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“A Monument to the Progress of the Race”: The Intellectual and Political Origins of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, 1865-1887

by Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr.

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University entered the twenty-first Century as the nation's largest historically black college or university and, in doing so, it continued to fulfill its principal historical mission by producing more minority educators-to-be than any other institution in the United States. These facts may catch many Floridians unaware; yet the context within which FAMU managed to accomplish its teacher education mission, having virtually disappeared from our collective consciousness, may offer even greater surprises. The tale involves threads of history drawn from abolitionist professors at Oberlin College; military schools at Hampton, Virginia; the farsighted vision of Florida's only Reconstruction-era cabinet officer and the first African American elected to the United States Congress; tense rivalries between competing communities; bitter clashes regarding opposing educational philosophies; Redemptionist accommodation; and a bountiful supply of individuals of remarkable talent and education, who yearned to keep alive the phenomenal educational triumph that Reconstruction had worked upon the state of

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Florida. Previously untold in detail, the story provides the foundation for an understanding of FAMU's unique institutional character and of its distinctive liberal arts approach to teacher education.¹

The public education system out of which FAMU's predecessor institution, the State Normal School for Colored Students, evolved in 1887 traced its own roots to the years that immediately preceded and followed the Civil War's end. Given that no true state public education system existed prior to 1869, the work of various northern relief and missionary organizations—particularly the American Missionary Association—and the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands proved crucial to affording early educational opportunities to those freed by emancipation. These organizations and the Freedmen's Bureau often acted independently, but sometimes worked cooperatively, to guarantee school facilities and the teachers to labor within them.²

1. *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, 19 June 2005. On the history of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, see Leedell W. Neyland's excellent *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University: A Centennial History—1877-1987* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1987). The principal sources available for the history of the Reconstruction and Redemption periods in Florida include Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1965); Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, Fla., 1974); Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976).
2. On the origins of Florida's public school system and schooling within the state for African Americans, see Nita Katherin Pyburn, *The History of the Development of a Single System of Education in Florida, 1822-1903* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1954); J. Irving E. Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1974); Joe M. Richardson, "Christian Abolitionism: The American Missionary and the Florida Negro," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (April 1986): 35-44; idem, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (Athens, Ga., 1986); Frederick Bruce Rosen, "The Development of Negro Education in Florida During Reconstruction, 1865-1877" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1974); Janet Snyder Matthews, "The African American Experience in Southwest Florida and the Origins of Dunbar High School in Fort Myers, 1841 to 1927" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1999); Sheryl Marie Howie, "State Politics and the Fate of African American Public School in Florida, 1863-1900" (Master's thesis, University of Florida, 2004); Laura Wallis Wakefield, "'Set a Light in a Dark Place': Teachers of Freedmen in Florida, 1864-1874," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81 (spring 2003): 401-17. For an excellent study of the origins of African American education generally, see Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill, 2005).

Although any number of educational institutions arose as a result of initiatives undertaken by volunteer organizations or the Freedmen's Bureau, four particularly came to prominence within the state that would play significant roles in the series of events that led to the State Normal School's creation. Gainesville's Union Academy, perhaps the first of the four to function on an organized basis, grew out of the endeavors of Catherine Bent. A white woman from Massachusetts, she represented the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York (NFRA), itself a cooperative effort of the American Missionary Association and the Congregational Church. By late 1867 a board of trustees had coalesced under Freedmen's Bureau supervision. With that agency's support, the board erected a suitable building likely modeled upon plans found in *A Manual on School-Houses and Cottages for the People of the South*, written by Florida's school superintendent C. Thurston Chase and published in 1868. Nearly 180 pupils attended classes there by January 1870.³

Less than forty miles to the south at Ocala, a school that would become Howard Academy operated by 1866. Also benefiting at first from NFRA teachers, it quickly attracted popular support within the African American community. Leaders such as Samuel Small, the founding minister of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church and a future county officer and state legislator, urged "fellow freedmen to avail themselves of education and to use their freedom with moderation and providence." Clearly many local parents took the advice. The school prospered, especially when, in the mid-1870s, black principal William J. Simmons took over the institution. Reportedly, by 1877 at least one hundred students studied under his tutelage. To Simmons may go the credit for naming the institution. While a student at Howard University from 1871 to 1873 he had struggled financially. Among those who helped him, Simmons later recorded, was college president Oliver Otis Howard, a former Union army general who had served in Florida during the Third Seminole War of 1855-1858. As Simmons noted,

3. Murray D. Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (October 1986), 165-169; Maxine D. Jones and Kevin M. McCarthy, *African Americans in Florida* (Sarasota, Fla., 1993), 45.

"[Howard] showed him many kindnesses during and after college days."⁴

Beyond its impact at Gainesville and Ocala, Howard's Freeman's Bureau also deserved credit for erecting the first building for Tallahassee's Lincoln Academy. That event occurred in 1869 and, given the cost of \$5,500, the structure stood out as one of the state's premier educational facilities. More so than at Gainesville or Ocala, Lincoln's earliest years witnessed African American educators taking active roles in setting policy as well as teaching. To some extent this fact resulted from the service of African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Presiding Elder Charles H. Pearce as Leon County's superintendent of schools. Pearce not only strove to implement his church's aggressive support for public education, he also brought to the state a number of highly capable teachers. Among these Mary E.C. Day (later Smith) stood out. An 1866 graduate of Professor Charles L. Reason's normal or teacher training school in New York City, Day labored mightily and well to bring the benefits of education and religion to her students. "To say that she is an earnest, indefatigable Christian worker," a friend explained, "is the smallest meed we can offer her." Sadly for Day and others, Lincoln burned in January 1872, and its students and teachers remained without an equivalent school building for the next four years.⁵

4. *The Struggle for Survival: A Partial History of the Negroes of Marion County, 1865 to 1976* (Ocala, Fla., 1977), 8, 27-28, 36; Howie, "State Politics," 17; Kevin McCarthy, *Black Florida* (New York, 1995), 210-11; *Marion County History* (Ocala, Fla., 1997), 55; George Patterson McKinney and Richard I. McKinney, *History of Black Baptists of Florida, 1850-1985* (Miami, Fla., 1987), 78-79; Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1934* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1998), 126; idem, *Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* (Baton Rouge, La., 1997), 70, 95-96; William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent Progressive and Rising* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1887), 45.
5. Altamese Barnes and Debra Herman, *African American Education in Leon County: Emancipation Through Desegregation, 1863-1968* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1997), 1-16; Tina Gaynor, "Tallahassee's Lincoln Academy for African American Children: Its Post-Civil War Origins and Evolution" (undergraduate seminar paper, Florida A&M University, 2004), 5-12 (xerox copy in collection of the authors); Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865-1895* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 34-35, 39, 40-41, 52, 56-59; Charles Sumner Long, *History of the A.M.E. Church in Florida* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1939), 192; Shirletta J. Kinchen, "Edward Waters College, 1890-1901: The Experience of Pioneering Women Educators," *AME Church Review* 120 (July-Sept. 2004), 31-32; Daria Willis Joseph, "Mary E.C. Day Smith: An Intimate Portrait of a Pioneering Black Educator and AME Minister in Post-Civil War Florida," *AME Church Review* 121 (July-Sept. 2005) 12-14.

The fourth of the schools, Jacksonville's Stanton Institute, dated its beginnings to 1868, when a board of trustees organized with Freedmen's Bureau assistance. A superb building resulted the following year. This came, in part, thanks to the support of an associate supreme court justice and future governor, Ossian B. Hart, who sold the trustees a city block located immediately across the street from his own home upon which to build the school. At its April 1869 dedication, Hart declared that "the fundamental laws of equality [are] fixed forever; that the colored people [have] aided in fixing these principles; [and that] they should be the basis of all school laws, securing to the children of all classes equality of educational rights and privileges." According to one account, "He spoke at length upon the necessity of patient perseverance, and of making great sacrifices for the education of the children." Chief Justice Edwin M. Randall, a trustee and Hart friend, pointed out the special intentions that lay behind Stanton's creation. "It was open for the education and training of all," he asserted, "and not, as had been said, for the colored children alone." Randall continued, "It was the first of the kind, but they would soon be found all over the State."⁶

Stanton's special mission extended in the eyes of men such as Hart and Randall more broadly than a simple pioneering of racially integrated education because they envisioned the school as serving a purpose similar to that for which the State Normal School ultimately would be created in 1887. Particularly, they and Stanton's other backers were determined to train black men and women to teach and to do so within a highly professional atmosphere. Each of the principal Freedmen's Bureau schools—particularly those at Gainesville, Ocala, and Tallahassee—aimed to prepare black educators, but within limits. As an AME churchman later would remark of Lincoln, "The school was established . . . to . . . better prepare teachers for the schools of the immediate county." Stanton, on the other hand, embraced a

6. *Program for Benefit Piano Fund, Stanton High School, and Brief History of School, December 3 and 4, 1917* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1917), 5 (in collection of Peter L. Dearing, Jacksonville; xerographic copy in collection of the authors); Brown, *Ossian Bingley Hart*, 226; "The Stanton Normal Institute," undated *Jacksonville Florida Union* clipping c. April 1869, in Records of the Education Division, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1871, M-803, roll 19, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



Stanton Institute, Jacksonville Florida. Image courtesy of James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (1982)

wider scope. Governor Harrison Reed acknowledged the fact at the school's dedication. "We meet here to-day," he observed, "to dedicate the first edifice erected in the State of Florida, for a Normal School, for the education of teachers for freedmen." An 1873 visitor made the point even more clearly. "[Stanton's] large

and commodious school house was . . . designed," he insisted, "to be used for a Colored normal school for the whole state." The school building reflected that promise. "The edifice is the largest for school purposes in the State," a reporter exulted, "and is undoubtedly one of the most perfect structures of the kind ever erected." In line with its purpose, the school adopted as its official name the Stanton Normal Institute.⁷

As it turned out, Stanton achieved impressive results but failed to reach its intended goals. In 1869 white parents refused to send their children to school alongside African American children. Black parents, on the other hand, understood Stanton's potential and quickly grasped the opportunity. "The colored people themselves, taking pride in the handsome edifice which had been erected for their special use, hastened to avail themselves of the benefits," the *Jacksonville Florida Union* informed its readers in July. "Between three and four hundred scholars were soon enrolled as members of the 'Institute,'" its reporter added, "and these were graded as nearly as possible according to age and advancement." Experienced northern teachers aided the process. Initially Catherine Bent, formerly of Gainesville's Union Academy, led the mostly white faculty, although Mary Still, another of Charles H. Pearce's AME protégés, pioneered involvement by black teachers. Significantly, by late 1869 the Williams sisters of Massachusetts had taken over from Bent, bringing with them to Jacksonville a committed perspective. Lucelia E. and P.A. Williams most recently had taught in Virginia, where they had helped to organize the Normal Department at the new Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (later Hampton University). Founded in 1868 by one-time Union officer Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton's program combined reliance upon physical labor with religion and academics, stressing all the while a vocational—as opposed to a classical liberal arts—approach to education. Lucelia, as principal adopted a similar stance during the seven years that the sisters remained at Stanton. In the process and in light of the state's subsequent disinterest in furthering Stanton's intended mission, any sense of a statewide teacher training mission for Stanton disappeared. "It is now

7. *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, 9 July 1885; "The Stanton Normal Insitute": *New York Christian Advocate*, 6 March 1873.

occupied as a local school for colored pupils," an 1873 visitor explained, "and seems to be very successfully operating."⁸

Note should be taken before passing along to events occurring in the aftermath of Stanton's failure that the agency of black parents in sending their children to these schools stands out across the chasm of succeeding generations. In many southern areas, including some Florida locales, violence compounded white resentments at black education. The Freedmen's Bureau's general superintendent for education J.W. Alvord highlighted what he referred to as "this time of fearful political excitement." Vigilantes and bushwackers during the period killed or wounded teachers and students in various incidents across the region. One teacher left Florida after six bullets pierced the walls of her home one night. "Whites in Alachua County," historian Jerrell H. Shofner reported, "assaulted a Negro school where northern white teachers insisted on the right to have their students sing the patriotic 'Rally 'Round the Flag.'" A white teacher at Marianna endured harassment simply for holding night classes, while at nearby Campbelltown local whites "hooted" a teacher out of town merely for attempting to start a freedmen's school. In his analysis of the regional situation, Joe M. Richardson noted, "Students were intimidated, stoned, and had their books stolen." In addition, he continued, "School buildings were vandalized and occasionally burned." The courage to assert and to persevere came at a price potentially great indeed.⁹

Meanwhile, Stanton's failure to fulfill its intended mission served as context for other efforts to provide teacher education, but the initiatives involved church-sponsored rather than nonsec-

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8. "Stanton Normal School Commencement Exercises," undated *Jacksonville Florida Union* clipping, c. July 1869, in Records of the Education Division, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1871, M-803, roll 19; Long, *History of the A.M.E. Church in Florida*, 187; "Miss Lucelia E. Williams," *American Missionary* 50 (March 1896), 89; *New York Christian Advocate*, 6 March 1873. On the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, see, for example, Mary Frances Armstrong, Helen W. Ludlow, and Thomas P. Fenner, *Hampton and Its Students. By Two of Its Teachers* (New York, 1874); Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1999).
 9. J. W. Alvord, *Letters from the South Relating to the Condition of Freedmen* (Washington, D.C., 1870), 20; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 75-76; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 213-220. On the subject of white resentment to black education, see also Williams, *Self-Taught*.

tarian schooling. Northern Methodists combined at Jacksonville in early 1872, for instance, to establish under the aegis of Reverend Samuel B. Darnell what became Cookman Institute. Named for the Reverend Alfred Cookman, a white Methodist minister whose donation permitted the construction of the first building, the school formally had organized by late spring 1873 "with reference to the management and success of manual labor schools" such as Hampton. A teacher training component complemented the curriculum, however, with students often teaching in local schools "to keep up with their classes" financially. Cookman catered to approximately one hundred students by the late 1870s, but, as Darnell reported in 1877, "our limited resources have compelled us to make necessary accommodations with the most rigid economy." Growth, accordingly, came sparingly.¹⁰

At virtually the same time, the AME Church and Florida's black Baptists acted, as well, to found institutions of "higher learning." Both denominations centered upon Live Oak for their setting because the town served as Florida's railroad link to the north. While Baptist leaders, such as Tallahassee's James Page and Ocala's Samuel Small, had commenced planning a school by the early 1870s, not until 1880 did the Florida Institute, a predecessor institution of today's Florida Memorial College, open for students. The Reverend Joseph Leroy Atwood Fish, a graduate of Amherst College and the Newton Theological Institution, guided the school's fortunes for its first decade.¹¹

Meanwhile, the AME Church enjoyed more immediate, but less durable, success. Cornerstone-laying ceremonies for Brown's Theological Seminary, named for AME bishop John Mifflin Brown, took place in July 1872. On that occasion Florida's first black cabinet officer Secretary of State Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs, a

10. *New York Christian Advocate*, 12 June 1873; *Atlanta Methodist Advocate*, 8 January 1873; *Tenth Annual Report, Freedmen's Aid Society of the M.E. Church* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1878), 34, 36; John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster, *Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers: The Transformation of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1999), 80-81; Jay S. Stowell, *Methodist Adventures in Negro Education* (New York, 1922), 77.

11. Robert L. McKinney, "American Baptists and Black Education in Florida," *American Baptist Quarterly* 11 (December 1992), 311; McKinney and McKinney, *History of the Black Baptists of Florida*, 50-55; Larry E. Rivers, "Baptist Minister James Page: Alternatives for African American Leadership in Post-Civil War Florida," 51, in *Florida's Heritage of Diversity: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor*, ed. by Mark I. Greenberg, William Warren Rogers, and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tallahassee, Fla., 1997).

graduate of Dartmouth College and Princeton Theological Seminary, stressed that "education [is] paramount to all other considerations." Congressman Josiah Thomas Walls, an African American Civil War veteran, insisted that "the institute would give birth to men who would become prominent and control the events of the state after the founders and patrons present had passed away." The institutional vision to which they addressed their remarks reached far beyond that of an AME seminary, a fact suggested by a rapid evolution in name to Brown's Theological and Classical Institute and, in early 1873, Brown's University of the State of Florida. "We have nothing narrow or exclusive in our plan," one church father explained. "We have no prejudices of caste or color, all will be freely admitted into our institution, whatever their profession or their race." The school's charter meanwhile delineated a mission "to teach theology and the Classics without excluding such studies as tend to promote a liberal and complete education of its students." The grand concept unfortunately met an abrupt end. A white financial officer stole the school's funds, and Brown's University soon shuttered its doors. Not until the establishment of Edward Waters College in the late 1880s and early 1890s did the AME Church's hopes for higher education in Florida begin to come to fruition.¹²

Real need for teacher training underlay a sense of urgency attached to the founding of Cookman Institute, the Florida Institute, and Brown's University. The AME Church, acting in cooperation with the black Baptists and African American legislators, had succeeded during 1869 in implementing a provision of Florida's 1868 constitution providing for a public school system. AME minister Robert Meacham, serving as state senator from Jefferson County, had spearheaded the measure's passage, but senators Charles H. Pearce and Josiah T. Walls, among others, had labored with him. In the house of representatives Walls's

12. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 6 July 1872; *New York Evening Post*, 3 April 1873; Long, *History of the A. M. E. Church in Florida*, 87-92; Rivers and Brown, *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, 68-69, 79-81, 86-89, 91-92, 96, 99-100, 107-108, 174-76. On Jonathan C. Gibbs, see Joe M. Richardson, "Jonathan C. Gibbs: Florida's Only Negro Cabinet Member," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (April 1964): 363-68; Learotha Williams, "'A Wider Field of Usefulness': The Life and Times of Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs, c. 1828-1874" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 2003). On Josiah Thomas Walls, see Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976).



Josiah Thomas Walls. *Image courtesy of Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

friend Henry S. Harmon of Gainesville and other black Civil War veterans without close ties to any denomination had joined to force the bill's passage. By the time the Reverend Charles Beecher, brother of writer Harriet Beecher Stowe, had assumed

office as state school superintendent in March 1871, 250 schools held 7,500 students. Another 200 schools seemingly had appeared by fall 1872.¹³

The 1872 gubernatorial election revealed that Florida's commitment to public schooling likely would expand significantly in the years to come. Eventual winner Ossian B. Hart had accepted the Republican nomination pledging "the continued education of all the children of the State." On the campaign trail he had underscored sentiments that he had expressed previously that summer at the Brown's Theological Seminary dedication. "Thank God," he exclaimed at one point, "300 free schools and 14,000 pupils in place of none, and more coming all the time." The party's platform adhered closely to his position. "It is the duty of the state to provide for the education of all," it proclaimed, "by providing and supporting a liberal system of common schools, endorsing and sustaining colleges, and by placing within the reach of all the people without discrimination on account of race or color, the means of obtaining at least a thorough common school education." At his January 1873 inauguration, Hart reiterated the theme. On that occasion he promised "to stimulate education until it shall, as it ought to, be universally known as one of the first necessities."¹⁴

To implement his educational plans, Governor Hart turned during his first weeks in office to Jonathan C. Gibbs, appointing him as Florida's superintendent of public instruction. The gifted educator acted with dispatch to further the work. The progress tallied thereafter during the administration's first half-year merited an invitation for Gibbs to address the National Education Association at its annual meeting held on August 7 at Elmira, New York. Gibbs acknowledged the substantial work remaining to be done but also trumpeted Florida's accomplishments in creating 500 public schools that served 18,000 pupils. "Our great want is competent teachers," he indicated, "and we

13. Howie, "State Politics," 30-34; Foster and Foster, *Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers*, 76-79; Canter Brown, Jr., "'Where are now the hopes I cherished?' The Life and Times of Robert Meacham," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990), 12-13; Klingman, *Josiah T. Walls*, 27; Darius Young, "Florida's Pioneer African American Attorneys During Post Civil-War Florida" (master's thesis, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, 2005), 36-38.

14. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 6 July, 24 August, 7 September 1872; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 7 January 1873.

are compelled in many instances to use material that under more favorable circumstances would be rejected at sight." He praised "the colored Methodists and Baptists [for taking] preliminary steps to establish two institutions of learning for the training of religious teachers"; yet, he looked to the creation of other "colleges and universities" that were "free to all classes of our citizens without distinction of race or color." Gibbs asked, "How are we to have good common schools in Florida without these higher institutions?" He closed with the assertion: "No amount of effort expended, no amount of money applied, no amount of talent and genius called into exercise, can so surely bring peace, good will, and prosperity to the South, as that amount of effort, money, and talent expended for the education of the whole people of the South, without reference to race, color or previous condition."¹⁵

The excitement generated by Gibbs's achievements with Hart's support appeared evident in the governor's 1874 report to the legislature. "Florida has cause to rejoice greatly that we now have numerous public free schools . . . increasing in numbers and efficiency, open to all the children of the State alike," he declared. "To a large majority of the people, who never saw such a thing before reconstruction, this great blessed fact is ever new and delightful," Hart continued. "Our system is working well." The governor then heaped praise upon Gibbs. "The Superintendent of Public Instruction is very earnest and efficient in his work, and the teachers and officers of the schools in the counties are generally progressing satisfactorily," he added. The governor concluded, "The school facilities need extending more and more as rapidly as possible, and we feel confident that this most important matter will not be neglected."¹⁶

The excitement also found its reflection in the state's enhanced attractiveness to well educated and highly qualified African American educators. Howard Academy's Principal William J. Simmons offers an excellent example. A native of South Carolina, Simmons had soldiered in the Union army during the Civil War, thereafter attending a succession of colleges until he

15. Scott, *Education of Black People in Florida*, 134-36, 140-41; *American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1873* (New York, 1877), 294-95.

16. *Florida Senate Journal* (1874), 29.

graduated in 1873 from Howard University. Perhaps he learned of Florida opportunities on a brief sojourn to Arkansas after graduation. There, Jonathan C. Gibbs's brother Mifflin Gibbs, a graduate of Oberlin College's law department, presided at Little Rock as municipal judge. In any event, Simmons appeared on the scene at Ocala in September 1874. There, he developed a citrus grove, pursued activist Republican politics, and served as deputy clerk and county commissioner for Marion County, all the while guiding the course of Howard Academy. Greater accomplishments yet remained to Simmons. In 1879, presumably with encouragement from Ocala's Samuel Small, he received ordination as a Baptist minister and soon departed Florida to accept a pastorate at Louisville, Kentucky. Called to the presidency of Kentucky's Normal and Theological Institute (later State University) at Louisville in 1880, he subsequently edited the *American Baptist* newspaper and served the American National Baptist Convention as its president. Awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Wilberforce University in 1885, he issued within two years his respected volume *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising*. He died in 1890 as one of the nation's most-respected African American educators.¹⁷

Not all of the educators drawn to Florida during Gibbs's tenure as school superintendent departed, as did Simmons, following Reconstruction's end. Matthew McFarland Lewey had entered the world at Baltimore in 1844. A volunteer for Civil War fighting, he served in the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Infantry after May 1863. Severely wounded in late 1864, Lewey survived to pursue his bachelor's degree at Lincoln University. In 1872 he entered the law department at Howard University, where he remained for one year. A chance encounter with Congressman Josiah Walls resulted in an invitation to teach in Alachua County. At Newnansville, Lewey achieved admission to the Florida bar, presided as mayor, served as postmaster and justice of the peace, and raised Sea Island cotton. Relocating to

17. Simmons, *Men of Mark*, 39-49; A.W. Pegues, *Our Baptist Ministers and Schools* (Springfield, Mass., 1892), 439-49; *Diamond Jubilee of the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky: The Story of Seventy-five Years of the Association and Four Years of Convention Activities* (Louisville, Ky., 1943), 29-32; Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction* (New York, N.Y., 1993), 84-85.

Gainesville in 1881, he headed Union Academy for a term before gaining election to the Florida House of Representatives. A few years afterward, he founded the *Florida Sentinel* newspaper which he published at Gainesville, Pensacola, and Jacksonville. Lewey served two terms as president of the National Negro Press Association and for years headed the Florida State Negro Business League. He died in Florida in 1933, at the age of eighty-four, shortly after publishing the forty-eighth anniversary edition of the *Sentinel*.¹⁸

Events in the early 1870s also had begun to inspire at least some black Floridians to pursue higher education outside the state at a number of the nation's finest schools. To cite one example, Jonathan C. Gibbs's son Thomas Van Renssalaer Gibbs studied at Howard University before accepting an 1872 appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point. Small in physical stature, young Gibbs found himself unable to compete outside the classroom. He left the military academy in January 1873 but, by the following year, had opted to attend Oberlin College. The famed center of abolitionist sentiment had emerged as a model for interracial living. While religiously based, the school offered a broad curriculum that permitted a deep grounding in the liberal arts, plus a network of contacts that extended throughout the nation and its most-active intellectual circles. William Sanders Scarborough, who studied at Oberlin while Gibbs resided there, remembered being most impressed by "its strong religious spirit and the marked strength of character of various prominent personalities." Mary Church followed several years later, finding no hint of discrimination and managing to establish close friendships "among the white girls." A family crisis, as will be seen, prompted Gibbs to depart Oberlin for Florida prior to graduation, but his education and connections quickly secured him the position of principal of Jacksonville's

18. Leedell W. Neyland, *Twelve Black Floridians* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1970), 7-14; Frank Lincoln Mather, *Who's Who of the Colored Race, Vol. I, 1915* (Chicago, 1915), 176; I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (Springfield, Mass., 1891), 170-73; Jerrell H. Shofner, "Florida," 97-100, in *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979*, ed. by Henry Lewis Suggs (Westport, Conn., 1983). On Matthew M. Lewey and the Negro Business League, see David H. Jackson, Jr., "Booker T. Washington's Tour of the Sunshine State, March 1912," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81 (winter 2003): 254-78.

Oakland School beginning in 1875. He retained the position for a decade.¹⁹

As events proved, the educational goals articulated by Ossian B. Hart and Jonathan C. Gibbs in good part died aborning. During 1874 both men passed away suddenly, taking with them the dynamic spirit that had permitted Floridians to ponder new possibilities and to consider abandoning old ways. The public school system continued to grow, but a guiding spirit forged from a sense of inevitability no longer served to lead. Meanwhile, political turmoil ruled the day. Other than for a state agricultural college and seminaries at Tallahassee and Gainesville that "people . . . have allowed . . . to fall into disuse as state institutions," no "colleges and universities" for public teacher training received the state's blessings. Hopes of racially integrated public schooling ebbed away, too. Representative of the times, in 1875 black leaders at Tallahassee—including Henry S. Harmon, Charles H. Pearce, and State Senator John Wallace, a Civil War veteran and close friend of Congressman Walls—appealed merely for a portion of the meager funds available to the West Florida Seminary "to make the provisions necessary to give our children the benefits they are entitled to." The local Democratic newspaper advised, "Haste is not necessary."²⁰

Ironically for the black schools at Tallahassee and Jacksonville, the state leadership ebb resulted in a reinvigorated local situation. Leon County assumed responsibility for Lincoln Academy, for instance, expending \$8,000 for a substantial school building to replace the one that had burned in 1872. Mary E.C. Day had shepherded the school through its homeless days, but Henry S.

19. *New York Freeman*, 11 April 1885; *Savannah Morning News*, 25 January 1873; Johnson, *Along This Way*, 58; "Thomas V. Gibbs" in "Addendum to the 'Catalogue and Record of Colored Students,' 1852-99," Minority Student Records, RG 5/4/3, Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio; Francis P. Weisenburger, "William Sanders Scarborough: Early Life and Years at Wilberforce," *Ohio History* 71 (October 1962), 213; W. E. Bigglestone, "Oberlin College and the Negro Student, 1865-1940," *Journal of Negro History* 56 (July 1971), 199. For more on Oberlin College, see Cally L. Waite, *Permission to Remain Among Us: Education for Blacks in Oberlin, Ohio, 1880-1914* (Westport, Conn., 2003); William Gay Ballantine, *Oberlin College: Oberlin Jubilee, 1833-1883* (Oberlin, Ohio, 1883).

20. Brown, *Ossian Bingley Hart*, 294-96; *Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Florida Union*, 18 August 1874; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 6 July 1875; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1874* (New York, 1877), 102; Howie, "State Politics," 38-42.

Harmon emerged as principal in the new structure. The state's first African American attorney and a former legislator and clerk of the Florida House of Representatives, he had studied at Philadelphia's well-regarded Institute for Colored Youth. Thanks to allocations from the Peabody Fund that reflected increased support from that philanthropic source for normal schools, Lincoln enjoyed a nine-month term. After the state's political "Redemption" in January 1877, however, Democratic policy essentially mandated replacement of black principals with white ones. Harmon lost his job as a result. "The colored school in this city is making only very measured progress," a visitor noted in 1878, "in the charge of a southern white man as principal." A similar situation then prevailed at Union Academy. "This year there has been quite a contest about it in Gainesville," the same visitor noted, "but notwithstanding the stern opposition shown by our people, the Board of Education in that place persisted in placing a white man in the colored school as principal, with the determination that he shall remain his time out and be paid accordingly, whether our people send a single scholar or not." He added, "The result is that, where there ought to be about 200 pupils attending that school, there are only 15."²¹

Stanton Institute, because it did not form a part of the Duval County school system until 1882, managed to resist the trend toward white control and, in fact, moved away from it. In early 1876 its board of trustees handed the principalship to the Reverend James Cornelius Waters, an AME minister and Lincoln University graduate. At Stanton, as one biographer noted, "he successfully maintained a high grade school of more than four hundred pupils." One of Waters's students, James Weldon Johnson, recalled him as "a well-educated man and an eloquent speaker." Johnson continued, "I regarded him with awe, and could not have imagined a worse stroke of fate than to be called upon before him." Whether through the administration of discipline, from classroom teaching or from example, Waters touched his charges deeply. "It was, of course, infinitely far from my knowledge," Johnson admitted, "that J.C. was making a set of impressions on my mind against the time when I should stand in his place as the head

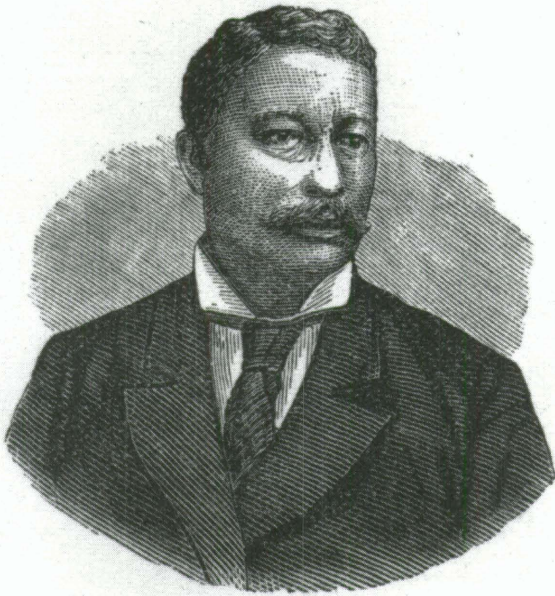
21. Gaynor, "Tallahassee's Lincoln Academy," 11-14; Young, "Florida's Pioneer African American Attorneys," 39-40, 51-52; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, 28 November 1878; Pyburn, *History*, 119.

of Stanton; impressions that would come back fresh and constrain me either to follow or avoid his example." The AME Church transferred Waters to South Carolina after five years at Stanton and in Jacksonville, charging him with responsibility for establishing what became Allen University. As president of Allen in 1882, he received from his alma mater Lincoln University the distinction of a Doctor of Divinity degree.²²

A few advances such as those at Lincoln and Stanton could not hide from Florida's black leaders the new political reality that confronted the state beginning in 1877, and the reaction of most differed from those of a few. The few consisted of three men with close ties to now-former congressman Josiah T. Walls—William U. Saunders, Peter W. Bryant, and John Willis Menard—who took it upon themselves in March 1877 to call upon newly seated Republican president Rutherford B. Hayes to request assurances that his "policy of reconciliation" toward southern whites "would work in the best interest of all." Although the three comprised an unofficial delegation, they possessed credentials of a formidable nature. Saunders, a Baltimore native and Civil War veteran with strong ties in national Republican circles, had moved to Florida on behalf of the National Republican Committee in 1867. He sat as a delegate in the state constitutional convention the following year, eventually establishing political and personal ties with Walls that, by 1874, embraced a law partnership that also included Henry S. Harmon. Peter B. Bryant meanwhile stood out as one of the state party's most promising young men. Anchored at Tampa and Key West, he personally had nominated Ossian B. Hart for governor in 1872. He and Walls had come to know each other not only through politics but also through the state militia, where Major Bryant served on the staff of Brigadier General Walls. In 1876 Bryant, who eventually would graduate from Howard University Law Department, had represented Florida as a delegate to the Republican National Convention.²³

22. John R. Scott to Joseph E. Lee, 8 January 1876, Box 2, Joseph E. Lee Papers, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; Benjamin W. Arnett, *The Budget: Containing Biographical Sketches, Quadrennial and Annual Reports of the General Officers of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Dayton, Ohio, 1884), 18-19; Johnson, *Along This Way*, 35-36.

23. *Tampa Sunland Tribune*, 31 March 1877; *Jacksonville Florida Union*, 9 November 1867; *Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Florida Union*, 30 June 1874; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 7 August 1875; Joe M. Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida*, 143-46, 153-57; Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 3, 12-13, 17, 19, 25, 29, 32, 57, 55, 95; Young,



J. Willis Menard

J. Willis Menard. Image from Menard, *Lays in Summer Lands*.

The third member of the 1877 delegation, John Willis Menard, merits particular consideration. An Illinois native and graduate of Iberia College, he possibly had enjoyed a personal relationship with Abraham Lincoln derived from their mutual pre-Civil War resi-

"Florida's Pioneer African American Attorneys," 46-47; *New York Globe*, 16 June 1883; *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, 13 June 1876; Canter Brown, Jr., and Barbara Gray Brown, *Family Records of the African American Pioneers of Tampa and Hillsborough County* (Tampa, Fla., 2003), 39-40.

dence in and near Springfield. More certainly, Lincoln's administration had drawn Menard to government employment in the nation's capital during the conflict, where he had involved himself in the president's schemes for colonization of freedmen. At New Orleans by the war's end, the eager young man had plunged into political life while editing a local newspaper. Voters there in 1868 elected him to the United States House of Representatives, affording Menard the distinction of having been the first African American so honored. The body refused to seat him, however, with some suggesting that race played a role in the decision. By 1871, in any event, Menard had relocated to Jacksonville where a post office position awaited him, although he soon re-established himself as a newspaperman. As he had in Louisiana, Menard once more launched into political life, serving in the Florida House of Representatives during Governor Hart's brief administration and, later, pursuing an unsuccessful bid for Congress against Josiah Walls. Changing circumstances had compelled the two men to salve their wounds by 1876, and they had initiated what was to become a close friendship and political alliance.²⁴

The temerity of these associates of Congressman Walls in meeting with the president on behalf of the state's African American community deeply distressed many of Florida's principal black leaders, none more so than Joseph E. Lee. A Philadelphia native born in 1849 and a graduate of the city's Institute for Colored Youth, Lee had furthered his education at the Howard University Law Department where he had developed a rapport with white Florida Congressman William J. Purman. An avid Republican regular, Lee had moved to Jacksonville at Purman's suggestion, practiced law, and pursued politics. In 1874 he had replaced John Willis Menard in the Florida house and, as a biographer noted, begun to consider himself "master of the situation." Although he later emerged as a leading AME minister, Lee's single-minded pursuit of goals polarized opinion. Matthew M. Lewey later heaped praise upon the man. "Mr. Lee has been a success from the start," Lewey opined, "no Negro in the South, since the

24. Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., "John Willis Menard and *Lays in Summer Lands*," 91-110. in John Willis Menard, *Lays in Summer Lands*, ed. By Larry Eugene Rivers, Richard Mathews, and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa, Fla., 2002); Thomas V. Gibbs, "John Willis Menard: The First Colored Congressman Elected," *A.M.E. Church Review* 3 (April 1887), 426-32; Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 60, 111, 127-29.

days of reconstruction has had thrust upon him more honor than Joseph E. Lee.” T. Thomas Fortune, a Jackson County native who knew Lee at Jacksonville as early as the 1870s, felt quite differently. “Mr. Lee’s method was to control the Negro and to so work with the white Republican leaders as to secure for himself the best Federal position in the State regardless of the interests of others,” Fortune recorded, “so that when he died the Negro in Florida had been frozen out of the public service, with the exception of himself.” Fortune concluded, “It would have been better for the Negro of Florida if Joseph E. Lee had remained in his Philadelphia home instead of carpet-bagging it in Florida.”²⁵

Personal rivalries of the type that grew between Joseph E. Lee and John Willis Menard were to play a crucial role in the decision-making process that led to the creation of the State Normal School and its placement at Tallahassee, but in 1877 the Lee-Menard rivalry underlay, at least partially, Lee’s May thirtieth call for the “colored men of this State” to “assemble in council at Tallahassee” on July fourth. State Senator Wallace, Newnansville mayor Lewey, recently deposed Lincoln Academy Principal Harmon, and numerous others attended. As Lee doubtlessly had hoped, the gathering denounced Menard for pursuing the meeting with Hayes and endorsed the president’s southern policy despite its aspects favorable to white conservatives. The assembly issued, as well, an address “to the colored people of the State of Florida” expressing guarded hope for the future but warning of the need for safeguarding families by land and home ownership, temperance, and education.²⁶

25. *Birmingham* (Eng.) *Good Templars’ Watchword*, 8 January 1879; Washington (D.C.) *Colored American*, 28 September 1901; *Pensacola Florida Sentinel*, 1904 Annual Edition; *Norfolk* (Va.) *Journal and Guide*, 12 November 1927. On Joseph E. Lee’s political career generally, see Gary B. Goodwin, “Joseph E. Lee of Jacksonville, 1880-1920: African American Political Leadership in Florida” (master’s thesis, Florida State University, 1996); Peter D. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party of Florida, 1867-1970* (Gainesville, Fla., 1984); Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley, Cal., 2005). On the careers in Florida of African American “carpetbaggers” from Pennsylvania, including Lee, see Larry E. Rivers, “‘He Treats His Fellow Man Properly’: Building Community in a Multi-Cultural Florida,” 111-26, in *Amid Political, Cultural and Civic Diversity: Building a Sense of Statewide Community in Florida*, ed. By Lance deHaven-Smith and David Colburn (Dubuque, Iowa, 1998).

26. *Savannah Morning News*, 21 June 1877; *Jacksonville Daily Sun & Press*, 8 July 1877; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 19 July 1877; *Jacksonville Weekly Florida Union*, 14 July 1877.

The assembly's educational goals appeared modest indeed, reflecting the general sense of frustration and loss of direction then felt within the leadership of the state's African American community. The address simply endorsed the benefits of "an elementary education" and lauded the public schools as "not merely charitable institutions." An education committee headed by Henry Harmon issued its own report adding detail. "Among the institutions of learning, none has challenged our admiration and emulation more than the Cookman Institute and Stanton School of Jacksonville," it observed," the former showing the truly christian efforts of Prof. S. B. Darnell, and the last the philanthropic feeling actuating Rev. J. C. Waters—and each harmonizing into glorious results for the future." The report continued, "We look upon the establishment of an Agricultural College in this State as the great industrial medium which is said to aid largely in the material development of our race, and recommend all to take advantage of its provisions." It concluded, "We hope the day is not far distant when the Seminary Fund of our State may be opened to the enjoyment of our race without the necessity of forcing its trustees to recognize our rights."²⁷

Among those unimpressed with such modest ambitions for education stood former Congressman Walls, and he already had acted to illustrate his sentiments. Out of congress in 1876, he had won back his old state senate seat representing Alachua County. During the legislature's opening days in January 1877, he had attempted to resign all his committee assignments save for the education committee. Rebuffed, he then had sponsored a resolution that empowered the education committee to "examine the manner in which the Public Schools have been conducted in the several counties." That motion carried, but his subsequent attempt to achieve enactment of a law requiring mandatory public education for all children between the ages of six and fifteen gained only one senate vote other than his own, that of John Wallace. The personal friendship existing between the Civil War veterans then had endured for perhaps thirteen or fourteen years. The historian Reginald Ellis has suggested that the two came to know each other during the war while taking classes at the army's Mary S. Peak School, a facility within Fortress Monroe near Hampton, Virginia.

27. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 10 July 1877; *Jacksonville Weekly Florida Union*, 14 July 1877.

Others of the veterans who attended the school there and later located in Florida came to know, along with Walls and Wallace, the Africa-born teacher Thomas De Saliers Tucker, who then was pursuing his bachelor's degree through Oberlin College. As will be seen, ties thus forged proved crucial in time to the founding of the State Normal School.²⁸

The ability of men such as Walls and Wallace to achieve educational innovations declined frustratingly in the years of the late 1870s and early 1880s when rule by the Bourbons, as conservative and business-oriented Democrats came to be called, entrenched itself on a statewide level. During this period, with the certainties of racial oppression to come remaining at present only possibilities, both political parties experienced stresses and, eventually, cracks. For a time, however, most black leaders clung to their traditional party even though many abandoned hopes for meaningful support from white Republicans. In December 1878 John Willis Menard voiced in the *New York Times* what many of his fellows had pondered by demanding, as Bess Beatty characterized it, "an end to black dependence on the northern Republicans." Increased emphasis resulted on supporting black candidates for higher office, with education often forming a centerpiece for campaign rhetoric. The ultimately unsuccessful 1880 congressional candidacy of AME minister George Washington Witherspoon, a one-time Gadsden County slave who had emerged as one of the state's most-influential political and religious figures, particularly highlighted this trend. At the Republican State Convention that year Menard, Wallace, and Harmon joined with Witherspoon in a typical manner to denounce the Democratic Party, in Menard's words, "[as] one of retrogression and persecution." Harmon elaborated in words that underscored their emphasis on educational concerns. A reporter quoted him in this manner: "Harmon . . . said that the Democrats had enacted no laws detrimental to any race—that they didn't need any laws, but acted independent and in defiance of all law—that they took away their schools, their liberty, their life—

28. Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 118-19; Reginald Ellis, "Nathan B. Young: Florida A&M College's Second President and His Relationships with White Public Officials," 155, in *Go Sound the Trumpet! Selections in Florida's African American History*, ed. By David H. Jackson, Jr., and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa, Fla., 2005); Robert F. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890* (New York, 2004), 36, 48.

robbed thousands of Republicans of the right to vote—that if the Republican party nominated a Devil, they would support and elect him.”²⁹

As political fortunes of African Americans continued to decline despite the exertions of those men who resisted the tide, educational aspirations suffered accordingly. Evidence of malaise appeared seemingly at every hand. During his last legislative session in 1879, for example, Senator Walls apparently just stopped attending. Walls biographer Peter D. Klingman explained. “With no clout left to him on any level,” he commented, “it made sense to retire.” The former congressman devoted most of his considerable energies to developing his Alachua County plantation. It became an agricultural showplace, and by 1885 his assets reportedly came to the very large sum of fifty thousand dollars.”³⁰

The declining fortunes of Stanton Institute meanwhile reflected ills witnessed increasingly on the education scene. After Principal J.C. Waters’s departure in 1881, the trustees turned to a well-meaning but inexperienced Presbyterian minister named Daniel Wallace Culp. Although a graduate of Biddle University and the Princeton Theological Seminary, Culp little understood at that early point in his career the dynamics of institutional leadership. “He was a poor teacher,” James Weldon Johnson recalled. “As an administrator he had no success.” Johnson continued, “The school got to be a sort of go-as-you-please institution, and many parents took their children out and sent them elsewhere.” Faced with a financial crisis, school trustees in 1882 surrendered Stanton and its independence to the Duval County school board. The next year serious problems gave way to calamity. In October an arsonist torched the school. “The fire burned so rapidly,” one account noted, “that the building was beyond salvation when the fire department reached it.”³¹

29. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders*, 76-84; *New York Times*, 9 December 1878; Bess Beatty, “John Willis Menard: A Progressive Black in Post-Civil War Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (October 1980), 130; Canter Brown, Jr., “George Washington Witherspoon: Florida’s Second Generation of Black Political Leadership,” *A.M.E. Church Review* 119 (January-March 2003), 66-70; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 18 May 1880.

30. Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 121, 124-25; *New York Freeman*, 28 February 1885.

31. Daniel W. Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature or Cyclopaedia of Thought on the Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro* (Toronto, Can., 1902), 9; Johnson, *Along This Way*, 61; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 20, 21 October 1883.

The brightest light on the dimming educational horizon came from the fact that at Gainesville, Ocala, and Tallahassee black advocates managed to place control of Union, Howard, and Lincoln Schools in the hands of black administrators, even though quick turnovers diminished the degree of positive result. Matthew M. Lewey, as mentioned earlier, had taken over as principal of Union Academy in 1881 for one school term. His replacement, Jacob Reed Ballard, offered excellent credentials. A graduate of Philadelphia's Institute for Colored Youth, he had served in the United States Navy during the Civil War before settling at Fernandina. There he taught school while backing the Republican Party. Eventually he became a principal, Nassau County's supervisor of colored schools," and an elected local official. Unfortunately for Union Academy backers, Ballard also had pursued training for the Episcopal priesthood. He achieved that goal in June 1882, becoming the first black Floridian to receive ordination as an Episcopal deacon. His bishop then quickly assigned Ballard to Tallahassee, where the priest organized St. Michael and All Angels Church and took over the principalship of Lincoln Academy. Back at Gainesville, twenty-one-year-old Lemuel Walter Livingston, a native of Monticello and a graduate of Cookman Institute, temporarily took control of the school following his unsuccessful attempt to enter the United States Military Academy. Within a matter of months, though, Livingston had departed to pursue a medical degree at Howard University. A degree of permanence finally appeared for Union Academy in the person of M.J. Mattox. A graduate of Worcester College, he arrived directly from the State Normal School at Tuskegee, Alabama, where he had taught history and elocution. Along with Mattox came the vocational education concepts that Tuskegee principal Booker T. Washington had drawn from his student years at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.³²

32. J. Reed Ballard to B. H. Bristow, 12 February 1876, Records Relating to Customs Service Nominations, Fernandina, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, Record Group 56, Box 66, National Archives; *Jacksonville Florida Daily Times*, 11 June, 24 September 1882; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 23 October 1882; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 73; *New York Freeman*, 18 August 1882, 23 May 1885; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, 12 October 1882; Daniel Smith Lamb, *Howard University Medical Department: A Historical Biographical and Statistical Souvenir* (Washington, D.C., 1900), 192-93.

The situation at Ocala also stabilized at about the same time that Mattox took over in Gainesville. Following William J. Simmons's 1879 departure, a Professor W. H. Lewis assumed the principal's position at Howard for several years. His decision in November 1883 to accept a post at Sherman, Texas, led to the designation of a teacher who had worked under Simmons as Lewis's replacement. That man, Henry Wilkins Chandler, at the time represented Marion County in the state senate and also served as Ocala's city clerk. A native of Maine and a graduate of Bates College and the Howard University Law Department, Chandler had commenced his teaching career locally in fall 1876. Within two years he had achieved admission to the bar of Florida and taken up the practice of law. A Baptist, he soon had worked a revolution in Marion County politics by defeating a lion of the AME Church, longtime State Senator Thomas Warren Long, in the 1880 state senate contest. So prominent did Chandler become within Florida's African American community that his 1884 marriage to Annie M. Onley, the daughter of wealthy Jacksonville contractor and businessman John E. Onley, commanded national attention. The bride's pastor Daniel Wallace Culp, stepping aside for a moment from his trials as Stanton Institute's principal, performed the nuptials.³³

Social events such as the Chandler-Onley wedding enlivened a very challenging atmosphere for Florida's African American leaders during the early 1880s, and one event of that nature cemented a family and political alliance that was to affect significantly the course of the State Normal School's creation and evolution. On July 13, 1882, John Willis Menard's daughter Alice J. Menard wed Thomas Van Renssalaer Gibbs at Jacksonville's Laura Street Presbyterian Church. The Reverend Jacob Reed Ballard, fresh from duties as Union Academy principal and months away from assuming the same position at Tallahassee's Lincoln, performed the ceremony in the place of church pastor Daniel Culp. Even the local white newspapers carried detailed reports of the celebration, with the *Florida Daily Times* characterizing the event as "one of the most fashionable weddings among colored people that has taken place in this city for some time." Early the next year Gibbs would

33. *Ocala Banner-Lacon*, 19 May, 30 June 1883; *New York Globe*, 1 December 1883, 18 October 1884; Brown and Brown, *Family Records*, 47-49; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 40-41, 80.



Thomas Van Renssalaer Gibbs (1855-1898), From: Leedell W. Neyland and John W. Riley, *The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* (1963). Image Courtesy of the Photographic Collection, Florida Archives.

reflect upon the meaning of the occasion and three similar weddings that occurred about the same time. "Out of [one distinguished friend's house] have gone within one year, four brides,"

he informed the *New York Globe*, "to lighten the way and brighten the course of as many young aspirants for fortune and fame."³⁴

Gibbs's words point out that some hints of a better future had begun to circulate within Florida's African American community by 1883. The so-called Independent Movement recently had recharged many spirits by affording a political path along which hands could reach across racial lines to forge cooperation for a better future. Particularly, it united reform-minded white Democrats and black Republicans in a direct assault upon Bourbon power in the state. "I need not tell you that the success of the Independent movement is the only salvation for the Negroes of the South," John Willis Menard declared in April 1883 to a national audience, "and that those Republican leaders who are opposed to this movement are acting in the direct interest of hide-bound Bourbonism and the continued solidity of the South." Regular Republican leaders such as Joseph E. Lee and Lemuel W. Livingston naturally rejected calls for Independent support, but other leaders quickly ranged themselves alongside Menard. Veterans such as Josiah Walls, Matthew Lewey, and John Wallace particularly seemed to accept the practical approach involved with coalition building.³⁵

Matthew Lewey especially felt re-energized, and in early 1883 he directed the force of his renewed spirit in a surprise effort to compel the legislature to recognize the need for regularized non-sectarian teacher training for African American students. Elected as a state representative from Alachua County in late 1882, he took steps the following January to require the house education committee "to enquire whether or not it would be wisdom to establish a Normal Department at Lincoln Academy, Tallahassee, and at Union Academy, Gainesville." The step came in light of former state school superintendent William P. Haisley's recent attempts to provide some state-supported teacher training. For African Americans, this meant the holding of a few "teacher institutes" subsidized by the Peabody Fund. The experience, Haisley had informed the public, had convinced him of the need for "normal schools as means of preparing teachers."³⁶

34. *Jacksonville Florida Daily Times*, 16 July 1882; *New York Globe*, 14 April 1883.

35. Williamson, *Florida Politics*, 83-85, 91-93, 97, 104-105; Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders*, 87-92; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 50, 55-59; *New York Globe*, 21 April 1883.

36. *Florida House Journal* (1883), 202; *Bulletin of Atlanta University* 34 (February 1892), 6; Pyburn, *History*, 119.

Lewey had crafted his proposal, a plan that excluded Stanton and Howard, with care and in light of political realities. The governor, William D. Bloxham, hailed from Leon County and maintained close relationships with several local black politicians, most particularly John Wallace. Second, Bloxham, a one-time teacher and staunch education advocate, had appointed a new state school superintendent in the person of Albert J. Russell, a Virginia-born Confederate veteran nonetheless known for his support of quality schooling for African Americans. Additionally, the 1882 elections had resulted in a house of representatives closely divided between Democrats (40 seats) and a Republican-Independent bloc (36 seats). Of all black members of the assembly, a majority represented Alachua and Leon counties, or an adjacent county. In the senate, only two blacks sat in the thirty-three member body. Henry Chandler of Marion was one. The other was schoolteacher John Elias Proctor of Leon, a regular Republican who had bested John Wallace to gain his seat. Finally, by centering on Tallahassee and Gainesville, the homes of the two state seminaries, Lewey had positioned his proposal to merit a long-sought portion of the state's seminary fund and to deny the same funds to Stanton Institute at a time when Joseph E. Lee, for whom Lewey then felt little affection, dominated Republican politics in Duval County.³⁷

Circumstances suggest that the failure of his attempt came as a surprise to Lewey, although it could not be said that he came away empty handed. The setback stemmed from the action of Dr. John Junius Harris of Sanford, then in Orange County. A graduate of Emory College and the Medical College of Georgia, he had presided in 1881 as speaker of the house of representatives and now chaired the education committee. "We are of the opinion," he informed the body on the committee's behalf, "that much of the money expended in the so-called education of colored children is simply wasted." Harris went on, however, to endorse the value of teacher education. First, he called for the creation of normal departments in the white seminaries at Tallahassee and

37. James C. Clark, "John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (April 1989), 411, 423-24; *Jacksonville Florida Dispatch, Farmer and Fruit-Grower*, 23 May 1889; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 3 June 1884, 16 February 1888; J. V. Drake, *The Florida Legislature (Twelfth Session): An Official Directory of the State Government* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1883), 76-77; Lee H. Warner, *Free Men in An Age of Servitude: Three Generations of a Black Family* (Lexington, Ky., 1992), 94, 128-34.

Gainesville. Then, he proposed "the establishment of Normal Departments . . . in such school or schools, not exceeding two, for colored pupils, as the State Superintendent may select." Given that Superintendent Russell had served as head of Duval County's school system in prior years, the likelihood appeared that one of the departments was destined for Stanton. As eventually passed, what became known as the Bloxham bill came closer to Lewey's hopes, likely from Bloxham's intervention. It called for normal departments at Lincoln and Union academies but left implementation in Superintendent Russell's hands. That officer then interpreted the law to allow him, in lieu of creating normal departments, to hold "normal schools" and "teacher institutes" at the two academies and at other locales during specified periods of time. Two such sessions commenced at Madison and Lake City later that year within weeks after an arsonist's fire consumed Stanton Institute.³⁸

Beyond what appearances suggested, however, it seems that Lewey quietly had gained a great deal more from the 1883 session than authorization for a normal department at Union Academy. Whatever conversations occurred or agreements he concluded, Lewey departed from Tallahassee following the legislature's adjournment believing that, with proper preparations, he could convince the 1885 legislature to mandate a "State Normal and Industrial College" at Gainesville. At home he enjoyed the wholehearted support of Alachua County's white school chief, future state school superintendent and Emory College graduate William N. Sheats. As a first step, Sheats solicited support from the Peabody and Slater Funds while undertaking substantial renovations to Union Academy. "The school building, finished in the first part of this scholastic year," an 1885 report observed, "is a gem of rare beauty and excellence." The report added: "It is valued at \$5,000, and a more beautiful school building is not in the State. It is furnished with the latest improved desks imported from New England, teachers' desks and tables, maps, charts, a very large mounted globe, an eight-day calendar clock, blackboards and a bell swinging high in the steeple to call the children daily." Sheats,

38. Neyland, *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University*, 3; *Florida House Journal* (1883), 202; *Savannah Morning News*, 22 January 1881; E. Ashby Hammond, *The Medical Profession in 19th Century Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 242-43; *Laws of Florida* (1883), 66; *New York Globe*, 11 November 1883; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 20 November 1883, 20 June 1884.

Lewey, and Principal M. J. Mattox meanwhile searched for teachers qualified to fulfill their vision of a normal and industrial school modeled on the vocationally oriented program then being developed at Tuskegee by Mattox's former employer Booker T. Washington. By November 1884, they had assembled a faculty that consisted of "G.R. McAlvaine, a graduate of Fisk, vice-principal; G. H. Goodwin, graduate of Atlanta Baptist Seminary; [and] Misses Sarah A. Blocker of Atlanta University and Mattie A. Murphy, Camden, S.C." As the 1885 report also noted, "The school . . . is now enjoying some of the brightest days of its existence."³⁹

As hammers pounded and saws ground at Gainesville, the eyes and ears of politically attuned Floridians turned to the 1884 elections, contests that loomed thanks to the Independent Movement as the best and, possibly, the last chance for African Americans to regain political power on a statewide level. The gubernatorial race demanded greatest attention. The eventual Independent nominee Frank W. Pope, who had represented Madison County in the 1883 state senate thanks to black votes, benefited from close ties with many African American leaders. Against the possibility of that friendly face occupying the governor's chair ranged far starker images. Bourbons more and more insisted upon fundamental political change within the state by rewriting Florida's liberal 1868 constitution, and, as time passed and younger faces appeared within Democratic leadership ranks, the tone of party rhetoric hardened in harshness and increased in stridency when it came to matters related to race. The man who claimed the nomination in 1884, although he did not represent the trend toward more-youthful leadership, clearly symbolized the hard edge then developing. Edward A. Perry of Pensacola had ranked as a general in the Confederate army and, as a candidate, backed a constitutional convention wholeheartedly.⁴⁰

All of the developments that were to result politically in Florida during 1884 could not have been foreseen in January, but key Independent advocates within the African American community realized that they faced a crossroads in the near future and grew convinced that they should attempt to unite the splintered black

39. *New York Freeman*, 23 May 1885; Ellis, "Nathan B. Young," 156-57; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, 20 July 1922; *Bulletin of Atlanta University* 34 (February 1892), 6.

40. Williamson, *Florida Politics*, 91, 104-119; Kingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders*, 88-93.

vote by forging a consensus on essential goals, not simply advances that should be tallied in the event of victory but also positions from which there could be no retreat in case of defeat. Their mechanism appeared in the form of a call for a statewide "convention of the colored people of the state of Florida." Robert Meacham had suggested such a plan as early as May 1882, observing that the assembly should consider "what is best to be done for our good in view of the present conditions of things." The idea failed to resonate at the time, but attitudes changed in the next year and one-half. Mathew Lewey explained. "This meeting of the colored men of Florida was conceived, planned and brought into being by the brain and energy of Gen. J. T. Walls, ex-Congressman from this State, whose home is in the county in which the conference was held, supported by Hon. J. Willis Menard, editor of the [Key West] *Florida News*, absolutely upon the principle of Independentism—Independent of Bourbon-Democracy and supercilious Republicans whether white or black of this State." Walls, Menard, Lewey, and others signed the call that Menard published in January.⁴¹

Education formed the centerpiece of the call's list of grievances, but the nature of the goals to be reached now had changed dramatically from the grand and racially integrated initiatives undertaken a decade earlier by Governor Ossian B. Hart and Superintendent of Public Instruction Jonathan C. Gibbs. "We want increased facilities of common school education and the higher branches," the call specified, "so as to be able to reduce the high rate of illiteracy which the last census shows to exist among our people." Menard expanded upon the theme in a *Florida News* editorial. "The question of increased facilities of popular education for our children is paramount to all others," he wrote, "because it is the prime lever in our elevation." Menard continued: "We must contend for the same facilities and advantages of education which the whites enjoy, and make this the main plank in our political policy. If we must have separate schools and separate [railroad] cars, let them have the same conveniences and advantages as those provided for the whites." He concluded, "'The same accommodations for the same money,' should be our watchword."⁴²

41. *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, 16 May 1882; *New York Globe*, 9, 16 February, 15 March 1884.

42. *New York Globe*, 15 March 1884; *Key West Florida News*, quoted in *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 7 February 1884.

While some Republican infighting marked the proceedings that convened at Gainesville on February fifth, the convention mostly resulted in amicable cooperation. Menard convened the gathering but soon surrendered the gavel to young James Dean. An Ocala native, he had attended Cookman Institute before earning bachelor's and master's degrees in law at Howard University, "being the valedictorian of the class in every case." Thomas V. Gibbs similarly surrendered his duties as temporary secretary to permanent choice Matthew M. Lewey. Peter Bryant, John Wallace, and ex-congressman Walls participated actively. Joseph E. Lee did manage to wrangle from the gathering a statement of "appreciation and high regard for the National Administration, at the head of which stands Chester A. Arthur, the life-long friend of our people," but the Independents considered the results, including adoption of the education language of the call and creation of a state executive committee to be chaired by Walls a victory. Gibbs reflected a sense of the optimism held by delegates as they departed Gainesville. "As a body it represented the brain and progressive sentiment of the black men of Florida, doing in quiet an amount of business in a day that astonished all lookers on" he informed his friend T. Thomas Fortune at the *New York Globe*. Gibbs added, "It will stand for all time in this State as a monument to the progress of the race."⁴³

Elections concluded in the aftermath of the 1884 convention unfortunately resulted disastrously for African Americans in Florida, and that they did so altered the course by which the state was to arrive at a State Normal School and the philosophy toward which it would be oriented. On a national level, Democrat Grover Cleveland captured the presidency, a fact that meant many African American leaders—such as Menard, who held a position in the Key West customs house, and Gibbs, who had labored at the Jacksonville internal revenue collections office for a short while—would lose their federal jobs as of spring 1885. Faced with the income loss, Menard chose to relocate his newspaper to Jacksonville, where greater opportunities appeared to beckon. Soon, he had renamed the organ as the *Southern Leader* and

43. *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, 16 May 1882; *The Proceedings of the State Conference of the Colored Men of Florida Held at Gainesville, February 5, 1884* (Washington, D.C., 1884), 1-8; *Key West Daily Equator & Democrat*, March 1889 (Trade Edition); *New York Globe*, 16 February, 15 March 1884.

installed his son-in-law Gibbs as his associate editor. Gibbs meanwhile had won election to the state house of representatives from Duval County and, within a short time, would claim a delegate's seat in the 1885 constitutional convention, an assembly that came as another result of the 1884 elections. Thus, as of early 1885, Menard and Gibbs possessed ample reason for locating a state normal school, if one was to be created, in Jacksonville and at Stanton, where Menard's wife Edith had taught during the 1870s.⁴⁴

Races for statewide offices had brought other bad news. Although the Independent gubernatorial candidate Pope had run a good race, Democrat Perry won with a decisive majority. His supporters dominated the legislature and, within a very short time, the state supreme court. Voters sent almost enough African American representatives and senators to Tallahassee to equal their strength in 1868, but fortuitously Matthew M. Lewey did not appear among them. While pursuing his Independent course, he had lost touch with his constituency. As a result Joseph Newman Clinton, a Lincoln University graduate and former Union Academy teacher, had turned the legislator out of office. Lewey's friend and mentor Josiah Walls faced defeat as well. He had run for the United States House of Representatives against incumbent Republican Horatio Bisbee, only to see Democrat Charles Dougherty snatch the prize. No Republican again would sit in the Congress from Florida for three generations, and the principal advocate of locating a state normal school at Union Academy essentially had disappeared from the political scene.⁴⁵

The 1885 legislature pondered matters of significance, but while all eyes looked forward to the summer's meeting of the constitutional convention, the solons took no action to create a state normal school. Gibbs scored a success, however, in securing legislative endorsement of the federal Blair Education Act, a measure sponsored by Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, that, if

44. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 57-58; Rivers and Brown, "John Willis Menard and *Lays in Summer Lands*," 112-13; Shofner, "Florida," 94; *New York Freeman*, 11 April 1885; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 9 December 1884; *Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Florida Union*, 2 May 1874.

45. Williamson, *Florida Politics*, 122-28; Walter W. Manley II, Canter Brown, Jr., and Eric W. Rise, *The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Courts, 1821-1917* (Gainesville, Fla., 1997), 266-68, 271-72; Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 57-58; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 9 December 1884; Brown and Brown, *Family Records*, 58.

passed, would have allocated millions of dollars to eradicating illiteracy through programs in which black students were guaranteed equality in benefits. Having come close to senate passage in 1884, the bill appeared likely to be considered favorably in the near future. Gibbs thus anticipated a deluge of new school funds that would have required the education and employment in Florida of hundreds, if not thousands, of new minority educators.⁴⁶

That left the need to ensure that the constitutional convention, largely Bourbon in composition, did nothing to undercut public education or to forestall legislative creation of a state normal school. At the conclave, seven delegates claimed seats. None represented Alachua. Senator Henry W. Chandler sat for Marion, while only Gibbs resided in Duval. Three individuals—Wallace B. Carr, a prosperous farmer; John W. Mitchell, an attorney; and William F. Thompson, a school teacher who also practiced law—lived in Leon. The sixth delegate, Amos Hargrett, represented adjacent Wakulla County. Interestingly, John Wallace boarded with Thompson's family after returning from several years residence at Key West, where the veteran official had obtained a federal position and where he and Menard often had cooperated on political matters. At Tallahassee in 1885, Wallace worked on the first history of the state's Reconstruction experiences, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*. Thompson's brother, James D. Thompson, a former law partner of Wallace's, by summer 1885 practiced law at Pensacola with the man who may have taught Wallace in Virginia during the Civil War. Thomas DeSaliers Tucker had gone on from his teaching experience at Fortress Monroe to graduate from Oberlin College before earning a law degree from Straight University in 1882. He then had achieved admission to the bar of Florida early the next year.⁴⁷

Surprising to most observers the black delegates and other Republicans managed to exert some influence on the rewritten

46. *New York Freeman*, 11 April 1885; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, La., 1951), 63-64.

47. Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 59, 79-80, 92, 111, 132; Young, "Florida's Pioneer African American Attorneys," 83-89; 1885 *Florida State Census, Leon County* (population schedule) (available on microfilm at State Library of Florida, Tallahassee); Clark, "John Wallace," 417-18; *Tallahassee Land of Flowers*, 15 September 1883; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 17 January 1884; John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida after the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1888); *Jacksonville New South*, 12 August 1874.

state charter when it came to education, and the results spoke for themselves. Credit for this mostly went to William N. Sheats, the Alachua County school superintendent who served as chairman of the education committee, and William D. Bloxham, the former governor who now held Jonathan C. Gibbs's old cabinet position as Florida's secretary of state. With Republican votes they overcame tumultuous Bourbon opposition so that Sheats could craft an education article that, while mandating racial segregation in public schools, guaranteed "a uniform system of free public schools" and required the legislature "to provide for the liberal maintenance of the same." To undergird the financial commitment, Sheats's article created a permanent school fund with dedicated revenue. Probably in response to entreaties from Gibbs and other black delegates, Sheats added a provision that specified: "The legislature at its first session shall provide for the establishment, maintenance, and management of such normal schools, not to exceed two, as the interest of public education may demand." As finally approved the new constitution also authorized the legislature to impose a poll tax as a prerequisite to voter registration, a step clearly aimed at black voters. But, the document dedicated revenues from any such tax to public education.⁴⁸

Many black leaders, including Gibbs, viewed the proposed constitution's education article as a triumph. "The impress of the Liberals is indelibly stamped upon the article on education," he expressed that September in the *New York Freeman*. "As a whole it compares favorably with any educational provision in any constitution in the United States, as far as my observation goes." He went on to observe: "The principal of the State fund is inviolate, only the interest being available. In addition to this there is a one mill tax on all taxable property in the State. The county fund shall be not less than three or more than five mills, the net proceeds of all fines collected under the penal laws of the State within the county and all capitation taxes. Each county may be sub-divided into school districts, and each district may by a vote assess a tax of not more than three mills for district school purposes." Gibbs concluded, "Lastly, it provides that all distribution of funds shall be equitable, that white and colored children shall not be taught in the same

48. Edward C. Williamson, "The Constitutional Convention of 1885," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (October 1962), 120, 122-25; idem, *Florida Politics*, 138-39; Neyland, *History*, 4-5; Howie, "State Politics," 47-49.

school, but that impartial provision shall be made for both, and that a normal school shall be opened for the colored as well as white youth." It may even be that Gibbs and other black delegates consciously traded the poll tax for the school provisions. Gibbs offered a minority report against the tax and expressed public opposition but did little behind the scenes to forestall the measure. William F. Thompson actually voted for it. Each of the men, in any event, likely agreed with Gibbs's take on the matter. "The poll tax was left to the Legislature," he declared, "which will never impose it."⁴⁹

As far as Gibbs and his father-in-law Menard were concerned, the normal school authorized for African Americans belonged at Stanton in Jacksonville, and, with friends and allies, they proceeded to set the stage just as Matthew Lewey had attempted to do at Gainesville a year or two earlier. The voters would not determine the new constitution's fate until November 1886, a fact that afforded them some time to implement their plans. Even before the convention's adjournment, they had acted to terminate principal Daniel Wallace Culp and replace him with a close friend and professional associate of Menard's named William Middleton Artrell. A native of the Bahamas, he had been educated at the Boys' Central School in Nassau. At Key West by 1870, the teacher emerged as principal of the city's respected Douglass School. His credentials as an educator and administrator thus established, Artrell extended his influence through much of the state and around the nation through highly successful work as a leader of the International Order of Good Templars, an organization that stressed the moral and personal benefits of temperance. At almost the same time that he accepted Stanton's principal's position, Artrell bested Joseph E. Lee to become Florida's Chief Grand Templar, a milestone that doubtlessly further endeared him to Menard.⁵⁰

With Artrell in place by August 1885, plans moved forward. First, new teachers immediately were added to the faculty so that

49. *New York Freeman*, 12 September 1885; Williamson, "Constitutional Convention," 123; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 19, 22 July 1885.

50. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 21 July, 27 August 1885; *Birmingham* (Eng.) *Good Templars' Watchword*, 12 March 1879, 12 October 1885; David M. Fahey, *Temperance and Racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the Good Templars* (Lexington, Ky., 1996), 120-24.

Stanton could claim precedence as “the largest colored school in the State, having seven assistants.” Then, those working to position the school attempted to refine its mission in line with current trends of educational philosophy, particularly those increasingly articulated from Tuskegee by Booker T. Washington. Menard, for one, utilized the columns of the *Southern Leader* to stress the importance of education combined with “self-development” to “the elevation of the race,” as well as the vital nature of vocational training. “Time and bitter lessons of experience have convinced her people that labor is more valuable and honorable than chivalry,” he observed in March 1886, “and that widespread development and varied industrial enterprise is more desirable and conducive to happiness than the narrow, old feudal system.” Later, he added, “While good teachers and preachers are badly needed, it must be remembered that an educated and successful farmer, mechanic, or merchant does as much good for his race as the teacher.” Subsequent actions of son-in-law Gibbs suggest the he dissented from Menard’s emphasis on the Tuskegee model, but a white ally of the editor, state school superintendent Albert J. Russell, did not. He joined with Artrell to solicit a major allocation from the Slater Fund to underwrite an “industrial department” at Stanton. Russell announced success only weeks before the legislature’s scheduled meeting time in 1887.⁵¹

Given that the voters had approved the new constitution in November 1886, it must have appeared to Gibbs as he traveled to Tallahassee for the spring 1887 legislative session that the opening of a state normal school at Jacksonville seemed assured. Governor Perry even helped to pave the way when he endorsed “the introduction into our school system of some degree of manual training and industrial teaching,” while asserting that, when it came to normal schools, “the expenditure for their maintenance is a wise one.” After that, complications began to appear. Conservatives offered an early attempt to limit normal school creation to a single institution for whites. Gibbs responded with a bill to mandate one white and one black school but without specifying the location of either. A white friend and fellow Republican, Charles F. A. Bielby of DeLand, then submitted an additional bill that placed the white

51. *Birmingham* (Eng.) *Good Templars’ Watchword*, 12 October 1885; *Jacksonville Southern Leader*, quoted in *New York Freeman*, 27 March 1886; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 20, 4 March 1887; *Cleveland Gazette*, 2 July 1887.

normal school at Gainesville and the black institution at Jacksonville. Meanwhile, Senator A. R. Jones of Walton County introduced Senate Bill No. 103 that also provided for creation of two schools. The senate acted first. Its education committee backed Tallahassee for the black institution, but Marion County Senator Henry W. Chandler managed to amend the bill on the floor to substitute Ocala and, by inference, Howard Academy. The senate bill reached the house on May twenty-third. Alachua's delegation fought to obtain both schools, while partisans of Ocala urged adoption of the senate position. Other towns, including Macclenny bid for the school. For several days, confusion reigned on the subject.⁵²

In the end, the irresistible weight of politics and numbers ruled the day. To untangle the house from the confusion, speaker George H. Browne authorized the body's black representatives to meet as a committee to decide the question. The chamber contained only seven such individuals, half the number of two years previously. Four of the men represented Leon County: John W. Mitchell, Wallace B. Carr, Samuel Frazier, and Clinton Sned. Together with chairman Peter H. Davidson, Jr., of the governor's home county of Escambia, they issued on May 27 a majority report favoring Tallahassee. Probably with more than a little wry humor, they justified their decision to exclude Jacksonville by deeming it unwise or inexpedient "to locate the said school in any seaport town of this State, because of the epidemic diseases frequently prevalent in those cities, and also because of the evil example so apt to be set in seaport towns by the conditions that surround the numerous saloons and gambling places usually found in numbers in those towns, all of which tend to lead astray the persons who will attend the schools and who should, as much as possible, be kept aloof from these places." John Mitchell offered the official amendment to the senate bill necessary to alter Ocala to Tallahassee, although Thomas V. Gibbs "spoke forcibly in favor of Jacksonville as the most suitable place for the colored normal school." The house backed Mitchell, though, and the senate subsequently concurred. The matter thereupon was settled.⁵³

52. *Florida House Journal* (1887), 17, 184, 558, 650; *Florida Senate Journal* (1887), 481, 556, 569-70, 576; Neyland, *History*, 8-9; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 6 February 1889.

53. *Florida House Journal* (1887), 651-83; *New York Freeman*, 23 April 1887; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, 28, 30 May 1887; Neyland, *History*, 9-10.

It remained for the State Board of Education to select a president and faculty to implement the program that most thought appropriate for the new normal school, a vocationally oriented curriculum similar to the Tuskegee model. Effectively, this meant that Governor Perry and Superintendent Russell needed to act. Perry, a resident of Pensacola, certainly was acquainted with Thomas DeSaliers Tucker and may have anticipated selecting him as school president all along. Reginald Ellis, on the other hand, has suggested that John Wallace and Josiah Walls, Tucker's former students, brought the teacher and attorney to Secretary of State Bloxham's attention and that Bloxham, in turn, paved the way with Perry for Tucker. Peter H. Davidson, whose family enjoyed deep roots in Pensacola, also may have played a part. However Perry came to fix on Tucker, the governor had to convince him "through personal persuasion" to "abandon a good law practice and accept the presidency." In July the state board officially offered Tucker the job with John Willis Menard's approval. "The State Board of Education certainly deserves much credit for the appointment recently made for this school," he announced in the *Southern Leader*. "We have known Professor Tucker for about eighteen years, and we have never met a more genial, broad-minded and sterling gentleman." Menard added. "He possesses first-class qualities as friend, gentleman and a scholar, and commands the respect of all who know him. He is a strong man morally and intellectually and the new normal school has a security of success under his charge." Menard likewise agreed with the selection of Thomas V. Gibbs as vice president and first assistant instructor. There, Superintendent Russell had proved to possess the decisive voice. Tucker and Gibbs met for the first time in Tallahassee shortly before the State Normal School for Colored Students opened for students on October 3, 1887.⁵⁴

Those two appointments, made doubtlessly with confidence by Perry and Russell, ironically frustrated the intent that they were meant to serve. Florida had placed two Oberlin College men in charge of their own teacher training institution. As they set about creating the best teacher training course that they could conceive, they did so based not so much upon the Tuskegee vocational model as upon the liberal arts tradition of their alma mater. First

54. Ellis, "Nathan B. Young," 155; Neyland, *History*, 11-14; *New York Freeman*, 12 March, 24 September 1887; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 19 June 1903.

hires in the years that followed principally were graduates of northern schools who shared the approach. Thus, it would be said of Ida Gibbs, added to the faculty in 1891, "[She] is an able teacher, a graduate from Oberlin College and a classic student." For fourteen years President Tucker stuck to his mission as best he could until dismissed in 1901 essentially for refusal to surrender the liberal arts tradition. His successor Nathan B. Young, a protégé of Booker T. Washington and former Tuskegee faculty member, also came to Tallahassee trained by Oberlin, where he had received bachelor's (1888) and master's (1891) degrees. He continued to adhere as closely as he could to the State Normal School's tradition of liberal arts education for teachers until he, too, lost his job for the effort in 1923. "I refused to sneeze when the local Federal Vocation agents took snuff," Young recorded. "I refused to endorse their program for this college." Young added: "This is the way the South treats Negroes who are men once it gets them in its power. There are few colored state schools left in the South whose presidents dare to call their souls their own." At what became Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, presidents and faculty members did, as Young suggested, dare to call their souls their own. A unique institution and the nation's largest minority teacher education program, still tied closely today to the liberal arts tradition, flowed directly from their courage and their determination.⁵⁵

55. Ellis, "Nathan B. Young," 156-69; Monroe Alphas Majors, *Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities*.

“I Was One of the First to See Daylight”: Black Women at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities in Florida since 1959

By Stephanie Y. Evans

Kitty Oliver, a celebrated journalist, nonfiction writer, and oral historian, entered the University of Florida in 1965. She was one of only 35 African American students of 18,000 enrolled and one of only 5 black freshmen to integrate campus housing. Her story, told in *Multicolored Memories of a Black Southern Girl* (2001), is intriguing for its portrayal of the first-wave of black students who integrated the predominantly white institutions in the Florida State University System. Oliver, from Jacksonville, traced her mother's roots to the South Carolina Gullah people. She was an only child and the first in her family to attend college. Her choice to attend University of Florida (UF) instead of the more popular Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) provides a fascinating entry into better understanding state education in the past.

In her narrative, Oliver recalled young adulthood in her mid-1960s transition from Jacksonville to Gainesville: her participation in voter-registration drives and picketing stores that racially discriminated; being “randomly selected” to have a black roommate in the dorm at UF, and the next semester, being immediately rejected by the white roommate assigned; some students’ treating

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her as “exotic” and her first flirtations with non-black men; guarded but fruitful relationships with black physical plant workers and local residents of Gainesville; intense and shifting intra-racial disagreements over “Black Power” or “flower child” campus identities; transition from black church music to Otis Redding, to Peter, Paul, and Mary, to Santana, and ultimately to a sampling of each to create her own voice. In the college memoir embedded in her autobiography, Oliver disclosed the hardships of being one of a handful of blacks at the flagship institution in a southern state. But she also expressed appreciation to those who had come before her to “kick down the door” so that she could have a choice of institutions and be “one of the first to see daylight and walk on in.”¹

Kitty Oliver’s story of enrollment at the University of Florida in the 1960s, her subsequent attainment of a master’s of fine arts from Florida International University, and her nine years serving as an associate professor at Florida Atlantic University provide much opportunity for race and gender analysis of higher education in the Sunshine State. But what of Oliver’s cohort? Where did she, as a black southern woman, fit into the larger picture of black women attending college in Florida? The demographic answer to that question tells much about the complex relationship of race, gender, and higher education in the state and region. The aggregate numbers provide historic context for the much-needed contemporary solutions that must come if diversity is to truly be institutionalized in Florida’s public colleges and universities.

In Fall 2005, I surveyed public records of the eleven state institutions in the Florida State University System and distributed questionnaires to the schools’ offices of institutional research. The following analysis is based on the findings of the status of black women in Florida’s state schools since 1959, when the first black woman enrolled at a predominantly white institution in Florida. Below is a brief history of black access to higher education in Florida, a consideration of Kitty Oliver’s cohort at UF in the 1960s, a current demographic overview, and issues raised by the historic and contemporary pictures. The historical context for understanding African American access to higher education began in the antebellum era. Before the Civil War, nationally more than 250 institutions offered college-level work; only a select few were

1. Kitty Oliver. *Multicolored Memories of a Black Southern Girl* (Kentucky, 2001), 58-96, 76.

open to black or women students. The most notable were Oberlin (founded in 1833), Antioch (1853), and Wilberforce (1856), all in Ohio; Hillsdale in Michigan (1844); Cheyney (1837) and Lincoln in Pennsylvania (1854); and Berea in Kentucky (1855).²

Generally, efforts to educate black girls brought violent reprisals, even in liberal New England, as exemplified by mob violence that destroyed Prudence Crandall's school for black girls in 1833 Connecticut. If the climate in New England proved hostile for those educating African Americans, the rest of the country was downright murderous. Yet, in the cold, hard environment of colonial and antebellum America, seeds found fertile ground, and buds of hope began to bloom; black women earned their first college degrees in Ohio. Oberlin was the only college to graduate a significant number of black women before the Civil War.³

Due to prohibitions in the South and unstable support for educational attainment in the North, free and enslaved black people in the antebellum era relied largely on their own initiative to learn to read, write, calculate, and study liberal or vocational subjects. Historians from Carter G. Woodson (1919) to Heather Williams (2005) have documented the efforts by black people to conduct their own formal and informal learning in the South despite the ever-looming threat of violent repercussions.⁴

In the postwar era, historically black preparatory schools, colleges, and universities like Scotia Seminary and Palmer Memorial

2. Ellen Lawson and Marlene Merrill, "The Antebellum 'Talented Tenth': Black College Students at Oberlin Before the Civil War." *Journal of Negro Education* (Spring 1983): 142-155; Paul Nelson, "Experiment in Interracial Education at Berea College, 1858-1908" in *U.S. Traditions: A Reader* (Massachusetts, 2003), 91; John Pulliam and James Van Patten, *History of Education in America* (Upper Saddle River, 1999), 134; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History*. (1962; reprint, Athens, 1990), 47; Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (1919; reprint, New Hampshire, 1991), 265; Roland M. Baumann, "History of Recording Black Students at Oberlin College" (Oberlin College Archives, 2002).
3. Darlene Clark Hine, *A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America* (New York, 1998), 122-23. Heather Williams, *Self Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom*. (Chapel Hill, 2005).
4. Woodson, *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*; James McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, 1975); W.E.B. Du Bois, *The College-Bred Negro* (Atlanta, 1900); W.E.B. Du Bois and Augustus G. Dill, *The College-Bred Negro American* (Atlanta, 1910); Linda Perkins, "Education" in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, edited by Elsa Barkley Brown, Darlene Clark Hine and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (Bloomington, Ind., 1994); James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. (Chapel Hill, 1988).

Institute in North Carolina, Institute for Colored Youth in Pennsylvania, Dunbar High School, Training School for Girls, and Howard (all in Washington D.C.), Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and Bethune-Cookman College in Florida became cornerstones of their local communities. The majority of black women college graduates obtained degrees from normal schools that offered the equivalent of a two- or four-year high school degree and two years of college study, and included certification for elementary school teaching. With their degrees, the women taught in the community through Sunday schools, youth leadership development programs, and mutual aid societies as frequently as they taught in the classroom.⁵

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical School was founded in 1887 with fifteen students and two instructors. Of the four historically black colleges and universities in Florida (including Edward Waters founded 1872, Florida Memorial 1879, and Bethune-Cookman College 1904), FAMU has constantly maintained the highest enrollment and graduation numbers and is the only historical black college or university in the state that holds university status to grant doctoral degrees. FAMU was awarded college status in 1905 and university status in 1953; it developed its first Ph.D. program, in pharmacology, in 1984. In addition to FAMU's significant contribution to black education in Florida, Mary McLeod Bethune provided the most important example of black educators' capacity to build institutions. Within its first ten years, Bethune-Cookman had instructed thousands of girls in academic subjects (English, science, algebra, geometry, black history, and music) and vocational subjects (sewing, cooking, weaving, dairy agriculture, and gardening) at the high school level; the school did not receive senior college status until 1945. In building her school, Bethune provided academic hope for black girls in an otherwise barren educational swampland. Although FAMU was

5. Linda Lane, *A Documentary of Mrs. Booker T. Washington* (New York, 2001); Elizabeth Ihle, *Black Women in Higher Education: An Anthology of Essays, Studies, and Documents* (New York, 1992), xiii-xxx, 122; Opal Easter, *Nannie Helen Burroughs* (New York, 1995); Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 34-35; Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss, *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930*. (Columbia, 1999); Johnetta Cross Brazzell, "Bricks Without Straw: Missionary-Sponsored Black Higher Education in the Post-Emancipation Era" *Journal of Higher Education* 63 (1992): 26-49; William Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York, 2001).

central in creating a black educated class, by 1910, Florida institutions still had not produced one African American woman graduate at the college level.⁶

By devaluing anything black, particularly degrees from historically black colleges and universities, and limiting black enrollment at predominantly white institutions, older white northern colleges maintained their claim as elite, "superior" institutions. The same tactic was used in southern schools: the exclusion of black students from well-established state schools like the University of Florida and Florida State supported claims of superiority even as whites denied the rich legacy and academic contributions of black schools.

Studies conducted by W.E.B. Du Bois and Augustus Dill in 1900 and 1910 revealed very limited college and university access for black students in the South. By 1910, 658 black women and 2,450 black men had graduated from institutions designated as colleges. Black schools that qualified in the ranking included Atlanta University, Bennett, Fisk, Howard, Lincoln (Pennsylvania), Shaw, and Wilberforce. College opportunities for Florida's native-born blacks were especially abysmal. Blacks born in other states had a comparative advantage in college graduation. Most of the graduates in the 1910 Atlanta study were born in Georgia (123 graduates) or North Carolina (115). Other states followed far behind in the number of graduates: Tennessee (68), Alabama (48), Louisiana (32), Mississippi (28), Kentucky (27), and Maryland (20). Only 7 blacks born in Florida had graduated from a ranked college by 1910.⁷

Charles Johnson's 1938 study *The Negro College Graduate* revealed a continued lack of educational opportunity for black students in South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida. Johnson surveyed 5,512 college and professional school graduates (about 29 percent of living black college graduates—3,518 men and 1,994 women). Of this number, 3,331 revealed their birth state. Georgia had 513 black graduates, followed by Texas (443),

6. Du Bois and Dill, *College-Bred Negro Americans*, 46-47; Sheila Flemming, *The Answered Prayer to a Dream: Bethune Cookman College, 1904-1994* (Virginia Beach, 1995), 28; Betty Stewart-Dowdell and Kevin McCarty, *African Americans at the University of Florida*, (Gainesville, 2003), 55; "History," Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University web site, <http://www.famu.edu/a&m.php?page=history> accessed October 1, 2005.

7. Du Bois and Dill, *College-Bred Negro American*, 46-47, 54-55.

Virginia (388), Tennessee (253), Alabama (238), and Louisiana (231). By the late 1930s, only 74 African Americans born in Florida reported graduating from college. While the majority of black college graduates were indeed born in the South, very few hailed from Florida. Furthermore, while other states enjoyed a high number of black graduates as residents, only 94 black college graduates resided in Florida at that time, compared to 505 in Georgia, 413 in Texas, 335 in North Carolina, and 326 in Tennessee. Washington D.C. alone had 239 black graduates as residents, over two times the number in the whole state of Florida. Of the entire population of almost 20,000 graduates, Florida ranked sixth-lowest in state of residence.⁸

Between 1945 and 1958 eighty-five black students applied for admission to UF; all were denied admission. For example, in 1949, five students applied to UF: Virgil Hawkins (law), Rose Boyd (pharmacy), Benjamin Finley (agriculture), William Lewis (law), and Oliver Maxey (chemical engineering). None were admitted. The first successful black applicants would not be admitted until the late 1950s, thirty years after UF had graduated its first white female graduate in 1920 and over a century after its founding in 1853.

Daphne Beatrice Alexander Duval (now Duval-Williams), a native of Orlando, Florida, who earned three degrees from FAMU (high school, 1924; B.S. in mathematics, 1927; master of education 1959) became the first black woman to enroll at UF. After graduating from FAMU, she moved to Gainesville and taught at Lincoln High School, the only high school in town for blacks. Characterizing herself as “curious” and “ornery,” she successfully challenged racial segregation at UF and enrolled for classes in January 1959. Duval enrolled in the College of Education for several reasons: she wanted to continue her education, but did not want to commute to Tallahassee, and wanted to desegregate Florida schools like her cousin George Starke had done. Starke had graduated from Morehouse College in Atlanta and was admitted to UF’s Law School in the fall of 1958. He was the only black student on a campus of 12,000 and though he kept a low profile and did not report any overt resistance to his presence, he left after three months. Daphne Duval-Williams recalls attending UF in a

8. Charles Johnson, *The Negro College Graduate* (1938; reprint, New York, 1969), 10, 22-23, 42, 50.

similar uneventful manner and though she did not complete a degree program, she cleared the path for later students to graduate from UF.⁹

Duval-Williams learned to count from her grandmother who was formerly enslaved in Tallahassee and valued time spent with her grandfather, who constructed roads from South Carolina to Florida. Though her grandparents did not have the advantage of formal education, she credits them both with offering her more knowledge and technical training than she received in her early schooling. She married a local businessman, had three children, and was in her fifties when she first attended classes at UF. She had already earned her M.Ed., but was invested in showing that black students "had just as much gray matter as the white students." Like black women scholars, teachers, and activists before her, Duval-Williams was a club woman: in 1938, she and four women founded the Visionaires Club in Gainesville; she was active in the Mt. Carmel Baptist Church; and she was involved in many advocacy groups locally and nationally. Duval-Williams passed her determination to advance educational opportunities for African Americans on to her three daughters, one of whom was the first to earn a doctorate from the University of Miami and the other of whom (also a math major), worked for NASA in Washington D.C. before retiring home to live in Orlando. Interviewed in February 2006, a few months shy of her one-hundredth birthday, Daphne Duval-Williams demonstrated a sharp wit and mental determination that were perhaps as intense as when she bucked the Jim Crow system in the 1950s as a community activist who integrated the flagship state school.¹⁰

9. Duval-Williams, personal papers and interview, February 1, 2006, Orlando Florida. Copy of full interview will be available at the Samuel Proctor Oral History Collection in Fall 2006. Stewart-Dowdell and McCarthy, *African Americans at the University of Florida*, 55; Maxine Jones, "Black Women in Florida, 1920-1950" in Colburn and Landers (Eds.) *African American Heritage of Florida*, (Gainesville, 1995), 264.

10. Information provided in interviews with Daphne Duval-Harrison and her two daughters Dr. Daphne Duval-Harrison and Sally Duval Richmond, January 22-February 1, 2006. Duval-Williams was honored by the Gainesville Chapter of the Links in "Women as Bearers of Culture" ceremony, commemorative program dated Sunday, March 25, 2001. See also, "Jones High Alumni Reminisce," *The Orlando Times*, December 21, 1995 and "Desegregation of UF: Black Pioneers Marched Bravely into History," *The Gainesville Sun*, September 18, 1998.

Black women were making significant strides in higher education after 1954; however, as with past times and historic places, they were simultaneously being held back in frightening ways. Though there were increased opportunities to attend college after the Supreme Court *Brown v. Board* case, and black women slowly broke barriers, their success was mediated by everyday tragedy. Even while at institutions like FAMU—which were centers of hope and communal growth—black women were subject to social terror. In a stunning example, the same year Duval-Williams successfully enrolled at UF in Gainesville, Betty Jean Owens, a FAMU student, was kidnapped while sitting in a car with classmates and repeatedly raped by four white Tallahassee men. In contrast to the popular rhetoric of American meritocracy, college attendance often failed to guarantee professional advancement, economic security, or even offer basic safety for African Americans. Still, black students pursued higher education and sought to improve their chances of success against all odds.¹¹

In summary, college attendance in Florida was an arduous journey for black women. Antebellum college degree attainment for African Americans was slightly greater in the North. After Emancipation, the proliferation of historically black colleges and universities allowed the southern region to generate the most black college graduates, before the admission of blacks to graduate schools produced a shift to the North in the 1920s. At the same time, while most college graduates came from the South, access to college and professional school was scarce in Florida, and opportunities for graduate study was non-existent in the region. Until the 1960s, northern universities like Chicago, Pennsylvania, and Yale provided the only substantial access for black Ph.D.s.

The historical record of the first black students at Florida's predominantly white state institutions shows that most schools admitted a few black students in their inaugural classes because the schools were opened in the mid-1960s, after UF and Florida State University (FSU) had already begun to desegregate. Institutional research offices provided the following dates for admitting Black students:

11. Danielle L. McGuire's "It Was like All of Us Had Been Raped": Sexual Violence, Community Mobilization, and the African American Freedom Struggle," *Journal of American History* (December 2004): 906-931.

UF	1958 (law school), 1959 (College of Education), by 1962 (7 undergraduates)
FSU	1962 Florida State University
USF	1964 University of South Florida
FAU	1964 Florida Atlantic University
UCF	1968 University of Central Florida

Though there was attrition in the first contingent of black students at each institution, black graduates nonetheless trickled out of Florida's colleges as surely as they trickled in. At least two black undergraduates earned degrees in 1965: Stephen Mickle from UF and Maxwell Courtney from FSU. In the early years of access, there was not much gender disparity in the enrollment or graduation numbers; for black women and men, enrollment was in the single digits until the 1970s.

Faculty appointments generally became available in the 1970s as well, and there was not much gender disparity there either because the numbers for both men and women were also in the single digits. The first noted faculty in the Florida State University System (FSUS), outside of FAMU, came in 1966, when Eva Pride was appointed as assistant professor at the University of South Florida. In 1969, her husband, Richard Pride, also joined the faculty at USF.¹²

Though the number of black students in the United States increased significantly between the 1970s and 2000, the annual percentages of national enrollment fluctuated. In 1976, black men represented 8.1 percent of the total national college enrollment, while black women represented 10.8 percent. The changes in national numbers over the next few decades were as follows:

	1976	1980	1990	2000
Black men (%)	8.1	7.9	7.7	9.5
Black women (%)	10.8	10.3	10.1	12.7

In Florida, the numbers continued to be well below the national average. By the fall semester of 2004, African American students at predominantly white institutions in the Florida State University System averaged only 8.9 percent. Well over a century after African

12. "A Dynasty of Pride - 40 Years of Memories," University of South Florida, University Relations. <http://usfweb2.usf.edu/history/pride.html> accessed October 12, 2005.

Americans first gained access to higher education at Oberlin College in Ohio, black students were finally allowed to desegregate the FSUS. The slow but steady increase over the following decades led to a much improved participation rate, but the current numbers also demonstrate that educational equity still eludes blacks in much of the South.

By 2003, only 17 percent of black Americans 25 years or older reported having a bachelor's degree or more, compared to 27.6 percent of whites. Further, the disparity between black women and men was far wider than the national average. Black women had a 1.3 percent enrollment advantage over black men, while the national average showed that all men had an overall enrollment rate of 1.1 percent over all women. Regionally, the South was the least likely to produce college graduates: 25.5 percent compared to the Northeast (30.3 percent), Midwest (26 percent), or the West (28.7 percent). Southern black women favorably compared to southern black men in educational attainment, despite their relative social and economic disadvantages. Regardless of that attainment, black women in Florida still lagged behind the national and regional levels.¹³

University of Florida is the largest campus in the state university system. Though it was among the earliest to break the color barrier, racial relations have been rocky and growth has not been consistent. Many campuses nationwide saw a black student enrollment explosion in 1968, which resulted in student demands for inclusion in curriculum and for cultural representation in campus spaces. In the 1970s, there was a much-noted UF student protest that reflected this national sentiment. Ten days after "Black Thursday," a student walkout on April 15, 1971, over lack of fair treatment and access, 123 Black students withdrew from UF in protest against the racist campus climate. Since the 1970s, there has been much fluctuation, and the newer campuses of the state university system in Florida struggle to increase enrollment numbers for black students much as the more established campuses did in the initial phases of desegregation.¹⁴

13. NCES Digest of Educational Statistics Tables and Figures 2003, Table 209; Nicole Stoops, *Educational Attainment in the United States* (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), 3-6.

14. Stewart-Dowdell and McCarthy, *African Americans at the University of Florida*, 75-76.

At the University of Florida, the percentage of black students has declined in recent years, hitting a low in fall 2004 of less than 7 percent enrollment. Despite low black enrollment, UF ranks high in the prestigious Association of American Universities (AAU)'s listing of Public and Private Top Schools in terms of degrees awarded to black students. In 2001, UF ranked third in the AAU member schools in number of bachelor's degrees awarded (435 degrees), ninth for master's degrees (110), thirteenth for doctorates (13), and fourth in granting professional degrees (52) to African American graduates. By 2003-04, UF had taken the number-two spot for bachelor's degrees (615) and tied fourth for doctorates (24) awarded to African Americans at the top schools. In overall degrees awarded to black students by AAU members, UF ranked first in the nation. Though UF's high ranking on the list for the numbers of black graduates speaks well for the State of Florida, it also demonstrates the dismally low number of black graduates from America's top-ranked schools. Nonetheless, within the Florida State University System, UF did demonstrate a superior ability to retain its black students. Of the black first-time-in-college category, UF held 84.6 percent of its third-year students, compared to lower retention rates at other schools (the lowest was FAU's 59.37 percent).¹⁵

The state institutions with the highest percentages of black enrollment are Florida International (13 percent), Florida Atlantic (12 percent), Florida State (12 percent), and South Florida (11 percent). In terms of raw numbers, five schools enrolled over 4,000 black students each year: South Florida (4,817 in 2003), Florida State (4,491), Florida International (4,475), and Florida Atlantic (4,247). In terms of 2004 degrees awarded at predominantly white institutions, Florida State produced the most black graduates (963), followed by Florida International (862), University of Florida (840), University of South Florida (749), and Florida Atlantic (731). Significantly, UF produced the highest number of Ph.D.s (24) and the highest number of professional degrees (90) in the state. FAMU was the next-highest producer in both categories (17 Ph.D.s and 79 professional degrees). As for percentages of total degrees awarded to black students, Florida Atlantic topped the list at 15 percent, followed by Florida

15. Table IX-6, State University System 2003-04; Table IX-12 State University System 2001-02; Table IX-8 2003-04 Association of American Universities.

International (13 percent), Florida State (11 percent), and North Florida (11 percent) (see table B). Not surprisingly, FAMU had the highest black enrollment (13,067) as well as the highest percentage (93 percent) and number (12,213) of black graduates.¹⁶

The predominantly white institutions in the state system each have a unique history, vision, and purpose. These different institutional flavors may indeed impact black enrollment and employment. There are numerous variables regarding academic interest, location, local history, and historical era of founding that also impact campus demographics. Each college and university must deal with unique challenges to attracting a diverse campus body in addition to the broader aspect of being a predominantly white institution. For example, the types and number of degrees awarded may influence students' campus choice. University of Central Florida (UCF) and University of South Florida lead in the number of education degrees awarded while UF granted almost a third of the total degrees the Florida State University System awarded in engineering. Business management was by far the most popular degree at UCF, and it surpassed all other degrees awarded in the system. These types of statistics for degrees awarded have implication for both racial and gender student participation—given the disparity in academic disciplines—which could inevitably influence student enrollment numbers.¹⁷

It is important to note that in the Florida State University System, each institution's tuition cost is comparable. The actual cost varies, but not by more than \$200.00 per year. However, the cost of living in a certain location (Boca Raton or Miami versus Tallahassee or Gainesville) may be prohibitive and may greatly impact students' ability to afford a college in a certain location. Lastly, the demographics of a certain area may influence college choice. Student perception of alienation can be grounded in the broad variance of actual black populations in the myriad of Florida campus location host cities.¹⁸

16. Florida State University System (FSUS) *Fact Book 2003-04* <http://www.fldcu.org/factbook/default.asp> accessed September 30, 2005.

17. FSUS *Fact Book 2004-2005*, "Degrees Granted by Discipline and Institution," http://www.fldcu.org/factbook/2004-2005/pdf/t29_00_0405_f.pdf accessed May 17, 2006.

18. See FSUS *Fact Book 2005-2006*, "Tuition and Fees," <http://www.flbog.org/factbook/quickfacts.asp#tuition> accessed May 17, 2006.

The three smaller historically black colleges and universities—Bethune-Cookman, Edward Waters, and Florida Memorial—have contributed significantly to the overall number of black college students in the state of Florida. Enrollment at each school varied (Bethune-Cookman College 2,505 in 2003; Edward Waters 1,206; Florida Memorial 1,985), and the colleges enjoyed a higher percentage of black students. Unquestionably, the largest and most significant contributing factor to black college and university student enrollment and graduation rates in the state is Florida A&M. FAMU has been recognized for its achievement in black education: the school ranked third on the 2001 *Black Enterprise* “Top 50 Colleges for Black Students” list and sixth in 2003. The institution also ranked first in 2003 and 2004 on the *Black Issues in Higher Education* list of “African American Baccalaureate Top 50.” As in other southern states, without historically black colleges and universities black college enrollment would be virtually nonexistent, which partially explains attacks on these institutions by those who have opposed social advancement for African Americans. But even with their contributions, black enrollment and graduation numbers in Florida are tragic, a situation that is exacerbated by severe gender disparities.¹⁹

The gender divide of African American students in Florida reflects both historic and national discrepancies. As previously stated, black women’s enrollment routinely surpasses that of black men. In the Florida system’s Fall 2004 head count, there were 25,479 black women; this constituted 9.1 percent of the total 277,582 student population. There were only 14,681 black men (5.2 percent). While both numbers were well below the national average, the low enrollment of black men reflects the continuing, alarming trend of black men’s absence from college. FAMU enrolled 7,178 black women and 5,035 black men. Six of the other Florida state institutions enrolled between 3,500 and 4,800 black students. At each of these schools, without exception, black women students outnumbered black men by at least 1,000 in enrollment. At New College, of the 691 total student enrollment, there are 11 black women and no black men enrolled. The demographic character of each institution surely influences

19. *Black Enterprise* <http://blackenterprise.com/> and *Diverse Issues in Higher Education* (formerly *Black Issues in Higher Education*) <http://www.diverseeducation.com/> accessed October 1, 2005.

black students' attendance choices; but there are larger environmental factors that impact the gender divide in state college enrollment.²⁰

When considering the historic state and national trends of law enforcement, it is easy to see that black men have been systematically tracked into the prison system, which has had a devastating effect on their numbers in college. In the awful legacy of lynching, black men have been demonized as a threat and railroaded into incarceration. In 1995, there were 16,208 black women enrolled in the Florida state system and 9,964 black men. That same year there were 1,998 black women in the Florida state prison system compared to 33,986 black men. A decade later, black women's college attendance increased to 25,479 (+9,271) and black men's to 14,681 (+4,717). Conversely, by 2004, black women's state prison population had increased to 2,171 (+173) and black men's state prison population reached 40,259 (+6,273). Though the percentage of increase in Florida's prison system was much higher for women than men, the raw numbers demonstrate the overwhelming barriers to educational attainment faced by black men and the stalled rate of increase in their college attendance. These numbers are not surprising considering that Florida has consistently ranked in the top third in the U.S. Department of Justice's Statistics Report for the highest number of inmates, but it does reveal a situation that the Florida State University System must contend with if diversity initiatives are to be realized. Arguments for blacks' greater capacity for criminal behavior are easily dismissed when considering the individual, social, and institutional history of white criminal behavior towards African Americans, especially in the South.²¹

In context, Florida is only one of many states suffering from the race/gender attainment disparity: the gender divide is also apparent in the state of Georgia. For example, in all state institutions for the Fall semester of 2004, there were 40,043 black women

20. FLSUS *Fact Book 2003-2004* <http://www.fldcu.org/factbook/default.asp> accessed September 30, 2005.

21. FLSUS *Fact Book 2003-2004* <http://www.fldcu.org/factbook/default.asp> accessed September 30, 2005; Postsecondary Education *Opportunity*, 1-4; Bureau of Justice Statistics *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 2003*, 535; Florida Department of Corrections *2003-04 Annual Report*, page 36 and Inmate Population Table; Bureau of Justice Statistics *Bulletin*, April 2003, 1; Bureau of Justice Statistics *Bulletin*, April 2005, 1.

enrolled and only 18,714 black men. However, viable solutions are available. In 2003, Georgia took action to redress race-based discrepancies in educational access. The Georgia Board of Regents instituted a state-wide competitive grant program that distributes \$200,000 to winning proposals that sought to measurably increase black male college participation in the state. Between 2003 and 2005, there was a 13% jump in black men's college attendance. The African-American Male Initiative (AAMI), which awards grants between \$15,000 and \$30,000 demonstrates an understanding that corrective state-funded measures are warranted to overturn historic state-supported racist admissions policies and disproportionate incarceration rates.²²

Though black men have historically attended higher-ranked colleges, attained far more graduate and professional degrees, and earned more prominent positions with higher salaries than black women, black women's college attendance consistently surpassed black men's. Since the mid-1800s, black women like those cited in Mary Church Terrell's autobiography, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940), have commented in editorials and their memoirs about the difficulty of finding "suitable" men in their same educational class. The numbers continue to be incongruent, and though there are problematic class assumptions in black women's narratives, the discourse regarding finding a mate with the same education persists. The numbers demonstrate that the crisis of black men's systematic imprisonment, which gained much attention in the mid-1990s, has worsened.²³

For many women, finding a mate is the least of one's worries when striving to earn a college, graduate, or professional degree at a predominantly white institution. Historically, black collegiate women have suffered much: from racialized sexual harassment and violent intimidation; racial segregation and stigmatized separation; stereotypes that presume black and female intellectual inferiority; lack of role models and professional mentors; feminization

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22. "USG Funds Partnerships to Enhance Black Male Participation in, Preparation for Higher Education." Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia. Press Release, November 10, 2005. Office of Strategic Research and Analysis <http://www.usg.edu/sra/> accessed January 16, 2006. See also African-American Male Initiative: Creating a More Educated Georgia website <http://www.usg.edu/aami/> accessed January 16, 2006.
 23. Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*. 1940. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1980.

of poverty; and intense pressure to be family and community caretaker at the expense of individual development. Each of these factors has worked against black women's college degree attainment and impacts their will to persevere through academically and socially challenging courses of study at universities that were at best unwelcoming and at worst hostile.

Black women's scholarship has increased significantly since the 1980s, when a boom of scholarship by and about black academic women bolstered knowledge about their intellectual heritage. Unfortunately, that body of scholarship has not reached the mainstream in many areas of the South. Campus climates did not even allow black people to enroll until the 1960s, making cultural paradigm shifts a continuing struggle. Although many black student unions were founded in the 1960s and 1970s alongside Black Studies programs, the body of knowledge that has been developed from these endeavors needs institutionalization in order to combat the marginalization of black scholars and African American scholarship. Black men and black women have qualitatively different barriers in higher education, but the overall lack of numbers in college enrollment translates into a lack of trained professors prepared to replace the rapidly retiring professorate and uphill battle for institutional diversity at all levels.

As of 2004, there were 157 black women and 258 black men tenured in the Florida State University System. The gender and racial breakdown was as follows:

Race	Black	White	Hispanic	Asian/ Pacific Islander	Native American
Women	157 (11% of FSUS tenured women)	1,142 (79%)	73 (5%)	70 (5%)	9 (.06%)
Men	258 (6% of FSUS tenured men)	3,571 (82%)	163 (4%)	358 (8%)	9 (.02%)

The total number of tenured faculty in the Florida system is 5,810: 1,451 women and 4,359 men. The disparities are obvious, reflecting the national underrepresentation of minorities and women in

tenured, senior faculty positions. But here, as in the student population, race and gender impact access and opportunity in complex ways. For example, FAMU employs over 200 of the 415 tenured black faculty in the state, again demonstrating the lack of substantial integration of black scholars at Florida's colleges and universities.

As of 2005, the number of black faculty in the Florida State University System was limited:

UF	86 ranked black faculty; 46 tenured (18 women, 28 men)
FSU	55 ranked black faculty (26 women, 29 men); 27 tenured
FAMU	405 ranked black faculty, 299 total tenured (all races)
USF	84 ranked black faculty (47 women, 37 men); 38 tenured (20 women, 18 men)
FAU	51 ranked black faculty (29 women, 22 men); 22 tenured (8 women, 14 men)
UWF	11 ranked black faculty (University of West Florida)
UCF	60 ranked black faculty; 26 tenured (12 women, 14 men)
FIU	53 minority faculty (Florida International University)
UNF	27 ranked black faculty (University of North Florida)
FGCU	12 ranked black faculty (7 women, 5 men); 12 tenured (Florida Gold Coast University)
NEW	11 minority faculty (New College of Florida)

Clearly there is a paucity of ranked and tenured black faculty. But, the number of black women full professors in the state is also appallingly low: FAMU has 37 black women tenured as full professors and 128 black men tenured at that level. Considering that nationwide, there were only 1,916 black women tenured as full professors in 2003-04, the numbers are not surprising. There are 3,427 black men tenured as full professors in the nation, demonstrating again the depth of complexity in assessing racial and gender access to higher education, degree attainment, and professional development.

The number of tenured faculty in the neighboring state of Georgia again demonstrates the lack of diversity within regional

higher education demographics. In 2002 there were a total of 7,659 faculty tenured in the state of Georgia's nineteen major universities. Of these there were 637 black faculty; a graphic demonstration of the fact that historical legacies of racial disenfranchisement are difficult to overcome. The complexity of gender in higher education becomes clear when considering the precarious position that black women academics hold. The superior student numbers for women have not, as of yet, translated into equitable faculty appointments or comparable rank and tenure awards.²⁴

In summary, black students, both men and women have historically been barred from predominantly white institutions in the Florida State University System. Though representation has significantly increased since the 1960s, the numbers are not nearly representative of the state's black population, which in the 2000 Census showed a Florida population of 78% white and 14.6% African American; the gender dynamic further complicates the racial discrepancies in varied ways. Segregation of public institutions in the state permeated education at all levels. When black students gained access to Florida's predominantly white institutions, black women students enjoyed significantly greater access to higher education than black men. Though the combination of race and gender subjugation has made black women's collegiate experiences rocky, black women's enrollment and graduation numbers far outpace black men's. With very few exceptions, in all races, at all levels, women are either on par or slightly above men in college enrollment and degrees earned. The disparity between the numbers of black women and men, however, is drastic. On the whole, with the exception of the one state school that is a historically black institution; black students' enrollment and graduation rates are disturbing.²⁵

Although black women dominate black men in the student ranks, black women's faculty numbers are consistently lower than black men's. Black women's college enrollment has been higher

24. Office of Strategic Research and Analysis. <http://www.usg.edu/sra/faculty/rg02.phtml> accessed January 16, 2006. State colleges and two-year colleges in Georgia were not included in this count.

25. Tana Mosier Porter, "Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore: Orlando's African American Community" *Florida Historical Quarterly*. (Winter 2004): 289-313; Jason Blake, "The Integration of Stetson University" *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Spring 2004): 469-485. Florida's 2000 Census lists a 14.6% Black population compared to 12.3% nationally. See U.S. Census Bureau <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/12000.html> (accessed May 17, 2006).

than black men's since the early twentieth century, but by 1995, black men had earned 30,000 Ph.D.s compared to black women's 20,000. Moreover, this trend of black women holding fewer academic positions, while being relegated to junior ranks, and receiving tenure in lower numbers, is unyielding. These developments, coupled with the tracking of black men into prison and away from college, demonstrate that black Floridians experience different barriers because of the relationship of gender to race.

According to university records, desegregation of Florida's predominantly white institutions first took place at the University of Florida. However, black students at UF entered through the law school and extension or night courses before being allowed to join the undergraduate population in the mid-1960s. Of Florida's ten state predominantly white institutions, eight were founded in the 1960s or after. Most incorporated black undergraduate students from their inception, even if only in small numbers. In the two predominantly white institutions founded in the nineteenth century, University of Florida (1853) and Florida State (1857), Jim Crow segregation barred black students or faculty for the first century. Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, founded in 1887, began as and has remained the pillar of black collegiate inclusion for the state.

FAMU consistently ranks high in national lists of top schools for black students. However, even beyond FAMU, Florida's State University System as a whole is a relatively strong national leader in black enrollment, graduation, and faculty. Despite the lag in significant numbers, the recent decline in black student enrollment, and the decade-long plateau in tenured black faculty numbers, Florida's university system has much to offer in black higher education access. By looking back at historical developments, researchers and policy analysts can find examples of wrong paths in education, but they can also find gems in stories of successes to be built upon.

Overall, black women in Florida's institutions of higher education are statistically marginalized; however, their varied presence offers much potential for the state system to reflect and reevaluate goals, challenges, and successes in serving Floridians. Kitty Oliver's autobiography points to areas to be explored when considering black women's collegiate participation.

Now that the larger picture has been outlined, I propose that future research use historic women's experiences to gather more information about higher education for African Americans in Florida. Daphne Duval-Williams' story shows that oral history can

be a valuable source in recording the experiences of this demographic. Further, Oliver's narrative provides a guide to how researchers might explore black women's qualitative experience in Florida higher education. Areas of inquiry about racial and gendered factors of collegians should include:

- Family background (ethnicity, location, education, economic)
- Motivations and expectations in choice to attend or teach at a predominantly white institutions instead of an historically black colleges and universities
- Inter- and intra-racial relations regionally and nationally
- Historic era in which students attend and age of the student
- Campus social climate (dating, housing, co-curricular activities, or faculty mentoring)
- Classroom and curricular developments
- Disciplinary interests and career goals
- Personal and professional outcomes of choosing to attend a predominantly white institution

These questions can partially be answered by oral histories that have already been collected in the very rich campus archives, and additional interviews can be conducted to gather the details of a generation that is still very much unknown in the historical record. These narratives will add a qualitative mosaic to the quantitative data set provided here to reveal intricacies of black women's college and professional experiences. After collection of these narratives takes place, comparison with first-wave integrationists from other regions and other historical eras can be made. For example, Oliver's memoir can be compared to others offered by black women collegians such as Fanny Jackson Coppin, Mary Church Terrell, Anna Julia Cooper, and Pauli Murray. Individual, generational, and regional distinctions can further delineate what it means to be a black college woman in order to draw conclusions about college and employment choice. These narratives must be supplemented by gathering black men's stories of college participation.²⁶

Further, institutional research in the Florida state university data system should be analyzed to better understand race and gender disparities in faculty salaries and representation in academic

26. For samples of these memoirs, see Stephanie Y. Evans, chapter on Black women's autobiography in *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850-1954: An Intellectual History*, forthcoming from University Press of Florida.

disciplines. In order to identify specific areas needed for improvement, a better grasp of statewide discrepancies will be useful. Additionally, race and gender gaps in staff and administrative participation must also be considered. Black women's limited access to institutional leadership positions shows more shadows than sunshine in Florida. In addition to collection of oral histories and institutional considerations, explorations of the ethnic background of black college populations will be fruitful. Florida's rich history of national and racial intersections provides a unique backdrop for understanding ethnic diversity within the African Diaspora.

As a final point, research must address how gender affects race in higher education. The legacy of Dr. Ronald McNair is being lost daily. McNair, a laser-physicist and astronaut from segregated South Carolina, significantly contributed to the intellectual fabric of the United States. His intellectual sons are corralled in prisons at great cost to humanity. The nation and the world are denied the brilliance of black men because of a dated tradition of institutionalized racism. Vilification of black men is ingrained, knee-jerk, pervasive, and deadly. Conscious and deliberate action is necessary to stop and reverse this long-standing trend.

Conversely, because of the biological role of child-bearing, black women and their children still represent a disproportionate number of working-class citizens who survive below poverty level. In Florida, nine percent of male-headed families were below the poverty line in 2001; over 25 percent of female-headed families were below the poverty line. Supporting women who traditionally bear the brunt of poverty is essential. Further, advancing education at the elementary and secondary levels is essential to the growth of college enrollment and to the relative relief from poverty that higher education provides. Though gender dynamics differ, both black men and black women need increased educational and employment opportunities; it is not an either/or proposition. Initiatives like the Upward Bound program, which helps high school students prepare for college and the Ronald E. McNair Scholars program, which helps college students prepare for graduate school are essential in closing the gaps in higher education. Like the nation, the state citizenry is only as great as the least advantaged among us.

The drop in black enrollment in Florida's state schools has made national news. The ramifications of the lack of diversity are duly noted by leaders like UF's president Bernard Machen. As the leaders of educational institutions have recognized since the mid-1980s,

diversity equals excellence, and many schools in the South are behind the curve. But beyond sheer numbers, Florida schools must recruit black students and faculty to advance scholarship that employ diverse experiences, theories, frameworks, and epistemologies. The Ivy League and Top 10 schools that Florida system institutions are competing against have long-standing African American Studies departments and other well-developed ethnic studies areas. Currently, there are six Ph.D. programs in African American Studies: Michigan State, Harvard, Berkeley, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and Temple. Northeastern just founded their doctoral program last year and Yale's interdisciplinary Black Studies doctoral program is also quite successful. The field is growing, but no doctoral programs for Black Studies yet exist in the South. The scholarly inquiry of race and gender studies is one measure of an institution's academic weight; Florida's advancement of graduate studies of marginalized populations can impact academic understanding and social relations both on and off campus, which will in turn impact national ranking. Additionally, Florida's historically black colleges and universities offer much guidance and leadership in race studies. Sustainable and mutually beneficial partnerships must be developed between the state's historically black colleges and universities and predominantly white institutions.²⁷

Black women's participation in the Florida State University System serves as a valuable perspective from which to evaluate and measure what is "higher" about higher education. This intersection of race and gender provides an instructive narrative of persistence, oppression, exclusion, contribution, and creative resistance that makes the Sunshine State, the South, and the country shine a bit brighter. For Oliver and the first wave of black college graduates in the Florida university system, being among the "first to see daylight" meant a struggle for comparable access. For Florida's state institutions of higher education, seeing daylight means continuing to develop sustained relationships with African Americans who desire equitable opportunities. Those individuals seeking entry to academe face challenges; those institutions seeking excellence are, perhaps, challenged just as much.

27. Kimberly Miller, "Fewer Black Freshman Enrolling at Florida Universities" *Palm Beach Post* September 27, 2005; Peter Schmidt, "Public Colleges in Florida and Kentucky Try to Account for Sharp Drops in Black Enrollments" *Chronicle of Higher Education*

“This Seems To Be Our Darkest Times”: The Florida Brigade in Mississippi, June-July, 1863

By Jonathan C. Sheppard

In June 1860, as the United States advanced toward the secession crisis, headmaster Samuel Pasco watched his Waukeenah Academy students exhibit the knowledge they had acquired over the past term to a crowd of proud parents and friends. During the program, the boys demonstrated their proficiency in subjects such as geography, spelling and reading, chemistry, grammar, arithmetic, and translation of Latin.¹ Following the formal examinations, the students acted and sang various orations and songs for their guests.

The highlight of the day's event was provided by George Washington Adams and Charles Ulmer, who recited Thomas Campbell's "Lochiel's Warning." In the well-known ballad, a wizard warned Lochiel of the impending military disaster awaiting the Scots at Culloden. Defying the wizard's caution, Lochiel boasted of the prowess of his clansmen, "Their swords are a thousand, their bosoms are one! They are true to the last of their blood and their breath, and like reapers descend to the harvest of death."²

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1. Monticello [Florida], *The Family Friend*, July 28, 1860.
2. Thomas Campbell, "Lochiel's Warning," lines 43-45. Fought in 1746, the Battle of Culloden pitted Highlanders under the Stuart pretender Prince Charles, against the Hanoverian forces of the Duke of Cumberland. The Scots lost the battle, during which they suffered more than 2,000 casualties. Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson argue in their work *Attack and Die*:

Just over a year later, following another summer's examinations, Pasco resigned his position to enlist in the Confederate Army, and Adams and Ulmer, along with many other classmates, followed their teacher into Company H of the 3rd Florida Infantry. Pasco and his former students faced their "harvest of death" in July 1863 near Jackson, Mississippi, in a battle that has escaped the notice of most scholars, but that defined the war experience of those Florida Confederates.

The capital of Mississippi attracted the attention of the Union Army twice in mid-1863. In May, General Ulysses S. Grant's forces occupied the city briefly during their march on Vicksburg. Following the fall of that city on July 4, Grant dispatched General William T. Sherman to Jackson to drive Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's army from the vicinity of the Union's newly won prize. The Vicksburg Campaign, long recognized as a turning point in the Civil War, has rightfully been the topic of many works, while the Jackson siege has received little attention.

In 1863, as the eastern armies clashed at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, western forces of both nations dueled in Mississippi. The Confederates could not underestimate Vicksburg's importance, for as long as the rebels held the river town, foodstuffs and other war material passed from Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas to the east bank of the Mississippi. Not only did the Federal forces wish to close this avenue of supply, but with the capture of Vicksburg and the down river stronghold of Port Hudson, the Mississippi would be safely in Union hands along its entire length. When Grant's forces began their offensive several miles south of Vicksburg in mid-May, the Confederates rushed reinforcements from Tennessee to contest the move.

The historiography of the Vicksburg Campaign has analyzed the strategic importance of Vicksburg, delved into the problems the campaign created for the Confederate high command, and explored the political implications the campaign held for the

Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage that southern culture before the Civil War was Celtic in its origins, and it showed in their battlefield behavior. "Lochiel's Warning," regarding the futility of the battle and the bravery of the Scots, probably held a romanticized version of heritage for many southerners. See McWhiney and Jamieson, *Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage* (Tuscaloosa, 1982), 170-1919. The harvest of death would claim Charles Ulmer at the Battle of Missionary Ridge, November 25, 1863. Adams died less than a year later on Kennesaw Mountain.

Union. Edwin C. Bearss, National Park historian and prolific Civil War scholar, penned a three-volume study of the Vicksburg campaign in which he carefully examined the months of military action over the extensive geography that characterized the campaign to argue the importance of Vicksburg for the outcome of the war.³

Following in the footsteps of Bearss, Terrence J. Winschel, Chief Historian of the Vicksburg National Military Park, produced several books that explained the value of Vicksburg to the Confederacy and its subsequent capture by Union forces in traditional terms of supply and transportation.⁴ More recently, well-known historian Albert Castel questioned the importance of the city to the Confederates and downplayed the result of its capture by Grant's army to the realm of a psychological victory.⁵ In 2004, Michael B. Ballard authored a well-researched, one volume study of the campaign that provided an understanding of the political and military causes for the campaign, and added a social dimension lacking in previous works. For Ballard, Vicksburg was important because "both sides decided it was."⁶

The consequent siege of Jackson, which lasted from July 10-17, has received scant attention from Civil War historians, an omission that occurred because the event took place after Vicksburg fell, and thus had no impact on the main objective of the campaign. Yet Johnston's force provided a threat of such significance that Grant ordered his principle lieutenant, Sherman, and 30,000 soldiers to deal with it. The only complete work on the battle remains Edwin C. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*.⁷

3. See Edwin C. Bearss, *Vicksburg is the Key, Volume I* (Dayton, Ohio, 1985), *Grant Strikes a Fatal Blow, Volume II* (Dayton, Ohio, 1986), and *Unvexed to the Sea, Volume III* (Dayton, Ohio, 1986).

4. See Terrence Winschel, *Triumph and Defeat: The Vicksburg Campaign* (El Dorado Hills, California, 1998), *Vicksburg: Fall of the Confederate Gibraltar* (Abilene, Texas, 1999), and with William L. Shea, *Vicksburg is the Key: The Struggle for the Mississippi* (Lincoln, 2003).

5. See Albert Castel, "Vicksburg: Myths and Realities," *North and South* 6, No. 7 (2003): 61-69.

6. See Michael B. Ballard, *Vicksburg: The Campaign That Opened The Mississippi* (Chapel Hill, 2004). For the importance of Ballard's work in the historiography of the campaign, see Mark Grimsley, "Michael B. Ballard. Vicksburg: The Campaign that Opened the Mississippi," *The American Historical Review* 111, No. 1 (2006): 182.

7. See Edwin C. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863* (Baltimore, 1981).

After the summer of 1863, the Mississippi capital represented more than a point on a map for the soldiers of John C. Breckinridge's divisions, especially those of the Florida brigade. Transferred to Mississippi from Tennessee in late-May, to assist in the defense of Vicksburg, the siege of Jackson provided lessons in victory, defeat and sacrifice. Jackson represented a defeat for the South, as advancing Federal troops captured the capital following a stand off that lasted less than a week. But for the Floridians who repulsed a Federal attack on the Jackson fortifications on a sweltering afternoon, there was a moment of victory. The Florida regiments, the 1st and 3rd, Consolidated, and the 4th, along with the 47th Georgia, captured nearly one-hundred and fifty prisoners and three battle flags. For the Floridians, Jackson also represented a place of sacrifice—sacrifice, not for the sake of the Confederacy, but for the sake of their comrades in the ranks.

The siege began almost two months earlier on May 23, 1863, when the soldiers of Colonel William Scott Dilworth's brigade began striking their tents and preparing their equipment for a move. The destination of their division was the subject of rumors that spread like a wildfire throughout their Fairfield, Tennessee, encampment. A visit by Major General John Breckinridge, the divisional commander, to the brigade's headquarters ignited further speculation. Although the ultimate destination remained a mystery, the men in the ranks soon learned that orders called for them to be at the Wartrace (Tennessee) Depot early the next morning.⁸

The five regiments of the brigade arrived at the station well before the appointed time of 7 a.m., but it was close to 3 p.m. before the train left the station and steamed south. After a stop in Chattanooga to switch trains, the engines continued through Tunnel Hill on the northern most spur of Missionary Ridge, before turning southeast onto the Western and Atlantic Railroad that would carry Breckinridge's soldiers towards Atlanta.⁹ As the

8. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1880-1901). Series I, Vol. XXIII., Part II, 849. (Hereafter *Official Records*) Also Samuel Pasco, *Private Pasco A Civil War Diary* Transcribed by William Pasco and William Gibbons. (Oak Brook: McAdams Multigraphics, 1990), 35. May 23, 1863. (Hereafter *Pasco Diary*).

9. Six months to the day on which the Floridians passed Missionary Ridge on their way south, many of the same soldiers would be killed or captured on the slopes of the ridge.



Senator Samuel Pasco. *Photo courtesy of the Florida State Archives.*

train steamed through the hills of north Georgia, the men speculated correctly as to their ultimate destination. Samuel Pasco, a brigade clerk who rode in the same car as Colonel Dilworth, wrote in his diary on May 25, "We then started towards Atlanta and now we all believe Mississippi to be the destination of our Division."¹⁰

10. *Private Pasco*, 36. May 25, 1863.

Twenty-eight-year-old Samuel Pasco, who would later serve as a two-term U.S. Senator, had earned his living as the headmaster of the Waukeenh Academy in Jefferson County, Florida. Born in London, Pasco had immigrated with his family in 1842, first to Prince Edward Island and then to Charlestown, Massachusetts; he graduated from Harvard in 1858. He arrived in Jefferson County in January 1859 to begin work as headmaster of the academy.¹¹

When war erupted in 1861, although he had lived in the South for less than two years and his family remained in Massachusetts, he chose to fight for his adopted home and enlisted in Company H of the 3rd Florida Infantry Regiment on August 10, 1861. Fifteen of his students from the Waukeenh Academy, "whose fathers were satisfied to give them up to the care of their worthy preceptor," accompanied him.¹² As the trains traveled south, Pasco recorded his daily observances in his diary.

The 1863 journey through Georgia reminded many veterans of their rail movement during the previous summer when they traveled to Chattanooga from either Mobile or Tupelo. The 1862 trip encountered enthusiastic crowds at every stop, as Washington Ives, a soldier in the 4th Florida Infantry, noted in a letter home, "All along the railroads as we came, girls . . . threw us Confederate flags. Peaches and apples generally given to us also. The girls were from 5 to 12 in a group and at Marietta, Georgia an opera troupe of young ladies sang finely."¹³ As their trains moved through North Georgia in 1863, the soldiers of the Florida regiments were greeted by a similar scene. Pasco wrote, "We had a very lively time at Ringgold & Dalton. Our band played finely and attracted a large crowd."¹⁴

A day later, when the train reached Marietta, Pasco observed, "Plenty of pretty ladies turned out; they were very desirous to see Breckinridge who is on our train and he appeared."¹⁵ The trains arrived at Atlanta on May 26 and the soldiers had to move their equipment from the Western and Atlantic to the Atlanta and West Point. Off again, the trains reached West Point on the

11. *Private Pasco*, iv.

12. *Private Pasco*, 187. See also p. iv.

13. Washington M. Ives, *Civil War Journal and Letters of Serg. Washington Ives*, 4th Florida C.S.A., Transcribed by Jim R. Cabaniss, 22. Special Collections, Stroz Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

14. *Private Pasco*, 36. May 25-26, 1863.

15. *Ibid.*, 36-37. May 26, 1863.

Chattahoochee River that night, and the next day entered Alabama. Pasco noted, "It rained this morning when we left and the men are terribly crowded inside the cars and on top for there is a scarcity of cars. The rain gradually cleared away and we had a charming day."¹⁶ What the soldiers saw in eastern Alabama was a land which had been untouched by the war, unlike the region they had left in Middle Tennessee. "The country is beautiful," wrote Pasco, "the crops of corn and grain abundant and at every little station crowds of ladies came out to welcome us."¹⁷

At Montgomery the force was split; some troops were sent via river steamer to Selma, while the Floridians remained on the trains until they reached Mobile Bay. Sending the 1st Florida by the southern route may not have been a good idea, as the tracks passed near the homes of some of the men. As the train rumbled through southern Alabama towns, homesick soldiers jumped from the moving cars in an attempt to desert.¹⁸ As the train continued its western journey, the destination became more certain. Writing from Montgomery, a soldier in Pasco's company confirmed his suspicions in a letter to his wife: "I wrote you from wartrace Tenn that we were on the eve of moving to parts unknown but supposed that we were going to Mississippi that supposition has turned out to be correct we are going in the vicinity of Vicksburg."¹⁹

By May 29 when Samuel Palmer wrote to his wife of the destination of his regiment, the situation in Mississippi was rapidly falling apart. Only ten days earlier, Major General Ulysses S. Grant's Army of the Tennessee had completed a 200-mile march south. After landing his forces twenty miles below Vicksburg, Grant's troops marched to the state capital of Jackson, fifty miles inland from the river city, before turning west against their objective. By May 19,

16. *Ibid.*, 37. May 27, 1863.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Private Pasco*, 37. May 28, 1863. The original 1st Florida was comprised entirely of companies raised in Florida. In late March 1862, the regiment's one-year enlistment ended and many of the soldiers went home rather than re-enlist. Those who remained continued to fight as the 1st Florida Infantry Battalion. In August 1862, the 1st Florida Battalion was reinforced by a second Florida battalion which consisted of companies raised in panhandle counties and one company whose members hailed from southern Alabama. These two battalions, under the command of Colonel William Miller were reconstituted into the new 1st Florida Infantry Regiment.

19. Samuel Palmer to My Dear Mary, May 29, 1863. Palmer Family Letters, 1856-1915, M87-36. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL.

Grant's army had covered the last fifty miles, and had, in the process, fought and defeated the Vicksburg garrison under the command of Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton, at Champion's Hill, forcing it to retreat into the city. Having brought more than 30,000 men against the Vicksburg defenses, with nearly 30,000 reinforcements on the way, Grant immediately attempted two frontal assaults. The Union commander threw his forces against the entrenched Confederates on the day his army reached the city, and again three days later. Both were repulsed, with Grant's veterans suffering over 1,500 casualties. "After the failure of the 22d," wrote Grant in his official report, "I determined upon a regular siege."²⁰

As Grant's army dug into the loamy Mississippi soil to construct entrenchments and gun emplacements with the purpose of encircling Vicksburg, fifty miles to the east at Jackson, General Joseph E. Johnston was organizing a relief for the besieged city. However, by early June Johnston wrote of his army, "... this force (about 24,000 infantry and artillery, not one-third that of the enemy), it was deficient in artillery, in ammunition for all arms, and field transportation, and could not be moved upon that enemy (already entrenching his large force) with any hope of success."²¹ Adding to the difficulty Johnston faced in advancing against the Vicksburg siege lines with a numerically inferior force was the fact that "Grant had positioned seven divisions behind the Federal siege lines at Vicksburg, specifically to prevent relief of the city."²² Therefore, even after 5,000 reinforcements arrived in the form of Breckinridge's division on the last day of May, Johnston remained idle at Jackson.

On May 28 the van of Breckinridge's division, including Colonel William Dilworth and at least part of his brigade, reached Mobile Bay. Here the soldiers were crowded onto a steamer for transport down the Alabama River and across the Bay. On the western shore of Mobile Bay the soldiers re-embarked on trains which traveled along the Mobile and Ohio Rail Road as it wound northwestwards to Meridian, Mississippi. From Meridian less than a day was required for the trip to a location on the Southern Mississippi Rail Road five miles east of Jackson.

20. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 56. For an in-depth study on the campaign to seize Vicksburg, see Michael B. Ballard, *Vicksburg: The Campaign That Opened the Mississippi* (Chapel Hill, 2004).

21. *Ibid.*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part I, 242.

22. Benjamin R. Wynne, *A Hard Trip: A History of the 15th Mississippi* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2003), 107.

The trains could not approach the city itself because the bridges over the Pearl River had been destroyed in early May when Grant's army occupied the city. As equipment was unloaded from the cars and tents were pitched, rain began to fall. The weather prompted Private Michael O. Raysor to write home complaining of the Floridians' situation: "This country is not as good as Tennessee I am sorry we left their [sic] but I can't help it soldiers has to do what they are told to do."²³

At the time of its movement to Mississippi, John C. Breckinridge's division consisted of four infantry brigades and four artillery batteries. The twenty-two regiments of infantry constituted the famed "Orphan" or Kentucky Brigade commanded by Brigadier General Benjamin Helm, the Louisiana Brigade of Brigadier General Daniel W. Adams, and the Florida Brigade of Colonel William Dilworth. Brigadier General Nathan "Shanks" Evans' veteran brigade of South Carolinians was attached to the division for a short time in early June.

Evans' brigade served as a substitute for the Tennessee Brigade of Brigadier General John C. Brown, which was ordered to remain behind in Tennessee. This was done in the order of May 23 to General Breckinridge from Lieutenant General Braxton Bragg's headquarters, which specifically stated, "You will prepare all the infantry of your division, except the Tennessee regiments, to move immediately by rail. . . ." ²⁴ Also as a result of this order, Dilworth's brigade was stripped of the 20th Tennessee, leaving it with four severely under-strength regiments.

The artillery, which consisted of the 5th Company of the New Orleans-raised Washington Artillery, also included batteries from Kentucky and Tennessee. Evans' brigade had its own South Carolina artillery.²⁵ The effective strength of the division four days after its arrival in Mississippi stood at 7,409.

23. Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, May 31, 1863. Michael O. Raysor Papers, 1861-1864, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL.

24. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIII., Part II, 849. Also Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 952.

25. At Chickamauga the three batteries of Breckinridge's division, the Washington Artillery Company, the Kentucky Battery, and the Tennessee Battery, fielded 14 guns, including, 8 12-pounder Napoleons, 2 James Rifles, and 4 12-pounder Howitzers. This order of battle probably had not changed since the campaign in Mississippi. One witness however claims that Breckinridge's division fielded 18 guns at Jackson.

John C. Breckinridge, the divisional commander, was a pro-secessionist Kentucky politician-turned-soldier. He was best known as having served as vice president in the Buchanan administration, and for his unsuccessful bid for the Presidency in 1860. In the election, campaigning "as the candidate of the Southern wing of the Democratic party," he finished a distant second in the electoral vote behind Republican Abraham Lincoln.²⁶ Despite his loss in the Presidential race, Breckinridge remained in Washington until the conflict began, representing his native state in the Senate.

When Kentucky declared neutrality in the conflict, Breckinridge began speaking out against the intentions of the Union, an act that caused indignation among Federal authorities.²⁷ In October 1861, he escaped to Confederate lines near Bowling Green. Less than a month later he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General in the Confederate Army.²⁸ After commanding a corps in Albert Sidney Johnston's Army of the Mississippi at Shiloh, he commanded a division in Louisiana in mid-1862, where he was unsuccessful in liberating Baton Rouge from Federal control.

Breckinridge ran afoul of General Braxton Bragg, then commanding the renamed Army of Tennessee, following the Kentucky Campaign. Army of Tennessee historian Thomas L. Connelly writes that Bragg "had been critical in October of Breckinridge's failure to reach Kentucky in time to be of service."²⁹ Bragg's campaign into the Bluegrass State rested on the theory that pro-secessionist Kentuckians would take up arms and fill the ranks of his army. To accomplish this, he relied on the native Kentuckians within his army, namely Brigadier General Simon Bolivar Buckner, to appeal to the pro-secessionist elements. Bragg had also hoped that the politician Breckinridge and his division, then serving in Louisiana, would be able to join him in the offensive. Breckinridge's force reached Knoxville by early October and was ready to advance into Kentucky in support of Bragg, when word arrived that Bragg was in retreat.³⁰

26. Mark M. Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary, Revised Edition* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1987), 82.

27. Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), 55.

28. Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 82.

29. Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 81.

30. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, 189.



General John C. Breckinridge. *Florida State Archives.*

Kentuckians failed to rally to the Confederate colors despite the pleas of Buckner and provisional Confederate Governor Richard Hawes, who had been installed into office by Bragg with an elaborate ceremony in Frankfort. Without popular support,

and after the defeat at the Battle of Perryville, Bragg was forced to withdraw from the Bluegrass State. By late October his demoralized, tired, and hungry forces was trudging through the rugged East Tennessee mountains, moving towards Knoxville. Bragg, not willing to admit his own responsibility in the defeat, pointed to the Kentuckians in his force, particularly Breckinridge, as the source of the problem.

The feud worsened in late December and early January, following the Battle of Murfreesboro. Bragg bore the brunt of sharp criticism for his decision to retreat further into Middle Tennessee after the second day of battle. In another round of finger pointing, Bragg accused the Kentuckian of misconduct during the assault on January 2. Throughout the spring while the Army of Tennessee recuperated in camps around Tullahoma and Wartrace, the battle of words continued in the official battle reports. Samuel Pasco articulated the thoughts felt by many soldiers on the matter, when on May 1 he noted "Gen'l Bragg's official Report of the Murfreesboro battle came out to-day; it is a tissue of misrepresentations against the good name of the noble Breckinridge and will create great indignation among the troops of this army who idolize Breckinridge."³¹ The conflict between the two did not calm until Bragg was ordered to send reinforcements to Mississippi. Because there was no one whom he wished to be rid of more than Breckinridge, his May 23 orders banished the Kentuckian and his division from the Army of Tennessee.

Also reassigned from the Army of Tennessee during the spring was the former commander of the Florida Brigade, Brigadier General William Preston. Like Breckinridge, Preston was a Kentucky politician who joined the Confederate Army.³² Following Murfreesboro, where he led his brigade admirably, he earned the ire of Braxton Bragg by siding with Breckinridge during the spring feud. In late May, in another calculated move to rid the Army of his "enemies," Bragg transferred Preston to service in western Virginia.

Following the removal of Preston, Colonel William Dilworth assumed temporary command of the brigade. A native of Camden County, Georgia, Dilworth practiced law in Jefferson County,

31. *Private Pasco*, May 1, 1863, 31-32.

32. Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 668. For more on the Preston-Breckinridge-Bragg feud, see Thomas L. Connelly's *Autumn of Glory*.

Florida, in 1861. Popular with county residents, Dilworth represented them in the Florida Secession Convention where he voted in favor of Florida leaving the Union. In the summer of 1861 when the 3rd Florida Infantry formed, Dilworth was elected Colonel. The campaign in Mississippi would be his trial by fire because he had not led his regiment in the Kentucky Campaign or at Murfreesboro. After missing the Battle of Murfreesboro while in Florida searching for regimental absentees, Dilworth returned to his regiment, which had been consolidated with the 1st Florida Regiment following the Kentucky Campaign.³³ As the senior Colonel, he succeeded Preston as brigade commander.

Besides the 1st and 3^d Florida, the 4th Florida Infantry was also present in the Florida Brigade. This regiment, formed in the summer of 1861, arrived in Tennessee just prior to the invasion of Kentucky, but did not participate in the campaign. The regiment suffered heavily in its first action at Murfreesboro, and at the time of the movement to Jackson was under the field command of Colonel Wylde L. L. Bowen, a twenty-four-year-old native of Tennessee who resided in Columbia County at the outbreak of war, where he edited a newspaper.³⁴ The final regiment of the brigade, the 60th North Carolina, had not performed very well in its first battle at Murfreesboro.³⁵ The smallest brigade in Breckinridge's division on June 3, the four regiments of the Florida Brigade mustered 1, 284 effectives.³⁶

On June 5, newly promoted Brigadier General Marcellus A. Stovall, assigned by General Bragg to the brigade on May 25, arrived in Jackson and assumed command from Colonel Dilworth.

33. *Private Pasco*, November 27, 1862. Dilworth remained in Florida throughout December and January. He returned to the front on February 2, 1863, and assumed command of the 1st and 3rd Regiments. The consolidated unit's previous commander, Colonel William Miller of the 1st Florida, was incapacitated at Murfreesboro.

34. 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Columbia County, FL; p. 175, family 54, dwelling 54, lines 18-22 National Archives Microfilm M653, Roll 109. See also M. Whit Smith letter in Wylde L. L. Bowen, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Florida, 1861-1865*. National Archives Microcopy M-251, National Archives, Washington D.C.

35. Washington Ives of the 4th Florida noted in a letter home, that on December 31, as the brigade was making an attack against the Round Forest, the 60th North Carolina "turned and ran like sheep." See *Civil War Journal and Letters*, 35.

36. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 945.

Formerly the Colonel of the 3rd Georgia Infantry Battalion and a merchant in civilian life, the forty-five year old Stovall was a veteran of Murfreesboro.³⁷ The following day, the brigade received another addition, the 47th Georgia Infantry.³⁸

Throughout June, Breckinridge's division remained encamped on the outskirts of Jackson, with orders from General Joseph E. Johnston, commander of the Confederate Department of the West, to "establish lines of pickets on the various roads converging to Jackson."³⁹ The Floridians were assigned to the area southwest of the town where, by the order of General Breckinridge, each regiment spent one day out of four on the picket line.⁴⁰

As spring ebbed, cannons from Grant's army and Federal gunboats shelled the Vicksburg defenses daily.⁴¹ From their encampments around Jackson, more than forty miles from the river city, the Floridians reported hearing the rumble of cannon fire from the siege lines. "We heard heavy firing in the direction of Vicksburg all last night and day until 10 o'clock," wrote William D. Rogers of the 1st Florida.⁴² To Samuel Pasco the sounds were reassuring, and he wrote in his diary, "We are glad to hear the guns again this morning for it silences the groundless rumors of the fall of our stronghold."⁴³

As the supplies of the Vicksburg garrison dwindled, Jefferson Davis renewed a feud with Joseph Johnston that had originated in the months following First Bull Run.⁴⁴ Davis became exasperated as both he and the Confederate War Department repeatedly urged Johnston to move in support of the besieged city. Yet the general balked at each request from Richmond, pleading numerical infe-

37. Boatner, 810.

38. *Private Pasco*, June 5, 1863, 39.

39. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 942.

40. *Private Pasco*, June 5, 1863, 39; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, June 25, 1863, Raysor Letters.

41. William L. Shea and Terrence J. Winschel, *Vicksburg Is the Key: The Struggle for the Mississippi River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 156.

42. William D. Rogers to Father and Mother, June 23, 1863, William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865, M89-22, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL.

43. *Private Pasco*, June 7, 1863, 40.

44. For two works on the Jefferson Davis-Joseph Johnston feud and its impact on the Civil War in the western theater, see William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (New York, 1991) and Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (New York, 1992).

riority to Grant's army.⁴⁵ As a Vicksburg historian recently wrote, during the campaign Confederate "authorities sent what they could, but it was never enough-Johnston needed more, more, more."⁴⁶

However, during the last half of June, Johnston attempted to vindicate himself with some form of action after receiving word from General Pemberton that "his provisions would enable him to hold out no later than July 10."⁴⁷ If politicians doubted Johnston's nerve, his soldiers maintained their belief in his ability, as Private Michael Raysor told his wife that "Gen Johnson [sic] is not idle he will have Grant out of here before long."⁴⁸ Yet despite this eleventh hour attempt to relieve Vicksburg, the feud between the President and general turned particularly bitter and would remain a nuisance for the Confederates during the remainder of the war.⁴⁹

Even before official orders had been issued, gossip circulated through the camps on the outskirts of Jackson that the army would be moving to relieve the Vicksburg garrison. Returning from furlough on June 21, William Rogers found the men of his company ready to move out. "I had to turn in my knapsack as soon as I got here," Rogers wrote. He went on to note that the soldiers were traveling light, with only an extra shirt a pr [pair] drawers a pr [pair] socks which we have to carry folded up in our Blankets. From that it looks like they intend us to do some heavy marching."⁵⁰

The same day Samuel Pasco noted in his diary that "[d]rivers are called for the supply train which I suppose betokens an early departure."⁵¹ But another week passed before orders arrived at brigade headquarters from Breckinridge, moving the brigade to Clinton.⁵² "The reveille disturbed our slumbers at 3 and we at

45. Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, 217-218; Shea and Winschel, *Vicksburg Is the Key*, 168.

46. Terrence J. Winschel, "A Tragedy of Errors: The Failure of the Confederate High Command in the Defense of Vicksburg" *North and South* 8, no. 7 (2006): 47.

47. Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 215.

48. Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, June 25, 1863, Raysor Letters.

49. The feud between Johnston and Davis continued long after the war ended.

50. Rogers to Father and Mother, June 23, 1863, Rogers Letters.

51. *Private Pasco*, June 23, 1863, 42.

52. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part I, 985.

once rose and loaded the waggons [sic]. We marched out into the road at day break but it was sunrise before Gen'l Stovall appeared to lead the brigade," wrote Samuel Pasco on July 1.⁵³

Over the next few days, as the eastern armies clashed at Gettysburg, Johnston's columns experienced some of the harshest marching conditions they faced throughout the war as they moved to relieve Vicksburg. "The heat was intense, and the water was most execrable as well as scarce. I have never forgotten that experience. We had to drink the stuff that was absolutely alive with animal life, and sometimes we had to drink it when animals without any life were upon its surface," wrote Charles Hemming of the 3rd Florida.⁵⁴

Michael Raysor wrote to his wife from Bolton Station, "Only two days coming here and the hottest days I ever felt a great many men fainted it was so hot and I heard that some died. But thank God I stood it first rate and am well and hearty."⁵⁵ Pasco also wrote of the harsh conditions on the first day's march: "We had a terrible march; many dropped fainting by the roadside; three it is said died. I never felt such intense heat; water was scarce; the air was filled with thick clouds of dust and the General stopped but once on the march to rest and then only for a few minutes."⁵⁶

By July 5, unaware that Vicksburg had capitulated the previous day, the Florida Brigade camped on the battlefield of Champion's Hill, one of the engagements which Grant's army won on its march to Vicksburg. Johnston spent the first few days of July "probing for a soft spot in the Union line, trying to find an opening, a way to break through to Pemberton with his four infantry divisions,"⁵⁷ and found that the 30,000 Union soldiers under the command of Major General William T. Sherman "had fortified and barricaded every road in the area between Big Black Bridge and Snyder's Bluff, and were prepared to hold these strongholds against double their numbers."⁵⁸ No attempt at a breakthrough would take place,

53. *Private Pasco*, July 1, 1863, 43.

54. Charles Hemming, "THE WAR OF 1861 AND ITS CAUSES," Charles C. Hemming Papers, PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL.

55. Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, July 3, 1863, Raysor Letters.

56. *Private Pasco*, July 1, 1863, 44.

57. Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery: The Washington Artillery in the Army of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 107.

58. Edwin C. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1981), 55.

as on the morning of July 6, orders came from Johnston for his divisions to countermarch east toward their starting position at Jackson.

"There is no confirmation yet of the news of the fall of Vicksburg," wrote Samuel Pasco on July 7, "but our movements evidently show that it is believed at Head Quarters."⁵⁹ The private further noted, "Waggons and vehicles of every description have filled the road since daybreak. Citizens are taking their families and servants to a place of security and all our army is falling back towards Jackson."⁶⁰ The army was indeed in retreat toward the capital on July 7, as "Johnston realized that General Grant, having eliminated Pemberton's army, would turn upon his force."⁶¹

Johnston speculated correctly as to Grant's plans, for as the Confederates began their retreat on July 7, General Sherman had already launched his expedition towards the Mississippi capital. In fact, the city of Vicksburg had not been in Union possession twenty-four hours when Sherman's force, numbering around 46,000 men, began the advance eastward from their lines around Vicksburg.⁶² Sherman's veteran soldiers, like their Confederate counterparts, carried only the necessities of a campaign, which included their blankets, ammunition, and five days rations.⁶³ Their swift marching would allow the Federals to reach the outskirts of Jackson on July 10, only three days behind Johnston's men.

The Florida Brigade arrived in Jackson during a rainstorm on the night of July 7. The 3rd Florida had an especially tiring day in the retreat, as it was delayed after being deployed to "picket duty on two roads while our trains were passing."⁶⁴ To make matters worse for the soldiers, they were without their tents, which meant a night spent under a steady rain. Pasco wrote of the night, "I was soon thoroughly chilled but exhausted by the fatigue of the march I fell into a sound sleep."⁶⁵

During the ensuing days, the men of Johnston's army strengthened the line of fortifications constructed around Jackson before Grant's advance through the town in May. Soldiers built embra-

59. *Pasco Diary*, July 7, 1863, 45.

60. *Ibid.*

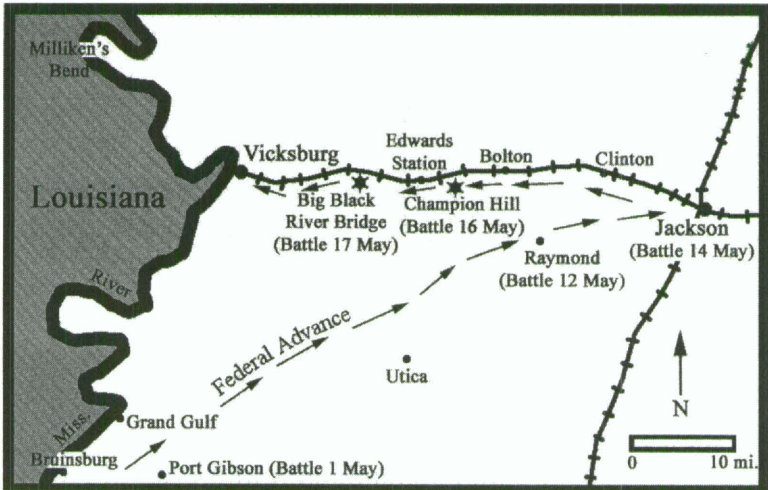
61. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*, 63.

62. *Ibid.*, 57-58.

63. *Ibid.*, 57.

64. *Pasco Diary*, July 7, 1863, 45.

65. *Ibid.*



Federal Advance on Vicksburg, 1863. Map courtesy of Dr. Ben Wynne.

tures of cotton bales and constructed rifle pits and breastworks along the length of Johnston's semicircular-shaped line that enclosed the city. The Floridians worked equally hard on their portion of the fortifications, as Samuel Pasco wrote "the line of breastworks has been greatly extended by our Brigade during the day and our Regiment will have to work half the night on them."⁶⁶

By July 10, when Sherman's soldiers reached Jackson, they confronted a formidable Confederate line. North of Jackson Major General W. W. Loring's division anchored the right flank on the Pearl River. To the left the line extended southwest, secured by William H. T. Walker's division, whose left flank joined the division of Major General Samuel French. The entrenchments of French's division ran almost due south, and Breckinridge's troops covered the southern line of fortifications. The former Vice President's left flank rested on the Pearl River. The Florida brigade held the center of Breckinridge's line, flanked on the right by Cobb's battery and the left by the Tennessee battery.⁶⁷

On July 10, as the Union force approached Jackson, Companies C and H of the 3rd Florida were detached to picket duty in front of the Confederate lines. The day turned out to be

66. Ibid., July 9, 1863, 46.

67. Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, 108.

memorable, not because of the arrival of the Union army, but because of the find made by members of the picket line. Pasco wrote in his diary that evening:

a lot of tobacco was found deserted about a half mile to the front and rather the Federals should enjoy it our men overhauled it all and carried away a good deal. Some private property left there to be sent off on the train which did not come in from Brookhaven yesterday. Nearly everything was taken off or destroyed to prevent the Federals from getting it.⁶⁸

Herrmann Hirsch, a member of Pasco's Company H, wrote in a letter to an acquaintance in Mobile that at the depot there was also an abundance of "flour, Sugar, Bacon, Rice, Peas, & Salt & everybody made full use of it."⁶⁹ However, the good fortune for the soldiers from Florida did not end with the raid on the depot. Later that evening, as Pasco wrote in his journal:

Cavalry were driving some beeves by our line and a refractory bull refusing to go with the common herd was shot down and turned over to the skirmishers. [Brigadier General Daniel] Adams' men and ours stripped off the flesh quicker than a lot of hungry buzzards could have done and beef in all forms was soon very abundant; steak, heart, liver, kidney, broiled, toasted, fried, and barbecued.⁷⁰

Charles Hemming, a teenage soldier in Company A, 3rd Florida, had quite a different experience on picket duty in front of the Confederate entrenchments. Years later, when writing his memoirs, he recalled that:

One day, before the pickets' lines had been drawn so close together, the boys told about a spring that they had found between the lines, and several of us went out to fill our canteens. The path we pursued was narrow and winding. Lo and behold, as we emerged from the brush to the opening where the spring lay, we ran across several

68. *Pasco Diary*, July 10, 1863, 46.

69. Michael B. Dougan, "Herrmann Hirsch and the Siege of Jackson," *Journal of Mississippi History* 53, no. 3 (1991): 25.

70. *Pasco Diary*, July 10, 1863, 46-47.

Federal soldiers who were there for the same purpose. None of us had any arms, nor was the greeting between us unkind. We chatted a little, filled our canteens, and went back to our respective commands.⁷¹

In another instance, the veteran recollected that "I was out on the picket line with some of the boys one night, and the pickets of the Union army were so close that we could hear them . . . pulling corn in a small field that intervened between us."⁷²

By July 11 General Sherman had succeeded in positioning his force around Jackson's fortifications. Major General John Parke's IX Corps lay north of the city while Major General Frederick Steele, commanding Sherman's old XV Corps, moved against the line held by Walker's Confederates. Major General Edward O. C. Ord's XIII Corps, which had been reinforced by several divisions of the XVI Corps, was positioned on the southern flank of Sherman's advance. The previous day Sherman had ordered his army to "gain ground to the front whenever they can do so without too great a sacrifice of life."⁷³ After intensive skirmishing on July 11, as the Federal commanders attempted to carry out Sherman's orders, he called for an extensive bombardment of Jackson beginning at 7 a.m. the following morning. "Each gun," Sherman dictated, "will fire not to exceed thirty rounds, shot and shell in proper proportions. The shots will be directed against any groups of the enemy's troops, or in direction of the town of Jackson."⁷⁴

Dawn of July 12 once again found Companies C and H of the 3rd Florida deployed on the picket line, relieving Companies A and F. "I got a position on the extreme left of the Company," wrote Pasco, "and took my post in a fence corner with the rails thrown down at either end."⁷⁵ A Union battery, acting on Sherman's orders to fire into the Confederate lines, he continued, "took its position in a field beyond us and soon opened a destructive fire . . . Adams' pickets fell back and soon after we had to follow. The shot and shell fell in all directions ploughing up dirt in front of us and on either side as we retreated."⁷⁶

71. "WAR OF 1861 AND ITS CAUSES," 62.

72. *Ibid.*, 60.

73. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 496

74. *Ibid.*, 502-503.

75. *Pasco Diary*, July 12, 1863, 47.

76. *Ibid.*

Hermann Hirsch, who was on picket duty with Pasco, remembered in a letter written two weeks later that as the skirmishers fell back, "one of my Companie was struck by a cannon ball in the hip & his side got badly shattered."⁷⁷ In the excitement and rush to reach their own lines, none of eighteen-year-old Thomas Linton Pettus's comrades had time to provide aid to the mortally wounded soldier.

Charles Hemming recalled of the bombardment, "Their batteries were posted in such a way as to rake the lines where our pickets were established, and, like all soldiers, we took the best shelter we could get. I was behind a little standing oak tree that did not measure more than three inches in diameter."⁷⁸ When the barrage slackened, Pasco recalled the skirmishers were dispatched 200 yards from the main lines, and it was here they received the attack of a Federal brigade.⁷⁹

The Florida Confederates faced troops under the command of Colonel Isaac Pugh, a veteran of the western campaign, with more than two years service behind him in July 1863.⁸⁰ Pugh's brigade, which was a part of Jacob G. Lauman's Division, XVI Corps, consisted of four, veteran Midwestern regiments: the 41st and 53rd Illinois, 3rd Iowa, and 33rd Wisconsin.⁸¹ The brigade was reinforced that day with the addition of the 28th Illinois.⁸²

The previous day Pugh's divisional commander, Brigadier General Jacob Lauman, had been ordered by General Ord to move toward the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Rail Road tracks just south of Jackson in order to conduct a reconnaissance.⁸³ General Ord instructed Lauman, an able commander who had served with Grant's army since Belmont, to "make a reconnaissance, and, if it is necessary to form a line and attack to drive the force in front, do so. . . ."⁸⁴ Lauman's instructions contained no directive to attack the Confederate main line, but for reasons unknown, he superseded his written orders and com-

77. Dougan, "Herrmann Hirsch and the Siege of Jackson," 19.

78. "WAR OF 1861 AND ITS CAUSES," 61.

79. *Pasco Diary*, July 12, 1863, 47.

80. Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 674.

81. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*, 84-85.

82. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part II, 604.

83. *Ibid.*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 503.

84. *Ibid.*, 503-304.

manded Pugh's brigade to make an advance against the Confederate entrenchments.⁸⁵

Following an advance through the cornfield in which Charles Hemming had heard Union soldiers picking ears, and past the downed fence that had been the position of Pasco's skirmish line, Pugh ordered a halt to his brigade's movement.⁸⁶ In his own words, "I did not like the appearance of the field, and I did not intend to advance farther without orders."⁸⁷ The Colonel called for his superior to come and view the situation first hand. Lauman surveyed the field and promptly ordered for Pugh to continue towards the enemy's fortifications.⁸⁸

As Pugh's regiments advanced, the eighteen cannons of Breckinridge's division and rifles of Dan Adams's brigade began firing at the Federals. Benton Ellis, a member of 3rd Florida, Company C, recalled the awful scene that followed: "They advanced by platoons, and when well into the old field, our artillery opened up on them - I think it was Cobb's battery . . . I never saw such slaughter as our guns made, - they were nearly all killed, captured or wounded. I never saw so many dead men in all my life."⁸⁹ The description Charles Hemming gave matched that of Ellis when describing the devastation: "When the line opened and the battery turned loose, hundreds were mowed down like grass before a scythe."⁹⁰

While the artillery accounted for most of the Union casualties that day, the skirmishers of the 1st and 3rd Florida in advance of the fortifications played a role in the victory. According to Samuel Pasco, the skirmishers "threw out our left to flank them."⁹¹ Perpendicular to the Union advance, the Rebels "began firing . . . and kept it up until we had them opposite to us, but they paid no attention to the Pickets' firing, but continued the charge towards our main line and artillery."⁹² The Union troops advanced that afternoon to a point

85. Boatner, III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 472. For more on the activities of Jacob Lauman and Issac Pugh during the war see Steven E. Woodworth, *Nothing But Glory: The Army of the Tennessee, 1861-1865* (New York, 2005).

86. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part II, 603-604.

87. *Ibid.*, 604.

88. *Ibid.*

89. "Short Record of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr.," 6. Thomas Benton Ellis Collection, Special Collections, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

90. "WAR OF 1861 AND ITS CAUSES," 63.

91. *Pasco Diary*, July 12, 1863, 47.

92. "Short Record of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr.," 6.

within 120 yards of the Confederate line. There the men in blue were halted by the blasts of double canister from the cannon of Breckinridge's division.⁹³ Unable to resist or advance, the survivors of the useless attack began a pell-mell retreat to the rear. In the ensuing chaos, the Floridians gained the honor for their battle flags.

"We cut them off and captured a good many," wrote Samuel Pasco of the pursuit of the enemy by the skirmishers of the 1st and 3rd Florida. "Our company was much complimented for its conduct," the former schoolteacher noted.⁹⁴ A part of the Florida Brigade, led by Major Rice Graves, Breckinridge's Chief of Artillery, advanced with soldiers from the trenches to provide the hammer to the skirmishers' anvil, enabling the Florida Brigade to capture a great number of prisoners. As the retreat began, Charles Hemming gave this description of the scene that transpired:

Then the order was given to charge, and we leaped across the breastworks in the face of the advancing column, just in front of our regiment. Capt. Saxon, the commander of our sharpshooters, was the first to cross the trenches. All the boys were moving quickly to the front, and in a few minutes, when we got to where the Federals were, they threw down their guns, and we took in three battle flags and a hundred and fifty prisoners within the space of fifteen minutes. As they would fall and throw down their guns they would cry out, "Do not hurt me!" But we did not hurt prisoners; that was not the kind of war we waged.⁹⁵

Benton Ellis noted that many Rebels seized trophies other than battle flags from Union prisoners, as "soldiers at once began to appropriate their guns knapsacks and Haversacks and also their pocketbooks, and as much as they wanted."⁹⁶ Ellis went on to write "I exchanged my old Enfield for a new one, took a rubber blanket and a fine new hat - that was all I wanted. The Haversacks were filled with good rations, and when we got to Camp, we made good sure enough cough [coffee], and with the hard tack and ham, we had a fine dinner."⁹⁷

93. Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, 114-115.

94. *Pasco Diary*, July 12, 1863, 47.

95. "THE WAR OF 1861 AND ITS CAUSES," 63. Captain Walter Terry Saxon was the commander of Company C, 3rd Florida Infantry.

96. "Short Record of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr.," 6.

97. *Ibid.*, 7.

As the sun set that evening, Union commanders tallied their official casualties at 510 out of the 880 soldiers who had made the attack. These losses included 67 killed, 294 wounded, and 149 captured.⁹⁸ Besides these losses, the Florida Brigade captured the colors of the “28th, 41st, and 53rd Illinois’ Regiments.”⁹⁹ These prizes were sent directly to Joseph E. Johnston’s headquarters, and the commanding general penned the following reply to General Breckinridge:

Do me the kindness, also, to express to the First and Third Florida, Forty-seventh Georgia, and Fourth Florida Regiments the pride and pleasure with which I have accepted the splendid trophies they have presented me. Assure them that I equally appreciate the soldierly courage and kindly feelings to myself which have gained me these noble compliments.¹⁰⁰

For his part in the fiasco, Jacob Lauman was immediately removed from command by General Sherman.¹⁰¹ Casualties in Breckinridge’s force that day were small, and numbered exactly fifty during the seven day siege.¹⁰² Yet one of these, Tom Pettus, lay somewhere between the lines, unable to move in his wounded condition. That night, Pettus’ condition remained at the forefront of Pasco’s thoughts, for Pettus was one of the former students under his charge.¹⁰³

Samuel Pasco, writing of the episode in 1909, remembered that throughout the night, “the wounded men between the lines begged piteously for water and a number of the Union soldiers were, at great risk, relieved and brought into our lines.”¹⁰⁴ The next morning, the 3rd Florida prepared to send out a small party to give water to the wounded. Writing in his diary, Pasco said he “felt

98. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part II, 547, 604.

99. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*, 87.

100. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 1001.

101. *Ibid.*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 506.

102. *Ibid.*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part II, 654.

103. Clarence W. Smith, “Private Pasco,” *Private Pasco*, 184. Reprinted from Ben LaBree, ed. *Camp Fires of the Confederacy*. “A volume of Humorous Anecdotes, Reminiscences, Deeds of Heroism, Etc.,” (Louisville: Courier Journal Printing Company, 1898) 199-202.

104. Samuel Pasco, “Untitled Handwritten Manuscript, 1909.” United Daughters of the Confederacy Scrapbooks, 1900 - 1935, Vol. 1, M96-18. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL.

convinced that Tom Pettus was still in the woods and asked . . . permission to go with the party."¹⁰⁵

Permission was granted and Pasco joined the relief detail, which included some of Pettus' classmates from the Waukeelah Academy. The picket line advanced to provide cover for the group and, as Pasco noted in his diary, "the Yankees fired at us but we kept cautiously along. Several of their wounded were there and we supplied them with water as we advanced."¹⁰⁶ Pasco's 1909 account recalled that an Illinois soldier whom the 3rd Florida men provided with water "called to his comrades not to fire at these men for they were helping the wounded."¹⁰⁷ Apparently the firing ceased, and the detail continued their mission of mercy. As they approached the fence which had marked the previous day's skirmish line, they found Pettus. Clarence William Smith, a member of Company H, penned an account of the rescue. Upon reaching Pettus, Smith wrote, the wounded man, "recognized his comrades and begged for help and water."¹⁰⁸ Carried by Pasco and two members of Company C, Pettus was evacuated "towards our line, the bearers not stopping until a skirt of woods, near by, was reached."¹⁰⁹ There the wounded man was placed onto a blanket and transported into the Confederate lines. Despite the valiant effort by his comrades, Pettus' "condition was hopeless, and though he received the best care and attention that was possible under the circumstances, he lingered till the next day and died."¹¹⁰

On July 14, after two days under the hot sun, the smell arising from the Federal corpses in front of the Florida Brigade's lines had become unbearable. General Breckinridge wrote to General Johnston, pleading, "The enemy's dead in front of my position are becoming quite offensive, and I cannot have them buried because of their skirmishers firing on my burial parties. They have even fired on my litter-bearers while their own wounded were being brought in."¹¹¹ That afternoon a truce was negotiated to allow for the burial of the bodies. During the short reprieve, Pasco noted that at 4 p.m.:

105. *Private Pasco*, July 13, 1863, 48.

106. *Ibid.*

107. Pasco, "Untitled Handwritten Manuscript, 1909."

108. Smith, "Private Pasco," 185.

109. *Ibid.*

110. Pasco, "Untitled Handwritten Manuscript, 1909."

111. *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part III, 1002.

the bugle was sounded and the brief period of peace was ended, and after a sufficient time had elapsed for all to get within the lines, blank discharges from artillery announced that we might go on with the work of destruction once more and the snapping of musketry along the lines recommenced very soon. Sixty three were buried by our Brigade.¹¹²

Two days later, on the night of July 16, 1863, General Johnston evacuated the Mississippi capital, as he feared "an all-out bombardment of the city would begin the next morning."¹¹³ Pasco wrote that "The Bridge was ready to be burned as soon as all the troops could cross and ours was the last Brigade . . . Shells were laid by the road side & guards placed to keep us off them, large piles of cotton were burning and we were leaving ruins behind us."¹¹⁴ The Florida Brigade and Breckinridge's division reached Morton, Mississippi, four days later, where it remained encamped until August 26.¹¹⁵

For the soldiers of the Florida Brigade and Breckinridge's division, their mission to Mississippi had been a failure. The Confederacy no longer controlled the Mississippi River and Ulysses S. Grant's army captured more than 30,000 soldiers and vast numbers of weapons on July 4. Less than two weeks later, William T. Sherman forced Joseph E. Johnston's army from Jackson, and captured the Mississippi capital for a second and final time. Coupled with the repulse of Robert E. Lee's army at Gettysburg, Vicksburg's fall marked the beginning of the end for the Confederacy.

Encamped at Morton on July 22, Michael O. Raysor, who had less than six months to live, wrote, "Times look gloomy but I hope they will brighten before long this seems to be our darkest times."¹¹⁶ Indeed, the brief triumph the Floridians witnessed at Jackson, was but a fleeting instant in a long saga of defeat. Nonetheless, the battle of July 12 was the Florida Brigade's finest hour. On that afternoon they fought like the hardened veterans they had become and assisted in blunting a Union assault on their

112. *Pasco Diary*, July 14, 1863, 48-49.

113. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*

114. *Pasco Diary*, July 16, 1863, 49.

115. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1863, 57.

116. Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, July 22, 1863, Raysor Letters.

lines. Not unlike other scenes on battlefields across the South, the Floridians also demonstrated their sense of comradeship and honor. At Jackson it occurred when Samuel Pasco, leading a group of his former students, rescued one of their badly wounded classmates from suffering beneath the hot sun.

The Floridians were at their zenith in the summer of 1863. Their regiments were, for the most part, still large in number, and could perform effectively on the battlefield. However, the summer and the disease that came with it would take its toll, and at Chickamauga, fought in mid-September, the three regiments would field a total of five hundred men. During the siege of Chattanooga, the 60th North Carolina and 47th Georgia regiments were transferred, and three additional regiments from Florida, the 1st Cavalry, dismounted, and the 6th and 7th Infantry Regiments joined the brigade. At Chattanooga the reformed brigade suffered losses from which it could not recover. More casualties were incurred during the Atlanta Campaign, and at Nashville in December 1864, the unit buckled under the brunt of the Federal attack. When the Florida Brigade surrendered on April 26, 1865, only 250 men remained.

One of the flags the brigade carried on that date was that of the 1st and 3rd Infantry Regiments, Consolidated. Received sometime after the fall of Atlanta, the silk flag used sheet music as solid backing for its white stars.¹¹⁷ Painted on the silk were the names of the engagements in which the regiments had participated, and the list read like a bloody resume. Squeezed between the words "Chickamauga" and "Missionary Ridge," both large-scale engagements fought to decide the fate of Tennessee, is the word "Jackson."¹¹⁷—a simple reminder of a small triumph won during a period of defeat, on a hot, Mississippi afternoon.

117. Howard Michael Madaus and Robert D. Needham, illus. "The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee" (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1976) 120. c Florida, Consolidated, is in possession of The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA.

Book Reviews

My Face is Black is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations. By Mary Frances Berry. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005, Pp.ix, 314. Cloth, \$26.95.)

Mary Francis Berry has written a very engaging topical and chronological study on Callie House, an ex-slave, who spent most of her adult life struggling for reparations for ex-slaves from the United States government. Working with very scarce resources, Berry has done a superb job in reconstructing the life of such an obscure figure in American history.

Born a slave, Callie House came into this world in Rutherford County near Nashville, Tennessee, in 1861, although her actual birthday is unknown. Berry provides the setting in Rutherford County and Middle Tennessee during Callie's youth and although she does not have a lot of specific data, Berry recreates what life was like for House and other Tennessee blacks after slavery, throughout Reconstruction, and during the reign of Jim Crow.

During that time, Callie received a primary school education where she learned useful lessons that would later set the course for her life. In particular, she learned that the United States Constitution "grants to citizens the privilege of peaceably assembling themselves together and petition their grievance[s]" (19). Callie House later married, had children, and worked as a washer-woman like her mother, and as a seamstress. At a relatively young age, she also became a widow, like her mother.

Callie House worked with Isaiah Dickerson to establish the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association in 1898, "the first mass reparations movement led by African Americans" (4). From the very beginning the Association had a dual mission: mutual aid to poor members and the attainment of

federal pension legislation that would benefit ex-slaves. The benefits program would work much like social security does today. Pension Association chapters began to spring up all over the country although blacks already had other relief associations. To House's chagrin, leading (middle-class) African Americans never took up this cause, and they generally ignored or criticized her efforts. Even black newspapers rarely provided coverage of the Association's work.

As the organization grew, leaders of the Post Office Department in Washington, D.C., along with other postal and federal officials around the country, felt that House's pension efforts were threatening "national security" and would eventually turn blacks into unpatriotic "anarchists." Thus "the ex-slave pension movement's exercise of the right to petition the government became a target of the Post Office Department's expanded power. The postmaster's unconstrained power became abusive, and it unnecessarily interfered with civil liberties" (87), Berry asserts. Indeed, the postmaster's power went unchecked until Congress passed the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946.

Callie House wound up fighting a losing battle against the federal government vis-à-vis the post office department, which charged her in 1916 with using the mail to defraud. Specifically, it charged her with collecting dues and fees through the mail for the Association even though she allegedly *knew* the federal government would never pay ex-slaves a pension. Although there was no evidence of fraud on House's part, the postmaster general and his designees became determined to destroy the reparations idea and ruin the Association. Callie House and the Association took steps to neutralize this effort, but their demise was imminent.

Ultimately, an all-white, male jury found her guilty and a sympathetic judge sentenced her to one year (out of a maximum of five) in prison. On November 1917, at the age of fifty-two, House entered the Missouri State Prison at Jefferson City, Missouri. "Essentially the government punished her for exercising her constitutional right to petition the government and teach the other ex-slaves to do so" (190), Berry concludes. By August of the next year she gained early release and returned to Tennessee. Callie House continued to work as a seamstress and washerwoman until she died on June 6, 1928 at the age of sixty-seven.

In the epilogue Berry briefly discusses how African Americans such as Marcus Garvey, Queen Mother (Audrey) Moore, Imari

Obadele, Christopher Alston, and John Conyers, have continued the cause that Callie House championed for so many years before them. Berry notes that although in 1988 Japanese-Americans won reparations from the United States government in the amount of \$20,000 for each family interned during World War II, similar efforts by African Americans have continued without success. The tragic Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 and recent efforts for redress by its survivors provides a case in point.

Mary F. Berry should be commended for the approach she has taken to recreate the life of Callie House and the early reparations movement. She drew upon a wide array of government documents, legal cases, newspapers, and secondary sources to compile this work. Nonetheless, the specialist reader may quibble over a few things. While Berry describes Bishop Henry McNeal Turner as a legislator and proponent of the back-to-Africa movement of the book, she does not mention his early advocacy for reparations (33). As early as 1883 Turner called for the United States to pay blacks forty billion dollars as repayment for slavery. Nothing about this aspect of Turner's life is discussed in the narrative, so one is left wondering if Bishop Turner had influence or dealings with Isaiah Dickerson or House at some point on this matter.

It is also surprising that in her discussion of contemporary black efforts for reparations, Berry does not include any mention of the survivors of the Rosewood Massacre of 1923, who successfully received reparations from the state of Florida for that horrendous act of genocide. Moreover, some historians may be bothered by Berry placing information about her family in the narrative at various places (54, 56, 213, 216, and 217). Nothing would be lost from the study if these references were placed in the notes section.

Nonetheless, this work is a brilliant study that provides a fresh and path-breaking perspective on the reparations movement. It offers a glimpse of a grassroots effort by African Americans, a perspective that is normally difficult for historians to recreate. Working-class blacks seeking redress for past oppression are the focus of this story, not the black middle-class. What is more, Berry crystallizes how white racists have systematically utilized the resources and agencies of the United States government to oppress and subvert African American advancement. (For example, the same specious charge leveled by the postmaster general at Callie House to destroy her organization would later be leveled at

Marcus Garvey to destroy his). As Berry concludes, "No one involved with the Association realized that no matter what they said or did, the government was bent on suppressing the pension movement" (162). African Americans, by contrast, have never been able to use agencies of the federal government to oppress whites or undermine white advancement. This becomes the broader and perhaps even more germane point of her study.

The book is well-written and researched, easy to read, and filled with useful photos. It will prove to be rewarding for those who enjoy biographies, Southern history, African American history, legal history, social history, and general American history. Hopefully, this book will become a model that others will use to produce similar studies on obscure and outstanding subjects such as Callie House.

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Funeral Festivals in America: Rituals for the Living. By Jacqueline S. Thursby. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006. Acknowledgements, notes, references, index. Pp.158. \$35 cloth.)

From the beginning, Jacqueline Thursby's *Funeral Festivals in America* is a quirky little book, as possibly all books on the subject of death are doomed to be. Thursby aspired to demonstrate that American funerary practices evolved from moments of familial separation and sadness to moments of "renewal and reaffirmed connectedness between family and friends" (1); and she intended to do so by showing how contemporary American mourning is more about "*awakening, transmutation, and connectedness*" than sadness (9). The result is a small book with a broad sweep, examining the many ways in which a variety of Americans address death and life in their funeral customs.

Funeral Festivals is more a cultural survey than history. There are some sections dedicated to historical evaluation of funeral practices, but these are very superficial, and readers would be better served reading the sources she cited rather than her "history." For example, in describing the increasing cultural diversity of colonial death ways, Thursby mentioned Native Americans, Puritans, Shakers, Amish, and then made a nod to African Americans—the

typical portrayal of colonial diversity. But given the breadth of her work on contemporary culture, this is disappointing. There is no mention of Spanish Santa Fe, French Huguenot Charleston, or Jewish New York, and Thursby's discussion of Native Americans would have benefited from a reading of Erik Seeman's study on Indian deathbed scenes. Ironically, in her history of the Nineteenth Century, Thursby does just the opposite: highlighting the Jewish minority's deathways while neglecting altogether the rise of Victorian romanticism and the way of death that dominated American culture for over a century.

While the history in *Funeral Festivals* is just not well done, the folklore is. From African American to Chinese to Muslim to Mormon, from Italian to Irish to Asian Indian, Thursby explored a wide variety of Americans and their funeral practices. (Puzzlingly, however, in her effort to address diversity, Thursby made occasional references to Greek and Roman deathways that she never related to the topic of festivals in America.) The strength of this book, however, is the chapter "Funeral Biscuits and Funeral Feasts" in which Thursby successfully integrated history, folklore, and great diversity of topics to prove that "foods affirm identity, strengthen kinship bonds, provide comfortable and familiar emotional support . . ." (79). The chapter best evidences her point of commonality across American cultures.

But there is something unsettling about *Funeral Festivals in America*. Thursby admitted that her study was both objective and subjective, but it certainly appears far more subjective in the long run. She relied heavily, almost exclusively, on secondary sources for her text. The little primary evidence is overwhelmingly anecdotal, and in most cases, she offers little more than personal examples to support important themes: to evince her *awakening*, *transmutation*, and *connectedness* model, Thursby discussed the illness and death of her mother-in-law; the role of humor, comments at her aunt's funeral; the necessity of quick recovery after tragic death, her visit to New York's Soho neighborhood in the wake of 9/11. Indeed, as an American, I found little in Thursby's personal experiences that resonated with my own.

Probably the most telling point to this book, however, is that in making conclusions about life and death, over and over again Thursby wrote "I believe that . . ." For example, her claim that "I believe that Americans are taking death and commemoration more seriously as we become an aging society" (117) is evinced by the

placement of mementos around commemorative monuments. While the evidence is weak, the statement itself is just contrary to some of the best recent work done in historical death studies—Mary Louise Kete, *Sentimental Collaboration: Mourning and Middle-Class Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (2000); appropriate articles in Nancy Isenberg and Andrew Burstein, eds., *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America* (2002); Susan Stabile's *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (2004); and Sandra M. Gilbert, *Death's Door: Modern Dying and the Way We Grieve: A Cultural Study* (2006). Of course, scholars can believe as much or as little as they wish, but the academy requires that we *think* as well, something that depends on substantial evidence and even stronger scholarly contextualization. In the end, *Funeral Festivals in America* is creative and inspiring, but historically weak, short of evidence, and just a bit too self-aggrandizing.

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Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right. By Catherine Rymph. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 338. \$59.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

In *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right*, Catherine Rymph incorporates gender analysis to expand the narrative of the postwar Republican Party. Recent historiography is replete with studies of the rise of modern Conservatism, with many of these works focusing on the racial dimension of the Nixon-era "Southern Strategy" or the color-blind rhetoric used to sway suburban voters to the GOP in the name of law and order. Rymph moves beyond this one-dimensional analysis and examines the leadership of the National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW) and female officers of the Republican National Committee (RNC), and compares the efforts of these two groups to open the GOP to female activists and bolster the party as a whole. Rymph begins her story just after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment and sketches out a narrative that juxtaposes the political styles of the two organizations and places their actions in the broader framework of women's

political participation, ending with Reagan's 1980 election and the end of Republican support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Rymph's book draws heavily from the work of Kim Nielsen, Melanie Gustafson, and other historians who have studied gender and political participation. She contends that Republican women faced a choice between working inside the official party or with a Republican club, an autonomous organization that leaned Republican but promoted its own agenda. This strategic dichotomy informs every chapter of Rymph's book and is the overarching focal point of her analysis. She contends the women who joined the NFRW opted to do so because the patriarchic realm of politics had an unsavory, immoral character. As the "virtuous sex," women had the ability to stake out their own territory and engage in political activity in a crusading fashion. This idea drove the suffragists and members of prohibition groups and Rymph argues that it allowed Republican women to maintain autonomy from the male-dominated RNC and promote a distinctly female agenda after 1920.

Others who aligned the RNC and worked within the official party, in Rymph's view, purposely decided to circumscribe their women's agenda and compromise with party leaders to gain recognition for their gender. Men did not readily accept females in politics, and those women who chose to hold RNC offices did so to prove that women were politically able and trustworthy. This required a certain degree of loyalty to the party, its platform, and its candidates, and often put the party in conflict with important programs of the women's rights movement. At times, this caused tension between party women and clubwomen and threatened Republican effectiveness at the polls. Very rarely, such as in the 1970s, the party was in step with feminist concerns, but more often than not women could only mount their moral crusades from outside of the Republican apparatus.

Rymph uses this oppositional model to characterize the continual conflict between clubwomen and party women. At times, this is convincing, but in some places her argument ignores other factors beyond gender. In her section on Phyllis Schlafly, Rymph claims that the activity of the conservative firebrand stemmed from a feminine moral impulse. She notes that Schlafly operated outside of the regular party after 1964 and used rhetoric that defended religion and family values to attract a following and create her own conservative organization. Rymph argues that Schlafly's

actions resembled the organizational efforts of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other Progressive-Era groups, but fails to take into account the context of the 1960s. Schlafly had been active in Republican clubs since the 1950s, to be sure, but had also run for Congress and had worked with prominent party officials on campaigns and voter mobilization drives. Her resentment of Dwight Eisenhower's "modern Republicanism" and its liberal tendencies drove Schlafly outside of the party more so than any gender issues.

Republican Women is well-researched and its chronological arrangement provides a coherent structure to the story. Her description of NFRW decisions and the interplay between the clubs and the regular party is illuminating and reveals exactly how dependent the GOP was on women for voter mobilization drives, grass-roots organizing, and other types of "political housework." Rymph's one fault is her over-reliance on the binary model of female political participation. In her view, an individual opted to pursue one of the strategies through their organizational affiliation, but her categories are too restrictive and deterministic. Her analysis does not allow for individuals to change from one group to the other, or to affiliate with both. Katherine Kennedy Brown, for example, served as an RNC member from Ohio, as campaign advisor for Senator Robert A. Taft, and as a stalwart in the Ohio Federation of Republican Women. Rymph only identifies Brown as a clubwoman and makes no effort to explain, or even mention, her dual affiliations. While Rymph admits that each career path had its own pitfalls, she fails to take account of women who tried to work in both groups.

Historians of modern conservatism and the Republican Party would be well served to read Rymph's book, as she sheds light on an understudied aspect of the GOP. Historians of Florida will be disappointed, however, because Miami's Florence Garrison, a key player in the NFRW and the Florida Republican Party, is not mentioned among state leaders. Although Rymph deals with some grassroots activists in connection with the NFRW, she does not explore the dynamics of local groups or individual rank and file Republicans. Instead, her book is a highly-readable, worthwhile history of the elite females who carved out a place for women in the GOP at the national level.

The White House Looks South: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson. By William E. Leuchtenburg. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2005. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 668. \$45 cloth.)

In this thoroughly researched and richly detailed book, dean of political historians William E. Leuchtenburg examines three twentieth century presidents who both shaped and were shaped by the South. He argues that Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Lyndon B. Johnson, "each had an acute sense of place" and that their "capacity to bridge sections contributed mightily" to their accomplishments because it "sensitized them to the predicaments of the South and because it gave them entrée to southern power brokers that outlanders were denied" (348-49). In the course of what is essentially three extended essays, Leuchtenburg advances several unfashionable, or at least contested, propositions: that historians have given insufficient attention to the importance of place; that political history is of abiding value; that the state is capable of acting autonomously and profoundly shaping people's lives; and that individuals, particularly presidents, are capable of making a difference. In the course of his extensive and entertaining narrative, Leuchtenburg effectively makes his case.

Not surprisingly, given the focus of his previous works, Leuchtenburg devotes most attention to Franklin D. Roosevelt, the adoptive southerner. Beginning in 1924, Roosevelt took to the waters in Warm Springs, Georgia, in the vain hope of restoring the use of his crippled legs. He found the people and countryside so convivial that he soon acquired the spa and also a small farm at the foot of the Appalachians. As he toured the area in his roadster, hunted possum, and wrote a local newspaper column, Roosevelt came to know firsthand the poverty and despair of the rural South. His patrician manner and tragic view of the Reconstruction era, meanwhile, made him an appealing political candidate to the traditional southern elite who saw him as an ally against northeastern business interests. By the 1932 election, many southerners viewed FDR as one of their own. He swept the Florida primary by an 8-1 margin over his nearest rival and secured the nomination at the Democratic Convention with overwhelming southern and western support. In the general election, he restored the Solid South that had wavered during Al Smith's candidacy to the Democratic fold.

He quickly rewarded long suffering southerners with posts in his administration and federal patronage. Significantly, almost every piece of early New Deal legislation had a southern sponsor.

Roosevelt saw the solution to the South's problems of poverty, inadequate schooling, and racial injustice in crop diversification and modernization. While no crusader for civil rights, FDR's New Deal nevertheless helped set in motion forces that would subvert the old order. Relief programs gave jobs and hope to the down-trodden, rural electrification transformed farm life, and aid to tenant farmers and legislation to protect workers' rights raised expectations and antagonized the traditional elite. Tellingly, as FDR built a national Democratic coalition, which included for the first time a majority of African American voters, conservative southerners became a minority within the party. His efforts to cultivate a new generation of liberal, southern progressives to replace the staunch conservatives, however, never quite succeeded. Although he helped Senator Claude Pepper hold off a conservative challenger in the 1938 Florida primary, FDR's interventions elsewhere on behalf of liberal candidates were generally unsuccessful and sometimes counterproductive. By the end of his presidency, the twin forces of the New Deal and mobilization for World War II had integrated the South more fully into the nation than ever, yet traditional southern leaders grew increasingly ambivalent about the shift of power toward the federal government.

For Truman, according to Leuchtenburg, "place was destiny" (2). His ambiguous identity as a border state Democrat secured his elevation to the vice presidency and, ultimately, the presidency. While Truman never quite overcame his family's Confederate background (his strong minded mother never let her son forget her childhood trauma of forcible relocation at the hands of Union forces) and racial outlook, his deep seated commitment to the Union, the Constitution, and fair play eventually led to his advocacy of civil rights measures. Truman became the first sitting president to address the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, where he memorably outlined his intention for the federal government to become the "vigilant defender of the rights and equalities of all Americans" (171). He initiated desegregation of the armed forces by executive order and established civil rights as a core plank of the national Democratic Party platform. Leuchtenburg acknowledges that Truman's actions undoubtedly derived in part from his recognition of the

growing importance of the black vote to the Democratic coalition, but he also reminds us that Truman was visibly moved and affronted by the accounts of the brutalization of southern African American veterans and their families who attempted to exercise their constitutional rights upon their return from World War II. Like Roosevelt, Truman sought to bring the South into the twentieth century by breaking the oppressive bonds of its history. His bold stance on racial issues, of course, accelerated the defection of white southerners from the Democratic Party. By the end of Truman's presidency, eight former Confederate states had abandoned the Democratic column. This transfer of political allegiance, Leuchtenburg contends, "is best explained not by socioeconomic forces but by disaffection from Roosevelt and Truman" (369).

Johnson completed the process initiated by his Democratic predecessors. A native of the Texas hill country, LBJ early understood that his identification as a southerner handicapped his national political ambitions and so by the late 1950s he began to reinvent himself as a westerner. He declined to sign the Southern Manifesto denouncing the *Brown* decision and pushed modest civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960 in part to demonstrate his national, rather than regional, perspective. While his "southernness" still hobbled his 1960 presidential bid, it also secured him the vice presidential spot. Following John F. Kennedy's assassination, Johnson repeatedly stressed his desire to overcome sectional divisions and bind the nation's wounds, particularly with regard to race. "Only by abandoning Jim Crow, Johnson deduced, could the South merge with the rest of the nation to address its economic necessities" (377). Rather than adopting the tone of an antagonist, moreover, LBJ tried to persuade white southerners to embrace his vision for the South and the nation. His spectacular legislative achievements in Civil Rights, Voting Rights, and Fair Housing won over formerly skeptical white liberals black leaders, but his native region was less impressed. Since 1964, no Democratic presidential candidate has won a majority of the white southern vote. Leuchtenburg notes that "Johnson's civil rights stance was the tipping point" in delivering white southern ballots to the Republican party (396).

The breadth and depth of Leuchtenburg's research is impressive. Drawing on research in over four hundred manuscript collections, over two hundred oral histories, and more than a hundred unpublished theses, dissertations, and conference

papers, Leuchtenburg's endnotes alone consume over a hundred pages. His extensive bibliography is sure to become an essential starting point for the next generation of students of the twentieth century South and its politics. Specialists familiar with the work of such scholars as David Goldfield, Bruce Schulman, Dewey Grantham, Roger Biles, Steven Lawson, Robert Dallek and Gavin Wright, among others, are unlikely to be surprised by the author's findings. Leuchtenburg, however, is a master storyteller with a keen eye for detail and the telling anecdote. This work demands a place alongside such classics as V. O. Key's *Southern Politics* for its expert synthesis of southern political history.

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Lethal Punishment: Lynchings and Legal Executions in the South. By Margart Vandiver. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006. xii, 284 pgs. Appendix A: Sources and Methods, Appendix B: Inventory of Confirmed Lynchings, Notes, Bibliography, Index, Figures, Tables, paperback \$27.95, cloth \$65.)

Lynchings, extra-legal violence and executions are topics that lend themselves to cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary examinations. The best works on these subjects are those that use a variety of means to document, analyze and interpret these phenomena. The author, Margaret Vandiver, comes to this subject as a criminal justice scholar interested in the tools both social scientists and historians use to explain lynchings and executions in the South. Instead of building a database of southern lynchings and executions, she chooses two communities—Marion County, Florida, and Shelby County Tennessee—as the focus of her analysis. From those two communities Vandiver hopes to explain the complexities and impact of lynching and their relation to legal executions in the South.

In the introduction the author confesses that she evaluated these cases to come to some specific conclusions about the nature of lynching and executions, but could not develop any broad generalizations. Additionally in the introduction she admits that in the selection of these two communities, "I do not consider these areas to be broadly representative of the South; they are chosen precise-

ly because they are "local, individual, and...particular." (3) They also are communities that one would have to assume she lived near for some time since she earned her Ph. D. at Florida State University and is a faculty member at the University of Memphis. To any reader familiar with these geographic considerations, it seems these communities were selected, not because they represented a fitting sample of lynchings/executions but because they were both her back yard for some time.

Florida does provide an appropriate test case for lynching, since it was the state of highest per capita lynching record during this time. However the selection of Marion County over say Polk or Alachua that also had a high number of lynchings, or even Duval with a huge black population and relatively infrequent lynchings compared to the rest of the state, seems puzzling. Also her list of lynchings appears to be an undercount from other databases I have seen for Marion County. I am not sure why some lynchings were omitted. I believe the author needs a more convincing justification for why these two communities make an appropriate test case.

As a work of criminal justice and pure social science this book has a great deal to offer. Vandiver takes extraordinary care and offers rich detail to synthesize and define terms, and explain language and procedures that disparate scholars have used over the years to study lynchings and executions. For most readers lynchings and executions would be material for two separate books or studies; Vandiver demonstrates how and why they are related. Anyone interested in mob violence, legal and extra-legal killings would find this book useful to assist in deciphering the terms and categories of these different group events.

The author looks to the methods of both social scientists and historians to help evaluate her findings. Representing the social science side, she depended on the previous work of E. M. Beck and Stewart Tolnay; W. Fitzhugh Brundage served as a model for the historical methods. The result is a better social science then historical study. Similar to Beck and Tolnay the author examines numerous cases and "crunches the numbers" to claim that the two communities offer no effective link between lynching and legal executions. The social scientist might be pleased, even though there is no correlation. The author asked a question and used the data to answer that question. However the historian would not have been satisfied with that question alone. Vandiver wrote that, "A disadvantage of the method of research I have chosen for this

book is that it does not provide a solid basis for generalization. There is an inevitable trade-off between depth and breadth...I have chosengreater depth at the expense of broadly applicable findings.”(3) Here is the real problem with her approach. A historian would have found the broad picture not only from a large metropolis like Shelby County (Memphis) but also from a small rural community like Marion County. In part this was due to lack of models, Brundage’s book was the only historian referenced in the text. Other works by historians, and they are numerous, that take a specific lynching, a series of lynchings or even a community where lynchings occurred tease out the larger questions. For example Vandiver uses one entire chapter on the lynching of Ell Persons. That same lynching is at the core of the famous journal article by Kenneth W. Goings and Gerald L. Smith in the *Journal of Urban History* (1995). They used it to argue that specific lynching and mob action represented a transition in black working class relations in the Urban New South. Although Brundage’s book is exceptional and certainly the standard in southern lynching studies, the author would have been better served to have read and incorporated more historical works on the topic.

Lacking a forceful and convincing thesis, this book will not alter the historiographic paradigm on lynching. However, it will be useful as a reference for future historians interested in lynching and legal executions.

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South of the South, Jewish Activists and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960. By Raymond A. Mohl with Matilda “Bobbi” Graff and Shirley M. Zoloff. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi-263. \$39.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

This review must begin with a caveat. I first met Professor Mohl and heard the germ of this book (his first paper about Jewish activism in Miami) at the 1992 Southern Historical Association Meeting in Atlanta. Now at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, until 1996 Raymond Mohl was a member of the history faculty at Florida Atlantic University—now my employer. I have mined earlier versions of this book for my own work, and am deeply indebted to him for his careful

scholarship and insightful interpretation. Had an earlier reviewer not been unable to complete the job, I might have refused this assignment, claiming bias. But an *FHQ* review of in *South of the South* is long overdue; it is an important Florida book. Earlier reviewers (for instance, in the *Journal of American History* and on the H-Florida Discussion Network) have already agreed with that assessment.

The book is ingeniously constructed, including first an extended essay by Ray Mohl, followed by sections written by the two women who personify the Jewish activists who, at very real personal risk, helped to create Miami's civil rights movement. Matilda's Graff's essay, written to explain the early years of the civil rights struggle to fellow students after she returned to college in the 1960s, has the spirit of the old left. Praising the progressivism of an earlier time, she laments the persecution (in Miami and elsewhere) that eliminated the socialist left from American politics. Shirley Zolof's pages, primarily her correspondence with the national office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and others, might be dry and bureaucratic were it not for the fascinating way her details weave the story about integration of public accommodations, and about Miamians, black and white, involved in this struggle. Historians will find these primary sources invaluable, and all readers will be struck by the dedication and work ethic they portray. Graff and Zolof were young mothers who volunteered, working tenaciously for the common good in a very hostile environment. Such stories reinforce the validity of recent emphasis on women's contributions as well as on the significance of local organizing in the civil rights movement.

By the mid-1950s Miami had the South's largest Jewish community, but most Jews in southeast Florida were post-World War II newcomers. Often unlike conservative Jewish settlers who had come to Atlanta, Birmingham and other southern cities since the mid-19th century, among these recent arrivals a sizable minority, "with leftist leanings and activist backgrounds, rejected the acquiescent racial attitudes of their southern brethren." (6) Graff and Zolof both migrated to South Florida during its post-war boom and energetically allied themselves with local black leadership against Miami's white majority and even against most "respectable" Florida Jews. Mohl says this story is about "cooperation among *some* blacks and *some* Jews on the left, but it was not an alliance that had wide support or appeal in Cold War Florida." (61- emphasis in original).

The introductory essay analyses the work of Graff and Zolof and the national organizations they joined. These women never

met, primarily because Graff left Miami in 1954, the year Zoloff arrived, but they certainly had "leftist leanings and activist backgrounds" in common. Both came from working class Jewish families (New York and Philadelphia) and were by training and habit involved in community organizing and social justice causes. As Miami's population exploded, the city lurched forward and backward, pulled on the one hand by new businesses, tourism, and northern settlers and on the other by varieties of rightist extremism typified by a recalcitrant city government and its racist police force, an agency comprised of many Klan sympathizers in the 1950s.

During Graff's time in Miami the campaigns of civil rights activists protested police violence, held then illegal bi-racial meetings, cooperated with CIO union organizers, and joined others who fought for justice in well known Florida cases. Zoloff came to Miami the year of the *Brown* decision, which, though hated and resisted, nevertheless inspired a slightly more defensive attitude on the part of the Miami power structure as the fifties progressed. Police might still shadow suspected activists, but they were less likely to crack heads at an interracial meeting in 1959 than in 1949, and grand juries were less likely to be called or newspapers to publicly label civil rights advocates communist subversives (though they were still suspected "outside agitators").

This points to a difference between these two activists not explored in much detail in the book. Graff's primary alliance was with the leftist Civil Rights Congress (CRC), an organization whose chairman, William Patterson, was a known Communist Party member. Graff herself had a "loose" party affiliation until 1957 (66). The CRC offered legal aid and conducted very public campaigns against southern justice in many infamous rape cases; it died in 1956 amid accusations of subversion, two years after Graff left Miami for Canada to avoid testifying before a grand jury. Zoloff might have been a likely recruit, but Miami's CRC was defunct by the time she arrived. Despite her brief investigation by Florida's Johns Committee in 1960, her affiliations in Miami ranged from left to liberal center—she worked to promote integration of schools and public accommodations, joined the ACLU and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and cultivated relationships with national Jewish women's organizations. CORE grew out of the peace movement and, in the years of Zoloff's participation, remained devoted to non-violent change accomplished through diplomatic, incremental campaigns.

The ground-breaking sit-ins in Miami restaurants in 1959 were not immediately successful, but they did not result in a great public uproar or violent behavior. Zoloft later became deeply involved in local political battles (for Jack Orr, who lost, and Jack Gordon, a long-time winner), and in the mid-sixties joined the Miami staff of the Economic Opportunity Program, Inc. Locals perceived that both Graff and Zoloft brought “radical” groups to Miami in the 1950s, and both women devoted themselves to civil rights causes; but affiliation with the CRC in a repressive time (and at the height of its surveillance by the FBI and others) made Graff and her friends especially vulnerable. Graff is right when she says that activists of the 1940s and early 1950s “were eliminated by a society afraid of change.”(71)

Mohl concludes that “in Miami the most persistent and the most forceful black-Jewish alliance involving interracial activities was the one on the political left”(35), and that local, state, and national repression of the left set back civil rights change in Florida for at least a decade. I would simply suggest that despite the terrible pressures under which Zoloft and her friends operated and the racial and anti-Semitic violence of the late 1950s, Zoloft and CORE were not eliminated— they were agents of change in Miami. Anti-communist opponents drummed Graff and the CRC out of town; Zoloft and her allies stayed and continued to have influence, even after the demise of CORE.

South of the South's methodology should inspire imitation, and its substance encourage expansion of the literature on both the Miami civil rights movement and the relationships between local groups of blacks and Jews in the South. This is a very accessible book, and teachers of Florida History, the Civil Rights Movement, and historical methods courses will find it useful.

Sarah Brown

Florida Atlantic University

Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida.

By Gary R. Mormino. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp.xvii. 457. Introduction, photographs, maps, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

For years, anyone desiring a one-volume history of the state of Florida inevitably turned to Charlton W. Tebeau's *A History of Florida*, published in 1971. Beginning with prehistory and con-

cluding with a brief discussion of the anticipated opening of Walt Disney World, Tebeau's impressive work reflects the dominant historical trends of its time with its strong narrative and emphasis on political and economic affairs. In the Preface, Tebeau acknowledged the book's focus and urged other scholars to pursue studies of the state's rich social and cultural history. Scholars complied, and the 1980s and 1990s witnessed a rich outpouring of monographs and syntheses documenting the state's eclectic past. In 1996, a quarter century after the original publication of Tebeau's book, historian Michael Gannon marshaled an impressive list of scholars to contribute essays that eventually comprised *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville, 1996). With a strong social history emphasis, these essays greatly enrich and complicate the story originally laid out by Tebeau, particularly in their treatment of African American history and the history of Florida's original inhabitants. For all its strengths and virtues, though, *The New Florida History* exhibits the limitations of the edited volume. The question remained: Would anyone be able to take over where Tebeau had left off?

The wait is over. Gary R. Mormino's much anticipated *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* is destined to become the definitive work on the history of post-World War II Florida. Fittingly awarded the Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award for 2006 by the Florida Historical Society, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams* is an ambitious, and at times idiosyncratic, examination of the social, cultural and economic forces (among them migration, immigration, the explosion of tourism, technological innovation, and unparalleled urban and suburban development) that have dramatically reconfigured the state over the past fifty years. Engagingly written with equal parts humor, wit, hope, and cynicism, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams* will appeal to the general reader, and its boldly original assertions will keep scholars talking for years to come.

Once finished with the book, the reader is convinced that there is very little that Mormino, Frank E. Duckwall Professor of Florida Studies at the University of South Florida, does not know about his adopted state. Impressively researched and richly illustrated with a generous accompaniment of fine maps, charts, tables, and photographs, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams* is almost encyclopedic in its breadth, engulfing the reader in a sometimes dizzying array of data. But Mormino, skillful historian and master

storyteller, brings a sense of clarity and depth to the frenzied chaos of postwar Florida.

Mormino organizes his book in nine topical chapters that are unapologetically dedicated to the social, cultural, and economic (as opposed to the political) themes. Florida, Mormino argues, is an American dreamstate, a place of second chances, where anyone – veterans, immigrants, retirees, the middle class – might live the fantasy. Residing within the pages of this book is a colorful cast of characters who sought their fortunes in the Sunshine State, among them Dick Pope, the indefatigable creator of Cypress Gardens; and Brownie Wise, a single mom who almost single-handedly made Tupperware a household name.

But, Mormino illustrates, one person's subtropical utopia can quickly become another's sweaty dystopia. For example, the fashioning of Florida as a retirement haven has had unfortunate economic and generational consequences, as the needs of the elderly clash with the needs of school-age children. Florida's hospitable climate as the land of the franchise and its booming tourist industry relies on the low-wage jobs that keep a significant portion of the population mired in poverty. Mormino notes that in Orlando, home of Walt Disney World, forty percent of the area's workers hold low-paying amusement park and hotel jobs, and struggle to cover their housing, health, and transportation costs. Florida's viability depends on its ability to "instill and inspire magic and passion while maintaining a sense of moderation and balance[.]" (10)

Readers searching for familiar historical narratives will find themselves challenged to contemplate old paradigms in new ways. A case in point is Mormino's treatment of the civil rights movement in Florida. Absent is any mention of notable Florida figures like Rutledge Pearson and Harry T. Moore; rather Mormino treats civil rights within his chapter entitled "The Beach." He examines how, in their attempts to desegregate the state's primary tourist attractions, African Americans – mired in the stereotype of worker and producer – struggled to assume the status of consumer in the nation's consumer's paradise.

This is a passionate book that deserves to be read. And then read again. Mormino writes from a strong moral compass, and he is not afraid to make judgments. This is particularly true when discussing the calamitous environmental impact of the state's hyper growth, as well as the enduring and expanding poverty of those Floridians mired in the economy's service sector. Ultimately,

Mormino states, "the Florida of today is the America of tomorrow." (9) Any social, economic, or cultural change that swept the nation over the past fifty years has happened earlier, more quickly and with more intensity in Florida. From the expansion of consumer culture, to immigration, to suburban development, Florida's ability or inability to deal with massive change serves as an object lesson to the rest of the nation.

Kari Frederickson

University of Alabama

The Floridas. Photographs by Ian Adams; text by Clay Henderson. (San Francisco: BrownTrout Publishers, 2006. 280 Photographs. Pp. 204. \$39.95 Hardcover.)

This large format text on Florida explores the diverse elements which make up the State known for its tourist attractions and beaches. The two contributors to *The Floridas* combine lush photographs with a broad overview of the events which culminated in the multiplicity of the appearance of the current landscape of the peninsula. Ian Adams's photography, honed by other forays into photographic monographs on nature, along with in-depth captions allows the reader to experience the many Floridas through the eyes of a keen observer. From the Everglades and its inhabitants to the architectural achievements of the State's builders, the over two hundred photographs fascinate the viewer due to their juxtaposition of the natural and manmade environments which constitute Florida. Clay Henderson, with his background as an environmental lawyer, considers the impact of change on the environment since the first incursions of humans into the region. *The Floridas* encourages aficionados of the beauty of the natural world and those interested in historical change to look at the State with a broader conception of the many elements which comprise the true Florida.

The nature of the fragile ecosystems found in Florida has accorded this region a fair amount of attention from amateur and professional photographers beginning early in its history as a travel destination. In the early nineteen hundreds, compilations such as *Photograph Album of Florida Scenes* (1904) piqued the interests of those unfamiliar with the strange flora and fauna of the State. Tales of alligators and large flocks of migrating birds drew natu-

ralists to Florida. The acceleration of the use of photography in the twentieth century saw the genre explode as a tool for the serious scientific recording of species as well as a venue for the aesthetic expressions of the wonders of nature. The black and white prints of Clyde Butcher in his text *Florida Landscape* (2001) imbue Florida scenes with a luminous atmosphere whereby art and nature coincide much as in the works of Ansel Adams. The authors of the *The Floridas*, while not ignoring the art form of nature photography, attempt to make this work a combination of aesthetic, scholarly and environmental inquiries. For example, the far reaching impact of over development on Florida's coasts and the resulting depletion of sand have combined to destroy many beaches. Clay Henderson points out that the beaches left in their natural state survive the ravages of coastal erosion due to their stabilizing vegetation (20). The environmental concerns which Henderson explains using his background knowledge are reinforced by Adams's photographs which demonstrate the intrinsic value and beauty of allowing nature to do its work.

Amateur photographers and professional photographers will appreciate the quality of the prints reproduced in this text. With startling clarity and richly saturated color the glory of Florida's vistas seem to jump off of the pages of this text. The peeks into small, intimate spaces often ignored by the casual observer, such as lichen on a sabal palm (53), enrich the appreciation for the variety of life forms found in unexpected places. Ian Adams also includes a technical section (11) about his photography which allows photographers insight into all of the various processes used for these prints. The photography in this text satisfies the most ardent student of the genre. The prints depicting nature showcase this photographer's strengths in this art form. The photographs of architecture found in the latter sections of the text enhance the idea that the manmade environments of the State differ greatly from the natural ones. The inclusion of vernacular "cracker" structures gives another dimension to the many ways the environment was utilized by the settlers of the region. The addition of the resort style architecture of places such as Boca Raton and Palm Beach show the extreme of the Florida experience. This portion of the text has been dealt with in such detail by scholars such as Donald Curl (*Mizner's Florida*, 1984) that it seemed anticlimactic to end with the great places of those who had so few ties to the natural world of the State.

The text by Clay Henderson reads in a pleasant flow which encourages the lay person to continue on throughout the narrative. Henderson gives just enough detail to entice readers to perhaps further explore the history of the State in more specific historical monographs. For the scientific reader, Henderson uses the genus and species, in addition to more common names, for many of the plants and animals discussed. He also analyzes various aspects of the evolution of the Florida landmass. This narrative does not overburden the reader with too much technical jargon and thus would be recommended for those interested in an introduction to many aspects, both historical and environmental, of Florida. For those looking for a critical and scholarly work, the text of *The Floridas* seems to rely on the extant historiography of the State. The lack of citation and bibliography makes this an assumption in this review.

The Floridas uses visual expressions along with words to explore the diverse nature of Florida's environments. Adams and Henderson produced a text which showcases the beauty and uniqueness of the State along with an appeal for readers to pay attention to what has happened in the region due to development. The appeal for conservation and preservation in the final two chapters of the text appear as a worthy closing to this work. Through the eyes of an admittedly pro-Florida photographer and the words of an environmental lawyer the importance of the State's survival shines through.

Astrid Whidden

*Florida International University
Palm Beach Community College*

The American South in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Craig S. Pascoe, Karen Trahan Leathem and Andy Ambrose. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005. Preface, illustrations, index. Pp. xiv, 320. \$54.95, cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

To travel through the South today is to wonder when, if ever, you are going to get there. So much of it looks and feels the same as everywhere else in America. Thanks to air-conditioning, the automobile, immigration, the mall, television, and all the other usual suspects of modern mobility and commercial relentlessness, the most quaint-sounding southern town is no longer so easy to

distinguish from any nameless overbuilt crossroads in the BosWash corridor. But it's too simplistic to therefore conclude that the metastasizing corporate clutter strewn across the former agricultural lands and the ever-accelerating cultural borrowing it all represents must mean that in recent decades the South's distinctive regionalism has steadily gone the way of the "damnyankee" epithet. The story of southern history – *American* history, really – is not so linear and black-and-white, so to speak.

But yet, in an era that privileges the fast pace and the packaged sound bite, many of us cling to the notion that all change might be summarized and boiled down into digestible narratives, that the American South in the 20th century, for example, might be fully captured in a mere 300 or so pages. To their credit, most historians – like those of the caliber writing in this volume – particularly resist playing along with this conceit. They are rarely comfortable shoe-horning their diffuse and contingent arguments into tidy periodization bracketed by rounded-off dates. In this case, the 100-year span would seem to proffer a logical and readable coherence, in part because the South's central issue of the time – racial segregation – arguably followed a "rise and fall" dramatic storyline from century's beginning to end. The culture of segregation put in place in the pre-World War I years was dismantled, at least in terms of the law, by the century's latter decades, was it not? Each of the 1900s' major episodes – the New Deal, World War II, the Great Migration, the Cold War, the civil rights movement, etc. – seemed in their way to advance the rising action, isn't that right? Alas, it's not that simple, as several of the authors remind us. Grace Elizabeth Hale, for example, writes that any such heroic version of the race story "starts too late and ends too soon." (65)

The message that our racial history remains in contest is just one of the many unsettling complexities (and relevancies) conveyed to readers of this volume, a collection of 17 essays from scholars of Southern history and politics. For every discernible progression since 1900, so it seems, there is a countervailing and complicating argument poised for retort. Sometimes the contradictions appear within the same essay. For example, Hale's excellent piece on southern race relations posits two fundamental 20th century narratives: integration is possible, and integration is impossible. Alexander P. Lamis, meanwhile, charts the rise of the post-World War II Republican Party in the South while also stressing its converse: the ideologically diverse black-white coalition

within the Democratic Party that brought to power such “moderate” southern figures as Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton. Elsewhere, conflict is evident between scholars. For instance, Gavin Wright insists that a strictly regional “southern economy” did in fact once exist, whereas David L. Carlton emphasizes that the South has had substantial commercial and financial ties to the “outside world” dating to the antebellum period. In his piece that serves as the book’s introduction, James C. Cobb, examining one among many areas of apparent contention, sees thematic unity in scholarly cacophony: “all the essays present change and continuity not so much in conflict as in an exceedingly complex and uneven process of mutual adaptation.” (10)

The book is an expanded and updated version of a 2001 special issue of *Atlanta History: A Journal of Georgia and the South*, a periodical associated with the Atlanta History Center. And in fact, an Atlanta-centric and Georgia-centric tilt is evident in several places in the book. For example, Tom Wolfe’s Atlanta-based novel *A Man in Full* is discussed at length and its fictional hero, Georgia Tech gridiron star Charlie Croker, we are told, might serve “as the biography of the region.” (128) Georgia’s own Scarlett O’Hara, meanwhile, makes her entrance on Page 3 as the quintessence of the “underside of the New South’s so-called rise from the ashes.” Later, John Shelton Reed, searching for the one state to represent the entire South, offers an extensive argument for, yes, Georgia and adds that “the Southeast that Atlanta serves is the South of the future.” (145) The rare mention of Florida, as on Page 198, in the context of a discussion of race in baseball spring training, serves as a reminder that certain states and important figures (Huey P. Long?) receive comparatively scant attention. Mississippi appears occasionally, but often its characterization veers toward straw-man or cliché. Reed, for example, cites sociologist Charles S. Johnson’s view that the Magnolia State is where, “the shadow of the plantation fell darkest and lingered longest.” (144)

The focus on Atlanta partly is a consequence of the volume’s repeated emphasis on the South’s economic and industrial development, especially post-World War II; Georgia’s capital is an obvious and conspicuous example of dynamic Sun Belt growth. Relatedly, some of the discussions of business-craving white southern moderates and their (albeit reluctant) acceptance of some race change as the price of development – as in Gavin Wright’s essay “Persisting Dixie,” for example – are among

the most compelling parts of the book. After years of assiduous "smokestack chasing" and "selling of the South" to attract what seems to have resulted, namely feverish development, it is an interesting and probably endless debate as to what extent meaningful racial transformation has also been achieved. What is beyond dispute, however, is the most fitting word in the title of this book, ostensibly about 100 years of southern history, is *American*.

Benjamin Sperry

Case Western Reserve University

End Notes

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS OF INTEREST

Arnold, Bill, *Lake Osborne History, A Monograph* (West Palm Beach, FL: P P B Press, 2005), \$19.95 paper.

Arnold traces the history of Lake Osborne from its origins as Lake Matalkaoska in Native American lore to its present identity as “a 4-mile meandering blue oasis” that has experienced its share of “development” but retains its “natural identity of blue waters, saw grasses, palmettos, palms and pines and native flowering broad-leaved trees.” Spinkled with maps and excerpts from diaries and letters, the book draws upon government documents and secondary publications to create a micro-history of a single site.

Durbin, William, *El Lector* (New York: Wendy Lamb Books, an imprint of Random House Children’s Books, 2006), \$15.95 cloth.

A tale based on “1930s Florida, Hispanic and Italian immigrants [who] worked in the cigar factories, [and] brought to the country the tradition of *lectores*, educated men who would read out loud to the cigar rollers while they worked.” The story illustrates the problems cigar workers faced in a time of union unrest and the role changing technology played in shaping the work environment as the widespread appearance of radios displaced the *lectores*.

Fernández, Jack Eugene, *Café Con Leche, A Novel* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2005), \$16.00 paper.

A novel based on racial and labor unrest Ybor City, *Café Con Leche* explores the passions of a multiethnic community and the

cigar industry from the Great Depression through World War II and the Cuban Revolution. Born and reared in Tampa, the author based his novel on historical facts, but created the fictional characters of Pablo, Consuelo, Matilde, and Zoraida to tell the story of race and class in the highly-charged social and economic environment of mid-twentieth-century Florida.

Fordham, Monroe, editor *We Remember: Memories of School Days and Growing Up Black In Orlando, Florida, 1940-1957; Members of the Jones High School Class Of 1957; In Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of Our Graduation* (Orlando, FL: Wells' Built Museum, 2006), \$20.00 paper. Books are available through the Wells' Built Museum in Orlando.

As the editor explains, "this is a book about time." The contributors to the volume tell their stories and thereby provide an important insight into the lives of African-American children and young adults in an era that began in the last days of the Great Depression and ended in the age of "Rock 'n' Roll" and Civil Rights. In four chapters, individual members of the Jones High School Class of '57 tell their stories of "Growing Up Black in Orlando," as well as memories of the Holden Street School and "Old" Jones High. Often poignant and inspiring, the stories fill an important gap in the city's social and educational history.

Gill, M. Randall in conjunction with the Boynton Beach Library, *Boynton Beach: Image of America* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Press, 2005), \$19.99 paper.

This pictorial history traces the life of the Boynton Beach community from its pioneer origins in the late 19th century through a century of economic and social development. Using images from the Boynton Beach Library, the Boynton Cultural Centre, the Boynton Historical Society, and personal collections, the author illustrates the history of agriculture, education, transportation, land booms, hurricanes, and social organizations in the city known as the "Gateway to the Gulf Stream." An inclusive history, *Boynton Beach* reflects the multi-racial and multi-cultural nature of the community. Proceeds from book benefit the Schoolhouse Children's Museum.

Nolen, Gail Briggs, *Memories of Merritt Island: Birthplace of Kennedy Space Center* (Sylva, NC: Ammons Communications, 2004), \$21.95 paper.

This lovingly produced family history by native Floridian Gail Briggs Nolen explores Merritt Island in pictures and words from the perspective of those displaced by the construction of the NASA facilities and the Kennedy Space Center. While recognizing that “mankind has benefited from the space program” and acknowledging the importance of the Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge that “we are very fortunate to claim. . . as our family’s original land,” Nolen also laments the world that was lost. A rich source of letters, photographs, newspaper articles and official documents that span several generations of the Briggs and Benecke families, this slim volume adds to genealogical and community studies.

Weatherford, Carole Boston, *The Carolina Parakeet: America’s Lost Parrot in Art and Memory* (Minneapolis, MN: Avian Publications, 2005), \$14.95 paper.

“Using historical accounts, wildlife art and museum specimens” the author tells the story of the Carolina Parakeet, North America’s only parrot. “Ornithologists of the day . . . focused on collecting specimens rather than document life history and behavior.” As a result “the species became extinct before being adequately researched.” Nicely illustrated with black and white images, the book documents the Carolina parakeet in American exploration journals, agricultural publications, art and ornamentation.

EDITOR’S NOTES:

2006 Awards

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* congratulates the 2006 article and book prize winners:

Arthur W. Thompson Best Article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*
Award: Larry R. Youngs, “The Sporting Set Winters in Florida:

Fertile Ground for the Leisure Revolution, 1870-1930,"
Volume 84, No. (Summer 2005): 57-78.

Rembert Patrick Best Academic Book Award: Brent R. Weisman and Phyllis E. Koliania, *The Lost Florida Manuscript Of Frank Hamilton Cushing* and *The Florida Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing* (University Press of Florida)

Charlton Tebeau Book Award: Gary Ross Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (University Press of Florida)

Samuel Proctor Oral History Award: Benjamin D. Brotemarkle, *Crossing Division Street: An Oral History of the African-American Community in Orlando* (The Florida Historical Society Press)

James J. Horgan Book Award: Marilyn Bishop Shaw, *Solomon* (Pineapple Press)

Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award: Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (University of California Press)

Presidential Award of Distinction: C.S. Monaco, *Moses Levy of Florida: Jewish Utopian and Antebellum Reformer* (Louisiana State University Press)

Patrick D. Smith Literature Award: Fredric M. Hitt, *Wekiva Winter* (Virtualbookworm.com Publishing)

Road Scholars:

The Florida Humanities Council and the University Press of Florida have assembled a group of scholars who will deliver lively, thought-provoking public programs on the theme of Florida's environment for nonprofit organizations statewide.

Lecturers and topics include the following:

Jack E. Davis, University of Florida, "Paradise Lost? Thinking About Florida's Environmental History"

Maurice O'Sullivan, Rollins College, "Founders and Fighters, Frauds and Foreigners: Florida in Fiction"

Ron Cooper, Central Florida Community College, "Our Place in Nature—Are We In or Out?"

Gail Fishman, author and independent scholar, "Journeys through Paradise: Pioneering Naturalists in Florida"

J.D. Sutton, actor and playwright, "William Bartram: Buc Puggy's Travels in Florida"

Mallory McCane O'Connor, Santa Fe Community College, "Perceptions of Paradise: The Visual Mythology of Florida as Eden"

Bill Belleville, author and documentary filmmaker, "Losing it All to Sprawl: How Progress Ate My Cracker Landscape"

Jeff Kinkenbert, *St. Petersburg Times*, "Ten Books Every Floridian Should Read"

John Moran, Florida nature photographer, "Journal of Light: A Photographer's Search for the Soul of Florida"

Betty Jean Steinshouser, independent scholar and Chautauqua performer, "Voice of the Everglades: Majory Stoneman Douglas"

Gary Mormino, University of South Florida-St. Petersburg, "Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida"

For more information on specific events or to inquire about scheduling an event, go to <http://www.flahum.org>.

The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905



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Dating its origins to St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Print Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters and the Field Library of Florida History are located in Cocoa's historic United States Post Office, built in 1939. The Society's research library houses over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at (<http://www.florida-historical-soc.org>).

