halls, school plays and even lecture series that are named after him. More prominent than the references to his name are the museums, dedications, and monuments featuring Yulee that span Florida. These forms of public history are interpretive and provide a specific perspective of the individual favorable to at least a part of the community. In this sense the community's collective memories both define Yulee's legacy while simultaneously defining themselves.

Florida's recollections of Yulee reflect the conflicts and continuities inherent in social memory. His various contributions to Florida have been recognized by different groups of people since the middle of the nineteenth century, especially in the northern part of the state. Here, he has been remembered earliest and most often in the context of regional development and community building through the Florida Railroad. Place names like Levy County and Yulee recognize his impact on these locations and perpetuate his memory. Consistent rail traffic and the accompanying growth of communities linked to the railroad through the 1930s further ensured the maintenance of Yulee's legacy. The continuing physical presence of the tracks and railroad bed today hearkens to the pioneering days of many north Florida communities, thus keeping Yulee in the region's social memory.

Although first linked to the region through his railroad, the first public monuments recognizing Yulee were not related to his role in this capacity. The first interpretive monument honoring Yulee was commissioned in Archer at the site of his Civil War era "Cottonwood" plantation. Dedicated by the Kirby-Smith United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1932, it commemorated the flight of Jefferson Davis' baggage train

that "He was soon drawn into the debates on slavery and for fifteen years was one of the most ardent champions of the cause of the southern states." George R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida* (NY: J.J. Little and Co., 1898), 145; Harry G. Cutler, *History of Florida Past and Present*, (NY: Lewis Publishing Co., 1923), 2:365. Contrasting this description is that of Dye, who claims that Yulee was "not enthusiastic for the cause," and Cash, who states that Yulee was a follower of his party and not a leader. Thomas R. Dye, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Politics of Economic Development: A Case Study of Cedar Key, Florida" MA Thesis, Florida State University, 1992), 34; W.T. Cash, *The Story of Florida* (NY: American Historical Society, 1938), I:424.

⁷Incidentally, he remained confined there longer than anybody else in the former Confederacy except Jefferson Davis.

in the final days of the Civil War.⁸ In May, 1865, several Confederate officials, including President Jefferson Davis and Secretary of the Treasury Judah P. Benjamin, attempted to evade Federal troops in Florida. During this flight President Davis was captured, but his baggage train, laden with official documents and containing the slim remnants of the Confederate treasury, made it as far as Yulee's Cottonwood Plantation. There, Mrs. Yulee confirmed Davis's capture to the loyal Confederates who then conceived a plan to disperse and hide the money and important papers. Some of this baggage remained at Cottonwood until discovered by Union troops shortly after Yulee's arrest in Gainesville a few days later. Unlike the place names invoking his role as a land developer, the Cottonwood monument focuses exclusively on Yulee's association with the Confederacy. In fact the plaque is only peripherally concerned with Yulee, instead celebrating Cottonwood's importance in the final days of the Civil War. Although the episode of the flight of Davis's baggage train only briefly touched the site it continues to provide a direct link in the collective memories of north Floridians to the dying Confederacy and the emergence of the "Lost Cause" sentiment prevalent throughout the South since the Civil War, and still occasionally invoked.⁹

Similar to Cottonwood, the Yulee Sugar Mill Ruins and State Historic Site have been remembered in the context of the Confederacy.¹⁰ The mill is on a small parcel of the original 5,100 acre plantation which also contained Marguerita, Yulee's mansion as, "a show place of the Old South."¹¹ During the Civil War this plantation produced citrus fruits, cotton, and, of course, sugar which were then smuggled past Union blockaders to supply the beleaguered Confederacy. Well concealed in the dense forests surrounding the Homossassa River, "Marguerita" was finally discovered—or as some local residents recall, betrayed by a "traitorous slave,"—and destroyed by Federal troops in April, 1864.¹² Only the sugar mill remained largely undisturbed by the marauding Union soldiers before eventually falling into disrepair. Briefly owned by the Citrus County Federation of Women's Clubs, the ruins today are managed by the Florida Division of Parks and Recreation. Although there is currently no interpretive information around the ruins, its physical presence suggests an ambiguous meaning. Most noticeably, it serves a testament to the destruction of the Confederacy. But, as an enduring symbol of the "Old South," it also invokes the perseverance of identification with the "Lost Cause," a relationship that still resonates in the memories of many Floridians.

⁸A thorough description of the proceedings can be found in A.J. Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion* (reprint, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), 113-120. The United Daughters of the Confederacy and other women's clubs were largely responsible for disseminating "Old South" memories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. More info on the United Daughters of the Confederacy's role in shaping social memory can be found in Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003).

⁹David Anderson, "Down Memory Lane: Nostalgia for the Old South in Post-Civil War Plantation Reminiscences," *The Journal of Southern History* 71:1 (2005), 105-136.

¹⁰See Jerry Blizin, "David Levy Yulee, *The Unsung Pioneer*," a speech presented to the Citrus County Historical Society at Yulee State Park, 29 May, 1992; H. Maddox, speech delivered at Yulee Park, October 26, 1950; Florida Division of Recreation and Parks, *A Guide to Yulee Sugar Mill Historic Memorial*, 12 January, 1971 (BTS); Smith, "David Levy Yulee," 6-8.

¹¹H. Maddox, speech delivered at Yulee Park on 26 October, 1950, 4.

¹²Florida Division of Recreation and Parks, *A Guide to Yulee Sugar Mill Historic Memorial*, 12 January, 1971 (BTS).

The link between Yulee and the Confederacy, and the South in general, began changing during the social revolution of the 1960s. Concurrent with these social changes were the physical ones wrought by the "bulldozer revolution." Historians like C. Vann Woodward considered this the beginning of an "Americanization" of the region in terms of the decline of Jim Crow alongside burgeoning suburban populations of a modern and developed South that increasingly looked like the rest of the United States.¹³ These changes also began eroding open support for the "Lost Cause." North Florida, like many areas across the southern US, reassessed the manner in which it perceived, or at least broadcast, its local history. Rather than focusing on his Confederate ties, many north Florida communities recast Yulee in a different light. Recalling his importance in regional development, these communities remembered Yulee the railroad pioneer and community builder. While his impact on the development of these communities was not locally forgotten, this part of his life was not at the forefront of local public history.

Beginning in the late 1970s, several north Florida towns refocused their projections of Yulee in local memory. Among others, Archer heralded this newer representation of one of their town's heroes. Archer was established and correspondingly grew as a result of Yulee's Florida railroad, reaching its zenith of expansion around the turn of the century when railroad traffic was at its peak. Despite the centrality of the railroad to Archer's existence, the only public acknowledgment of Yulee's importance to the local community was the Cottonwood memorial. By 1977 the town chartered the Archer Historical Society which envisioned an alternate, and more inclusive, agenda for Archer's public historical representations. Claiming to "preserve and protect ... heritage ... [and] those things upon which our nation, our state, and our community were founded," as well as "promoting unity, friendship, and understanding among the citizens of our town," the Archer Historical Society began shifting the focus in the town's local representation of Yulee from Confederate to railroad pioneer and internal developer.¹⁴ Archer's historical society and local officials were assisted in their endeavor by the Florida Department of State/Division of Historical Resources who have an obvious interest in shaping the social memory of Florida's past. This task was completed by 1988 when the Archer Historical Society, in conjunction with state and local officials, placed a monument and opened a museum at the site of the old train depot. Now known as the Archer Railroad Museum, the small, single-room old depot building is dedicated almost entirely to Yulee, his railroad, and its centrality in Archer's history.

Yulee also figures prominently in Fernandina Beach's public history. In fact, Fernandina Beach was actually uprooted from its original location in anticipation of the coming railroad. The Amelia Island Museum of History opened in the early 1980s and honors Yulee as the father of Fernandina Beach. He is featured in one of the museum's show-case exhibits including original railroad documents, memorabilia, and early photographs of Yulee, Fernandina Beach, and the Florida Railroad.

The city of Fernandina Beach and the Florida Board of Parks and Historical Memorials first honored Yulee in 1961 by dedicating a monument to him symbolically located at the town's center near the railroad's starting point. Entitled "Florida's First

¹³C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 6.

¹⁴"Archer Historical Society Charter," 18 August, 1977. In Rance O. Braley, *Nineteenth Century Archer* (Archer, FL: Rance O. Braley and Archer Historical Society, 1988).

Atlantic to Gulf Coast Railroad," the monument suggests community pride in the result of Yulee's vision. Nearly forty years later, in 2000, the Florida Department of State and the Florida League of Cities, placed another plaque recognizing Yulee as a "Great Floridian." This plaque was placed adjacent to the first monument, on the city hall building. Nearby both of these memorials is a third plaque, undated and seemingly older than the first two, indicating the location of Yulee's former residence in Fernandina Beach which he occupied until the 1862 Federal invasion. In recalling the glory of the Old South's plantation lifestyle, this monument spoke for, and likely still speaks for, the element of the community attached to the "Old South" of legend.

Yulee is recognized regionally as well as by individual communities. Certainly the most elaborate regional recollection of him is during the "Yulee Railroad Days." Inaugurated by the Archer Historical Society in 1994, this event was initially a local festival in Archer, Florida. Since then it has expanded over much of north-central Florida in celebrating the construction of the railroad and its accompanying development. Beginning in 2003 "Yulee Railroad Days" began including a bicycle tour re-tracing the tracks' route. The intent is to physically connect all of the towns impacted by the railroad, from Fernandina Beach to Cedar Key, in a regional celebration by 2010, the 150th anniversary of the inaugural train's run.¹⁵ The contemporary physical connection between these towns provided by the "Railroad Days" celebration reinforces the historical connections rooted in the railroad.

While the regional memory is devoted nearly exclusively to his political and entrepreneurial background, Jews in Florida have been quick to claim him based on his religious descent and thereby assert their position in Florida's history. The MOSAIC project began in 1984 as "a pioneer history gathering project of the Florida Jewish experience."¹⁶ Originating in the Jewish Community Center in Plantation, Broward County, Florida, as a community history project, it quickly expanded to cover the entire state. By 1990 MOSAIC published a text and opened a traveling exhibit documenting Florida's Jewish history. The museum display toured statewide and nationally for the next four year exhibiting and collecting Jewish memorabilia before resting permanently in the current Jewish Museum of Florida in Miami Beach.

Yulee is proudly displayed as nineteenth-century Florida's most distinguished Jewish representative and the first Jewish Senator in the nation in this museum. In fact, the published counterpart to the exhibit, *MOSAIC: Jewish Life in Florida*, staunchly defends this position and the authors take great pains to refute Eli Evans claim for Judah P. Benjamin to carry this honor in Louisiana. According to the authors, in his 1988 biography of Benjamin, Evans incorrectly stated that Yulee had converted to Christianity in a bid to legitimate his contention that Benjamin was the first Jewish Senator. The authors point out that there is no documentation of his conversion in any records and that his contact with his father still revolved around his religious affiliation. Further, like Yulee, Benjamin married a gentile and even received the last rites, "at a final moment when he could no longer resist."¹⁷

¹⁵www.yuleerailroaddays.org (accessed 12 February, 2005).

¹⁶Rachel Heimovics and Marcia Zerivitz, *Florida Jewish Heritage Trail* (Tallahassee: Florida Dept. of State, 2000), introduction.

¹⁷Evans quoted in Henry Green, Marcia Zerivitz, and Rachel Heimovics, *MOSAIC: Jewish Life in Florida: A Documentary Exhibit from 1763 to the Present* (Miami: MOSAIC, 1991), fn 50.

Linking Yulee to Judaism and claiming him as the first Jewish senator in the United States is a point of pride for Florida Jewry.¹⁸ To assist these communities the state of Florida has taken an active role in strengthening Jewish connections with Florida. One byproduct of the MOSAIC project was the foundation of the *Jewish Heritage Trail* which was published through the Florida Department of State in the early 1990s. In promoting Florida's multicultural history, it represents the collaboration of Jewish communities, especially in south Florida, with state agencies. In its introduction, it speaks to, and in many respects for, "south Florida ... home to the second largest concentration of Jews in the world," and also, "the nation's third largest Jewish community, estimated in 1999 at 800,000." Its express purpose is to expose the public "to the rich legacy of the Jewish community in Florida," and to dismiss the perception "that Jews did not arrive until World War II."¹⁹

Ironically, much of Florida's contemporary Jewish population is composed of recent immigrants, primarily from the northeast and including many senior citizens, who have only arrived en masse since the middle of the twentieth century. Relocating to Florida broke long established ties with their large Jewish communities in the North. Re-establishing residence in Florida also meant establishing new connections with the burgeoning Jewish communities of Tampa, Miami, and West Palm Beach. These communities bound themselves to Florida by basking in any triumph of Florida's Jewish heritage. Yulee was far and away the most prominent Floridian associated with Judaism and his importance in Florida's earliest history made him a key link to the past. In this context it is no surprise that these more recent arrivals have claimed him as one of their own, and especially in south Florida where the public has little previous recollection of Yulee. Tying themselves to Florida's past, these more recent Jewish immigrants have used Yulee to legitimate their presence. And by adopting Yulee, these communities have imprinted their image of him into Florida's social memory.²⁰

Contesting the public expressions over the memory of Yulee is another and less discernible black voice among the louder and more powerful white ones. It speaks of Yulee as a slave-owner and ardent defender of slavery. Yulee's railroad, like much of the South, was built on the back of slave labor. Likewise, his plantations were built and maintained by slaves. Yulee has only rarely been affiliated with slavery in historical narratives, and when he has, it has been in the context of the pleasant and paternalistic relations between planters and slaves evinced by the nostalgic "Lost Cause" myth.²¹ Only recently has the role of slave labor in the construction of the railroad even been

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 10. Unlike those historians who claim the title "Yulee" was Moorish in origin, the Jewish Heritage Trail authors asserts that he added the appendage to honor his Sephardic ancestry.

¹⁹Heimovics and Zerivitz, *Florida Jewish Heritage Trail*, introduction.

²⁰Leonard Rogoff, *Homelands: Southern Jewish Identity in Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2001), 308, 313.

²¹Brale, *Nineteenth Century Archrr*, 9. Using extant sources, Braley describes the "loyalty and service" of one slave who, nevertheless, still had to be feared because "he will never abandon the hope of freedom." Moreover, as an expression of gratitude, Yulee supposedly gave another emancipated slave, Uncle Pauldo, his slave horn. Braley writes that this horn was later given to the Kirby-Smith United Daughters of the Confederacy, a fact they could not confirm.

acknowledged.²² None of the public history displayed in any of north Florida's communities recalls this feature of his life.

Florida's collective memory, embodied in its public history, has imagined David Levy Yulee in various ways since the end of the nineteenth century. For the first half of the twentieth century Yulee was publicly remembered mostly for his support of the Confederacy, a relationship maintained in the memories of local residents through the demarcation of his former plantations and associated antebellum "Old South" lifestyle. However, this "Lost Cause" sentiment has receded, though certainly not disappeared, from the public foreground since the social upheavals of the 1960s and the simultaneous waves of northern immigration into the state. Replacing the image of Yulee the southern planter is a more widely acceptable image of Yulee the entrepreneur and railroad developer. North Florida communities have always remembered Yulee through the railroad, but public recognition of him in this context has been limited to the last forty years. At the same time, Yulee has also been increasingly recognized publicly as a Jew. This representation not only assists the relatively new Jewish communities in binding themselves to the state's history, but also recalls a multicultural past that accepted, and continues to accept, diversity with tolerance. Symbolized in the quasi-permanence of the monuments dedicated in his honor, David Levy Yulee remains engrained in Florida's historical memory. While different facets of Yulee's life have been promoted, repressed, or ignored, Floridians memory of him as an important man in their state's history has never faded.

²²There is no indication of the use of slave labor in Sweet, *Yulee's Railroad*. However, the current "Yulee Railroad Days" website (www.yuleerailroaddays.org), as well as the Archer Historical Society website (www.afn.org), both acknowledge the use of slave labor in the railroad's construction (accessed 12 February, 2005).

