SUBMISSION, STRENGTH AND PURPOSE
ORAL HISTORIES OF WOMEN IN SHELBY COUNTY, ALABAMA
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MAY 28, 1986

In 1977 the Alabama Historical Commission gave grants to eleven counties in Alabama for oral history projects. Shelby County was one of the counties to receive a grant. In 1977-78, oral histories were collected by two interviewers, one male and one female, both with degrees in history. These interviewers were hired by the Historical Commission under C. E. T. A. grants, but worked under the auspices of Shelby County Historical Society. Copies of these tapes are now housed at the Shelby County Archives, 1854 Courthouse, Columbiana, and the Alabama Archives in Montgomery. The interviews were conducted mainly with elderly white men and women. (I found taped interviews with one black man and one black woman, both done in the presence of whites that were lifelong acquaintances.)

This paper is compiled from interviews with women who were born between 1890 and 1910. They were all born in Shelby or neighboring counties had lived most of their lives in that area. The women came from predominantly rural backgrounds, but their fathers' occupations right from large landowners, blacksmiths, and mine workers to small formers. Although some were from educated families, none were from elitist families or southern aristocracy. Not all of the women interviewed Mary, but of the ones who had married, all had been widowed at the time of their interviews, and none had remarried. All of the women still live in the County and most of them live in their early home places.

Since I did not conduct any of the interviews I must rely upon questions asked by those who did. Intimate subject, such as sexual relations, were not explored, and what is gleaned about deeper philosophies is gained from voluntary statements from these women. The fascination of felt it listening to the interviews with this women was the retrospective view of their lives as a single thread woven with poultry to their families. They did not relate their lives as a series of trials and errors nor did they relate what might have been with a view that they could have changed things, but saw life as singularity of purpose. The decisions that they made were seen as ethical choices made because of life circumstances, and they adhere to those decisions without fretting about alternate options. As Shirley Abbott said in her book, Womenfolks: Growing up Down South," they knew how to make do in harsh circumstances... they maintained a stubborn equilibrium, they gritted their teeth and more selfless, made sacrifices and gave in." This paper will focus on the attitudes of these women in areas of family, race relations, courtship, education and work.

Before the Civil War, Shelby County have been steadily advancing economically and was on its way to developing it rich mineral resources which equaled those in the Jefferson County area. The war in General Wilson's raid through the county stymied mineral development, and Shelby County maintained an isolated rural image until the 1960's. Shelby County is large county of 819 square miles. In 1930, the total area was considered rural, with a population per square mile of 33.7 people. The county population in 1890 was 20,886, and in 1940 the population had grown to 28,963. In 1900 the total population of the county was 23,684 of which 16,684 classified as white and 7004 as Negro. In 1910 of a total population of 26,949, 19,308 were white and 7641 were Negro. From the interviews it is apparent that change in this rural county was made slowly, and the pivotal influence of the automobile in society was years behind the urban areas because of poor road conditions which made the automobile and impractical. Therefore, the Victorian influence lingered longer in the lives of these early twentieth century Shelby County women and, along with isolated economically depressed conditions, help mold the singular attitudes of this women.
The lives of each of the women were centered close to home and family and individual obligations of every member to work at home and do their part was understood. Maurine Lee, for example, was born in Chilton County in 1902 and moved to Pelham in Shelby County in 1913. Her mother had died and her father had married again, but his new wife did not like the children, so he moved with his children to Pelham and established a blacksmith shop. Maurine relates that "since I was the oldest child and a daughter it is my responsibility to keep the house. I stood a box and washed dishes and took care of my younger brothers and sisters." Clara Dunaway of North Shelby County area started even younger. Clara was the oldest girl of nine children and began caring for her little siblings when she was three." I can look back now and know that it could have been bad for a three year old to be responsible for babies, but I only had an accident once. Mama told me to rock the baby in his cradle on the front porch while she went to the field to help Papa. I figured that if I tried a string on the cradle I could get out in the yard and play is still rock the baby, but I got to playing in rock the cradle so hard that brother dumped right out of the cradle onto the porch." Her mother did not punish her, (she did not say how her mother learned of the accident) but simply told her not to do that again," and of course," Clara added," you just did not do what they told you not to." Bertie Griffin, whose grandfather came to Shelby County around 1820 and settled in an area between Maylene and Montevallo, said that she did anything on the form except plow" because Samuel and did not understand each other." Jesse Ozley said that she helped her mother cook and keep the kitchen, and it was also her job to pick cotton and her father's fields." Although it did not bother my sister, it embarrassed me somewhat pick cotton." Her father fields were next to the railroad track and every time a train went by she would lay down in the cotton row until it went by so that people would not see her. She resumed picking when the train passed by. Jesse credited her father's assignation of chores to saving her from a tornado that hit Pelham in the early Twentieth Century. "I walked home from school for lunch and Daddy said, ' Jess, I want to stay home this afternoon and picked up sweet potatoes.' Well, that afternoon a tornado hit the school and when I went to see it all that was left was the floor in mind this, in my books were still in it." The Head sisters of Wilton, whose father had hired help, and sons to help on the farm, said that there chores were more household. The main chore being, each day, to trim the wicks and clean the chimneys of all the lamps. Patsy Chancellor of Harpersville also had brothers, and A father who was affluent enough to have help in the fields and in the house, "but my mother made me learn to do everything in the house. She told me,' Pats, you may not always be fortunate enough to have help, and when that time comes you must know how to do things." Each of these women remember their fathers as being good men who were protective of their families and work toward. For example, the Head sisters said money was always short on the farm," and then he did whatever he had to do to make a living for his family of six children. He bought and sold goods, contracted cotton, and farmed." Bertie Griffin said her father raced cotton until the boll weevil came, after that a truck farmed and worked in the top house of the mines, and had a sawmill on his place." My parents were so good to me. I do appreciate what they did," said Bertie. Clara Dunaway said her father was" one of the best looking and nicest man she had ever known." He hauled coal when he wasn't farming to make a living for his nine children. These women's father seemed to be a dominant presence in their homes, even if he wishes directing chores. If these women were away from home, and anything critical happened they felt compelled to return to help, as in the case of Patsy Chancellor. Her father had allowed her to go away to Athens College in North Alabama to train to be a piano teacher. While she was there, her youngest brother, 15, was killed by a mule." I went home immediately," she said," and I never went back to school anymore." Bertie Griffin was staying in Helena with an older sister after she finished the tenth grade, she was working in the Esco's store, but she said," my little sister's health to was bad and I was needed at home so I went back home to stay." Going back home to stay wasn't just something that they did when they were young, but something that they did over and over again in the course of their lives.
The subject of "Negroes" was introduced in every taped interview and was spoken of briefly, or Atlantic, according to the influence of black people have on their lives. In the early twentieth century most of the Negroes in Shelby County still lived and worked in the general vicinity of their forebears who had been slaves, with the greatest concentration in the southern part of the county where the larger plantations had been. No fear was expressed of the "colored people" around whom these women had grown up, only affection. The only fears that were expressed were of strangers not known to the girls. The attitude was one of total acceptance of the separateness, but also realization that Negroes were, in some ways, mistreated. Relating an incident around 1900, France's Head said, "When we walked to Sunday School we had the past the Negro church. They were all very large to their church, and all were our good friends. We little girls would stop and socialize. Sometimes they took us in the door. We were very welcome. We had no feelings except respect, there were no feelings of comparison. We simply accepted the difference in their way of life." When Frances' father moved his family from Bibb to Shelby County in 1907 he brought many of the blacks that had descended from his father slaves, and many still live in Montevallo. "We visited in their homes when we were girls, they entertained us and corrected us if we needed it. They gave us fried bread, and we carried their babies around," Frances related. Sarah Head remembers Dunk, a little black girl who was her only playmate after her older brothers and sisters went to school. "Dunk didn't get a doll for Christmas and I was very upset and I told my daddy. He said Santa Claus had told him to get Dunk a doll for Christmas. I insisted that he do it right then, so we hitched up the buggy and went to Montevallo. One of the merchants opened up his store for us and we picked out a doll for Dunk." Bertie Griffin remembers only one black family sharecropping on their farm. All the others were white." The family's name was Collins", said Bertie" and they have three boys and one girl, and after a while they moved off to alabaster with the widow still lives. Her husband had built her a nice brick home before he died."" One of the first books I read," said Bertie, "was Uncle Tom's Cabin and I cried, I did, I cried, and I have had sympathy with colored people ever since. I am so glad that they have better educational opportunities now. That's what they needed." The head sisters related that their father was elected to the school board and found out about the lack of education for blacks. "When the money was allocated, he asked,' what about the Negro schools in the area? 'The other members told him,' we've used the money, there isn't any left for the Negro schools.' Her father told them that wasn't right." There were also no buses for black students after the county started running buses only for white students.

Clara Dunaway had to go to work in the Sulurria Mills to make ends meet when her children were small, but always had a unit from a woman who helped her with the children and with our washing. However, an incident with a strange black man made her quit and go back home. "I had to go to work early and my husband had to go out and milk the cows, so there was a period in the morning when the children were left alone. A strange Negro man came to the door one morning and asked the little boy if his daddy had a pig to sell. My son said,' fees out yonder, he'll be back in a minute.' Then the man asked him where his mom once, he said she'll be right back.' The man said,' you live in, your mama and daddy are not here and you children are all alone.' My son told the man to jail down the road, he thought they had a pig to sale. The man did leave, but my son went and got his daddy's shotgun and loaded both barrels. When I find out about it, I said, 'son, what would you have done if the man had come back?' He said, ' mama, I wouldn't had no choice. I would've stood right there in the doorway and unloaded both barrels on him.'" Well," Clara continued," I went to work the next day, but all I could think about was them younguns. I went to the foreman and said,' I get to home.' He said,' Why, Clara? What's the matter?' I told him,' am worried about my children and they come first,' so I went home and stayed." The paternalistic relationship with blacks on Patsy Chancellor told home place remain the same for many years. Patty's grandfather owned 1000 acres, a ferry across the Coosa River, and sixty slaves. A slave named Sue was her grandfather's cook, and Sue son, Tosh, was a driver. Tosh was 10 or 11 when the war ended, and he stayed on the Chancellor's farm, or nearby, and raised a large family of children.
Tosh's son, Tot, lived on the chance for reform and helped Ms. Patsy after all her brothers and sisters had that. Tot Chancellor died in 1985 in his. In the Wilsonville Cemetery. In relating her relationship with blacks, she said, "My mother always told me to be nice to Negroes, and all the Negroes on a place were good people. I used to go down to the barn and listen to them sing. They would all gather down there and sing and dance, and was it beautiful. Poppa never would allow Negroes to live together on our place that were married. When they get ready, they would come to Papa and said, "Mr. Isaac, we want to get married," and Poppa would get the buggy and taken to the Justice of the Peace. There was one girl that had a beautiful wedding though. She had a long white dress and music and the preacher. She was beautiful and her parents were high-class Negroes." Ms. Patsy is still to this day out of touch with the changes in race relations except for the fact that it's hard for her to get help, and at 86 she does it herself, or just doesn't do it.

The head sisters, in spite of the close relationship growing up with blacks, said that they were always taught that a black man who raped a white woman if he get a chance (a strange black man, of course). They remembered the day they went to Montevallo with their father "And the streets had been swept clean looking for a black man that had raped a white woman." The search continued until they decided that the problem was a domestic squabble with a white family, and they gave up looking for "the black man." Carrie Head remembered when the boll weevil caused massive migration of Negroes from the black belt north through Montevallo to industrial Birmingham are Bessemer, or on to Ohio or Michigan. "They would come through hoboing on the trains. Some trainmen would look the other way, but some would not be so nice."

Most women said they did not know of any activities of the Ku Klux Klan, but Clara Dunaway of Pelham remembered two incidents. When she was newly married, she and her husband had gone to a baseball game in Calera, and in the middle of beginning a bunch of men on horses with white robes and tall white hats, came filing on the field. They just stayed there, and made their horses paw the ground. Clerk told her husband to take her home, and he did. The most amazing story that Clara told was a more recent one that took place at the Pelham Methodist church in the early 1960s after the Civil Rights movement began. The church had a younger preacher that worked closely with the youth groups. The youths were interested in what was going on. They asked the preacher to invite a black preacher from a neighboring congregation, and some young black people, over only Sunday night to talk to them about their side of the Civil Rights issue. The preacher talked with some of the older members of the congregation about it, including Clara. "He said of course he would not do it unless the parents of the young people approved and he also invited me and another lady to sit in on the discussion. That preacher was a fine young man and he did talk to the parents about it. Well, somehow the talk got around, and the next Sunday night when he was up preaching the door of the church flew open and we heard this awful stomping of the and the Ku Klux Klan came right down the aisle in the middle of services. One of them went up and cost a dollar bill in the collection plate. The preacher said,' we don't want your filthy money,' and went in for the dollar bill in half. You wouldn't believe how scared people were. People were falling to her knees and shaking and trembling and crying. They didn't know what was going to happen. They didn't scare me, they just made me mad. When they left I turned all the way around in my seat to see if I recognized any of them. I could tell that one was a real young man, but I didn't know any of them. They said they always come from another neighborhood, you know. Anyway, one of them reported to the FBI that the preacher was tearing up government property (the money). Well, the FBI man came out there and told the preacher not to worry, that they had investigated him thoroughly and knew that he was a nice young man."

The amount of education that these young women received depended upon how much they can get and still stay reasonably close to home and family. The only county high school was in the county seat of Columbiana. There was also a private girls' school in Montevallo and call the Girls' industrial School, and later Alabama College. Parents of some of these women would not allow them to continue
their education for the fear that they would have to work with men, but perhaps this fear was not that they would work with men, but that they would get too far away from their families. In each of the cases the girls went as far in school as their parents allowed them and didn't question the decision to quit.

Jesse Osley and Maurine Lee went as far as Pelham school as they could go (eighth grade). "I had an opportunity to go to Montevallo," relates Jesse, "but my mother said, 'no siree, none of my girls are going to college. They are going to work in the office with a man.'" Clara Dunaway, another North Shelby girl walked three miles to a one room school close to Acton. "We had one teacher, benches and a long blackboard covered the whole wall one time the school put on a three act play in my older brother was in it. I sat and listened to them practice and learned the whole play, every line of the three acts. I've always had a good memory. The teacher knew I had learned it when someone would forget their lines, the teacher would say, "tell them, Clara, tell them what their line is.' I didn't get to go to high school. I had to stay home and help Mother, but I learned as much in the time I was there as children do now graduating from high school." Bertie Griffin's father did not let her go away to high school, but he paid the local one-room schoolteacher to keep teaching her. Space" I went to Cedar Grove School. It went through the eighth grade, but Papa paid the teacher to keep teaching me she didn't have to do that, and I didn't appreciate it. Her name is Ms. Trikey Kinsler, and she is still living there Montevallo. I called her up one time and told her how much I appreciated that she told me all the way through the 10th grade."

The Head sisters and Patsy Chancellor were able to get more education, but still with stipulations. It was Patsy's father who told her that he did not want her to work in an office with men. She decided, because of our love for music, that she wanted to be a piano teacher. Space" I was hoping to go across the waters because that was the best education you could get in music at that time, but Athens College was as far away as Papa would let me go." This trip in the higher education was cut short when her younger brother was killed, but the amount of education she got still enabled her to get her teachers certificate.

The father and mother of the Head Sisters did care about their children's education, and made two moves to see that they got a better one. However, they were still concerned about what the girls did with their education, and kept them close to home. “My father moved us to Shelby County from Bibb County,” said Francis Head Cleveland, “because Mr. Fricks, the teacher of the one-room schoolhouse and Bibb County, was just ignorant. My parents rarely criticized the educators in front of us, but Mr. Fricks was just plain stupid. He had somehow sold the men in the community of Antioch a bill of goods and they hired him. It was hard to move over rough roads and wagons in my old grandmother and grandfather came, too, but it was education that brought us to Shelby County." When the generals were high school age, their father moved the family from the farm in Wilton to a house in Montevallo, and the girls attended the all girls’ college at Montevallo. Their brothers went off to college at Auburn and Tuscaloosa because her sister said "they had an ambitious mother behind them." Generals could enter the Girls’ Industrial School or Alabama College even if they had not been to high school by passing an entrance exam. Frances head entered the college in 1909 when she was 15.

All the women seem to have quick minds, and the ones who cannot get higher educations kept learning from reading. Clara Dunaway had a medical book that she read from cover to cover. Space" You could learn anything from that book. It helped me raise my children. When they were babies there were no other people living on the mountain where we live, and I would have to walk to miles to get help. When there was an emergency with the children, like the time my daughter ate arsenic, I just had to Dr. them myself from what I’ve learned in my medical book, and they did all right."

Courting and marriage were faced with the same attitude by these women as the other areas of their lives. A double standard was firmly in place from 1890 to 1920. Space" after the Civil War," Ellen Rothman relates in her book, Hands and Hearts,” the female sex retained its corner own moral purity, but male impurity assumed the proportions of a grave social problem... And the great masses of literature, ”there were... two points of view." One said the men were bestial, but could improve; the
other said that he couldn't help himself. Parents sounded the warning to their dollars, but the girls understood that this warning did not extend to their own fathers, brothers, preachers, teachers or beaus, only two men in general. Like their attitudes toward the Negroes, the woman in the interviews understood it was unknown men that were to be feared. Indeed the women in these interviews had an abundance of admiration and respect for their fathers, mothers, and husbands in spite of dire admonitions about men. For example, Jessie Osley said her mother "had us scared to death of the man or a boy," said Jessie, but that didn't keep us from going with one." Indeed it didn't keep Jessie from deciding upon one and waiting for him six years. "I always knew the one I liked and wanted to be with. His sister lived in Pelham and I had to walk by her house on the way to the Post Office. The first time I saw him he had come from Saginaw to help his brother-in-law. He was standing in the front yard with his legs rolled up above his calves. I was 13 and he was 17 and said to myself, 'That's the man I'm going to marry.' A friend of mine to introduce us, and Richard said I'm going to the protracted meeting at Indian Springs tonight. How about going with me, 'so I did and we rated with a bunch of people in the back of a hay wagon to the meeting. That was five years before we married. I remember well that I said, That's the man I'm going to marry.' He wasn't able to afford a horse so when he came to see me he had to ride the train from Saginaw to Pelham, but mostly we wrote letters. I remember the day he bought me my ring. I was 17. I would not wear for a long time because I was embarrassed to let mother know I'm planning to marry." Jesse finally did begin wearing the ring in the next two years she spent helping her mother and father at home, and making her trousseau in preparation for her husband. "I had the most beautiful trousseau you ever did see. I made all monitoreed things with crochet, lace and medallions. I wish I had saved them, they were also beautiful." The six years of preparation for one man with good – looking legs paid off. When Jessie was 19 Richard came for. “He had started working for the railroad,” said Jessie, “and by that time (1914) there were three cars in Shelby County. He paid Mr. Payne, who had one of the three, to come and get me. Then we drove to the letter to the justice of the peace to get married.” Richard died in the 1930s and left Jessie with seven children she never remarried.

It happened similarly to Clara Dunaway, but her husband at the choosing. “I never studied boys,” said Clara. “My mama told me she would let me know when I get old enough to go with boys. She never did let me know. We just didn't do things like that, but I know my husband all my life. He lived on one mountain, and I lived on another. Our parents knew each other. One day when I was 15 or 16 he came across the mountain and saw me. He told somebody that he was going to marry me. He told me later that he had told his friend 'that's going to be my wife.' I said 'you didn't know that I never thought about a boy.' We went together eight years. We have three beautiful children, the law first one died because I was in labor so long. I should've been in the hospital, but I wasn't so she died. She was a beautiful baby. I can see her today as clearly as I could the day she was born. My other children were born a year apart. My little boy went to school, his sister wanted to go too. The teacher said 'let her come on' even though she wasn't old enough. They went all the way to school together." Some of Bertie Griffin's fondest memories when she was young was going to the skating rink in holiness, but when they turned it into a dance hall that left her out. "I wanted to learn to dance is the mama didn't approve and I respected her in that," said Bertie, “but I was the only girl in Shelby County lucky enough to have a car to drive. Danny Ball the one in 1922, he had already bought one brother one. I'm married in 1928. My husband and I could brain tumor when my oldest child was 13 and my youngest was three. He had gone blind and lost most of his mind." Bertie never remarried.

Maurine Lee married when she was 19 and they went to live with his mother. "She was as good to me," said Maurine, "as good as my own mother could've been." In 1927 Maurine's husband inherited from an aunt the house on Lee Street in Pelham that Maurine still lives in today. "My husband was a good husband and a good father. Men died young because they work so hard, and of course a lot of them drank, but my husband was a good man. I've had a good life."
All the love and protection that Patsy Chancellor's father gave her could not help her with the problem that she faced as a young married girl, but having a secure home to return to did help. Patsy married a boy that had come home from World War I. They went to live in Bessemer where they allowed married teachers to teach. But her husband had been gassed in the war began to lose his mind. He would suddenly try the choke her, or hold a gun to her head for hours. Other times he would be fine, but she was advised that living with him was dangerous, and that she must put him away. The only place for him to go was a veteran's place in New Orleans, so she got on the train and took him there. When Brice's Hospital opened in Tuscaloosa she was told to come get him and put him in Brices, which she did, via train. "I went back home to Harpersville, but Shelby County wouldn't let married women teach, so I have to get a divorce in order to teach. I never dated any more, maybe I should have but I figured that I had not been successful the first time and I wouldn't try again."

The Head sisters remember the lack of boys when they were in school at Alabama College. When a boy walked across campus the girls ran to the windows to look out. "One of the girls would say, 'I smell a boy,' but an activity with a boy own campus was strictly forbidden" Sarah remembers her first crush was on the picture of a baseball team. "I went to every game." "You dare not hold a boy's hand," said Sarah. "I had a wild friend is smoked in a bottle at school, and I was scared to death she is going to get caught." Frances did marry a man with the unlikely name of Grover Cleveland returned home after his death.

All the women in the interview student finally have a working career, but none worked in an "office with me and" in the conventional sense. Most work out of necessity. They learn to work hard and be loyal to family when they were young and when expediency demanded it they work to earn money for themselves and their families. When Jesse Osley's husband died she started selling insurance door-to-door. She began selling in the black neighborhoods because they would buy, and she had to get her confidence up. "I sold for the Emergency Aid Insurance Company out of Elba. It was Jim Folsom's company and the Negroes liked him. If I told them it was Jim Folsom's company they would buy. I worked five different counties door-to-door. I never could drive so I hired a lady to drive for me. Then I had a job, and she had a job. It was Pat Gray's mother hired to drive. She was a Saluria of girl. I never had any trouble. I was always respected in my job. I'm still an agent. I still have my license." Patsy Chancellor Graham taught in the Shelby County School system for 40 years until her retirement in the 1960s. The Bertie Griffin went to work as a clerk in a store in Alabaster after her husband died, and worked for twenty years. When Sarah head was a college in Montevallo she wasn't interested in teaching, but she became very interested in the plight of the mill workers in Saluria. "I wanted to be a social worker, but mama said that was no work for a lady, so I got a teacher certificate. I taught for four years and then I became a social worker." Sarah, the youngest of the Head sisters, may have been part of a new generation.

Maurine Lee still lives in her house in Pelham where she is been since 1927. The Head sisters are living on their father form and will and are still fairly active, the older sister over 90. Patsy Chancellor is 85 and still living on the family farm in Harpersville. She bought herself a new car last year because she "doesn't want to be stuck out here without a good car to drive." These interviews were not chosen deliberately; they were picked at random. The similarities in their strength and loyalty were striking. Their early training in our work and family loyalty served them well. They were idealists with purpose. They lived in a world both isolated and insulated, but the love of your family gave them the confidence that served them in crisis. They were worlds apart from the present generation. As Shirley Abbott said of her ancestresses, "I am not like them. Yet I am of them, mindful of their legacy wherever I go."
WORKS CITED


ENDNOTES

1. The Last Campaign, A Calvaryman's Journal, p. 634. "Remained in At Montevallo until 12:30 PM waiting for the command to come Up, as the enemy was found to be in force. An expedition under the command of Colonel Benteen was sent out and destroyed rolling mills and factories, six and all.


3. Chapman, p. 10, Table 2.
5. Frances Head Cleveland, oral history interview, Shelby County Alabama Historical Commission, 1978. “I can remember when the road from Wilton to Montevallo was one long bog of mud. Our buggy stayed in the shop every day because of the roads.”
6. This author did extensive research on slavery and Shelby County with the 1850 slaves and white census. The majority of slaves were concentrated in South Shelby County in the Coosa Valley and Montevallo areas. The largest slaveholders were James Scott Harpersville, who owned 89 slaves, and Samuel Wallace of Harpersville with 82. The ever slaveholders in North Shelby and County on two or three slaves.
7. 1850 U.S. Census of Shelby County, Alabama, slave inhabitants, microfilm Birmingham Public Library, Main Branch, Southern room.
8. If she is still living, she would be a wonderful interview.
10. Rothman, p. 185.