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BEFORE KING CAME: THE FOUNDATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT RESISTANCE AND SAINT AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, 1900-1960

By

James G. Smith

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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Abstract

In 1964, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. called St. Augustine, Florida, the most racist city in America. The resulting demonstrations and violence in the summer of 1964 only confirmed King's characterization of the city. Yet, St. Augustine's black history has its origins with the Spanish who founded the city in 1565. With little racial disturbance until the modern civil rights movement, why did St. Augustine erupt in the way it did?

With the beginnings of Jim Crow in Florida around the turn of the century in 1900, St. Augustine's black community began to resist the growing marginalization of their community. Within the confines of the predominantly black neighborhood known as Lincolnville, the black community carved out their own space with a culture, society and economy of its own. This paper explores how the African American community within St. Augustine developed a racial solidarity and identity facing a number of events within the state and nation. Two world wars placed the community's sons on the front lines of battle but taught them to value of fighting for equality. The Great Depression forced African Americans across the South to rely upon one another in the face of rising racial violence. Florida's racial violence cast a dark shadow over the history of the state and remained a formidable obstacle to overcome for African Americans in the fight for equal rights in the state. Although faced with few instances of violence against them, African Americans in St. Augustine remained fully aware of the violence others faced in Florida communities like Rosewood, Ocoee and Marianna.

St. Augustine's African American community faced these obstacles and learned to look inward for support and empowerment rather than outside. This paper examines the factors that

encouraged this empowerment that translates into activism during the local civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Introduction: The Long Civil Rights Movement and St. Augustine, Florida

In the mid-1990s, a contractor restoring a building in the heart of Lincolnville, St. Augustine's predominantly black neighborhood that predates the Civil War, offered noted local historian David Nolan a gift. The contractor had discovered an old newspaper tucked away in the walls of the building. Nolan had expected to receive an old copy of *The St. Augustine Record*; instead, the newspaper was an edition of *The St. Augustine Post* from June 22, 1933, the only existent copy of a black newspaper printed in St. Augustine. [1] The newspaper contains advertisements for black-owned businesses in the city, stories about Lincolnville churches, and various details about everyday life. The discovery provides a glimpse into Lincolnville's culture and heritage as well as the hardships of life during the Great Depression. James G. Reddick, the *Post* editor, served as the first principal of the Excelsior School, the city's black public high school which opened in 1925. An educator and newspaper editor, Reddick was one of several community leaders who contributed to the sense of community and racial solidarity which united Lincolnville's citizen through the Jim Crow era.

The unique community that formed in Lincolnville in the midst of the Jim Crow era represented a formative challenge to segregation. This study argues that the racial solidarity and sense of community engendered in Lincolnville and St. Augustine's African American community encouraged the formation of a grassroots civil rights movement in the 1960s. By examining how Lincolnville responded to events between 1900 and 1960, this study reveals growing resistance against segregation and Jim Crow, which presaged the more widespread civil

[1] The story of the discovery of the newspaper was carried in the *St. Augustine Record* and appeared on www.staugustine.com on February 27, 2004 in an article written by David Nolan. David Nolan has also provided a great deal of information on the black history of St. Augustine, Florida, throughout this study.

rights movement of the 1960s. Beginning in the early 1900s, the black community of St. Augustine began to adapt to and resist efforts of control put into place with the passage of Jim Crow legislation. In addition, by relying upon their community, African Americans renegotiated the boundaries of segregation within St. Augustine. Lincolnville became the home of black churches, schools and organizations that challenged notions of white superiority. This visible separation from the white community also provided space for African Americans to socialize and strengthen the networks established outside of the white community. Outside of Lincolnville, African Americans faced the realities of the South: lynchings, discrimination and disenfranchisement. These realities encouraged the bonds of racial solidarity and racial pride against the common enemy, the Jim Crow society of St. Augustine and beyond. As time progressed, African Americans weathered obstacles and events that tested the strength of the community, yet at the same time galvanized the bonds between neighbors. Black schools focused attention on Negro history through programs such as Negro History Week in order to challenge the white-centered history found in the black students' textbooks. Organizations such as the Knights of Pythias provided mutual aid to members in the event of death when insurance companies refused to sell claims to black men. From the turn of the century until 1960, African Americans in St. Augustine resisted and challenged the restrictions of Jim Crow and segregation albeit no always through national organizations like the NAACP and SCLC. Instead, resistance came through efforts to maintain elements of racial identity, power and culture in the face of extreme obstacles. Within a space of their own, African Americans in the city used their churches, organizations, schools and businesses as ways to not only insulate themselves from the harsh Jim Crow society that surrounded them but also to resist and challenge it.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s has become an extremely popular topic in recent years for several reasons. First, 2014 marks the 50th anniversary of the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, marking a milestone in American history as the first major legislation dealing with the status of African Americans since Reconstruction. Second, many communities as well as the nation have lost many of the participants of the civil rights movement over the last several years. Surviving participants have become aware of the need to tell their story before they pass away as well. Third, many communities, including St. Augustine, have begun to embrace this portion of their history and are eager to recognize their history within the movement. The focus of the civil rights movement favors more prominent sites such as Birmingham and Montgomery rather than places like St. Augustine and Tallahassee. The historiography of the modern civil rights movement mirrors this trend as well with few major studies available on Florida's sites. One of the most recognized studies on Florida civil rights remains David Colburn's work entitled *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980* published in 1985. Colburn's work helped to open up recent research on the civil rights movement in Florida.

Colburn's study examines the factors that led to one of the most violent campaigns of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in St. Augustine. Although he connects these events to some background on race relations in St. Augustine, Colburn does not provide an in-depth history of the city's black history. Instead, Colburn focuses on the events of the campaign and the difficulty King and the SCLC faced in making any headway against the white establishment. Colburn argues that his book "shows how racial patterns were gradually realigned by the *Brown* decision in 1954 and especially by St. Augustine's civil rights crisis in 1963 and 1964." [2] Colburn certainly provides evidence to support the unique place St. Augustine

[2] David R. Colburn. *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991), xv. Colburn's study was originally published in 1985 and reprinted in 1991.

maintains in the national civil rights movement, yet fails to convey how the movement figures in the history of the city. As his title suggests, one expects a much larger and more in-depth study of the movement in St. Augustine yet finds instead a well-documented account of the events of 1963 and 1964 when the city erupted into violent clashes between segregationist and integrationist demonstrators. Certainly the events of the period warrant study; however, the story of the local movement in St. Augustine would benefit greatly from a wider lens. As such, this study maintains an eye on the local movement but continually locates events in the broader arena of the Jim Crow era.

This study's approach builds upon the approach of Robert Cassanello, history professor at the University of Central Florida, who published two studies that incorporate a wider lens focused on the civil rights movement in Florida. The first article, "Avoiding 'Jim Crow': Negotiating Separate but Equal on Florida's Railroads and Streetcars and the Progressive Era Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement," argues that the early efforts by members of the African American communities across Florida to resist segregation in railroad and trolley cars marks one of the first acts of civil rights movement. Taking place in between 1900 and 1905, the boycotts aimed to force the railroad and trolley companies to end segregation altogether. Leaders of the boycotts, according to Cassanello, "realized, through the fight against Jim Crow transportation, that 'separate' would never be 'equal.'" This realization underpinned much of the fight to end segregation in the 1960s and eventually led to the overturning of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1955. [3] The boycotts that resulted in cities like Jacksonville, Tampa and Pensacola demonstrated the effectiveness of planning and organization, thereby foreshadowing tactics deployed in the modern civil rights movement of the 1960s. In fact, the similarities between the

[3] Robert Cassanello. "Avoiding 'Jim Crow': Negotiating Separate but Equal on Florida's Railroads and Streetcars and the Progressive Era Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement. " *Journal of Urban History* 34 (March 2008), 453.

boycott in Jacksonville during this period and the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 are very noticeable. Racial hierarchies, although entrenched by the nineteenth century, assumed different forms by the early 1900s in Florida. Streetcars and railcars, for instance, restricted access to African Americans; other public facilities followed suit. Within Jacksonville, hack drivers agreed to reduce the cost of transporting African Americans as long as the boycott continued, thus giving black men and women an incentive to participate. Women, also major players in the boycotts, used their position as wives and mothers to encourage African American men to avoid taking the trolley and instead use the hack drivers. As Cassanello argues, the boycotts did not end segregation but they did provide the civil rights movement of the 1960s with a blueprint for activism and organization.

As with the 1901 Jacksonville boycott of trolley cars, the modern movement relied heavily upon the work of women, whose marginalized position within society afforded them the ability to participate in demonstrations. Women claimed the mantle of domesticity and morality in ways men could not, providing women, especially older women, the opportunity for activism. The boycotts, as Cassanello demonstrates, gave the communities within Florida the opportunity to rely upon their members for support, something African Americans did throughout segregation and into the modern civil rights movement. Success relied upon the community's ability to encourage its members to participate in the boycott and to mobilize the community's resources toward that end. Such targeted organization required networks of support and communication to accomplish such a task; resources required to weather segregation and racial discrimination.

Another article by Robert Cassenello published in *The Florida Historical Quarterly* titled "Violence, Racial Etiquette, and African American Working-Class *Infrapolitics* in Jacksonville

during World War I" argues that resistance to segregation and Jim Crow often came in the form of "hidden transcripts," a phrase denoting actions meant to not only openly challenge the white power structure, but also to remain hidden. [4] African American men, especially those of the working class, remained susceptible to the whims of their white employers. Often any overt sign of resistance or noncompliance to segregation meant the black man lost his job. Cassanello challenges the argument that the working class African American males that left as part of the Great Migration during World War I did so out of fear of racial violence. Instead, he argues that the migration encompassed a mode of resistance; African American men purposefully resisted segregation by their choice to migrate to the North. [5] Jacksonville, especially between 1915 and 1916, suffered from a severe shortage of black labor. Cassanello states that while most African American men saw the opportunities in the North of better-paying jobs, their migration "represented a rejection of white leaders' pleas, paternalism, and expectations of racial deference and etiquette." [6] Cassanello argues that African Americans retained some power and agency even in the repressive Jim Crow society of Jacksonville. In migrating North, African American working class men exercised their agency in order to take advantage of economic opportunities available outside of the South. Those men remaining in Jacksonville, like those in other cities throughout the country, also exercised their agency by exploiting the labor shortage in an effort to renegotiate their pay and working conditions.

In his essay, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida," Gary Mormino examines the racial disturbances involving black soldiers from Florida

[4] Robert Cassanello. "Violence, Racial Etiquette, and African American Working-Class *Infrapolitics* in Jacksonville during World War I" *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 82:2 (Fall 2003), 155. Cassanello cites "hidden transcripts" from the work of James Scott in his work *Domination and the Art of Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
[5] Cassanello, "Violence, Racial Etiquette, and African American Working-Class," 156.
[6] Cassanello, "Violence, Racial Etiquette, and African American Working-Class," 157.

bases and how these events exposed those African American men from the North to the daily rituals of the Jim Crow South. After several clashes throughout the state took place during the war, many cities barred black soldiers from spending their liberties there. Tallahassee, for example, restricted black soldiers from visiting from nearby Camp Gordon Johnston after a number of disturbances broke out between black soldiers and white residents. As Mormino points out, one of the unintended consequences of these restrictions was the "cross fertilization [that] followed. Black servicemen helped disseminate new ideas and introduced a new militancy at the local and state levels." [7] The restrictions placed upon them forced black servicemen into black churches, fraternal organizations and bars where they interacted with other African Americans from the surrounding community. These connections within the black communities of the South proved to expand the existing networks of communication but also spread a new sense of activism that shortly after the war manifested in the modern civil rights movement. In addition, by facing segregation themselves, northern black servicemen gained a better understanding of their southern counterparts, developing a shared sense of racial identity. This sense of identity would prove invaluable as the civil rights movement began following the conclusion of World War II.

Taken together, the studies show the African American community challenged segregation and gained important lessons in the process. Boycotts and selective buying campaigns proved useful tools for resistance to stores and businesses that refused to hire African American workers in St. Augustine. These tools also relied upon the community to pull together and act as one unit utilizing networks of communication to empower members to join others in the campaigns. Migration represents an important and often visible method of resistance that

[7] Gary R. Mormino. "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 73:1 (July 1994), 41.

African Americans used consistently in the post-World War I period well after World War II. The loss of black labor forced white Southerners to consider concessions such as public schools and wage increases in order to maintain a local supply of black labor. Finally, the networks built by soldiers during World War II ultimately led to the cross-regional recognition of racism and discrimination by African Americans in the North and South. This recognition helped to provide resources for the national movement such as volunteers to participate in demonstrations and financial contributions. African Americans relied upon these tools as communities across the South launched local movements to challenge segregation.

One of the emerging themes of debate in the field of African American history is the question of the long-standing networks of communication utilized by African Americans throughout the Jim Crow period and into the 1960s civil rights movement. These networks provide an important link to black communities throughout the South and help to mitigate the marginalization many African Americans felt as a result of segregation. Steven Hahn in his book *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggle in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* argues that these networks emerge during the antebellum South when black men and women maintained contact with other slaves on neighboring plantations. Hahn's argument diverges from other historians in the field that date these networks to the post-Civil War and Reconstruction period. The fact that these networks prove difficult to identify indicates their covert nature, a necessity for African Americans attempting to subvert the white dominated society. Hahn's work demonstrates the effective use of communication to both challenge and in many cases deny the marginalization of slavery and later segregation.

Another debate among civil rights scholars is the need to define the start of the national movement. Many historians date the beginning of the national movement to the work of Dr.

King in Montgomery while others date it to the end of World War II and the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. In 2005, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall published an article entitled "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past" in which she argued that by focusing upon the classical period of the civil rights movement, namely 1955-1968, historians remove a number of events, figures and factors that help explain and honor the civil rights movement as a whole. This study draws upon Hall's approach and makes explicit connections between the events of the 1900s and 1960s that helped to shape the African American community. By incorporating such a lens, the articles by Gary Mormino and Robert Cassanello offer important lessons drawn from the early twentieth century in how African American community developed resources and knowledge that played important roles within the modern civil rights movement. Dowd's argument also encourages the voices of the individuals to come through by encouraging discussions of topics such as gender and class within the narrative of the national movement. What makes Dowd's article so poignant within the historiography of the national civil rights movement is that it challenges the notion that the civil rights emerged quickly following World War II and ended with the rise of the more militant Black Power movement. Instead, she argues that the movement evolved alongside much of the history of the twentieth century and its legacy continues today. The long civil rights movement forces historians to examine the origins and the factors that led to the modern movement of the 1960s but also to look beyond the leaders we associate so closely with the classical period like Dr. King. Instead the focus is upon the individuals who chose to participate and exercise their right to challenge to repressive and discriminatory laws of the Jim Crow South.

My study of the African American community of St. Augustine examines the events between 1900 and 1960 that helped to foster the modern civil rights movement. Chapter One

provides much of the background information about St. Augustine and Lincolnville in terms of the rise of segregation and the formation of black churches, schools and businesses. In addition, the role of black-owned businesses in Lincolnville played within the development of a community and racial identity with the city. Chapter Two examines the Great Migration and the resulting changes in Southern agriculture and how black labor suffered through the Great Depression. That said, African Americans continued to challenge discrimination through efforts to honor their shared past through events like Negro History Week and by taking advantage of New Deal support to obtain additional education opportunities and training. Chapter Three discusses the changes that emerge within St. Augustine during and after World War II when many African Americans returned home from war to find the South a very different place. Throughout the period of 1900 to 1960 the threat of racial violence remained. Lynchings remained common place in Florida even into the 1940s when focused public opinion helped to reduce its practice. One must remember that activism and resistance to segregation assumed many forms from membership in the NAACP to refusing to ride in a segregated railcar. It is important to highlight that the civil rights movement of the 1960s utilized resources and networks already in place in the black community. When he arrived in St. Augustine to lead the demonstrations against segregation, Dr. King utilized these resources as he had utilized them in other sites of the movement, quickly organizing the community behind him and putting a plan into action. The foundations of resistance to segregation provided a basis for King and the SCLC but also provided the tools for the community to exercise its ability to challenge the Jim Crow society.

Chapter One: 1900 - 1920

Introduction

On June 11, 1964, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rev. Ralph Abernathy joined the ranks of civil rights demonstrators arrested by the police in St. Augustine, Florida. In an effort to end the segregation of public facilities within the city, King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) focused their attention on the nation's oldest city bringing intense media coverage as nightly demonstrations and other forms of protests marked what King referred to as "the long hot summer." The increased pressure placed upon the city's police and local officials only strengthened their resolve to resist integration. Nightly demonstrations around the Plaza de la Constitución evolved into mass chaos with police holding off armed white youth from the demonstrators, many of whom were young college-aged students and older black women. The mayor and officials repeatedly denied that the white and black communities were engaged in any sort of disagreement; instead, the message was that outside agitators, namely Dr. King and the SCLC, came to St. Augustine to instigate trouble for the city. By calling St. Augustine "the most racist city in America," city officials argued, Dr. King cast St. Augustine in a false light. However, Dr. King and his supporters presented a very different picture of life in St. Augustine's black community.

Even in the face of Jim Crow society, blacks and whites in St. Augustine had long maintained amicable relationships with only a few incidents of violence. Of the lynchings in Florida between 1882 and 1930, only one lynching occurred in St. Johns County, and it took place in Orangedale, a settlement along the St. Johns River, several miles outside of St.

Augustine. The black man in question, Isaac Barrett, attempted to murder his employer and his employer's family.[8] Yet, one cannot take the lack of reported lynchings as evidence of racial harmony. Historian David Colburn describes the race relations as a "civility – 'a way of dealing with people and problems that made good manners more important than substantial action.' While whites expected blacks to defer to them, relations between the races appeared cordial, indeed often friendly."[9] What appeared as good manners and cordiality on the part of the black citizens of St. Augustine did not mean complicity with segregation. A number of factors including economics influenced the nature of race relations in St. Augustine. Opportunities for black men and women to work and provide for their families remained a major concern in the Jim Crow South. Whites, especially white men, controlled access to most jobs for black men and women. For example, in St. Augustine, industrial jobs were almost exclusively with the Florida East Coast Railway or Fairchild Aviaton. The FEC's Miller Shops north of the city provided a small number of low-skilled positions for black men. However, the railroad required these men to meet certain expectations and observe particular conditions of behavior. White men employed in skilled labor and management positions, expected deference from their black subordinates. If a black man stepped out of place, he could expect to lose his job immediately.

Another factor that influenced race relations in St. Augustine was the lack of educational opportunities for black children. Schools had always been segregated. The first black public high school, Excelsior School in Lincolnville, opened in 1924. Previously, public high school education had only been available to white students. In addition, the fear of racial violence played a very prominent role in St. Augustine's race relations. Although St. Augustine had witnessed very few violent incidents, Florida had earned a reputation for violence toward its

[8] New York Times, "Negro Lynched in Florida." June 6, 1897.
[9] Colburn, *Racial Change*, 23. Colburn is quoting the historian William Chafe in his *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

black citizenry. Lynchings and other forms of violence enacted against African-Americans in Florida remain among the most brutal in American history. News of these events naturally reached the black households of St. Augustine, either through word of mouth or in black newspapers. Newspapers like the *Pittsburgh Courier and* the *New York Age* had a mass following in the South, including Florida. St. Augustine ran a black version of the *St. Augustine Record* throughout the newspaper's history. While no copies have survived, nor did any copies of other black newspapers printed in the city (aside from the single copy of the *St. Augustine Post*), black men and women in the city maintained networks of communication which revealed Florida's opposition to equality among the races.

The early 20th century marked a period of profound change as Florida emerged from the Civil War and Reconstruction to become a land of opportunity for whites. Developers Henry Flagler and Henry Plant contributed to the phenomenal growth in Florida with their respective railroads and the many towns that dotted the landscape along railway lines. As the headquarters for the Florida East Coast Railway, in many ways serving as the gateway to Florida, St. Augustine maintained a prominent role in the development of the state. However, St. Augustine's black community, centered in Lincolnville, enjoyed very few advantages from this development. Instead, the prosperity of the early 20th century brought to Florida the rise of Jim Crow and segregation. Starting with the restrictions on streetcars in cities across Florida, segregation soon influenced the use of many public spaces, including schools and courthouses. The common misconception that the black citizens of Florida remained silent in the face of these new laws is simply not true. Many blacks living in Florida's cities responded with public demonstrations and boycotts as Jacksonville did in 1901.[10] However, the efforts to thwart the

[10] August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "The Boycott Movement Against Jim Crow Streetcars in the South, 1900-1906" *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 55:4 (March 1969), 758.

passage of Jim Crow laws proved fruitless. In St. Augustine, the formation of the first National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) branch in 1918 represented the first major step towards defining the city's black voice and infusing that voice with those of other Florida cities. Within a year, communities like Pensacola and Jacksonville formed branches as well. The move by black Floridians to organize under the banner of the NAACP indicates a unity that extended outside the boundaries of towns and cities. The formation of NAACP chapters provided an opportunity for black men and women to channel their frustration into activism. A number of organizations, religious and otherwise, provided the black community in St. Augustine with a means of escape from the Jim Crow society that enclosed them. Furthermore, businesses, owned and patronized by African-Americans, offered opportunities to make segregation work in their favor.

Building Community: Organizations, Churches and Black-Owned Businesses

Mutual assistance organizations like the Knights of Pythias and the Courts of Calanthe offered blacks the ability to speak freely and to interact with others; more important, these organizations offered members security and peace of mind. The Knights of Pythias, the foremost African American masonic organization in the state of Florida, formed in 1881 in Pensacola and established a St. Augustine chapter in 1886. The Grand Lodge for the state of Florida moved to St. Augustine in 1889. By 1909, the order had grown to 2,923 men and 88 lodges throughout the state of Florida.[11] The organization also maintained a women's auxiliary organization known as the Courts of Calanthe. These two organizations provided a number of opportunities and advantages for their members. First and most important, in the event of a member's death, his or

[11] Grand Lodge Knights of Pythias. "History." Grand Lodge Knights of Pythias, Jurisdiction of Florida. http://knightsofpythiasfl.com/history (accessed February 21, 2012).

her family received enough money to provide for a funeral and burial as well as additional funds to cover other expenses. In this way the Knights represented one of many mutual aid societies that formed during this period. Some of these organizations served as labor unions while others maintained masonic or religious ties. In addition to the financial aid they received, members had a voice in the meetings and could speak their opinions without restriction. The organizations embodied a level of political participation missing from everyday life. As Paul Ortiz states, the lodges reinforced within their members a sense of solidarity rarely encountered in the Jim Crow society at this time. "Each Knight of Pythias lodge was an island of egalitarianism in a sea of racial oppression. As the order grew and thrived, members developed a level of collective self-confidence that allowed them to challenge white supremacy."[12] The order slowly expanded into the political realm, opposing to the ban on African American lawyers practicing in Florida as well as the use of the grandfather clause to determine voting eligibility. The local Knights of Pythias met within the Odd Fellows Hall built in Lincolnville in 1909, used not only by organizations as a meeting space but also by the community for dances and concerts.[13]

The church remained one of the pivotal influences on black history and culture. St. Augustine's black community, like the rest of the city, had a strong connection to the Catholic Church. Prior to the construction of St. Benedict the Moor Catholic Church in Lincolnville, black congregants sat in a balcony in the rear of the sanctuary at the Cathedral Basilica, segregated from the white congregants below. In 1898, a Catholic philanthropist who funded many Catholic schools for African American and Native American children, donated funds for the construction of a school in Lincolnville. Mother Katharine Drexel founded an order of nuns,

[12] Paul Ortiz. *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920.* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005), 118.
[13] David Nolan, "Lincolnville History," July 1985. Lincolnville Vertical File, St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library.

the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, that served the educational needs of Native American and blacks. Pope John Paul II elevated Drexel to sainthood in 2000.[14] On February 11, 1911, the Most Reverend Bishop William J. Kenny consecrated the newly built St. Benedict the Moor church.[15] By that time, other denominations had erected their own houses of worship. In 1873, a former slave named Richard James formed a small congregation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Lincolnville. Although black and white Methodist members across the state had worshipped together before 1865, the desire of black congregants to form their own congregation sparked the African Methodist movement. According to Larry Rivers and Canter Brown, the African Methodist movement's success in Florida's black communities came about through its unique blending of traditions. "As this process evolved, African Americans stamped Methodism in the South and in Florida with their special influences and traditions, some of which derived directly from African roots." [16] In 1888, the African Methodist congregation built a new sanctuary in the central portion of Lincolnville in the Excelsior School; however, financially hard times forced the congregation to abandon the building. The congregation purchased property in January 1904 and began construction on its current sanctuary. Trinity Methodist Church, formed in the 1820s, built a wooden sanctuary in 1870 which they replaced with a masonry building in 1913. St. Augustine had two Baptist churches located in Lincolnville: First Baptist formed in 1872 and St. Mary's Baptist formed in 1875. First Baptist built its existing sanctuary in 1915, replacing the original building which had burned that year. The emergence of so many denominations within Lincolnville demonstrates the community's desire for churches that reflected the African American tradition and experience. Members could

[14] William Adams, *St. Augustine and St. Johns County: A Historical Guide* (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 2009), 49.
[15] Cathedral Basilica of Saint Augustine, "St. Benedict the Moor," The Cathedral Basilica of Saint Augustine, http://www.thefirstparish.org/saintbenedict.html (accessed February 11, 2012).
[16] Larry Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr. *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865-1895* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2001), 1.

make decisions and worship together without worrying about maintaining appropriate manners or behavior to appease whites.

St. Augustine's unique Catholic background left an indelible mark on other denominations attempting to form congregations within the city. As the African Methodist churches soon discovered, the ability of other denominations to gather members to their respective flocks proved harder than anticipated in the face of a Catholic church focused on retaining and building its membership. Larry Rivers and Canter Brown examine the initial obstacles many churches faced. "To the south at St. Augustine, Roman Catholicism remained a formidable barrier to African Methodism and other Protestant churches. As one local missionary put it, 'This is a Catholic city.'" [17] The large population of black Catholics dated back to the period of Spanish control. Documents from the period record many blacks, both slave and free, converting to the Catholic faith and being baptized. [18] Slaves who escaped from the British colonies north of Florida were granted freedom in St. Augustine, and their descendants remained free for generations. Therefore, Bishop Kenny's efforts to construct a church for the Catholic blacks in Lincolnville answered a need for both additional space for the congregants and a church all their own. St. Benedict's School, in conjunction with the church building, attracted increasing numbers of black families to the Catholic faith. As one of the only educational outlets available to black children, the school provided a much-needed resource for Lincolnville. The Sisters of Saint Joseph, an order of nuns whose arrival in St. Augustine dated back to the final days of the Civil War, served as teachers in the school. The school remained open until 1964 when Catholic schools became integrated and students moved to either the Cathedral Parish School or to St. Joseph's Academy, both previously white schools.

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[17] Rivers and Brown, 35.
[18] Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1990), 31.

The Catholic Church also offered auxiliary groups for members of the faith. The majority of these groups functioned much like masonic organizations and often incorporated secrecy and ritualistic elements. They also provided security and protection along with financial aid in the event of the member's death. Black Catholics throughout the United States formed these organizations not only to offer their members protection but to focus upon their spiritual needs as well. The Knights of St. John, one such organization in St. Augustine, explained its purpose as follows: "to create and foster a feeling of fraternity and fellowship among the various commanderies; to improve [members'] moral, mental and social condition; to aid, assist and support members and their families in case of want, sickness and death; and to promote a generous and filial respect for the spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church."[19] Beginning in 1910, organizations like the Knights of Pythias and the Knights of St. John appeared in larger and larger numbers throughout the country. Most formed locally through institutions like the Catholic Church or a local lodge. Edward Palmer explains that the ceremony that attended the meetings of the various orders instilled a sense of pride and status within members. "The society's pomp and splendor with its colorful regalia and resounding titles, the camaraderie and heightened sense of importance which comes with a shared secret appealed greatly to the recently freed slaves." [20] The figure below captures the "pomp and splendor" of the Knights of St. John in a picture taken by Richard A. Twine, the first professional photographer who had a studio in Lincolnville. As these organizations prospered and grew in membership, they served a very important purpose, as Palmer explains. "They were allowing a people whose lives are spent in menial tasks and servile roles to inhabit a world where for a day

[19] The Knights of Saint John International, "The Order in the United States," The Knights of Saint John International. http://www.orderstjohn.org/sjcross/sjinternt.htm (accessed February 11, 2012).
[20] Edward Nelson Palmer. "Negro Secret Societies." *Social Forces* 23:2 (December 1944), 209.

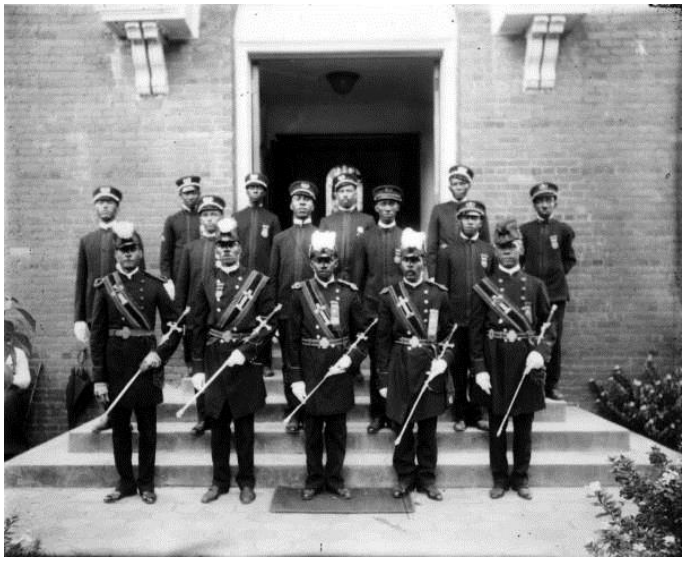

Figure1: The Knights of St. Johns in front of St. Benedict the Moor Church
Source: Richard Twine Collection, St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library

they are knights and nobles, kings and courtiers." [21] Such organizations laid the groundwork for some very important changes within the black community. First, whether faith-based or not, these lodges offered a social outlet for black men and women to interact with each other and in turn to foster a sense of pride in their community and their race. Second, the lodges gave black businessmen the ability to network and build relationships among men of influence within the black community. As David Foley explains, these organizations provided some key beliefs that members otherwise would have lacked, namely a sense of individualism and status as well as a connection to the larger community as a whole. Members referred to each other as "brother," reinforcing the sense of community and solidarity the men desperately needed. As Foley states, these organizations placed importance on unity and brotherhood in the face of a Jim Crow society that excluded them. "Fraternalism was a key survival strategy for African Americans. Lodge life fostered self-respect, and lodge members provided mutual aid." [22] Through membership in churches and organizations, African American men and women established

[21] Palmer, 210.
[22] David Foley, "Why Some Black Lodges Prospered and Others Failed: the Good Templars and the True Reformers." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36:2, 350.

invaluable networks of communication and community spirit that fostered racial solidarity and pride.

Lincolnville served as the center of African American life in St. Augustine and provided a prime location for men eager to start their own businesses. The same sense of racial solidarity that encouraged the rise of black churches in the area fostered the creation of black-owned businesses. Black men and women who did venture into white-owned stores in downtown St. Augustine found restrooms and dressing rooms reserved for white clients. Harold Palmer remembered that black patrons had to wait until all white patrons in line had checked out before they could pay for their items.[23] Therefore, Lincolnville businesses provided the black community with a sense of normalcy in the face of segregation. However, black businessmen often had to negotiate a treacherous path in order to gain the approval of the white business community. One such business owner was Frank B. Butler, who moved to St. Augustine from Fernandina to work in a local store run by S.A. Snyder. By 1914, Butler had decided to step out on his own and open his own store called the Palace Market.[24] The store met with great success and served both white and black patrons. His business success allowed Butler to begin purchasing real estate and developing an area west of town known as the College Park subdivision intended for black members of the community. Barbara Walch in her article on Butler explains how he succeeded despite the restrictive racial society. "Actually the general segregation and discrimination in the wider community encouraged the development of black businesses, which in Lincolnville had both African American and white patrons of both black and white-run stores and professionals."[25] Butler garnered the backing of local white leaders

[23] Harold Palmer, *et al.*, "Childhood Memories" *El Escribano* Vol. 44 (2007), 34.
[24] Barbara Walch, "Frank B. Butler: Lincolnville Businessman and Founder of St. Augustine, Florida's Historic Black Beach," 2.
[25] Walch, 7.

who offered him support and advice. He also utilized his real estate connections with white business leaders to purchase land for the black community to have its own beach. Since segregation outlawed blacks sharing the beach with whites, Butler purchased property just south of Crescent Beach for the sole purpose of giving blacks a beach of their own. His plan included a development of homes for blacks, and he sold the lots to offset the cost of the land. The community developed into a thriving beachside resort hosting dances and parties throughout the summer. Butler's experience as a businessman translated into a position of status within the black community. The backing of white businessmen indicated Butler's ability to negotiate a racial minefield with great skill and demonstrated his business acumen. Butler enjoyed a solid reputation within the black community through his generosity and willingness to assist those around him. He and other black businessmen formed an organization to ensure the success of black-owned businesses in Lincolnville. The Colored Business and Professional Men's League met monthly and encouraged black men and women to shop in Lincolnville to support their local businesses.[26]

Other black men shared in Frank Butler's business success; for example. Arthur C. Forward shipped ice cream throughout the state and even up North. Many who grew up in Lincolnville remember buying ice cream at the Iceberg.[27] Another man, Richard Twine, a photographer, who opened a studio in Lincolnville, captured scenes of contemporary life in Lincolnville and preserved them in his collection.

Various organizations and businesses in Lincolnville kept Jim Crow at bay and engendered both racial pride and solidarity. For instance, black businesses provided black men

[26] Walch, 8.
[27] Arthur Forward married the African American daughter of Dr. Andrew Anderson, a prominent white figure in St. Augustine. Anderson provided the starting capital for the Iceberg as a way to provide for the African American side of his family. Interview with David Nolan.

and women an alternative to service work or farm labor and encouraged the closely knit atmosphere which evolved. Historian Diana Edwards stated that "extended families looked out for everybody; it was a very personal neighborhood." [28] Outside the boundaries of Lincolnville, blacks still faced discrimination and were denied a voice in politics and government, precisely the benefits that black organizations, churches and businesses provided. In the Knights of Pythias for example, men could vote and have their say in how the order ran; furthermore, members served as officers and held positions of prominence within the community. As business owners, men served as their own bosses, owned real estate, and rose to positions of importance within the community. Ironically, while it encouraged racial difference, segregation provided the black community an opportunity to nurture community pride and racial solidarity. Similarly, education in St. Augustine contributed to the growing sense of solidarity with the opening of the Excelsior School in 1924.

Negro Mis-Education in the Oldest City

Public education in Florida began soon after the Civil War with Northern philanthropies such as the Peabody Fund providing funds for the first schools. The Peabody School, located on Aviles Street, was St. Augustine's first white public school. A Freedmen's Bureau school served the freed slaves of St. Augustine following the Civil War followed by the Mather-Perit School. Sarah Mather and Rebecca Perit began teaching Indians housed at nearby Fort Marion (now Castillo de San Marcos) in the 1880s. Following the Indians' move west, the women opened a finishing school for girls and later took young black children as students. They organized a black Presbyterian congregation, located on Granada Street, which was affiliated with the local white Presbyterian congregation. Their school for black children received funding through

[28] Rosalie Gordon-Mills. 1990. Interview by Diana Edwards. September 23. Transcript, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, University of Florida Digital Collections, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

tuition fees and donations from the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen.[29] With their deaths, J.H. Cooper assumed directorship of the school and changed its name to the Presbyterian Parochial and Industrial School.[30] The Presbyterian School went only up to seventh grade and cost a nominal fee for each student. Reverend Cooper ran the school throughout the year, including summer sessions. The Cooper School closed in the 1920s following the death of Rev. Cooper.[31]

Located across Central Avenue from the Cooper School was the St. Augustine Junior High and Graded School, which the city closed and tore down to construct the Excelsior School in 1924. The Excelsior building, designed by local architect Fred Henderich in Mediterranean Revival architecture, functioned as the center for education in Lincolnville until the school's closure in 1968. Excelsior educated black children from first through twelfth grades, making it the first black high school in St. Augustine. School books, as in other black schools across the South, were discarded books from white schools as was classroom furniture and equipment for physical education. "During that time we were compelled to use hand-me-down books, uniforms, and equipment for baseball and football from Ketterlinus High School. We accepted it because we could not do any better." [32] With the ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, the "separate but equal" principle became ingrained in the Jim Crow South. However, black parents did their best to instill pride in their children. Otis Mason, who would later serve as St. Johns County Schools Superintendent, remembers "I imagine that some of my classmates interpreted

[29] Gordon-Mills, 182.
[30] Black residents remember the school as Reverend Cooper's School and many of the oral histories from Lincolnville in the possession of the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library contain memories of attending the school. "Childhood Memories" *El Escribano* Vol. 44 (2007).
[31] There is no definitive date for the closing of the Cooper School. One would assume that the construction of Excelsior would have prompted its closure rather than duplicate efforts, but several oral histories report that both schools remained open for some time after Excelsior opened. "Childhood Memories" *El Escribano* Vol. 44 (2007).
[32] Rudolph C. Israel, *et al.*, "Childhood Memories" *El Escribano* Vol. 44 (2007), 15.

the disparity between white and black schools as a message that blacks were second-class, but my mother taught me to never think of myself that way." [33]

St. Benedict the Moor School, located near Excelsior, was operated by the Sisters of St. Joseph. The school provided education to black boys and girls paid for through tuition fees. The four-room building housed three teachers with anywhere from 50 to 75 students. Governed by the Catholic diocese, the school's policies were not without controversy. In 1916 the Florida legislature, at the height of the anti-Catholic movement, passed a series of laws designed to limit the power of the Catholic Church in Florida. Many Floridians believed that "Protestant America was in danger of a Papist takeover by elected and appointed Catholic government officials whose first loyalty was to the Pope, not to America."[34] One of the laws passed by the legislature banned white teachers from teaching black children and black teachers from teaching white children. The law did not differentiate between public and private schools; therefore, parochial schools came under the jurisdiction of the law.[35] Although William J. Kenny, Bishop of the Diocese of St. Augustine, knew that teachers were subject to arrest, he did not think that state or local officials would actually arrest nuns. On April 24, 1916, Governor Park Trammell ordered the arrests of the principal and the two teachers of St. Benedict's School for violating the law.[36] Newspapers around the country printed the story. In Governor Trammell's office, letters poured in congratulating the governor, not for arresting the teachers but for limiting the power of the Catholic Church. [37] In May 1916 a judge ruled that the law applied only to public schools, and

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[33] Otis Mason, *et al.*, "Childhood Memories" *El Escribano* Vol. 44 (2007), 70.
[34] Robert B Rackleff, "Anti-Catholicism and the Florida Legislature, 1911-1919," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 50:4 (April 1972), 355.
[35] Rackleff, 358.
[36] David P. Page, "Bishop Michael J. Curley and Anti-Catholic Nativism in Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 45:2 (October 1966), 110.
[37] The Papers of Park Trammell at the University of Florida have a number of letters written by Floridians congratulating the governor on the arrest. I found it interesting that the letters in support of the arrest all focused on limiting the power of the Catholic Church rather than addressing the racial issues inherent in the action.

the sisters resumed teaching at St. Benedict's. By 1919 the anti-Catholic agenda in the legislature had played itself out and no further laws aimed at weakening the Catholic Church passed through the legislature.

One of the most significant debates about public education in the United States centered around two prominent African American figures, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, and the use of industrial education. St. Augustine's Florida Normal College opened in 1918 was the second college in St. Augustine to adhere to the model of Washington's industrial education.[38] Washington argued that industrial education provided a gradual path to equality for black men and women, an argument that clashed with DuBois' insistence on immediate equality and liberal arts education for them. Washington's mentor and teacher, former Union General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, was the driving force behind the industrial education model and the founder of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. A normal school provided training for those wanting to enter the teaching profession. At Hampton, students completed their elementary education and studied for an additional two years in courses designed to fulfill requirements to achieve a teaching certificate. James Anderson's The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 examines how education of African Americans in the South changed over time. Industrial education, also called the Hampton-Tuskegee Model, represented one of the most popular and widely used models of education for blacks. When the campus of Florida Baptist Academy moved to St. Augustine in 1918, the name change to Florida Normal and Industrial Institute represented the adoption of the Hampton-Tuskegee model by the school and its trustees. Industrial school students often represented a different segment of the black population from those seeking the traditional university experience typical of schools such as

[38] Reverend G.M. Elliott's school in Moultrie, located south of St. Augustine, represented the first industrial school in the St. Augustine area for African Americans. The school later moved to New Augustine located on the other side of the San Sebastian River from Lincolnville. Interview with David Nolan.

Howard and Fisk Universities. Anderson explains that "normal school students tended to be much less educated, older, and more economically disadvantaged than college students."[39] Both Armstrong and Washington focused on this segment of the population as the most likely to succeed under their model of education. Most of these students came from families whose parents worked in low-wage jobs. Their desire to see their educated children in secure, good-paying positions motivated them to consider a normal school where tuition was affordable. Armstrong's views on race relations and his work with industrial schools appear contradictory. Anderson states that Armstrong believed in the inferiority of the black race and that "it was the duty of the superior white race to rule over the weaker dark-skinned races until they were appropriately civilized."[40] Hence, Armstrong, and Washington like him, believed in the civilizing power of work. Inherent within the Hampton-Tuskegee model are Armstrong's views on the racial inferiority of African Americans. His views stemmed from a belief not in their intellectual inferiority but in their moral inferiority. Manual labor was integral to the industrial education model, reinforcing the moral education black men and women needed rather than the intellectual one. [41] Booker T. Washington remained Armstrong's student until Washington moved to the Tuskegee Institute in 1881to serve as the principal of the school. When Armstrong died, Washington became the most prominent figure associated with the Hampton-Tuskegee model, and he traveled throughout the country encouraging schools to adopt the model.

W.E. B. DuBois represented many within the African American population who opposed the Hampton-Tuskegee model. In their view, DuBois and his followers recognized the inherent view of black inferiority within the model but also regarded Washington as a puppet for those

[39] James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 35.
[40] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 38.
[41] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South,* 36.

wealthy northern industrialists who favored the model. These industrialists invested vast amounts of money into the industrial schools that favored the model, encouraging many small schools to adopt it. DuBois met with Washington in 1904 and pursued a plan where "select" black youth received higher education and the others received in industrial education. This group of "select" youth represented to both DuBois and Washington the future leaders of the black population in America. Anderson states, "[Washington] and DuBois were seeking to educate, organize, and direct the same segment of Afro-America, the 'talented tenth' or the black intelligentsia."[42] At the core of the conflict between Washington and DuBois was the argument over whose influence and ideas would define black culture and society in America. This contest between Washington and DuBois spilled over into the press when Washington bought shares in several black newspapers in an effort to control attacks against the industrial education model. In 1905, DuBois and others formed the Niagara Movement, an organization that called for voting rights, equal education, and other forms of equality for African Americans. As a result, Washington's support network of wealthy industrialists and northern liberals dissipated. The liberals along with W.E.B. DuBois eventually formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[43] Washington retained the financial support of the industrialists whose large grants to several industrial schools had helped to encourage other schools to adopt the Hampton-Tuskegee model. However, the industrial model failed to win overwhelming approval from southern blacks even though many smaller black schools did convert to the industrial model.

The importance of the debate between Washington and DuBois represented several key factors often overlooked in black education. One very prominent factor is the role of northern

[42] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 104.
[43] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South,* 108.

money usually awarded in the form of grants. Public education in the South during early twentieth century remained largely in the hands of local governments since the period of Reconstruction. In northern Florida rural areas like St. Johns County did not focus a great deal of attention on education. A compulsory year-round school program did not exist in the state at the time. Northern financial gifts such as the Peabody Fund encouraged the development of schools and libraries following the Civil War, but most of the money went to white schools. In 1914 Julius Rosenwald, the head of Sears, Roebuck and Company, began a fund designed to build black schoolhouses and libraries in rural parts of the South. The Rosenwald Fund constructed hundreds of schools, purchased books for the new libraries, financed the transportation of children to and from school, and extended terms for schools.[44] Negro schools typically did not meet during the time when additional labor needs on the farm pulled children from classes. For example, during the 1920-21 academic year, white schools conducted classes for 146 days; in contrast, black schools met for 111 days. [45] By the 1935-36 academic year, black schools met for 168 days, their white counterparts for 174 days.[46] Since black children usually worked alongside their families performing farm labor, school officials had to convince parents of the value of the extra days for instruction. Indeed in many rural communities throughout the South, classes for black children helping family members in the fields during the harvest did not even meet. Compulsory public education was a foreign concept in the South because Southerners considered education a luxury for the upper class who could afford to send their children to schools. Education was not necessary for the working class or blacks.

[44] J. Irving E. Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1974), 28.
[45] J.A. Holmes, "The Cost of Negro Children's Education in Florida Compared to that of White Children" (Master's Thesis, Florida Southern College, 1938), 7.
[46] Holmes,7 .

Like the Rosenwald Fund, other funds also benefitted Negro schools, including industrial schools. The General Education Board, founded by John D. Rockefeller in 1902, built schools, established and expanded library facilities, covered expenses related to additional teacher training, and offered fellowships to teachers. [47] For example, in the 1923-24 academic year, the General Education Board awarded Florida Normal and Industrial Institute in St. Augustine $10,000 towards construction of a new administration building.[48] The fund's principal benefit to the black community was the appointment of a State Supervisor of Negro Education who visited schools and assisted teachers in developing improved classroom skills. The state supervisor also made recommendations on how better to apply funds for education. The Jeanes Fund established in 1907 also proved to be very helpful to Negro schools by providing money for training teachers and for the construction of rural schools. Jeanes teachers across the state helped teachers with lesson plans and curricula while working within communities to convince parents of the value of education for their children.

Although funding played a huge role in Negro education in the South, the debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois also brought to light the extreme distrusts southerners had towards those advocating education for African Americans in the South. Northerners who attempted to convince white Southerners of the need for universal education were met with immediate resistance. White Southerners feared that education would lead black men and women to reject their place in the well-ordered Jim Crow Society. As James Anderson explains, advocates for universal education attempted to convince white Southerners that education could provide a means of social control. Through education and proper instruction by teachers, black Southerners could "acknowledge the legitimacy of the South's racial caste system

[47] Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida*, 29.
[48] "Florida Facts," *The Evening Independent*, August 13, 1925.

and submit willingly to its order." [49] Naturally white Southerners remained skeptical and continued to resist the call for universal education. When approached about the industrial education model, white Southerners balked at the need for blacks to attend school to learn how to become better farmers or farm workers. As a result, Northern philanthropists who still supported the Hampton-Tuskegee model looked for a way to expand their reach into the South. They found it in the small, independent black normal schools whose support came mainly from donations. These schools, surviving on small budgets, welcomed the funding these wealthy Northerners promised. In addition, these schools often employed graduates of the industrial schools as teachers, thus eliminating the need to convince college officials of the benefits of the model. James Anderson calls this process of uniting the small, independent black college with the Northern industrialist agenda "one of the most neglected aspects of black educational history." [50] With the influx of money from these industrialists, the school in effect relinquished control to these very men. Typically the college president who accepted the funding but not the message of the men found himself out of a job, replaced by a graduate of the industrial model. St. Augustine's Florida Normal and Industrial Institute is an example of one such independent black normal school which gained additional funding from the Northern industrialists by way of the General Education Board. With little support from the surrounding white community, black schools depended upon the influx of Northern capital to cover the expansion of facilities or programs. These small black schools provided instruction for many who could not afford the expense of a higher education unlike the "select" young black men and women Washington and DuBois mentioned in their debates. The importance of the Southern normal and industrial school can best be illustrated in its use of space to create a sense of security for students and to

[49] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 98.
[50] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 115.

project its desired image to the community. Florida Normal and Industrial Institute provides a telling example of how architecture and social norms intersected in the design of a small black independent school. Although the buildings have been razed, Florida Normal was a source of pride for black residents of St. Augustine; indeed, many still mourn its loss.

The Campus of Florida Normal and Industrial Institute

On the evening of March 11, 1918, a special event held in the casino of the Hotel Alcazar formally announced the purchase of property outside St. Augustine for use by the Florida Baptist Academy (later called the Florida Normal and Industrial Institute). [51] According to the *St. Augustine Evening Record*, the school favored the move as an opportunity to utilize the industrial model in its educational curriculum with additional acres of land to educate students on the new farming techniques, something their Jacksonville campus did not allow because of its urban location. The property was purchased from the Holmes family, but its history can be traced back to May 1779 when the land was originally purchased by Joseph Peavett from the British government, then occupying Florida. On the property Peavett planted crops and constructed a house with the property changing hands over the years while remaining a slave plantation until the Civil War.[52] The irony that a historically black campus occupied the site of a former plantation that used slave labor was not lost on the school or local officials. In fact, following the construction of the chapel on the new campus, the school installed a bell from the old plantation, the same bell that had called the slaves in from the fields. The bell and property became symbols of progress to Southern blacks. Today, the bell rings in the chapel tower of Miami's Florida Memorial University, the name by which the school is now known. In the 1941-42 academic bulletin for Florida Normal, the history of the site is noted: "a site which once

[51] "New School of 500 Students to be Located Here," *St. Augustine Evening Record*, March 12, 1918.
[52] Susan Parker, "Revisiting an abandoned college campus as it appeared in the 18th and 19th centuries," *The Compass,* March 5, 1998. The article appears as an installment of the "Legends and Tales" column in *The Compass.*

perpetuated indolence and ignorance now fosters industry and enlightenment." [53] In 1999 Kenrick Ian Grandison studied the layout of several black college campuses as cultural records of racial norms in the America especially those reflective of the period after the Civil War. Grandison defines the black college campus as "the cultural product of a recently emancipated people, who, with relatively limited resources and institutions under their control, had to negotiate complicated social, political, and economic constraints–and opportunities–to house their institutions of higher learning." [54] Like most historically black colleges and universities in the South, Florida Normal's campus featured many of the architectural and spatial details incorporated into slave quarters and workspace on any Southern plantation. Its use of space, architecture, and landscape enabled the school to flourish within an unsympathetic society fearful that education would encourage blacks to resist white domination. The campus's location, the buildings' architecture, and the unusual campus entrance all speak to the social norms necessary in a predominantly black school surrounded by a Jim Crow society.

The remote location of the St. Augustine campus of Florida Normal in relation to the city is significant. Initially, students arrived on campus by train or hired a taxi from the railway depot in St. Augustine. In later years, the campus added a railway stop on its southern end. The rural location of the campus indicates spatial distance, not simply in physical terms but in terms of perceived status. White colleges such as the University of Florida in Gainesville typically occupied a central location in the town, near the heart of a thriving community. From the beginning, the city of St. Augustine shunned the Florida Normal campus. Ironically, at the

[53] Florida Normal and Industrial Institute. "The Florida Normal and Industrial Institute Bulletin," 1941-1942. Florida Normal and Industrial Institute, 15. The college's decision to move to Miami came about through the work of members of the Board of Trustees as well as actor Raymond Burr. The new campus placed the college in a growing market as well as in more modern facilities.

[54] Kenrick Ian Grandison, "Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America." *American Quarterly*, Vol. 51: 3 (September 1999), 533.

reception announcing the school's move to St. Augustine, Florida Normal's President, Nathan W. Collier, indicated that "St. Augustine and the St. Johns County Board of Trade had offered a site at such a figure that it seemed to the school as a gift from the Lord." [55] As Grandison argues, the low value of the property played favorably for the college since most black colleges lacked a great deal of funding; however, the college reinforced the social norms of the Jim Crow South. The school officials "were not willing to transgress the delicate social boundaries of the postbellum South, conveying the impression to local white supremacists that, while their missions were lofty, their proper place at the bottom of society was well understood." [56] Collier and the school's board wanted to maintain amicable relations between the college and the city; they were well aware of the delicate nature of race relations in Florida.

A decision that involved a great deal more deliberation on the school's part was the construction of the buildings. The college erected wooden buildings at first on the campus, however fire destroyed them. The college planned to replace them with masonry buildings that were fire resistant. [57] The design of the new buildings, along with their placement on campus, conveyed a message. The school chose Mediterranean style architecture with stuccoed walls, a style very common in St. Augustine and the predominant style used by the architect, Fred A. Henderich. The first building to be constructed was Anderson Hall (figure 4) built in 1924 in honor of Dr. Andrew Anderson whose financial assistance brought the campus to St. Augustine. The building lacked any of the formal architectural details one might expect on a traditional college administration building such as the adornments on Westcott Hall at Florida State University in Tallahassee (figure 5). The Mediterranean style was used for the other buildings.

[55] "New School of 500 Students to be Located Here," *St. Augustine Evening Record*, March 12, 1918.
[56] Grandison, 548.
[57] Interview with David Nolan. Nolan stated that he had heard former graduates of Florida Normal state the fires that destroyed the first buildings had been intentionally set by whites living in St. Augustine.

The lack of ornate design or any formal exterior architectural elements indicated an attempt to downplay the buildings and avoid drawing attention to them. Although some of the buildings like Anderson Hall were large structures, typically buildings did not feature decorative name plates indicating a donor nor did they embody elaborate craftsmanship. Instead, the buildings reflected a pragmatic approach to both architecture and education, a hallmark of the industrial education.


Figure 2 (left): Anderson Hall (Florida Normal)
Figure 3 (right):Administration Building or Westcott Hall (Florida State University)


Figures 4 and 5: The entrance to FSU's campus looking towards downtown Tallahassee and entrance gates

Figure 6: the Memorial Arch of Florida Normal

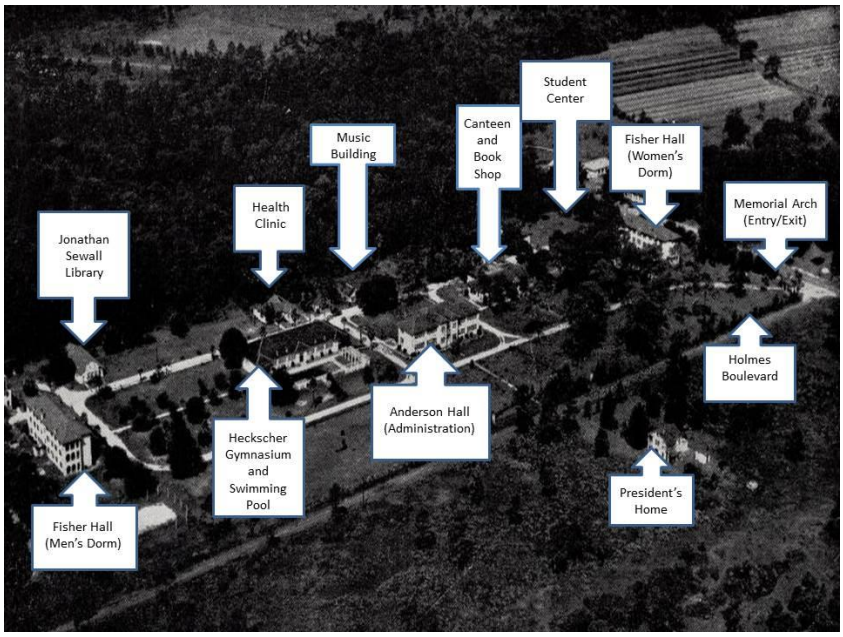

Figure 7: The campus of Florida Normal of 1959

The entrance road to the campus passed under the Memorial Arch (figure 7) at the intersection of County Road 214 (Tocoi Road) and Holmes Boulevard. Most college campuses, like Florida State University, emphasize the approach to an entrance (figure 6) to create a sense of anticipation as visitors draw closer to the main gates. In the case of Florida State, as College Avenue stretches from downtown Tallahassee towards campus, the imposing campus gates (figure 8) are visible at all times. Florida State's gates are crafted from brick and accented with decorative stone while Florida Normal's Memorial Arch lacks architectural elements of any kind. Built to honor A.L. Lewis, a major benefactor to the school, by the students, the arch today stands across Holmes Boulevard in Calvin Peete Park as a reminder of the school's role in St. Augustine's African American community. As Grandison states, the entrances to black campuses followed a common pattern: they were not grand or elaborate. "The main gates to [black] campuses, as a rule, are hard to find. When one does find them–these campuses are usually fenced–one is likely to feel that one is arriving on campus by a back or side way."[58] Therefore,

[58] Grandison, 551.

Florida Normal's entrance conveyed meaning; it granted entry not just to the campus but also to a restricted space. From the landscape of an old plantation, Florida Normal had appropriated and carved out space of its own.

Additional elements of the campus design reinforced the nondescript appearance of the campus. Traditional college design typically places the administration building relatively close to the entrance arch in order to provide visitors easy access to information and assistance. The distance between the administration building and the entrance to the Florida Normal campus defied that pattern. As a result, visitors had to know where they needed to go before arriving on campus. Another interesting design feature was the abundance of space surrounding the buildings, especially the space serving as a buffer between the road (Holmes Boulevard) and the main buildings. Such spatial arrangements suggest exclusion, just as the entire campus was isolated from the city of St. Augustine. People driving along Holmes Boulevard barely saw the backs of the buildings. Thickets of trees and the distance from the road prevented anyone's view of what took place on campus. The campus layout, with the main buildings facing inward, further suggested both isolation and protection from the outside world. Grandison points out that this "inward" or introverted layout "both offer a feeling of security and belonging for those within the private space of the campuses."[59] Beginning with the entrance, the layout of Florida Normal embodied an awareness of security and regulated access. The campus provided educational space but also necessary protected space for students. As the campus expanded, the college built additional buildings along Holmes Boulevard and Country Road 214 away from the center of campus. The importance of the campus design and layout is in the tradition and heritage with which the campus allocated space. The Southern black educators at Florida Normal inherited a legacy of interracial conflict and therefore infused their campus with

[59] Grandison, 555.

meaning. They understood the importance of using architecture effectively to avoid appearing to step outside social norms. Had the educators at Florida Normal modeled their campus after a traditional white university like Florida State or the University of Florida, the white citizens of St. Augustine no doubt would have protested. By avoiding ornate architectural elements, school officials avoided confrontation. In addition, by positioning the buildings to face inward and placing the entrance in an unusual position relative to campus, officials reinforced concepts of restrictive access and protection. Black students attending classes and living on campus interpreted these elements and their meanings because they are part of their larger heritage and culture. White visitors to campus, unfamiliar with these same elements, would view the campus as disorganized or lacking a formal design plan.

Conclusion

The early 20th century laid the foundation for the African American community in St. Augustine through the formation of organizations, church congregations, and businesses focused upon the black community. The passage of legislation creating the Jim Crow Society quickly marginalized Florida's African American population, pushing blacks into the lowest segment of society. Within the restrictive segregated society, African Americans formed unique ties of community and racial solidarity. Men like Frank Butler and Arthur Forward worked within the confines of segregation in St. Augustine to build businesses that became models of entrepreneurial ingenuity for the generations that followed. Churches and organizations like the Knights of Pythias provided safe harbor for black men and women. Through attending meetings, worship services and volunteering, members of these groups formed the connective ties that solidified the communal bonds within Lincolnville. Residents today comment upon the special connections neighbors shared with one another. However, one cannot forget that Jim Crow and

segregation meant disenfranchisement and silence of the black voice within the community. African American men and women faced real dangers in the form of violence that ran rampant throughout Florida. Although instances of racial violence remained minimal in St. Augustine, black men and women understood all too well what was happening outside their city. The Ku Klux Klan staged a comeback during this period, and the release of D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* in 1915 ushered in a period of profound nationwide discrimination against the African American community. In his book, *The Invisible Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Florida*, Michael Newton estimates that Klan membership in Florida stood at around 60,000 by 1924-25.[60] Northern Florida, including Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and many of the small towns between the two cities, was Klan territory where numerous instances of brutality took place between 1900 and 1920. Lynching, the most common form of racial violence, kept the black community in check. In 1919 in Jacksonville a mob entered the jail and seized two black men who had been accused of murdering a white man. They were both lynched. The mob then dragged the bodies through the streets of the city. [61] Unfortunately, because this case was not unusual, Florida earned a reputation for its propensity to lynch African Americans. Between 1900 and 1920, the number of black victims of reported lynchings totaled 1,085, with the majority of these lynchings occurring between 1900 and 1910 (a total of 654 victims). [62] The use of violence to maintain control over the African American population continued into the 1940s. Clearly the threat of racial violence controlled the black population in towns like St. Augustine. Blacks understood the harsh reality of segregation whenever the local newspaper reported another lynching or violent incident. Black Northern newspapers carried the stories of these incidents as did their

[60] Michael Newton, *The Invisible State: The Ku Klux Klan in Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 43.
[61] "Mob Lynches Two in Jacksonville," *New York Times*, September 9, 1919.
[62] Walter T. Howard, *Lynchings: Extralegal Violence in Florida during the 1930s* (Selginsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1995), 28.

white Southern counterparts. The message that violence was a tool white Southerners would and often did use kept many blacks in Florida from challenging segregation. However, within the confines of Lincolnville and on the campus of Florida Normal, African Americans could escape the threat of violence and the restrictions of Jim Crow through participating in organizations, worshipping in black churches, and supporting black-owned businesses.

The St. Augustine branch of the NAACP which formed in 1918 failed to survive even past 1920. In a letter from Dr. R. E. Smith, a local druggist and the president of the local branch, to James W. Johnson, Secretary of the NAACP, Smith states that the branch was delinquent in paying its dues and was "about to be cast off…. However, the life is here and we hope to get in action soon."[63] Smith was correct; life was there in St. Augustine. However, the NAACP provided a more visible form of activism than local residents felt comfortable with. The years between 1909 and 1920 represented a difficult time for the NAACP in Florida; many branches dissolved while others saw a reduction in members. During this period of decline in outward resistance to segregation African Americans found other ways to channel their resistance into churches, organizations, businesses and education. They developed a strong sense of racial solidarity and consciousness that would assist them as they faced the challenges of the Great Migration, World War I and II and the Great Depression. These events would provide the black community with challenges as well as opportunities to expand their fight for equality.

[63] Letter from R.E. Smith to James W. Johnson dated December 20, 1920, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress. It is important to note that James Weldon Johnson helped to charter the branch in St. Augustine. As a native of Jacksonville, Johnson pushed the NAACP to push into the South and charter branches. Prior to Johnson's working for the NAACP, branches only existed in the North. Johnson, a native of Jacksonville, helped to start many of the Florida chapters as a field secretary prior to his elevation to Executive Secretary.

Chapter Two: 1920 – 1940

Introduction

During the period between World War I and the Great Depression, Florida, like the rest of the country, experienced a number of dramatic changes. Among them was the Great Migration, one of the most important events in African American history, and the occasion of the single largest movement of African Americans from the South to the North. The migration resulted from several factors: the influences of the Harlem Renaissance, governmental restriction of immigration into the United States, and the increase of wartime production in the industrial North.

The Harlem Renaissance and the Jazz Age focused attention upon the musical, artistic, and literary contributions of African Americans such as Langston Hughes, Louis Armstrong, and Count Basie. Efforts to commemorate such achievements sparked a movement to identify and preserve the history of a separate black culture. The emergence of Negro history profoundly affected black communities both North and South. In the North, jobs had not been plentiful, and black laborers had long been denied union membership. In the South, African Americans had been marginalized under the laws and social norms of Jim Crow and segregation. The boll weevil had forever changed Southern agriculture and the sharecropping and tenant farming systems upon which it had been based. The promise of higher-paying wartime jobs and increased freedom encouraged many Southern blacks, including many from Lincolnville, to migrate north in large numbers. In the face of such socio-economic change, the specter of racial violence still loomed. Florida experienced some of the worst racial violence in its history,

earning the state the dubious distinction of having the largest number of lynchings per capita in the country.[64] The increase in racial violence coincided with new attempts to capitalize upon the black labor shortage by African American who stayed in the South. Working-class whites saw these efforts as a challenge to racial norms and reacted with violent backlash. Yet, as Washington Street in St. Augustine's Lincolnville reverberated with the sounds of jazz musicians playing in clubs and restaurants to all-black audiences, the city experienced the changes occurring elsewhere in the nation. Not surprisingly, the period from 1920 to 1940 redefined race relations in the city in ways no one could have foreseen.

The Great Migration, the Boll Weevil and the Changing Southern Agriculture

Just prior to the start of World War I, the United States Congress responded to a growing demand for restrictions on immigration especially those from Eastern Europe that many viewed as revolutionaries and anarchists. With the assassination of President McKinley in 1901 by the son of Eastern European immigrants, the calls for the restriction of anarchists into the country grew louder and more strident. Even though Congress passed a law supporting the exclusion of anarchists, the push towards tighter restrictions of "new" immigrants, those mainly from eastern and southern Europe, strengthened until, in 1924, the National Origins Act introduced tougher quota restrictions, again targeting those "new" immigrants. The quotas cut immigration from southern and eastern Europe by close to 87%. [65] Restrictions of these specific workers created a tremendous opportunity for African Americans in the South. Industries had come to rely upon the "new" immigrants as a source of unskilled labor in the many factories and plants across the North and Midwest. With that source of labor no longer available, labor agents looked elsewhere for potential labor and found it among Southern African Americans. Companies sent

[64] Howard, *Lynchings*, 15.
[65] James S. Pula, "American Immigration Policy and the Dillingham Commission" *Polish American Studies* Vol. 37:1 (Spring 1980): 12-13.

labor agents into the South to encourage African American men to leave behind agricultural field work and head north. The sales pitch was not a tough one. In the North, black men and women had much better living conditions: free and compulsory education for their children, better-paying jobs, the right to vote and participate in elections, and many other benefits. Immediately, white Southern landowners, eager to protect their labor source from agents from the North, went on the defensive. In fact, several labor agents found themselves in trouble with local Southern law enforcement. For example, in 1916, Jacksonville's sheriff used his authority to close a labor recruiter's office in order to prevent further migration.[66] In addition, Florida sheriffs in smaller communities along the railroad patrolled stations and removed would-be black migrants from platforms. Black newspapers encouraged black men and women to move North by filling their pages with advertisements for jobs in a number of Northern cities. As a result, local officials routinely monitored the mail coming into their communities and removed black newspapers from the mail in order to prevent blacks from answering job advertisements in the North. In the backlash against labor agents, Southern whites remained adamant that conditions were no better in the North than in the South. They could not comprehend why black men and women would move North, denying the repressive society of the Jim Crow South and failing to empathize with their black neighbors. "Whites could not understand the dynamics of the Great Migration partly because they could not envision blacks as anything but passive participants in the historical process."[67] One of the general misconceptions common among white Southerners was that the African Americans could be easily led into anything because they lacked the ability to think for

[66] Robert Cassanello. "Violence, Racial Etiquette, and African Working-Class Infrapolitics in Jacksonville during World War I," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 82:2 (Fall 2003), 160.
[67] James Grossman, "Black Labor is the Best: Southern White Reactions to the Great Migration," In *Black Exodus: the Great Migration from the American South*, ed. Alfredteen Harrison (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 64. This is a common misconception that plagues Southern whites following Emancipation. Whites viewed blacks as gullible and easily swayed rather than giving them the agency they deserved. This issue reappears in the 1960s civil rights movement when blacks begin to demonstrate; whites regarded the movement as evidence of communist interference.

themselves. Assuming that black men and women were incapable of making their own decisions or of demonstrating free agency, Southern whites often regarded labor agents as outside agitators intent upon luring black men and women North. Therefore, whites who blamed outside influences failed to address the major contributors to black migration and effectively maintained the status quo of the Southern economic and social systems.

At the same time that immigration restrictions tightened in the North, the boll weevil, a small insect that feeds upon cotton buds, invaded the American South, causing massive destruction to the cotton crop. After the Civil War, cotton had remained the South's primary cash crop, and its centrality to Southern agriculture cannot be underestimated. The plantation system, in shambles following the Civil War, transitioned to the sharecropper system whereby small farmers rented farmland from landowners, usually white, in exchange for a portion of their crop. In practice, the sharecropping system led to some of the same ills that the plantation system had perpetuated: the dominance of one crop (cotton) and the exploitation of cheap labor. Even before the arrival of the boll weevil, reformers called for the end of sharecropping and reliance on cotton for profits. However, with the price of cotton remaining high during the post-war period, landowners did not heed that advice. As the boll weevil gnawed its way across the South, landowners suffered monumental losses. Many tenant farmers simply abandoned farms rather than attempting to grow another cotton crop. In Florida, unlike other parts of the South, cotton production flourished only in the north-central part of the state. In other parts of the state, including St. Johns County, the sandy soil was unsuitable for cotton; therefore, vegetables and fruits provided revenue for farms. "Only in one main commercial crop in the South did a rising

demand keep pace with production--namely, the fruit and vegetable production in Florida and the coastal plains." [68] Florida's ability to survive crop losses placed the state in a unique position.

Florida was one of the few states that did not experience a net loss in black population during the Great Migration. Chart 1 (appendix) displays the population of both St. Johns County and St. Augustine from 1900 to 1960. Still while the white population continued to steadily increase throughout this period, the African American population briefly yet decisively dropped between 1910 and 1920. This decline occurred during the beginning of World War I at the height of the Great Migration. In other Southern states, similar drops occurred, signaling the impact of the movement of Southern African Americans North. Chart 2 (appendix) indicates the breakdown of ages and demonstrates some revealing trends. Although the total number of African American males and females displays a positive number from 1910-20 (5,200), males during this period experienced a significant decline of 2,000 people. In fact, the two age brackets that contributed the most to this decline are men ages 25-44 and men ages 45-64. Typically, men traveled North without their families in order to earn better wages and then sent money home. For African American women ages 45-64, the data suggests that these women traveled with their husbands, just not in the same numbers as their male counterparts. However, between 1920 and 1930 an overabundance of men ages 25-44 returned to Florida. Clearly the effects of the Great Migration were not as long lasting in Florida as in other southern states. With Florida's booming agricultural industry, jobs remained plentiful, and in many cases African Americans became disillusioned with life in the North. Although jobs remained open to African Americans, unions did not; without union membership, many of the better-paying jobs were off limits. African American males found themselves restricted to unskilled factory jobs while white

[68] Gunnar Myrdal. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 252.

men remained in supervisory and skilled positions. In addition, job opportunities in Florida beckoned many African Americans from outside of the state, especially from neighboring Georgia.[69] Newspapers around the state recognized the return of many African Americans from the North and noted the increase in opportunities in the agricultural industry. "Many of the negro families who migrated northward during the early days of the war in response to the tempting wages offered are now flocking back to their homes here. They have learned that there is plenty of work for them here at good wages and they have had enough of Northern winters."[70] Within St. Johns County, a new cash crop helped to generate a number of new agricultural jobs.

In rural St. Johns County, the town of Hastings sprang up as a result of Henry Flagler's expanding east coast hotel system. Fresh vegetables and livestock were in high demand. Produce, particularly the potato, grew extremely well in the soil around Hastings, and the Florida East Coast Railway even built a spur for shipping fresh vegetables from Hastings and East Palatka. Potatoes, cabbage, and onions from St. Johns County were hauled along the east coast, all the way to Miami. Farmers had a guaranteed market; all they had to do was plant and grow whatever the hotels demanded. In 1900 St. Johns produced 7,956 bushels of potatoes. By 1910 the county produced 456,808. By 1920 these numbers had increased to 895,343 bushels. During that year St. Johns County produced over 50% of the state's potato yield. [71] The ease with which farmers could transport crops to market provided an economic advantage that attracted cheap labor. The growth of the agricultural industry in St. Johns County provided some measure of success for African American farmers. In 1925, St. Johns County had 24 African American farm operators with that number increasing in 1930 to 27 and then to 35 by 1935. Yet, the value of

[69] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, 1975, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 307.
[70] "Negroes Returning from North," *Florida Times-Union*, August 16, 1919.
[71] My data comes from the Census Reports on Agriculture from 1900, 1910 and 1920 produced by the Bureau of the Census (1900: Office of the Census).

the land under these operators and the average acres per farmer dropped during this same period, suggesting that the prime farmland remained in the hands of white operators. As in other industries African Americans still faced discrimination. Of the 4,936 African Americans living in St. Johns County in 1940, 820 or 16.6% worked in agriculture with the majority working as farm laborers or wage earners. [72] Without the increased demand for Florida's agricultural crops, many African Americans probably would not have returned as quickly as they did. Florida remained a predominantly rural society well into World War II with the majority of its population living in small farming communities like Hastings. Even today Hastings remains a major producer of vegetables and other crops. The Great Migration provided a number of lessons for the African American population in St. Augustine. Those who ventured north experienced indications of racism; something they thought they left behind in the South. Whites in the North relegated the African American communities to ghettos and opposed black families moving into white neighborhoods, something all too familiar to the Southern black. Black workers faced similar discrimination on the job. As a result, black workers felt the brunt of economic forces; when the demand for products declined, black workers were first to go. Therefore, black men and women quickly learned that the North was not different after all. Also, in the South, whites made concessions to their black laborers in an effort to prevent having to hire immigrants to perform the labor they saw as belonging to African Americans. With the outflow of black labor in the early period of the Great Migration, white owners had attempted to hire immigrants; however, these immigrants refused the low wages offered to them as well as the demanding work. Therefore, white landowners began to make concessions to hold onto the remaining laborers as well as to encourage others to return. The Great Migration helped the

[72] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *State Compendium: Florida: Statistics of Population, Occupations, Agriculture, Drainage, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and* Cities, 1930, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

African American community define itself as a potential force for social change by demonstrating the impact that a coordinated effort involving large numbers could have. Although discrimination continued even after black men and women returned from service in World War II, the power of numbers remained a lesson that many in the African American community retained and integrated into their efforts to achieve equality.

Rosewood and the Specter of Mob Violence

Racial violence within Florida remained a constant threat to achieving equality. Newspapers often carried the news into the communities around the state but African American readers often turned to Northern newspapers, especially black-owned newspapers, for the real story. Southern newspapers remained one-sided and biased towards the white point of view. Northern black newspapers in conjunction with communication networks between communities of African Americans remained the prominent sources of information for residents of Lincolnville in the event of racial violence. Although brutality rarely took place in St. Johns County, two incidents are important to mention. The only reported incident of a lynching in St. Johns County occurred in Orangedale, a few miles from St. Augustine, in 1897. A black man named Isaac Barrett allegedly attempted to murder the family of his white employer.[73] As with all of Florida lynchings during the Jim Crow era, the act of lynching assumed guilt on the part of the African American, usually a male although not always, and brought a quick and violent end without the benefit of a jury. Another example of racial violence took place at a meeting of the city government in St. Augustine. On October 30, 1902, at a city council meeting, City Marshal Charles H. Benet fired his gun at one of the city alderman, an African American named John Papino. During the course of the proceedings, Marshal Benet had demanded that he be allowed to speak uninterrupted. When Alderman Papino rose to speak, Benet ordered him to remain

[73] "Negro Lynched in Florida," *New York Times*, June 6, 1897.

quiet. When Papino refused, Benet shot him in the face. Benet turned himself over to the Sheriff and was held in the jail; however, no charges were filed against him.[74] Alderman Papino was one of several African Americans who served in the local government, and there is no mention of the reason Marshall Benet shot him other than the fact that Papino and another alderman refused to remain quiet during Benet's speech. It is uncertain if race played a role in the incident. The lack of formal charges indicates that many felt that Papino deserved being shot or that his quick recovery did not warrant Benet's being charged.

Other incidents of racial violence took place throughout the state, especially during the 1930s. On January 1, 1923, Rosewood, a small town near Cedar Key, Florida, populated by African American farmers and workers from the nearby lumber mill, became the scene of mob violence that haunts the state to this day. In the nearby town of Sumner, a white woman, Frances Taylor, accused a black man of assaulting her in her home while her husband was away at work. The ensuing angry mob focused its search on Jesse Hunter, a black man recently seen in the Rosewood area. Whites felt certain that the criminal was hiding somewhere in Rosewood, aided by its black residents. Unfortunately, two black eyewitnesses to the assault on Mrs. Taylor failed to reveal the true identity of the assailant: her white lover. The black residents of Rosewood determined to defend themselves if the mob attacked. A shootout ensued, and the mob burned the town of Rosewood to the ground. Although most Rosewood residents escaped into the woods and swamps around the town, they never returned to reclaim their property. The death toll remains a mystery to this day; however, a study by the state numbered the dead at eight: six blacks and two whites.[75] Similar incidents occurred in Newberry in 1916 and Ocoee in 1920. In

[74] "Marshall Benet Shoots a City Councilman," *St. Augustine Evening Record,* October 31, 1902.
[75] The story of Rosewood appears in various sources: David Colburn, "Rosewood and America in the Early Twentieth Century," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Fall 1997) 76:2, 175-192; Maxine D. Jones, "The Rosewood Massacre and the Women Who Survived It," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Fall 1997) 76:2, 193-208; and Marvin

each case, white mobs attacked black men and women. Newberry's dead totaled six while Ocoee's black population saw their homes and businesses burned. After the violence in Ocoee, the town's 802 black residents fled. By 1925 the black population of Ocoee numbered exactly one.[76] In most cases, episodes of racial violence, including lynchings, occurred quickly, with local law enforcement officers blaming the fervor of the crowd for their failure to quell the violence. Yet, in a 1994 investigation, state officials revealed what many in the Rosewood community already knew: members of law enforcement had aided the mob.

On October 27, 1937, leaders of various social and religious organizations throughout the country met with Florida Governor Fred Cone in New York City to discuss recent episodes of racial violence in Tampa. Cone was in New York City attending the World's Fair when a series of disturbances in Tampa took place. As the conversation became more heated, Cone reacted in a violent outburst: "You go down there [to Florida] and violate state laws and you'll be punished. You go down there advocating overthrow of the American government and you'll be rode out on a rail. I think a man ought to be hung on a tree if he advocated overthrow of the government."[77] Attendees, taking Cone at his word, were convinced that he condoned lynching as a means of punishment. Newspapers across the U.S. responded immediately. News editors, politicians, and national organizations like the NAACP and ACLU condemned Cone. As shocking as Cone's words may have been to the American public, the fact was that between 1930 and 1939 Florida was the state "most likely to lynch." The number of Florida lynchings exceeded those of Mississippi, Georgia, or Louisiana.[78] The lynching of Claude Neal, an African American man

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Dunn, *The Beast in Florida: A History of Anti-Black Violence* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013), 97-122.

[76] Dunn. *The Beast in Florida*, 95.

[77] Governor Fred P. Cone quoted in a *New York Times* article dated October 22, 1937 as quoted in *Lynchings: Extralegal Violence in Florida during the 1930s* by Walter T. Howard (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna UP, 1995), 114.

[78] Howard, 15.

living in Marianna, Florida, seemed to confirm Florida's brutal obsession with lynchings. Neal, accused of murdering a white woman with whom he had a sexual relationship, became the yet another lynching victim in October 1934. After forcing him to eat his severed penis and testicles, the mob hanged him on a nearby tree. Hours later, his mutilated body was dragged behind a car and dumped in front of the murder victim's residence. The body was finally hanged on the Marianna courthouse square until the following morning.[79] The NAACP immediately sent Howard Kester to investigate the lynching, as well as the role played by law enforcement. A major concern was that local newspapers may have given readers advance notice of the lynching. Walter White, NAACP Executive Secretary, had wired then-Governor David Sholtz about the possibility of mob violence. Nevertheless, no state or local official stood in the way of mob action. In fact, many citizens actually condemned law enforcement for assisting in rather than controlling violence. Kester's subsequent report exposed several disturbing aspects about the lynching. Kester maintained that whites from all segments of society resented competing for jobs with black laborers. Kester stated that whites deplored African Americans' being employed in drug stores and markets, and as porters, restaurant servers, domestic servants, and farm labor.[80] With the Great Depression taking many jobs, white men became even more concerned about protecting their jobs from their African American neighbors. Many cities throughout the South displayed placards carrying the message "No Jobs for Niggers Until Every White Man Has a Job!" [81] The justification for Neal's murder was simple: Neal had overstepped his "place" as a black man because he and the victim had been engaged in a sexual relationship. The white community's widespread fear concerning the sexuality of African American men played a major

[79] The listing of events from an article by Joshua Youngblood entitled "'Haven't Quite Shaken the Horror': Howard Kester, the Lynching of Claude Neal, and Social Activism in the South during the 1930s," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol 86:1 (Summer 2007), 21-23.
[80] Youngblood, 27.
[81] Stetson Kennedy, *Southern Exposure* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946), 65.

role in this incident. Furthermore, the concerns about miscegenation plagued the South throughout the Jim Crow era and can be best exemplified in the "one drop rule" often held as the standard for racial purity. Stetson Kennedy's *Southern Exposure* addressed the state's concern over this issue. "Florida imposes the Jim Crow line against all persons having as much as one sixteenth Negro blood." [82] Other states set that defining point as having any African American blood at all. Because of the involvement of the NAACP, the lynching of Claude Neal focused a great deal of attention upon the practice of lynching in Florida. Although lynchings continued, the number dropped off following a concerted effort by the state to improve its image primarily in an effort to attract more industry during World War II. In addition, several organizations began a public relations drive to focus attention on racial violence in the South. Once such organization which assisted the NAACP in its efforts to bring attention to the practice of lynching was the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL). This organization comprised of white women, joined religious leaders calling for an end to the practice, condemning lynching as a moral wrong, not just a criminal act. "Because these were the very women whose delicacy and supposed superiority was used to justify lynchings, their status as an all-white women's organization was an important factor in their success, enabling them to speak as insiders to other whites."[83] With the support of white men seeking to protect women from the sexual desires of African American men, white southern women's efforts made tremendous strides in bringing attention to this issue. Between 1935 and 1937, two major pieces of legislation calling for the classification of lynching as a federal crime appeared on the floor of both the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives.[84] There is little

[82] Kennedy, *Southern Exposure*, 89.
[83] Jordynn Jack and Lucy Massagee, "Ladies and Lynching: Southern Women, Civil Rights, and the Rhetoric of Interracial Cooperation," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, Vol 14:3 (Fall 2011), 503.
[84] Howard, 147.

doubt that such legislation would not have made it that far without a concerted effort on the part of national organizations like the NAACP in conjunction with the ASWPL. The tide had turned against the practice of lynching in Florida and throughout the South. African Americans could hope that law enforcement and government officials would no longer ignore the overt practice of lynchings; if and when they did occur, people demanded action on the part of law enforcement as later lynchings proved.

African American History, Negro History Week and Race Consciousness

Even in the face of racial violence throughout the state, African Americans encouraged members of their community to celebrate a shared past through events and festivals that fostered recognition of the past. Following the Civil War, African American communities across the South began to commemorate their shared past by honoring the end of slavery with festivals and parades. In some sections of the South, such as Texas, Juneteenth became a day of celebration on June 19th every year, marking the anniversary of the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865. St. Augustine, like other cities in the South, proudly observed Emancipation Day. On January 1 from 1864 till 1927, the festival featured a parade with wagons and floats decorated with banners and streamers. The parade typically began in the heart of Lincolnville at St. Benedict's Church on Central Avenue and wound its way past the National Cemetery on Marine Street.[85] There was a beauty pageant as well with young ladies vying for the queen's crown. Included in the events of the day were speeches delivered by various dignitaries and local black citizens. Professional actors and amateur groups performed skits and plays depicting the history of slavery and emancipation. Paul Ortiz, in *Emancipation Betrayed*, explains the importance of this event in relation to the past and present: "Black Floridians cited

[85] Mitch Kachun. *Festivals of Freedom: Meaning and Memory in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808-1915* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 146.

their own histories as the foundation for their demands for equal citizenship, and they chose days of remembrance as the tie joining the struggles of the past to the challenges of the future." [86] African Americans sought to connect the past, by examining the lessons learned from slavery, with the future, by educating young children in the meaning of a shared history in slavery. Furthermore, to the African Americans of St. Augustine the end of slavery meant the promise of an end to restrictions on their rights and ensured their place as equals within the American social and political systems. Ironically, the Emancipation Day celebration eventually became problematic for a community focused upon the future. How could a community constantly looking back mobilize for the future especially in light of the restrictions of a Jim Crow Society? African Americans who never experienced slavery did not understand nor wish to be reminded of past servitude and oppression. The new generation questioned the differences in the status of the African American during slavery versus after emancipation and where the improvements actually took place. Mitch Kachun in *Festivals of Freedom* states that while slavery provided a historical period to demonstrate African American resilience, "slavery was for many a personally painful and degrading experience whose recollection bred collective racial humiliation and fed the continued derision of the large society."[87] The history of slavery within the African American community represented a very problematic issue for the organizers of Emancipation Day festivals. When focusing on the heroic deeds of African Americans throughout history, how one chose to interpret slavery affected the view one had of the celebration of its end. Kathleen Ann Clark argues in her *Defining Moments* that the Emancipation Day organizers faced a number of obstacles in delivering positive messages concerning African American heroism and exceptionalism. While internal conflicts based on various views of slavery remained the most

[86] Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, 100.
[87] Katchun, 150.

prominent obstacle, Emancipation Day contradicted the white Southerners' view of the Old South. "The majority of African American spokespersons were united in their characterization of slavery as a time of unparalleled human cruelty and oppression – in marked contrast to the romanticized portrayals increasingly set forth by whites." [88] Internal conflicts over the meaning of slavery remained a dividing force within the African American community especially when examined through the lens of class. The upper classes with the African American community sought to maintain ties with white Southerners in an effort to ensure that schools and other institutions remained available to them. Men like Frank Butler whose businesses relied upon his connections with white business leaders "endeavored to accommodate white southerners' historical arguments while still making room for assertions of black history and progress. This was a tricky balance to strike…."[89] Upper class members of the African American community had to incorporate notions of white supremacy into their message about Emancipation Day. Even as they understood the necessity for these festivals to support efforts for equal rights, they encouraged the theme of accommodation. In 1927, the last Emancipation Day festival in St. Augustine took place. Whether the festival met with white opposition to its public displays or internal conflicts forced the community to forego the festival altogether, what remains clear is that the subject of slavery and how it should be commemorated within the African American community challenged communities throughout the South.

The post-World War I period, a time of tremendous change in the U.S., brought a new emphasis on African American history, including the work of several black historians. The African American community in St. Augustine gained its first public high school during this period with the opening of Excelsior School. As black labor moved to the North, Southern

[88] Kathleen Ann Clark, *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration & Political Culture in the South, 1863-1913* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 181.
[89] Kathleen Ann Clark, 219.

communities like St. Augustine sought to encourage African Americans to stay. One means of rewarding those families that stayed in the community was through the construction of new school buildings like Excelsior which provided the community not only with educational space for their children but also offered space for the entire community. [90] Built along Central Avenue in the heart of Lincolnville, Excelsior represented a significant contribution to the educational needs of the community as well as source of community pride. Such schools provided an exclusive black landscape with few opportunities for white administrators or citizens to monitor curriculum or activities. Black teachers and administrators found ways to work within the educational system despite being required to teach history as it was written by white men and favoring the views of white scholars.

A growing black intellectual class which emerged following the Great War helped to drive the collection and study of black history. Carter G. Woodson, recipient of the second doctorate awarded to an African American by Harvard University, began to question the traditional interpretation of black history as espoused by white academics. "Everything which the negro has done had not advanced democracy. The negro like all others, is human. He has done evil as well as good, but unfortunately the enemies of the race have preserved more records of the evil. What we need is the complete story."[91] Using his academic skills, Woodson approached black history from an intellectual perspective, using facts to support his arguments.[92] His intent was to give black history the same degree of credibility that other fields of history enjoyed. "[Historians of Negro History] espoused the pursuit of objectivity more avidly than did

[90] Grossman, "Black Labor Is the Best Labor." Grossman identifies the construction of black school facilities in Southern communities as a concession made by Southern whites to encourage black labor to stay in the South.
[91] Henrietta Dominis, "Annual Negro History Week Study Will Begin Tomorrow," *St. Petersburg Times,* February 7, 1943, 11. The quote is taken from the statement of the ASNLH as quoted in the article.
[92] W. Fitzhugh Brundage. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005), 153.

their white counterparts, whom they chided for succumbing to racial bias."[93] To erase the misconceptions, falsehoods, and stereotypes about black men and women in America, Negro history had to be taken seriously, said the new historians. Woodson formed the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 in order to develop connections between the various scholars of black history. The association performed several key functions: the organization collected documents and memorabilia about black history, encouraged research in the field, sponsored conferences and workshops for the study of black history, and published research and scholarship in *The Journal of Negro History*. Woodson encouraged the study of black history in the black schools of the South. His program employed existing methods of commemoration and memory, such as Emancipation Day celebrations which culminated in 1926 with the establishment of Negro History Week. Woodson knew that the textbooks used in black schools were the ragged discards of white children. The facts recorded in these textbooks had passed the extensive scrutiny of the Daughters of the Confederacy who ensured that textbooks contained a healthy dose of the Lost Cause mythology.[94] Woodson firmly believed that black students deserved a different, more equitable view of history, especially in regard to slavery and the Civil War. Knowing that budgets for black schools were nearly non-existent, Woodson and the ASNLH published material which enabled teachers to incorporate appropriate lessons into their curriculum. Pageants, speeches and commemorative events began to appear in Southern black schools as a means of teaching black boys and girls about their past. Woodson's plan to devote a week each year to the study of black history met with incredible success. White school boards were quite willing to concede one week each year; after all, program materials cost the schools nothing. By scheduling Negro History Week at the same time throughout the country,

[93] Brundage, 153.
[94] Brundage, 166.

Woodson brought a sense of unity to black classrooms. Teachers and students in a classroom in Mississippi knew their counterparts in Florida covered the same material at the same time each year. This sense of unity had never existed before in the black schools across the South.

The efforts by African Americans to commemorate their past either through Emancipation Day celebrations or through programs like Negro History Week demonstrate the awareness of a racial solidarity nurtured through the perception of a shared history. Historians like Carter Woodson developed these perceptions into a common field of study and by treating it as such this field developed into African American history. By developing the field of Negro history and infusing it with academic guidelines, Woodson and others opened the shared history of African Americans to debate as well as elevating it to a legitimate field of study. Through their efforts Woodson and others gave African Americans, like those students at Excelsior School, a definitive place within the American experience.

The Great Depression and the New Deal

The growth of educational opportunities for African Americans in St. Augustine during the 1920s coincided with a period of economic success across the country. With Florida's post - World War I economy booming, large numbers of people moved to the state. The early 1920s sparked the Florida land boom and ignited optimism in St. Augustine. In 1925, the city looked forward to large scale land development with Davis Shores, an expansive tract on the filled-in marsh of northern Anastasia Island. In 1926 evidence of a land bust instead of boom became clear, and D. P. Davis, the mastermind behind the project in St. Augustine, disappeared. By 1928, the economy showed signs of weakening, even distress in some cases, culminating in the crash on Black Tuesday, the start of the Great Depression.[95] A city almost entirely dependent on

[95] Robert N. Dow, Jr., "Yesterday and the Day Before: 1913 to the Present" in *The Oldest City: St. Augustine, Saga of Survival* ed. Jean Parker Waterbury (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1983), 227-230.

the tourism industry, St. Augustine felt the effects of the Great Depression almost immediately. Even the Florida East Coast Hotel Company closed the Hotel Alcazar throughout the pre-World War II period, resulting in the loss of service staff jobs for the city's blacks. In addition, articles of the period mention a plan to replace black staff with all-white staff at the hotels in St. Augustine. [96] Throughout the United States, blacks acutely felt the pain of the economic downturn. Joe William Trotter, a historian of African American history, argues that the economic losses felt by the black community remained secondary to the social isolation the Depression forced upon them: "The depression took its toll on virtually every facet of African American life. As unemployment rose, membership in churches, clubs, and fraternal orders dropped. Blacks frequently felt the pain of . . . separation from friends and acquaintances." [97] African Americans in the North suffered in a similar manner: unskilled black factory workers often functioned as "strike insurance" because their white co-workers were less likely to walk off the job if a black worker could perform the same duties. Some unions did not accept black members and therefore left them vulnerable to changing economic conditions. African American workers usually lost their jobs first because they lacked union protection.

Like their counterparts in Northern factories, black farm workers in the South had no job security. In the days following Emancipation, their position at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder had increased their susceptibility to economic downturns. In St. Johns County the Great Depression was about to take a major toll on the agricultural industry. Farm workers faced an already uncertain future but following the economic crash of 1929, conditions only worsened. America looked to newly-elected Franklin Roosevelt to bring relief to the ravaged economy. One of the main focal points of Roosevelt's economic overhaul was the South and its agricultural

[96] Interview with David Nolan.
[97] Joe William Trotter, Jr. "From a Raw Deal to a New Deal? 1929-1945," in *To Make Our World Anew: A History of African Americans*, edited by Robin D.G. Kelley and Earl Lewis (New York: Oxford UP, 2000), 409.

industry. The President understood the need to tackle the South's drag on the economy first in order to help the national economy.

One of the first programs Roosevelt enacted was the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) in 1933. At this time the South still relied upon cotton as a cash crop, but overproduction had created a glut and pushed prices lower and lower.[98] As prices fell, farmers and landowners defaulted on their credit and loans, forcing banks to fail. The chain reaction left the Southern economy in shambles. The AAA called for the removal of the crop surpluses and paid farmers to destroy their crops. In addition, the government drove the price of cotton higher through acreage limits. However, when landlords and farmers received government payments, they often failed to pay their tenants. Furthermore, the AAA did not reimburse farmers for wage laborers. As Jack Bloom states, the African American farm worker received a double blow: "under AAA, Negro tenant farmers and sharecroppers, as the most dispensable laborers, suffered first from the crop-reduction policy and found themselves without employment." [99] The lack of opportunity and the bleak economic picture forced many farm laborers to move their families to cities like Jacksonville where the promise of employment existed. In Jacksonville the number of black families seeking relief tripled the number of white families. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), organized in 1933, oversaw grants to states for unemployment relief.[100] Harry Hopkins, FERA head, had served as a social worker in New York City and recognized that American blacks were bearing the brunt of the Depression.[101] However, in their desire not to alienate Southern congressmen, Hopkins and the administration did not take steps to ensure

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[98] Jack Bloom. *Class, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1987), 61.
[99] Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., "The Negro in the New Deal," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 48:2 (Winter 1964-65), 115.
[100] Nancy Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton, Princeton UP, 1983), 58.
[101] Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue: The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford U P, 2009), 35.

equitable distribution of relief funds. In fact, local officials managed the aid. In Jacksonville, unemployment relief was based on the city's racial makeup. Whites, 55% of the population, shared their portion with 5,000 families. Blacks, 45% of the population, shared with 15,000 families.[102] The FERA received numerous complaints about the inequity in the distribution of funds, the lack of jobs available to African Americans, and the practice of relegating unskilled labor positions to blacks while whites assumed supervisory and skilled labor positions.[103] One of the obstacles the federal government had to deal with was the reliance upon local and state governments to render aid and supervise the hiring of workers for various projects. Mayors and governors alike relied upon the federal government to provide the funds to support relief payments, money the local governments simply did not have on hand. [104] As a result, local and state governments followed many of the racial norms of the period, focused on providing relief to white men and families instead of to black men and their families. The federal government attempted to address this inequality but was limited in what it could do.

On March 31, 1933, President Roosevelt signed a bill creating the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) intended to "help relieve poverty and provide training for young men by employing them in conservation work on the nation's forests, parks, and farms." [105] The CCC provided job training and education to a segment of the population many of the New Deal programs had failed to address: Americans between 16 and 25 years of age, large numbers of whom had dropped out of school to seek employment.[106] Focusing on the outdoors and various manual labor activities, the CCC became synonymous with masculinity and virility. Job skill training provided

[102] Fishel, 113.
[103] Weiss, 58.
[104] William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal: 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 335.
[105] John Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro" in *The Journal of American History* Vol. 52:1 (June 1965), 75.
[106] Dave Nelson, "Camp Roosevelt: A Case Study of the NYA in Florida" in *The Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 86:2 (Fall 2007), 163.

opportunities not only for an education but also for earning a living. Again, the federal government relied upon local officials and local recruiting boards to recruit from accepted applications. The number of black recruits, however, was disproportionate to the population, a much smaller segment than represented within the entire population. Furthermore, recruiting boards often segregated recruits: young blacks filled black corps while whites filled white units. Between 1933 and 1942, only 200,000 black youths worked within the CCC, a small segment of the young black population.[107] Although recruiting young blacks was never difficult, the placement of their camps became problematic. Even in the North, residents protested the location of such camps near their communities. The director of the CCC, Robert Fechner, after receiving countless requests to remove black camps, finally decided that governors should dictate the placement of camps in their respective states. He also assigned white leaders to Negro camps, claiming that white communities would be more comfortable knowing that white men were in charge.[108] Fechner halted further recruitment of black youths and ordered that future recruits could fill only existing vacancies; white recruiting continued as usual. Because of its high profile, the New Deal subjected CCC board members to tremendous political pressure from governors as well as from the administration in Washington. Similar to the CCC, the National Youth Administration (NYA) oversaw young women's programs such as handicrafts and education. Never highly publicized, it was less scrutinized than the CCC. Created on June 26, 1935, the NYA relied upon local governing boards to manage its projects and programs. Since its budget was small in comparison to its CCC counterpart, the somewhat autonomous NYA escaped a great deal of congressional and public oversight. The NYA focused on two areas: high school or college educational aid and work relief projects that incorporated job training for

[107] James M. Sears, "Black Americans and the New Deal" in *The History Teacher* Vol. 10:1 (November 1976), 94.
[108] Salmond, 81.

students. [109] Students crafted their own programs of study, focusing on projects that interested them and receiving training in a field of their choice. Furthermore, women, barred from the CCC, joined their male counterparts in the NYA. Male recruits rarely outnumbered females, and in some cases the recruiting classes held equal numbers of men and women.[110] Since women were allowed NYA participation, large numbers of black women and men enrolled. In Florida, Mary McLeod Bethune directed the NYA's Division of Negro Affairs, a position requiring her to travel throughout the state to measure the success of the program. In her opinion, the agency did more for women and blacks than any other agency.[111] Other agencies such as the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and Farm Security Administration (FSA) benefitted the white majority but had little effect on the black minority.

The National Recovery Administration emerged with the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act on June 13, 1933. The NRA's purpose was to gather representatives of various industries and have them draft "codes" for their specific industries. These representatives sought to limit weekly work hours, to set minimum wages, and to identify aspects of industry that were deemed detrimental to the economy. Because the NRA's codes came from the leaders of individual industries, many of the codes favored those companies and those within the industry. For example, many of the codes written by the NRA kept African Americans from enjoying the same benefits as their white counterparts. Wage codes kept minimum wage controls low so that black workers saw few increases in pay under the NRA. [112] When codes required equal pay for blacks and whites, many employers simply fired their black employees and hired whites to replace them. Black newspapers referred to the NRA in caricature: "Negro

[109] Nelson, 167.
[110] Nelson, 172.
[111] Nelson, 173.
[112] Sitkoff, 41.

Run Around," "Negroes Ruined Again," "Negro Rarely Allowed," "Negro Removal Act," "Negro Robbed Again," and "No Roosevelt Again." [113] The symbolic blue eagle was often compared to a bird of prey instead of a symbol of relief for black Americans. In 1935, the Supreme Court ruled the NRA unconstitutional, bringing an end to the agency; however, portions of it would live on as the National Labor Relations Board.

Under the Farm Security Administration (FSA), the federal government resettled farmers onto new farmsteads and into new homes. Because the agency intended each community to be entirely self-sufficient, FSA hired experts to teach farmers and their families the newest techniques in agriculture and home economics. The agency wanted to create a "prototype for southern rural life in the new consumerist America."[114] Demonstrating how the newest farm machinery and home appliances could save time and money, these experts attempted to bring the farmer and his family into the new consumer market. Although few Southern farmers could afford the items introduced by the FSA, Washington felt that by learning new farming techniques, using land conservation methods, and utilizing efficient machinery, the farmer could earn a profit that would be spent on consumer items. In her essay analyzing the effects of the New Deal on the Southern farming family, Amanda Coleman argues that "linking citizenship and consumption became more imperative among public policy makers in the 1930s…. New Dealers trumpeted mass consumption as both a means to end the Depression and to equalize social relations.[115] Hoping to create realistic mixed communities in which farming families would use their new knowledge, the agency's efforts would prove only partly successful because the FSA supported the status quo, reinforcing race and gender norms rather than challenging

[113] Sitkoff, 42.
[114] Amanda Coleman. "Rehabilitating the Region: The New Deal, Gender, and the Remaking of the Rural South," *Southeastern Geographer,* Vol. 50:2 (2010), 202.
[115] Coleman, 204.

them. However, the FSA remained supportive of blacks and fought to end the poverty plaguing white and black farming communities. Will Alexander, FSA director, consulted experts to advise him on the needs of the black farmer. "In June 1940 the fourteen hundred black families living on FSA homestead projects constituted 25 percent of all such families; over half the families on FSA rental cooperatives were black."[116] This emphasis on the black population was indeed a rarity among New Deal agencies. In another initiative, the FSA commissioned photographers to document conditions in many Southern farming communities, both black and white. Their pictures recorded the lives of black and white tenant farmers and croppers, including a number in Florida. One such photographer was Marion Post, whose photography focused on the inequalities she found in Florida. Post's pictures captured the Depression in its starkest reality and proved that conditions were worse than many Americans had imagined. "FSA people were fond of saying that the agency 'introduced Americans to America.'"[117] Photography had never been used in the way Post and other FSA photographers used it: to document and record the devastation of the Great Depression in all of its reality. For the first time Americans saw the Depression as it was, and they understood the importance of reviving the economy.

Two additional New Deal programs, the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), aimed at getting people back to work. The PWA, directed by Harold L. Ickes, undertook massive building assignments such as dams and housing projects. Ickes, former NAACP Chicago branch president, was known for his support of civil rights. In September 1933 he issued a policy calling for non-discrimination for all PWA projects. However, as with other New Deal projects, local and state officials dictated the makeup of work crews; whites filled supervisory positions while blacks provided unskilled labor.

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[116] Coleman, 56.
[117] Robert E. Snyder, "Marion Post and the Farm Security Administration in Florida" *The Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 65:4 (April 1987), 479.

Because many work crews lacked any black men at all, the PWA received repeated criticism. "[The Negroes] have been driven to the wall. They have been denied employment on public works projects and singled out in the South for sub-standard wages." [118] Blacks remained in the unskilled labor force largely because recruitment fell to local authorities and contractors, not to the administration in Washington. However, when investigating WPA officials found discrimination in hiring practices, local officials were removed. Another reason for the small number of black men in skilled and supervisory positions was that PWA bureaucrats tended to ignore cases of discrimination and failed to see that discrimination orders were carried out. [119] Although the PWA could not limit discrimination, the agency did provide jobs and wages to blacks regardless of the classification of the work. In some cases, when PWA oversight occurred, blacks assumed supervisory positions and obtained skilled training. Blacks also benefitted from PWA housing construction: black families occupied nearly one-third of all low-income housing projects in the country.[120] In Florida, PWA workers completed a number of projects, although records of the ratio of white to black workers do not exist. Fort Matanzas in St. Augustine received PWA funding, as did the U.S. Post Office on the plaza. One of the largest projects in the city was the construction of the civic center now known as the Visitors Information Center.[121] As was the case for most New Deal programs, changes, though small in some cases, did reach the black community. Ickes remained a highly visible figure during the New Deal and continued to advocate for the fair treatment of blacks, a cause he shared with the

[118] John P. Davis, "A Survey of the Problems of the Negro Under the New Deal" *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 5:1 (January 1936), 10.
[119] Christopher Wye, "The New Deal and the Negro Community: Toward a Broader Conceptualization" in *The New Deal: Conflicting Interpretations and Shifting Perspectives* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1992), 263-264.
[120] Trotter, "From a Raw Deal to a New Deal? 1929-1945," 417.
[121] Steve Rajtar and Kelly Goodman, *A Guide to Historic St. Augustine Florida* (Charleston: History Press, 2007), 157. An article from the *New York Times* dated February 10, 1935 "New Ways to Fort Matanzas" details the improvements made to the fort by the PWA. Ironically, the Civic Center built in St. Augustine would be one of the sites selected by black protestors in the 1964 demonstrations led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

First Lady. Regardless of its overall success or failure, the agency did provide relief to a number of black families at a time when it was desperately needed.

For a number of reasons, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) proved to be one of the most beneficial relief programs for black Americans. The WPA sponsored a number of educational programs aimed at teaching Southern blacks to read and write. In addition, other projects such as the Federal Writers Project and the Federal Music Project hired black musicians, writers, and artists and put them to work recording black history and cultural facts. In 1939 the WPA became the single greatest employer of blacks, employing 300,000 black men and women earning a total of $15,000,000 in wages. [122] In Florida, black writers such as Zora Neale Hurston traveled the state as field researchers, interviewing former slaves whose experiences would be compiled into *The Florida Negro*, a history of the state's black population. Stetson Kennedy, another member of the Florida Writers Project, traveled throughout the Keys recording stories before he moved to Jacksonville where the main office for the project was located. [123] The head of the Florida Writers Project, Carita Doggett Corse, took a keen interest in Florida folk life and understood that urbanization was taking its toll on this unique aspect of the state's culture. Although the Florida Writers Project helped to record the stories of hundreds of ex-slaves, the overall depiction of blacks as detailed in *The Florida Negro* did nothing to lessen discrimination. The stories only reinforced those unfavorable images that many whites associated with black men and women, as evidenced in Angela Tomlinson's study of race within the Florida Writers Project. "Florida's African American remained the unskilled, illiterate laborer; the happy, fun-loving darkie; the uneducated, superstitious hoodoo practitioner; and the overly-emotional Holy

[122] Charles S. Johnson, "The Negro,"857.
[123] James A. Findlay and Margaret Bing, "Touring Florida Through the Federal Writers' Project" *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* Vol. 23 (Florida Theme Issue 1998), 291.

Roller." [124] Even though the Florida Writers' Project took extraordinary steps to research and publish stories about Florida's black population, casting these marginalized people in an honest manner apart from the expectations of society, the specter of discrimination tainted the possibilities inherent in the project and, in turn, tainted the agency itself. In other areas the WPA exceeded expectations, specifically in education. Black men and women hired for the WPA Education Program served as supervisors or teachers and taught nearly a quarter of a million black men and women to read and write.[125] By March 1938, the WPA had spent $1.5 million dollars in Florida with about two-thirds going to the adult education program and the remainder to establishing nursery schools. By January 1935 Florida had 79 nursery schools enrolling 2,294 pupils and employing 239 teachers.[126] One such nursery opened on the campus of Florida Normal to serve black families. The agency's purposes fit neatly into the overall goal of the New Deal: to provide economic resources for lifting Americans from the abyss of poverty and stagnation. Of great importance was a growing awareness of the uniqueness of black culture in America. Memories of exploitation, subordination, and prejudice gave way to a growing appreciation of black music, art, and history.

Historians continue to debate the effectiveness of New Deal legislation in the African American community. Many agencies made some effort to provide relief for black men and women although they relied upon local and state agencies to handle the distribution of aid. Naturally these local and state officials were concerned with preserving racial norms within their community as evidenced by the inequalities in distribution. The opportunities for union membership opened up for African American workers; the Congress of Industrial Organization

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[124]Angela E. Tomlinson, *Writing Race: The Florida Writers' Project and Racial Identity: 1935-1943*. (Master's Thesis, Florida State University, 2008), 57.
[125] Sitkoff, 53.
[126] Larry Russell Smith, "The New Deal and Higher Education in Florida, 1933-1939: Temporary Assistance and Tacit Promises." (Master's Thesis, University of South Florida, 2004), 23

opened union membership to black and white workers together. Although this inclusion opened the door for black workers to benefits from union membership, most of the industries already employed black labor. Although the CIO failed to open many new industries to black workers, the advantages of organizing in conjunction with white workers at last afforded black workers many advantages. [127] Within St. Augustine's African American community, the New Deal brought many benefits, including educational and job training programs under the WPA. In addition, African American youth benefited from the work of Mary McLeod Bethune and the NYA with increasing numbers of young black men and women finding work with the agency. Signficantly, the New Deal forced the surplus farm labor mainly centered around African American communities to move to urban centers such as Tampa and Jacksonville. With the outbreak of World War II, urban migration positioned Florida advantageously for its role in war time production. The widespread discrimination against African Americans, whether in the absence of relief funds or the scarcity of job opportunities during the Depression, galvanized the community as never before. As David Colburn observes in his study of St. Augustine's race relations, African American families relied upon each other for survival during this difficult period. "Most of the black unemployed [approximately 15 percent] managed to survive these years through handouts from family, friends, the church, and, on some occasions, from white residents."[128] Therefore, the Great Depression proved a substantial turning point in the history of the African American community, as it did for the nation. The New Deal, an attempt to provide relief and employment for all Americans, focused attention for the first time on the plight of the African American, and garnered Roosevelt the majority of black votes in the subsequent

[127] Myrdal, 402.
[128] Colburn, *Racial Change & Community Crisis*, 21.

elections. What the New Deal did not provide physically in terms of relief, it made up for in acknowledging the plight of African Americans in the South.

Conclusion

From the end of World War I through the period of the New Deal, African Americans witnessed tremendous change. World War I veterans returned home to an America very similar to the one they had left behind. The South depended upon an agricultural system that relegated African Americans to the lowest paying jobs and to a tenant farming system not unlike slavery. Although the Great Migration had seemed to promise opportunities and benefits in the North, many found that racism in the North was as pervasive as in the South. White Southerners, realizing their dependence upon black labor, were compelled to make concessions to these workers. St. Augustine like many communities, benefited when a new school building for African American children opened in the heart of Lincolnville; it was a space all their own and one which afforded them some elements of autonomy. Teachers introduced programs like Negro History Week to instill pride along with knowledge of their shared culture and history. The Great Depression brought Lincolnville, like many African American communities across the country, bleak prospects for jobs and economic security. The New Deal introduced programs such as the NYA and WPA to assist black families in particular. Unfortunately, black men and women consistently were the last to receive the much-needed relief. In addition, the more visibility many programs received, the more likely officials were to fall in line with traditional racial norms. The NYA's success stemmed from its lack of visibility and the advocacy of Mary McLeod Bethune who insured that African American youth received their fair share of financial support. The Great Depression taught African American communities like Lincolnville to rely upon each other and inculcated a sense of community pride and support as churches,

organizations and neighbors assisted needy black families with food and resources. As the South prepared for World War II, African American communities understood that racism was not simply a Southern phenomenon and that reliance upon one another was necessary for survival in a Jim Crow Society. World War II and the post-war period would bring even more momentous changes as African Americans positioned themselves to challenge Jim Crow and segregation, not as individuals but as a community.

Chapter Three: 1940 - 1960

Following World War II, St. Augustine's black community underwent pivotal changes and learned to express the spirit of activism in its own voice. While World War II features very prominently in the national narrative of the Civil Rights movement, St. Augustine underwent significant changes on the home front. Many African-American men fought bravely in the war and returned home with expectations of better-paying jobs and educational opportunities. The achievements made by African-Americans in the military and on the battlefields of World War II are the subjects of numerous monographs and scholarship.[129] The Supreme Court decisions in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* and *Brown v. Board of Education* provided sufficient proof that the end of segregation and Jim Crow was near. Finally, the launch of the sit-in movement led by students in Greensboro, North Carolina, gave birth to the modern civil rights movement. This study of the post-World War II period begins with a discussion of the New Negro movement which came to the South rather late, but changed how black men and women viewed higher education for black students and sparked their demands for more equitable education.

Zora Neale Hurston, the Signal Corps Controversy and the New Negro Movement

In the spring of 1942, the United States Army announced the placement of a training center for the Signal Corps at Florida Normal and Industrial Institute in St. Augustine for the purpose of training African American men. The program's placement at Florida Normal came after negotiations with the military and African American leaders, who had called for the

[129] Among the monographs to consult: Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women in World War II* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck, eds. *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Neil A. Wynn, *The African American Experience during World War II* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010).

military to relax restrictions against black soldiers in specialized units. The announcement received widespread praise from African American communities across the country. The Army Air and Signal Corps had previously accepted only white recruits. However, in 1941, the Army's Air Corps established a training facility for black airmen at Tuskegee, Alabama. The Army's decision to accept black recruits at Tuskegee and Florida Normal signaled a limited move toward more black representation in the corps.[130]

During the Great Depression many schools, including Florida Normal, suffered from neglect. With the contract from the United States Army, Florida Normal received an influx of capital it desperately needed. The contract with the Army paid nearly $500,000 to the school, a substantial amount of money for the materials and supplies needed to house and train over 100 men.[131] The qualifications for acceptance into the program remained strict, making the program highly selective. The program accepted only high school graduates but assured the men placement in the Corps following graduation. In addition, enrollees were exempt from selective service; that is they could not be placed on active duty.[132] The majority of those selected came from the South and were designated "civilians for assistance in installation, maintenance, and operation of all communication systems used by the army… including radio, telephone, telegraph and motion pictures." [133] With the $500,000 grant from the military, the school prepared for the men's arrival by updating machinery and facilities. Once they began to arrive, however, the men found their accommodations and amenities far below expectations. One of the

[130] Gordon Patterson, "Hurston Goes to War: The Army Signal Corps in Saint Augustine," *Florida Historical Society* 74:2 (Fall 1995), 169.
[131] Lucius Jones, "Finds Trainees in U.S. Signal Corps Largely From Deep South," *The Pittsburgh Courier* November 28, 1942.
[132] Lucius Jones, "Pay Trainees in $500,000 War Training Program at Fla. Normal," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, November 14, 1942.
[133] Lucius Jones, "Pay Trainees in $500,000 War Training Program at Fla. Normal."

faculty members to whom the men articulated their complaints was African-American writer, Zora Neale Hurston.

Zora Neale Hurston moved to St. Augustine just after the start of World War II in 1942. Living in West Augustine, a predominantly black community just outside the city limits, Hurston taught at Florida Normal and Industrial Institute part time. She had published several stories and novels and developed friendships with many important black figures across the country. Having spent a great deal of time in the North, Hurston had a number of well-known friends, including Walter White, the Executive Secretary of the NAACP. Once the Signal Corps trainees presented her with their complaints, Hurston began to write letters to White enumerating the men's grievances. In a letter to White dated November 24, 1942, Hurston explained the concerns of the men and displayed little respect for the college's president, William Gray, and his wife who was in charge of food service. Hurston wrote that when the men complained about the food, Dr. Gray told them to apologize; however, when four of the men refused to do so, Gray asked them to leave the campus. "Getting baloney sandwiches and tea," Hurston states was not a good use of the money the college received for housing the men. "You must remember that these men in the Signal Corps are college men for the most part, and represent the best Negro families in America. And here they are stuck off in this out of the way hole, and being insulted by this insignificant squirt because he's president of one of the most insignificant schools in the world." [134] Prentice Hall, the special counsel to the NAACP, was already in Florida working on another case. On December 27, 1942, White asked Hall to visit the campus and make inquiries into the situation. Hall's visit confirmed much of what Hurston had reported to White. On December 15, 1942, the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, Judge William Hastie, drafted a letter to Dr. Gray informing him of the clamor about the food and overcrowding in the dormitories "with the

[134] Letter from Zora Neale Hurston to Walter White, NAACP Papers, Dated November 24, 1942.

hope that whatever the difficulties may be, you will be able to make an adjustment that will be equitable for all persons concerned." [135] Hastie cleared the letter through White before sending it to Dr. Gray. The resulting changes for the most part solved the issues the men had experienced at Florida Normal. Dr. Gray's wife resigned, and a new head of food service was hired. Gray continued throughout the next two years to attract other military contracts, using the revenues to improve the campus. In 1944, Gray accepted a position at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, Florida, leaving Florida Normal with minimal debt and a campus in much better shape than he had found it.

Zora Neale Hurston left St. Augustine in 1943 and moved to Daytona Beach. There Hurston purchased a houseboat and spent much of her time sailing up and down the Halifax River. [136] However, in 1945, Hurston wrote an article for *The American Mercury* entitled "The Rise of the Begging Joints," whose message reflects many of the same sentiments Hurston shared in her letter to White about the Signal Corps controversy. According to Hurston, "begging joints" refer to "some puny place without a single gifted person in its meager faculty, with only token laboratories, or none, and very little else besides its FOUNDER." [137] Hurston went on to remind the reader that other schools such as Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta Universities were preeminent institutions for black students because of their superior curriculum and adherence to an educational model, thereby providing an exceptional education. She argued that there were other schools that failed to provide their students with a solid education and instead relied upon older notions of black education such as the industrial movement. Hurston warned that jobs were markedly different from those of the past, explaining that if young black men and women must position themselves with a solid education and warning that the older models of

[135] Letter from Hastie to Dr. Gray, NAACP Papers, Dated December 15, 1942.
[136] Robert Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 296.
[137] Zora Neale Hurston, "The Rise of the Begging Joints" *The American Mercury* LX:255 (March 1945), 289

black education would no longer suffice. She stated that schools with strong curricula prepared students for the modern job market while other schools, the "begging joints," offered an outdated curriculum and inadequate training. She directed her message to the well-meaning white Northerners and black families who donated to black education, admonishing them to put their money where it would do the most good for the black community. "Instead of being a help, many donors have been giving aid and assistance to the defeat of those who need a chance more than anyone else in America." [138]

Hurston's criticism of higher education for blacks highlights a very real concern during World War II. Because of the Great Depression, schools such as Florida Normal lacked sufficient funds to maintain buildings, develop curriculum, or attract faculty. With the arrival of World War II, black colleges and universities had become centers of war training and instruction. Government contracts provided the majority of funding for these schools and in many cases kept them afloat. Hurston's call for donors to focus their funds where they could do the most good, namely larger and more accredited universities, made sense based upon her experience with the Signal Corps. Many local industrial schools offered graduates little more than a high school diploma, while larger schools like Fisk and Howard actually offered college-based curricula. The lack of adequate housing and quality food service at Florida Normal offered evidence of serious funding issues. Hurston's connections with Walter White provided enough pressure to effect changes on the part of President Gray, but what about the other "begging joints" throughout the South?

The story of the Signal Corps and Hurston's subsequent article in *The American Mercury* presage a new movement in the South, not simply a critique of higher education. Following the end of World War I, a wave of interest in black music, art and culture had swept through the

[138] Hurston, "The Rise of the Begging Joints," 293.

North, giving birth to the Harlem Renaissance. Throughout the Great War, blacks had migrated to the North carrying with them their cultural identity, specifically their music. Urban communities throughout the North had developed an awareness of racial identity and shared culture. Carter Woodson who promoted Negro history throughout the country also contributed new educational programs for black schools in the South. With the war over and prosperity taking hold, this New Negro movement spread throughout the North. It was fueled by racial discrimination displayed on the battlefields of Europe and by the explosion of music, art and literature within the African-American community; the black population was energized as never before. Blacks began to claim cultural power for themselves in new and unique ways, including the publishing of novels by African-American writers such as Zora Neale Hurston. Blacks also began to assert more control in the political sphere through voting and joining political parties, something they could not do in the South. Chad Williams argues, "The New Negro movement, rooted in the political consciousness and collective racial identity of black people in communities through the United States and the African Diaspora more broadly, was a product of the domestic and global upheavals of World War I and its aftermath."[139] Neighborhoods were marked by concentrations of black families who had migrated from the repressive South. Black workers formed trade unions when their white counterparts barred their membership. In 1925, A. Philip Randolph, originally from Florida, formed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, one of the first trade unions founded by blacks. A new sense of black identity developed as more and more blacks moved from the South to the North. This new identity was rooted in rejecting the patterns of the past such as accommodation to white control and called for more equality of opportunity and education. Indeed, as Jack Bloom contends "The New Negro in the North was independent

[139] Chad L. Williams, "Vanguards of the New Negro: African American Veterans and Post-World War I Racial Militancy," *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 92:3 (Summer 2007), 348.

of whites, aggressive, and insistent upon equality and had cast off the sense of black inferiority. These new behavioral characteristics blossomed almost immediately upon blacks' attaining independence from direct white domination."[140] A revolution within the black community was underway in the North, a revolution that slowly made its way to the south.

Within Southern black communities, such as the one in St. Augustine, black men who provided avenues of communication between the white and black communities gained a sense of status and power. Frank Butler, a successful black business owner, bridged the racial divide and earned a place of status within the black community. Dr. Gray, the President of Florida Normal, played a similar role. In his position as the college's President, Dr. Gray communicated with the city's white leadership. His connections won the school several federal programs which included wartime production training programs such as the Signal Corps. When Zora Neale Hurston denigrated Dr. Gray, she characterized the President of Florida Normal as a symbol of the "Old Negro," the antithesis of the progressive sort she saw in her visits to the North. In an effort to appease both the college's trustees as well as the white establishment of St. Augustine, Gray resembled the accommodationist Hurston portrayed him as in her letters and articles. According to historian Jack Bloom, the New Negro movement took nearly 30 years to emerge in the South and quickly clashed with the black community's usual policy of accommodation to white authority. "Southern blacks had to confront white supremacy far more directly and centrally than blacks in the North. They had to free themselves from fear and from the pervasive feelings of self-worthlessness. Instead of making requests, they had to steel themselves to make demands."[141] Such factors as racial violence, lack of education, disenfranchisement, and

[140] Bloom, 121.
[141] Bloom, 121.

economic and social marginalization delayed the movement's advance in Southern black communities.

During World War II, Northern black soldiers stationed in the South experienced Jim Crow firsthand, many for the first time. On the bases in the South, black soldiers lived in segregated housing and had limited recreational amenities from which to choose. Racial disturbances in towns where white and black soldiers met and clashed led many bases to restrict access to the outside for blacks. Several disturbances in Tallahassee, Florida, erupted when white and black soldiers from nearby Camp Gordon Johnston clashed during liberty. The military commanders of the base restricted all black soldiers from Tallahassee as a result.[142] Such disturbances, often reported in black newspapers, demonstrate that the inequities toward blacks were commonplace. Black soldiers, placing their lives on the line for the United States, felt betrayed. One black soldier stated, "If only something could be done to make us feel as though we had something to fight and die for….We don't mind being a soldier as long we are treated like one. Now our morale is low and will not rise until something is done about this discrimination."[143] Soldiers returned from World War II with a renewed spirit and determination as well as a new sense of racial identity and solidarity borrowed from their Northern counterparts.

Hurston's commentary on the "Begging Joints" embodies the spirit of the New Negro Movement. The industrial education model of Booker T. Washington and of Florida Normal could no longer prepare African American students for the work ahead. "Competition is keen, and every chick and child has to pull his weight in efficiency or get trampled in the rush,"

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[142] Gary R. Mormino, "GI Joe Meets Jim Crow: Racial Violence and Reform in World War II Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 73:1 (July 1994), 28.
[143] Letter from "A Negro Soldier," dated January 4, 1944 in *Taps for a Jim Crow Army: Letters from Black Soldiers in World War II* by Phillip McGuire (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1983), 88.

Hurston wrote. [144] Lower class black parents, she explained, who were eager to send their students off to any school to earn a degree, did them a disservice. Industrial education did not prepare them for the real world; instead, it encouraged a sense of entitlement. Yet, these students received little more than vocational training, thereby limiting their ability to compete in the modern job market. Rather than realize their potential, these students were victims of a double standard. They believed themselves to be well-educated and above doing lower level jobs, yet their education prepared them for little else. In order for black men and women to achieve even a chance at equality, Hurston argued, black colleges and universities must offer a more appropriate curriculum while abandoning the old models of education. She wrote, "But the Begging Joints are still doing nothing but trying to put exclamation points behind what was considered good away back in 1880 when the majority of white people thought that all Negroes were something less than human."[145] Like many black intellectuals of the period, Hurston believed that better education could provide upward mobility for blacks across the South and pave the way for civil rights. Schools such as Florida Normal, according to Hurston, failed to provide any upward mobility for African Americans. The push for improvements in black higher education gained momentum during the post-war period in the form of two key Supreme Court decisions: *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938) and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1955).

The Supreme Court and Black Higher Education

The first major Supreme Court decision that instigated change in the area of black education came with the 1938 Supreme Court decision in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*. The case struck down the practice of blocking black students from programs or curricula in

[144] Hurston, "Begging Joints," 289.
[145] Hurston, "Begging Joints,"292.

which only white students participated. For example, in the state of Florida, white students desiring to enter the legal profession attended the University of Florida. However, black students aspiring to do the same had to attend an out-of-state black college or university. [146] In some cases, the state persuaded the school to waive the out-of-state tuition. This arrangement became unconstitutional under the Gaines decision. Instead, the state of Florida had to accept black students into the law school at the University of Florida or create a similar program at a black college or university. As a result, the law school for African American students on the campus of Florida A&M University in Tallahassee opened on December 21, 1949. [147] The Gaines decision forced states like Florida to consider funding programs at traditionally black colleges and universities. Suddenly, small black colleges like Florida Normal could compete with other state colleges and universities in specialized programs. Throughout the war period, Florida Normal, through its connection with the federal government, had offered military training programs for blacks in St. Augustine. One such program, the Army Enlisted Reserve Corps, provided the school with federal funding so that soldiers could remain on inactive status and continue their studies. Students applying to this program had to pass an examination prior to acceptance; otherwise, they returned to active status. [148] Other programs at the college provided vocational training for wartime production jobs through the United States Office of Education. Room and board came at a reduced rate for those participating in the program which lasted three

[146] The dental program at the University of Florida did not graduate its first students until 1976. Students wishing to enter dental school attended out of state schools, however the state offered to pay their tuition with the stipulation that they work within an underserved city in the state following graduation. Dr. Robert Hayling, later the leader of the St. Augustine civil rights movement in 1963-64, attended dental school at Meharry Medical College in Nashville under this program. Following graduation, Dr. Hayling came to St. Augustine, one of the underserved cities in the state.

[147] Florida A&M College of Law, "About FAMU: History," Florida A&M University, http://law.famu.edu (accessed February 15, 2014).

[148] Florida Normal and Industrial Institute. "The Florida Normal and Industrial Institute Bulletin," 1941-1942, 13.

months. [149] The ability for black colleges and universities, especially Florida Normal, to provide training for black men and women remained a key to its survival during the war period. The wartime training programs at Florida Normal, afforded St. Augustine's black men and women a unique opportunity. The training opened opportunities for black workers to fill vacancies in wartime production in Jacksonville, just a few miles to the north. African Americans in St. Augustine took advantage of this opportunity to provide more economic security for their families.

The outbreak of World War II mobilized the American economy in ways not seen since the first Great War. Still attempting to survive the Great Depression, America began to consider the financial gains that the war and war production would bring. Florida remained a prime target for military bases and air fields since the weather remained good all year, and Jacksonville and Tampa shipyards focused on the production of "Liberty Ships." Across the country the federal government began to study cities and towns in an effort to determine the necessary labor needed to help mobilize the country for war. The War Manpower Commission, tasked with completing these studies, reported on the available labor and whether communities could expect migration into the community for jobs or migration out for cities with greater demand. In its November 23, 1942, report on St. Augustine, the commission chose St. Augustine as a potential for out migration since the labor available in the area represented a surplus. [150] In Jacksonville, to the north of St. Augustine, shipbuilders continually faced issues with labor shortages, and often recruited from a wide area, including Georgia. The government established training programs at

[149] Florida Normal and Industrial Institute. "The Florida Normal and Industrial Institute Bulletin," 1944-1945. Florida Normal and Industrial Institute, 12.

[150] Report to War Manpower Commission dated November 23, 1942 entitled "Anticipated In-Migration in St. Augustine, Florida" National Archives, Record Group 211, Series 12, Box 1, Folder "St. Augustine." The report stated: "A survey conducted in this area revealed no significant demand for labor nor any prospects of accelerated employment in the near future."

public and private universities throughout the South in an effort to keep a trained supply of labor available. Florida Normal was one of several schools and universities chosen to provide a trained supply of labor. Courses included foundry work, boat building, electrical layout, sheet metal work, and blacksmithing.[151] These courses offered a slightly different curriculum than the industrial model since these courses offered graduates entry into wartime production jobs. Rather than focus upon farming and agriculture, the new curriculum favored a more vocational path to industrial employment.

The nature of warfare in World War II required a higher skilled labor force than in World War I, and training programs offered a prime opportunity for workers to train and find work. Although the federal government programs were available to many, discrimination persisted in the hiring of workers. Many companies still resisted hiring blacks into skilled positions, and some excluded them altogether. A survey found "that, of 282,245 openings, 144,538 (51 per cent) were barred to Negroes as a matter of policy." [152] The War Manpower Commission identified three main companies in the St. Augustine area that fell under its jurisdiction for wartime production: Wilson Cypress Company, E.C. McLean Iron Works, and Palatka Ship Building Corporation. These companies were in nearby Palatka, a city along the St. Johns River. These three companies combined employed roughly 1,100 men with the majority focused on war production. St. Augustine's main industry remained tourism, and, although visitors still came to the city, government rationing limited tourism to local sightseers. Across the state, hotels saw fewer visitors and diminished profits.

The Florida Hotel Commission designated many of the larger hotels as barracks until the camps across the state could adequately house the growing number of soldiers. In essence, the

[151] "Free Training For Colored Students Offered," *St. Augustine Record*, September 9, 1942.
[152] Earl Brown and George R. Leighton, *The Negro and the War* (New York: AMS Press, 1942), 11.

military simply rented the larger hotels as barracks and training centers. [153] The hotels benefitted from such arrangements since the managers filled their rooms year around and the military found housing for the men. The Hotel Ponce de Leon, the fashionable Flagler hotel in the center of St. Augustine, became the training center for the Coast Guard. The Hotel Monson and the Bennett Hotel saw similar uses. However, none of these hotels housed black soldiers. Rather, black men and women who worked in the service industry remained on hand to handle the influx of soldiers, thus keeping their jobs and income intact. However, the lack of industry and the opportunities for jobs just north in Jacksonville enticed many black men and women.[154] The influx of black men and women to Jacksonville during this period suggests that Jacksonville became a regional hub for blacks seeking work and good wages. St. Augustine's tourism industry did not experience the dramatic decline many hotel owners feared, but instead remained open to handle the guests that arrived in the city from regional locations. Jobs with the service industry helped to prevent a mass migration of black labor from the city to larger urban centers with offering wartime employment. Following the war, the city's tourism increased and hotels reopened to handle the increased traffic. Florida Normal, no longer receiving funding for wartime training, focused instead on its four-year educational curriculum as well as vocational training. Many of the federally funded improvements to the campus such as machinery and tools remained in use for instruction in metalworking, shop and other trades that became part of the school's regular course offerings. Florida Normal focused upon providing higher education to

[153] Tracy Jean Revels, "Blitzkrieg of Joy: Florida Tourism During World War II" in *Florida at War,* ed. Lewis Nicholas Wynne (Saint Leo, Florida: Saint Leo College Press, 1993), 13.
[154] There is little evidence to prove exactly how many men and women made the move to Jacksonville, yet the census information for Jacksonville between 1930 -1950 shows growth in the black population of the city. Jacksonville has 156% growth in its total black population as opposed to St. Augustine with 99.9% growth over the same period.

the area around St. Augustine and North Florida rather than attempting to compete with larger schools.

The decision by the Supreme Court to reverse the "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* had brought about sweeping changes to the small black colleges and universities. However, the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954 did little to change the curriculum offered at Florida Normal. The base of small colleges and universities like Florida Normal had traditionally been the lower to middle class black family who could not afford the expense of going out of state to school. Even though its base essentially eroded overnight, Florida Normal remained focused on offering a small college experience to many of the black men and women in the North Florida area. Larger schools like Florida A&M faced a tougher situation since their students could now consider what had been traditionally white schools. Like many Southern states, Florida faced lawsuits demanding desegregation almost immediately following the Supreme Court decisions. In 1958 George Starke became the first African-American accepted into the University of Florida's Law School, and W. George Allen became the first graduate of the Law School in 1962. Stephan Mickle became the first African-American graduate of the University of Florida in 1965. [155] The level of education offered black students was forever altered.

Attending traditionally white colleges and universities gave black students the opportunity for a truly equal educational experience. Hurston's admonition rang true. Traditional black colleges and universities now had to compete with larger state universities for students. In the past, segregation gave smaller schools the advantage of a specific segment of the population, namely the black community. However, the Brown decision changed that. William

[155] University of Florida College of Law, "Desegregation pioneers to be honored during UF Constitution Day program," University of Florida, http://www.law.ufl.edu/flalaw/2008/09/desegregation-pioneers-to-be-honored-during-uf-constitution-day-program/ (accessed February 15, 2014).

Trent argued that black colleges and universities "realized that they could no longer restrict their enrollment to Negro students and that Negro students now had a wider choice of places to go to college."[156] State universities like Florida A & M competed with the University of Florida for students as well as with small schools whose meager funds forced them to consider drastic measures. Florida Normal chose to focus upon offering students smaller classes within a liberal arts curriculum. Efforts to ramp up the faculty and the curriculum paid off for the school. In 1951, the school became accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and was approved by the Florida Department of Education.[157] In 1950, Dr. Royal W. Puryear became President of the college and remained there until 1968 when the college moved to its present location in Miami, Florida. During his tenure as President, Puryear sought a number of large grants from the Florida Baptist Foundation as well as the Ford Foundation. These grants enabled the school to continue to operate and to maintain its variety of liberal arts programs and curriculum.

Education provided opportunities for the black community in St. Augustine to gain the necessary skills and training for employment in the few industries available to them in the city. Fairchild Industries, Inc. opened a plant in St. Augustine at the municipal airport just north of the city limits in June 1955.[158] The company, which produced military aircraft, became the first major industry in the city since the founding of the Florida East Coast Railway in the late1800s. For blacks Fairchild represented an opportunity for good-paying jobs outside the service industry. However, like industries during the war, Fairchild employed mostly white labor and

[156] W.J. Trent, Jr., "Private Negro Colleges Since the Gaines Decision" *Journal of Educational Sociology* Vol 32:6 (February 1959), 271.
[157] William C. Lee, "The Higher Learning in America's Oldest City: The Story of A Christian College." Florida Normal and Industrial Institute Papers. St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library, 22.
[158] Northeast Florida Regional Airport, "The History of the St. Augustine Airport Authority and Aviation in the Nation's Oldest City," St. Augustine and St. Johns County Airport Authority, http://www.flynfra.com/airport.aspx?sec=3&id=83C783FB-26A3-4570-B403-D422E1FF0E37 (accessed February 15, 2014).

offered black men only a few unskilled positions. In 1941, the NAACP became involved in cases of employee discrimination at a Fairchild plant in Jamaica, New York. The local NAACP chapter and the Executive Secretary of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices worked together to force the company to change its hiring practices and employ additional black men.[159] St. Augustine's black community pressured Fairchild to employ more black men in skilled and supervisory roles well into the 1960s. One way in which the community exerted pressure on Fairchild as well as city leaders was through the formation of a local NAACP chapter in 1948. In order to better understand the role of the local branch, one must look at the events which took place at the state level following World War II and the role the NAACP played.

The NAACP, Harry T. Moore and Racial Violence in Florida

Harry T. Moore was one of the most influential Floridians in the modern civil rights movement. Having formed the Brevard County NAACP chapter in 1934, Moore went on to become President of the State Conference of Branches, serving as a coordinator to assist with planning and implementing branch events. Moore assisted in the formation of a large number of local branches, including the one in St. Augustine. Moore also served as head of the Brevard County NAACP, at the same time as serving as the head of the local office of the Florida State Teacher's Association, a black counterpart to the all-white Florida Educational Association. [160] In his capacity with both organizations Moore focused on two main areas: the inequality of teacher pay and the importance of voter registration.

The salary difference between white and black teachers statewide was a subject that deeply concerned Moore. Both he and his wife were teachers in the small town of Mims,

[159] Fairchild Aviation Corporation, Box II, A334, NAACP Papers Collection, Library of Congress.
[160] James C. Clark, "Civil Rights Leader Harry T. Moore and the Ku Klux Klan in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Vol. 73:2 (October 1994), 167.

Florida; therefore, he understood firsthand the massive inequities in pay scales. Florida allocated $800 per teacher per school term, while the county contributed an additional amount. However, black teachers took home less than $100 per month, about half of what the average white teacher received. [161] In addition, teachers in black schools received little in the way of allocated funds from the state or the county for supplies, books, and equipment. The first lawsuit brought in the campaign to equalize teachers' pay came in 1938 with *Gilbert v. Board of Public Instruction of Brevard County, Florida*. Gilbert, a friend of Moore's, received substantial support from Moore who involved the NAACP in the case. As a result, the Brevard County School Board fired Gilbert for filing a lawsuit. In addition, when an appeal was filed, the Florida Supreme Court refused to hear the case since Gilbert no longer worked for the school board, putting an end to the case. Undeterred, Moore continued to encourage black teachers to file suits based on the inequality of pay. Another case in 1941 led to the Escambia County School Board's equalizing pay in exchange for dropping of a case. Duval County's school board also ordered an increase for black teachers, but it is not clear whether Moore's work led to this decision. [162] The progress of pay equalization demonstrates the effectiveness of the cooperative work among the NAACP, the Florida State Teacher's Association, and black teachers throughout the state. Teachers, once fearful of retaliation from their county school boards, combined their efforts with resources from national and state organizations to elicit change.

Moore's voter registration campaign met with mixed results. At the end of the white primary in 1944 and encouraged by the Supreme Court's decision in *Smith v. Allwright,* Moore encouraged local branches to conduct an active crusade to register voters. The St. Augustine branch followed suit, sometimes transporting people to registration sites and urging black

[161] James C. Clark, 168.
[162] Caroline S. Emmons, "Flame of Resistance: The NAACP in Florida 1910-1960," (Ph D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 1998), 92-3.

residents to ignore instances of white intimidation. Voter registration efforts continued to be a focal point for all NAACP branches throughout Moore's time as the state representative. Moore's concerns did not end with registering voters; he also called attention to cases of voter intimidation. By the election of 1948, Moore had become head of the Progressive Voters' League, an organization he founded to encourage voter registration. In April 1948, Moore drafted a letter to Governor Millard Caldwell in Tallahassee, informing him of several cases of voter intimidation in North Florida. Moore informed the governor that many blacks within North Florida feared voting in the upcoming election and asked the governor for a sign of support.[163] The governor's response was a short, "I hope there will be no violations in the coming election," obviously not the response than Moore desired. [164] Nevertheless, in an effort to combat intimidation of black voters, Moore encouraged blacks in North Florida to vote in groups rather than individually. In November 1951, the national office of the NAACP removed Moore from his position, citing concerns over his inability to raise funds and increase memberships in the state's various branches. There is some speculation that the NAACP feared that Moore used his position within the organization to further the goals of the Progressive Voters' League. [165] On December 25, 1951, a bomb placed under the Moores' home detonated, killing both Harry T. Moore and his wife, Harriett. Those responsible for the bombing have never been charged although the Ku Klux Klan remains the primary suspect. Despite Moore's death, state NAACP chapters continued his efforts to register black voters and encouraged them to resist efforts at intimidation. "Between 1948 and 1950," Caroline Emmons explains, "more African-Americans

[163] Caroline Emmons, "'A Bland, Scholarly, Teetotalling Sort of Man:' Harry T. Moore and the Struggle for Black Equality in Florida" in *Time Longer Than a Rope: A Century of African American Activism, 1850-1950*, ed. Charles M. Payne and Adam Green (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 450.
[164] Millard Caldwell to Harry T. Moore as quoted in "Harry T. Moore and the Struggle for Black Equality in Florida," by Caroline Emmons, 451.
[165] Emmons, "Harry T. Moore and the Struggle for Black Equality in Florida," 454.

registered to vote than at any other time in Florida's history, with the percentage rising from 16.9 to 31.7%." [166] Following Moore's death, the need for a statewide NAACP coordinator led to the hiring of Robert W. Saunders, Sr. His position as field secretary enabled the organization to coordinate campaigns and fundraising statewide while providing the branches with an active and knowledgeable leader.

After the death of the Moores in Mims, Florida's long legacy of violence continued to plague the state. Several lynchings took place in the state's northern counties of Gadsden (A.C. Williams in 1941), Jackson (Cellos Harrison in 1943), Suwanee (Willie James Howard in 1944), and Madison (Jesse James Payne in 1945). Each lynching received considerable national press and reflected poorly on Florida's endeavors to shed its racist and violent past. With the growth of post-war industry, Florida attempted to depict the state as modern and forward-thinking. However, one case in particular did much to tarnish the state's reputation in the national news. The Groveland case of 1949 focused attention upon legal and judicial inequities between the races. In July of 1949 in Lake County, Florida, just outside the Orlando area, Norma Padgett, a young white woman, accused four black men of raping and beating her. She maintained that four black men attacked her and her husband as they sat on the side of the road in their disabled car. The men allegedly stopped to help the Padgetts but instead beat her husband and took Norma in their car, later sexually assaulting her. The case presented some interesting elements that shed doubt on Norma Padgett's story. The father of one suspect, Henry Shepherd, was an independent farmer who had engaged in disputes with his white neighbors who considered Shepherd a troublemaker. Shepherd's son was named a suspect; however, the fact that he had been in a neighboring town at the time of the crime raised suspicions about the motives of the

[166] Emmons, "Harry T. Moore and the Struggle for Black Equality in Florida," 457.

accusers as well as the sheriff, Willis McCall. McCall announced that the men had confessed to the crimes, although they showed obvious signs of beating. [167]

The local black community, believing in the innocence of the men and fearful that a fair trial was impossible, contacted the national office of the NAACP for assistance. Franklin Williams, assistant to Thurgood Marshall, received the news about the case in the national office and traveled to Florida to investigate. In his investigative work, Williams concluded that the suspects were innocent. Bloody sheets on their prison beds confirmed that they had been beaten prior to their supposed confessions. [168] Two of the accused who had recently returned from service in the Korean War wore their uniforms in public, a practice that angered many of the whites in the area. In addition, the men did not immediately seek work; instead, they appeared in town in uniform enjoying their time away from the military. Because of a shortage of labor available for harvesting citrus, many whites felt that the men had displayed a sense of entitlement by not working in the groves as pickers. Williams continued to work on the case but hired the men a white lawyer, uncertain how the all-white jury would receive a black attorney when the case went to trial. As the case proceeded, many blacks were either afraid to testify in court or were resigned that the fate of the men was already decided; therefore, they refused to assist the accused. The threat of racial violence prevented African Americans from speaking out and testifying. Whites often lynched black men and women for testifying in court where their account countered that of a white witness. In fact, only three of the men actually made it to trial: one was shot to death in a supposed escape attempt. Sheriff McCall claimed the shooting was necessary since the accused was "belligerent as the devil."[169]

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[167] Newton, *The Invisible Empire,* 119-121.
[168] Franklin Williams. 1985. Interview by David R. Colburn and Steve Lawson. February 11. Transcript, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, University of Florida.
[169] Newton, *The Invisible Empire,* 123.

The jury handed down a guilty verdict but included a recommendation of mercy for Charles Greenlee, only 16 years of age. Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin received the death penalty. An appeal was immediately filed with the Florida Supreme Court. [170] The court found no reason to overturn the convictions and refused to acknowledge any wrongdoing on the part of the Lake County officials. An appeal to the United States Supreme Court proved more successful. Justices agreed that pretrial publicity prevented the men from receiving a fair trial, and the convictions were overturned. The defense then submitted a request for a new trial in a different venue. Sheriff McCall drove to the state prison in Raiford to transport Shepherd and Irvin to Tavares for a pretrial hearing. On the trip from Raiford to Tavares, Sheriff McCall claimed the men overpowered him in the car and escaped. The Sheriff shot them. Shepherd died, but Irvin survived to tell a completely different story. Irvin stated under oath that McCall made the men get out of the car and then shot them. When McCall saw that Irvin was still alive, he tried to shoot him again, but his gun misfired. Sheriff McCall never faced criminal charges for his actions even after the NAACP called for the governor at least to suspend him. [171] Several years later Irvin faced another trial and was found guilty. He was sentenced to death. Appeals to the Florida Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court went unheard. Finally, in 1954, Irvin's sentence was changed to life in prison under newly elected Governor Leroy Collins in an effort to ease racial tensions within the state. Greenlee and Irvin remained in jail until their paroles in 1962 and 1968 respectively.

The Groveland case further illustrated Florida's history of racial violence and lawlessness. Communities such as St. Augustine followed the case closely convinced that the

[170] Steven F. Lawson, David R. Colburn, and Darryl Paulson, "Groveland: Florida's Little Scottsboro" in *The African American Heritage of Florida*, edited by David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1995), 308.
[171] Lawson, et. al., 312-313.

legal system in Florida favored whites. Furthermore, the case illustrated the fear that white citizens had about black men performing sexual violence on white women. The general consensus among white men and women cast black men as hypersexual and unable to control their desire for sex with white women. Sheriff McCall had played upon the white citizens' fears, and had believed that the accused would receive the death sentence with little fanfare. The national publicity that grew out of the first trial and the subsequent attempts to appeal to both the state and national Supreme Courts indicated the changing national attitude toward racial violence in the United States.

Following the end of World War II, the issue of race catapulted the United States onto the international scene. Speaking to the United Nations General Assembly, Andrei Vishinsky, the chief Soviet delegate, commented upon the murder of Shepherd by remarking that the United States "had a nerve talking about human rights and upbraiding other nations while Negroes were shot down by an officer of law while in custody." [172] With the mention of McCall's shooting of Shepherd during the proceedings of the United Nations, even in the context of a jab of one country against another, it is evident that the world had changed. Jim Crow was casting a shadow on the image of democracy. As America became a major world power, discrepancies and policies that might have gone unnoticed prior to the war now became magnified on the world stage.

In the South, local and state governments sought to grapple with the rise of black resistance. Whites could not understand long-silent blacks suddenly, almost from nowhere, refusing to compromise upon the racial issue. White Southerners found it easier to blame outsiders than to accept that "their" blacks could possibly find segregation unbearable: someone

[172] Lawson, et. al., 315.

was feeding "ideas" to the Southern blacks. With a perceived enemy, Communism, seemingly identified, whites across the South prepared to defend themselves against the threat.

Massive Resistance, Citizens Councils and the Threat of Communism

White southerners by 1955 had been forced to accept a number of Supreme Court decisions that seemed to undermine their very way of life. Since 1896, Southerners had relied upon the "separate but equal" principle to maintain distance between the races in schools, train and bus stations, restaurants, and churches. Now the social structure seemed to be unraveling before their eyes. Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff explain that the Supreme Court decisions brought about both massive and passive resistance; however, the national press failed to cover each with equal focus. "As the tactic of interposition [or massive resistance] stormed through every southern state capital, the press covered it as if a supernatural force had been discovered to save a troubled region; but the birth of passive resistance received little notice. [173] The *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling seemed to be the final straw in what seemed to be an all-out war on the Southern way of life. Senators and congressmen in Washington began to consider the position known as massive resistance as the only course of action. They argued that the states not the federal government should make the final determination about how institutions would operate within their borders. "We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal Judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people." [174] This argument spread throughout the South and manifested itself

[173] Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Awakening of a Nation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 109-10.
[174] "The Southern Manifesto: Declaration of Constitutional Principles" as quoted in *Civil Rights and African Americans: a Documentary History*, eds. Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 451.

in almost every speech and tactic used by Southern politicians and elected officials in the battle to prevent the federal government from integrating schools and public facilities.

In Florida, and indeed throughout the South, the Ku Klux Klan gained wider acceptance and increased its membership by playing upon the fears of whites. Other organizations formed in an attempt to apply political pressure against integration. One such organization was the Association of Citizens' Councils of Florida, founded in 1955. The association found its most staunch support in northern counties such as St. Johns. "Measurably more race conscious than Peninsular Floridians, most whites from rural northern Florida confronted the prospect of social change with the same hostility experienced by their white neighbors in Alabama and Georgia."[175] The fact that northern Floridians reflect social and racial norms more akin to Georgia and Alabama reflected a similar pattern in race relations. South Florida by the mid-1950s reflected a much more ethnically diverse population and therefore social and cultural beliefs. Yet even in this case, the association's branch in St. Augustine failed to maintain longstanding support and lost momentum until 1964 when the branch was reorganized.[176] The St. Augustine Americanism Foundation appears to have had similar aims.[177] In April 1960, the organization sponsored a 3-day series of lectures by Major Edgar C. Bundy, a former United States Intelligence Officer and self-declared expert on Communism. The series of lectures intended "to substantiate his charges that the Communists are infiltrating the public school system and colleges as well as some churches to gain control of the United States."[178] One of the organizers of the event was Dr. Hardgrove Norris who would figure prominently in the John Birch Society chapter established in

[175] Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 101.
[176] McMillen, 136.
[177] I have been unable to locate much information about this organization except that Dr. Hardgrove Norris played a leadership role. His role in the 1963-4 demonstrations in St. Augustine suggests this organization shared many of the same beliefs as the John Birch Society.
[178] "Bundy Concludes His Lectures on Communism," *St. Augustine Record*, April 7, 1960.

St. Augustine in 1963. The Society, like other organizations at the time, sought to resist the changes within Southern society brought about by the legal challenges to segregation; changes members blamed on the efforts of the Communist Party working through the civil rights movement.

The Communist Party in America provided some civil rights figures with their earliest training in organizing and mobilizing. The Party sought out the marginalized voice of the American black man and woman in an effort to demonstrate its central tenet of equality among its members. Communists viewed the American South as a place of potential revolution since much of the region remained, at least until World War II, unindustrialized and lacking union protection. In an effort to gain acceptance into the labor unions of the North during World War I, many blacks had found membership opportunities only in unions with close ties to Communism. Glenda Gilmore's *Defying Dixie* traces the radical roots of the civil rights movement that began in the North and slowly manifested itself in the South with the rise of industrialization. Gilmore states that Communism, from an ideological standpoint, provided a welcome haven for African Americans. She states, "In the first place, there must be absolute equality between individuals in all social relations. Then [activism] moved from the personal to the political to guarantee equality in all ethnic groups." [179] Black workers, finding acceptance and equal treatment in unions, joined the Communist Party in order to participate in the political process, a privilege denied them in the South. Recruitment of black members into the party continued from the Great Migration into the Great Depression. Following World War II, conditions changed dramatically as returning black veterans sought equality. With the country in the midst of the Red Scare, liberals and moderates became victims if they dared to offer any

[179] Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 29.

avenues for compromise on the issue of race. Gilmore argues that "the Cold War pressure cooker trapped rising African American expectations in a heated, oppressive political environment. Conservative white anti-Communists kept the lid on black Southerners' expectations by removing from power influential liberals and leftists who could have joined them to make real changes in politics, the economy, and the judiciary."[180] What emerged from this scenario was a fundamentally conservative block against any movement toward moderation on racial issues. When blacks sought the support of more moderate voices in the white community, they found nothing of the sort. Instead, the moderate white voice remained silent, afraid to speak. Thus, as Citizens' Councils formed across the South, the most vocal members were conservative, those least resistant to change. As the South industrialized, unions provided security and some level of power for black workers. Some of these unions also provided the Communist party with a potential base of members. Thus, when the anti-Communists looked for a way to sidetrack potential concessions on racial issues, they could point to several leaders of the civil rights movement with Communist ties and declare their efforts as un-American. No longer was the concern one of race but one of political ideology. Ultimately, Southern conservative whites used the Red Scare as an attempt to silence calls for racial equality. Regardless of the tactics, conservative whites succeeded only in delaying change. The momentum begun in 1954 with the Supreme Court's ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education* proved to be much more difficult to stop than conservatives had estimated.

The NAACP and the Sit-In Movement

On February 1, 1960, four students from the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged a sit-in at the local Woolworth lunch counter, launching several subsequent sit-in demonstrations across the South. St. Augustine

[180] Gilmore, 414.

experienced its first sit-in demonstration on March 15, 1960, several days following the Greensboro demonstration. On that day, six students from Florida Normal led a sit-in at the St. Augustine Woolworth's lunch counter. Later sit-in demonstrations occurred with no disturbances; the store closed the lunch counter and the students left the building. However, on March 17, when the students left the store at 2:00 in the afternoon, a mob of white youths had gathered outside the store carrying bats, chains and other weapons. The students ran to a waiting car, but some of them sustained injuries. [181] Although the students did not face charges from the store, the city passed a ban on group assemblies at the Woolworth's, and the sit-ins subsided. Rev. Thomas A Wright, pastor of St. Mary's Baptist Church in Lincolnville, served as the advisor to the NAACP Youth Council at Florida Normal. He worked with students after school, training them in passive resistance tactics, central to the sit-in movement. Wright, also serving as head of the local NAACP chapter, reported to Robert Saunders on plans to hold future sit-in demonstrations. Saunders reported in turn to the national office that several cities across Florida planned similar demonstrations throughout the month of March. In his time in St. Augustine, Wright had witnessed many cases of discrimination, including instances of police brutality that went unpunished. Wright organized selective buying campaigns in downtown stores with the intention of forcing businesses to hire more black employees. The campaign did not provide any real changes, but it drew attention to the black community's desire to see more blacks employed by local businesses. In his autobiography, Rev. Wright recalls the tense racial situation in St. Augustine during those days in March when the students led their sit-ins. His recollections of the March 17 sit-in specifically reflect the violence and brutality that the Florida Normal students faced. Following the sit-in demonstrations, city leaders met with Wright and others from the NAACP chapter to search for better understanding; they made very little headway. Surprisingly,

[181] "Violence Erupts Here As Negroes Continue Sitdown Demonstration," *St. Augustine Record*, March 17, 1960.

many African Americans within his church and the wider community resisted Wright's efforts. They feared reprisals from angry whites and the potential loss of what few rights they had gained. When a friend informed him that some white men planned on killing him, Rev. Wright grew concerned for his own safety and that of his family.[182] Knowing his students faced a violent crowd during the sit-in demonstration at Woolworth's, Wright did not take any threat of violence lightly. He also regretted the attention that St. Mary's Baptist Church received as a result of his work. In order to protect his church and family, Wright resigned his position and moved from St. Augustine to Gainesville where he accepted another pastorate and became involved with the NAACP chapter there. He served as President of the Gainesville chapter as well as a leader in the civil rights movement there. His daughter became the first African American graduate of Gainesville High School following integration. [183]

In his short time in St. Augustine, Wright provided the encouragement that the Florida Normal students needed to begin demonstrations. Wright taught them to remain quiet and not to fight back when pushed or shoved during the demonstrations, tactics later used by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in cities across the South. The importance of the sit-in demonstrations of St. Augustine became apparent in the numbers of young people who began to demand equality and an end to segregation. Following the departure of Rev. Wright, another dominant figure assumed leadership over the St. Augustine NAACP Youth Council: Dr. Robert Hayling, a graduate of Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, where he had met many of the prominent figures of the national civil rights movement such as C.T. Vivian, John Lewis and Diane Nash.[184] The chapter was born through the efforts of Dr. Hayling as well as Jacksonville

[182] Thomas A. Wright, Sr., *Courage In Persona: The Autobiography of Thomas A. Wright, Sr.* (Ocala: Special Publications, Inc., 1993), 115.
[183] Interview with David Nolan.
[184] Conversation with David Nolan on February 15, 2013.

NAACP chapter leaders Rodney Hurst and Rutledge Pearson.[185] Together, these men worked to form the youth chapter at Florida Normal, providing an outlet for action and activism for the college students. Although the students readily participated in chapter activities, many adults within the African American community in St. Augustine were less than enthusiastic because they feared the loss of their jobs as well as reprisals. Black men, as the wage earners for their families, were especially vulnerable. Knowing that their jobs could disappear at their employer's whim, black men could not afford to participate actively in the demonstrations. Instead, many black women in St. Augustine supported the student movement and encouraged demonstrations. They did not always actively demonstrate in public since they did not want to lose their jobs, but they offered strong support behind the scenes. In the black community, young and old became involved in the movement, hoping to provide equality for future generations.

Conclusion: Looking Forward

World War II clearly had a profound effect upon the modern civil rights movement. For the first time, America and its European allies fought against a non-European power, Japan. World War II presented a challenge to many black men in uniform who felt no enmity towards the Japanese even in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. One black soldier jokingly said, "Just carve on my tombstone, 'Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man.'"[186] Following the war, Florida continued to grapple with the issue of race as witnessed by the number of lynchings and events such as the Groveland case. Vacillating between the old Jim Crow system and the inevitable transformations that would result in a new South, St. Augustine did not embrace change. In fact, as the events of 1964 demonstrate, the city fiercely resisted those changes that would usher in a new paradigm. St. Augustine, once called

[185] Conversation with Rodney Hurst on February 17, 2014.
[186] As quoted in "Fighting for White Folks?" by Horace R. Cayton in *The Nation,* September 26, 1942, 268.

the most racist city in America by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., became one of the last battlegrounds of segregation. In a community haunted by racism, mutual understanding seemed elusive. Two possibilities existed: a peaceful, workable solution or a violent, chaotic one. In the case of St. Augustine, unfortunately, the resolution proved to be a violent one.

Epilogue: The Oldest City's Memory Problem

During the spring of 2011, the city of St. Augustine dedicated two civil rights monuments on the Plaza de la Constiticion in the heart of the Nation's Oldest City. Resting in the plaza, where the 1964 demonstrations occurred, the two additions were placed alongside other monuments commemorating key events in the history of the city, including a memorial to the sons of St. Augustine lost to the Civil War, World War I, World War II and the Korean War. The Foot Soldiers Monument is the first of the civil rights monuments and is located near the old slave market. On May 14, 2011, members of the Foot Soldiers Remembrance Project, the organization responsible for the monument's erection, along with city officials, civil rights activists, and local citizens dedicated the monument to those who "persisted in the face of jailings, beatings, shootings, loss of employment, threats and other dangers. They were the Foot Soldiers for Freedom and Justice whose efforts and example helped to pass the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. Their courage and heroism changed America and inspired the world." [187] On June 11, 2011, city leaders, civil rights activists and townspeople dedicated The Andrew Young Crossing Monument memorializing Andrew Young for his leadership in St. Augustine during that chaotic summer. Participants in the dedication ceremony retraced Young's path on that summer night when he was beaten. At the dedication, Andrew Young stated, "[The Crossing monument] more than makes up for what happened here. If blacks had not dedicated themselves to non-violence and had done evil for evil, the entire civil rights movement would have been set back a half century."[188]

[187] The dedication plaque that appears on the front of the Foot Soldiers Monument in St. Augustine, Florida.
[188] Peter Guinta,"Sidewalk for Young Dedicated," *St. Augustine Record*, June 11, 2011.

The St. Augustine memorials offer a glimpse into a growing trend throughout the South: the construction of monuments to the civil rights movement. Like other cities and towns throughout the South, St. Augustine finally recognizes the contributions of Andrew Young as well as numerous others who stood up against the threat of backlash and violence. Furthermore, the St. Augustine monuments are commentaries on the civil rights movement as a whole. Their erection emphasizes aspects of the collective memory of both the local and national movements. Elements such as placement, images, and wording contribute to this particular narrative of the civil rights movement. Although the demonstrations emphasized the differences within the black and white communities, the monuments represent the city's efforts to repair the rift between black and white. Evoking memories of 1964, the monuments are reminders of the overarching purpose behind their construction and of the potential for healing in this broken community.

The demonstrations held under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) led to several violent clashes among the demonstrators, white youths, and Klan members. At one point, Young pressured older men to join the marches because the mob avoided hitting the demonstrators if a number of black men were present.[189] Young worried that the demonstrators, mostly older women and students, could not take much more violence. The Klan kept close tabs on the activities of the SCLC and its local leaders. Through the use of two-way radios, Klansmen followed the demonstrators in their activities around the city such as the swim-ins designed to integrate the all-white beaches. [190] With dwindling finances and resistance growing by the day, Young and the leaders of the SCLC began looking for ways to exit St. Augustine, the only stipulation being that their leaving must appear to be a civil rights victory. Congress still debated civil rights legislation, forcing King

[189] Andrew Young. *An Easy Burden: the Civil Rights Movement and the Transformation of America.* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1996), 295.
[190] Pat Watters, "The American Middle Ground in St. Augustine," *New South* (September 1964), 11.

and SCLC leaders to consider the future of the legislation. King did not want to appear unable to carry through on his promise of success to the people of St. Augustine. "SCLC did succeed in publicizing the growing Klan menace; although it failed to move the federal government, by enticing the Klansmen out of the woodwork it compelled the state to take note of the problem."[191]

Ironically, King and Governor Farris Bryant were of one mind: both wanted the SCLC out of St. Augustine. Seeing no other alternative, Bryant announced the formation of a biracial committee for St. Augustine, giving King and the SCLC an opportunity to end demonstrations and exit the city. Unfortunately, Bryant never really planned to form a committee, but he knew the announcement would get King out of the city and end the violence. With King and the SCLC no longer in St. Augustine, local African Americans, without the national spotlight, failed to gain any concessions from the city. King and the SCLC had helped to increase the recognition on the part of many within St. Augustine for change, but "their failure to develop a grass roots movement, their reluctance to return, and the alienation they helped to foster between blacks and whites portended a difficult future for race relations in the community."[192] Outside of the St. Augustine's demonstrations helping to end the filibuster over the Civil Rights Act of 1964, King's success in St. Augustine is at best questionable. However, without St. Augustine and the national publicity the city received during the demonstrations, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was questionable. Robert Hartley remarked that the "most lasting effect of the 'long, hot summer'… was a marked change in attitudes. The summer of 1964 destroyed the city's ancient racial divisions and preconceptions. Whites viewed these old 'understandings' as 'excellent race relations.' Many Negroes like Hayling, however, viewed the situation 'as a

[191] Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.*(Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 189.
[192] David R. Colburn, *Racial Change and Community Crisis*, 210.

master-slave relationship.'"[193] The cordial relations the races had enjoyed prior to 1964 were no more; instead, an uncomfortable tension remained. In time, the story of the demonstrations in St. Augustine seemed to fade into the past. However, the construction of the monuments after forty years proves the power of memory and one community's desire to give voice to silenced events of the past.

To understand the changes that had to occur in order for St. Augustine's civil rights story to be told, one must understand the concept of collective memory and how commemoration affects it. According to Larry Griffin, the concept of collective memory relies upon three principles: first, that the past is not past at all – that it, instead, persists into the present and thus presages the future; second, memory is elicited by and organized in social contexts; and third, collective memories perform some form of culture work for those in the present. [194] Griffin argues that memory has the ability to change the definitions and identities of people, places, and events, yet memory cannot define itself and therefore requires us to act as interpreters. Each of us interprets the past differently, thereby engendering contestation. As individuals we each view the past differently, but as a collective we share interpretations and views of past. "While collective memory may enhance the ability of social groups to engage in collection action, their influence on the collective action of marginal groups may be especially complex. This complexity is reflective of traumatic events or events that are associated with shame or stigma."[195] For example, the collective memory of the St. Augustine community includes the events of 1964. However, because of the shame or stigma associated with the event, the relations

[193] Robert Hartley, "The St. Augustine Racial Disorders of 1964," in *St. Augustine, Florida , 1963-64: Mass Protest and Racial* Violence, edited by David J. Garrow (Brooklyn, Carlson Publishing, 1989), 75.
[194] Larry Griffin, "'Generations and Collective Memory' Revisited: Race, Region, and Memory of Civil Rights." *American Sociological Review* 69 (August 2004): 544.
[195] Frederick Harris, "It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them: Collective Memory and Collective Action during the Civil Rights Movement," *Social Movement Studies* 5:1 (March 2006): 20.

between the majority white community and the marginalized black community remain strained. How do these communities overcome this breakdown in relations? Harris states that only through social appropriation does an event become part of the collective memory. Commemoration is one way for a community to appropriate an event, educating others about its history and explaining why the event is significant in the social identity of the community.

The process of commemoration is also another way to recognize, discuss and explore the repercussions of an event on the collective memory. Commemoration involves responding to memory and, specifically, identifying the event worthy of recognition. As a result, most commemorated events are those whose meaning stands out as formative and that help define the history of a place, time, or, in this case, a movement. "Formative historical events are those recalled as especially meaningful later in life because they are associated with crystallization of both personal identity and knowledge of social realities outside of the self." [196] In other words, events that form the basis of the identity of a person or group are considered formative. Consider the black and white communities within St. Augustine and how differently the events of 1964 can be cast. Blacks and some whites in the community saw the events as celebratory while others saw them as shameful, therefore best forgotten. As Erica Doss argues, "to acknowledge shame, after all, is to admit that there is something to be ashamed about. And for many Americans, shameful moments in the nation's past are just that – in the past and therefore removed from presentist personal and /or collective understandings of relevance and responsibility."[197] The only way to truly address the shame surrounding an event is to encourage dialogue and to recognize that an individual or party wronged another. "Shame's redemptive potential depends upon the affirmation of others – those to whom shameful things were done –

[196] Larry J. Griffin, "'Generations and Collective Memory' Revisited," 545.
[197] Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 256.

being perceived as legitimate members of society." [198] In this sense collective memory can add cohesion to the community by helping to absolve others of past wrongs through dialogue and acceptance. Failure to act only robs both parties of the ability to come together and begin the healing process. The memorialization of the civil rights movement in St. Augustine demonstrates that memory, over the course of time, may remain silent without losing its potency. In the re-presentation of the story of 1964, the collective memory of the community slowly appropriates the memory of this volatile period in St. Augustine.

In 2006 Jeremy Dean, a student at Flagler College in St. Augustine, debuted his documentary entitled "Dare Not Walk Alone: The War of Responsibility." As a film student living in Lincolnville, Dean had heard many of the stories about Dr. King's visit to St. Augustine and of the efforts to end segregation. Surprised by the lack of attention St. Augustine received in the civil rights narrative, Dean sought to address the social and economic concerns of the black community while weaving the legacy of Dr. King's visit into the story. The resulting documentary, which earned several awards, elevated the story of St. Augustine's civil rights history in the discussion of the national movement. In filming the documentary, Dean interviewed Andrew Young when he returned to St. Augustine to discuss the events of 1964 on their 40th anniversary. As a result of his visit, Young began work in 2010 on his own documentary entitled "Crossing in St. Augustine." While Dean explores the city's social and economic issues, Young's work focuses solely on the history behind the movement in St. Augustine and acknowledges the contributions of those individuals who worked with the SCLC and Dr. King. The documentary garnered Young several accolades of his own, including an Academy Award nomination for best documentary feature, and encouraged local activists to address the silent history of the civil rights movement.

[198] Doss, 311-312.

The first real effort to commemorate the events of 1964 began in 2007 with phase one of the installation of historical markers on many of the sites important to the civil rights movement. The responsible organization, named the 40th ACCORD, represents a grassroots effort whose mission is "remembering, recognizing, and honoring all those who risked their lives to attain civil rights for all and celebrating St. Augustine's pivotal role in the Civil Rights Act of 1964."[199] The name of the organization stands for the 40th Anniversary to Commemorate the Civil Rights Demonstrations. Through funding from Northrup Grumman Corporation, the organization placed 9 markers in the first phase and another 22 in phases two and three. In addition, the organization offers tours, lectures and presentations about the civil rights movement. Another organization that emerged as a result of the new focus on events of 1964 was the Foot Soldiers Remembrance Project. A grassroots organization like the 40th ACCORD, the Foot Soldiers Remembrance Project formed with the sole purpose of raising money for a monument to be erected on the downtown plaza. Incorporated in 2006, the organization began planning fundraisers and increasing community awareness of their cause. From hosting art contests for school children to special lectures by civil rights activists, members solicited donations from the community to cover the $70,000 cost of the monument. By early 2011, the completed monument was ready for placement in the plaza.

The placement of the Foot Soldiers Monument in the Plaza de la Constiucion involved several key considerations. First, the site serves as a physical tie to the memory of the demonstrations. The monument faces south towards the old Woolworth building where the first sit-ins at lunch counters occurred. The old slave market is located behind the monument and is connected by a sidewalk. Just prior to the nightly demonstrations in 1964, Klan members and

[199] ACCORD Freedom Trail, "Welcome to the ACCORD Freedom Trail Website," ACCORD Freedom Trail, www.accordfreedomtrail.org (accessed February 22, 2012). The organization has dropped the 40th portion of their name recently.

white youth had met under the roof of the old slave market to hear Connie Lynch and J.B. Stoner speak. In approving the site, the City Commission overrode a policy that restricted monuments on the Plaza to those which recognized individuals who died prior to 1821.[200] The commission understood not only the importance of location to the validity of the monument but also the importance to the city of having this monument in a central location. The city paid for the preparation of the site, including sidewalks and benches; the remaining funds came from donations raised by the Foot Soldiers organization. [201] Waste Management, a Jacksonville-based company, donated $5,000 to the project, and United Parcel Service gave $7,430. The largest donation came from a resident, Nena Vreeland, in the amount of $20,000. [202]

With the majority of the funds available, Barbara Vickers, the chairwoman of the Foot Soldiers organization, commissioned artist Brian Owens to begin work on the bronze sculpture in April of 2008. Owens selected the busts of four figures representing the various demographics of the typical demonstrator during the 1964 events. An older black woman figures prominently, along with a young white male, a young black male, and a young black female. The busts represent the different faces of the foot soldier in St. Augustine. Behind the busts is a bas relief depicting the demonstrations around the plaza and in front of the Woolworth building. [203]

The Crossing in St. Augustine monument is of a very different type. Built into the sidewalk on the Plaza, the monument sits closest to the intersection of King and St. George Streets where white youths attacked Andrew Young in 1964. Again, the placement of the monument physically connects with the past as the site of the event. The monument, designed

[200]George Gardner, interview with author, St. Augustine, Florida, February 25, 2012. There is a Confederate monument on the Plaza as well; the city commission passed the rule barring monuments on the Plaza after the World War II and Korean War monuments.
[201] George Gardner, interview with author.
[202] *St. Augustine Record*, "No Turning Back Now," September 16, 2009.
[203] *St. Augustine Record*, "Remembering the Foot Soldiers," April 30, 2011.

by Jeremy Marquis, features the four cornerstones of the national Civil Rights movement: Justice, Non-Violence, Equality, and Freedom. Each panel of the sidewalk features one of these cornerstones along with a quotation which reflects upon the cornerstone appearing in that panel. Along the sidewalk there are footsteps cast in bronze from the bottom of Andrew Young's shoes. Marquis himself flew to Atlanta to ink Young's shoes and have him walk on a long piece of paper to get the stride right. The simplicity of the monument's design fits well with the Plaza while keeping the cost of the project low. The City Commission voted to approve the project, to cover the cost, approximately $10,000, and to donate to the citizens of St. Augustine. [204] When news of the cost became public, many in the community protested the expense. Some residents thought that the memorial was unnecessary since the Foot Soldiers Monument was nearing completion. Others criticized the city's having donated a monument to the citizens using taxpayers' money. [205] However, with the monument's completion, many celebrated the tribute to Young and expressed gratitude for his role in the local civil rights story.

Since the 1980s, tourist dollars spent by blacks have dramatically increased, providing cities and states with additional funds while federal funding has shrunk.[206] The result of this trend is an increase in cities across the South recognizing that as painful as the movement was, it is more beneficial economically to recognize the shared history of the white and black communities than to suppress it. Southern blacks and whites eager to tell the story of local movements across the region recognize this opportunity for what it is: a chance to give a voice to a forgotten history. Owen J. Dwyer and Derek H. Alderman, both professors of Geography, completed a study of civil rights memorials throughout the South. Their study demonstrates the

[204] Peter Guinta, "City Plans Young Memorial," *St. Augustine Record*, April 18, 2011.
[205] Guinta, "City Plans Young Memorial."
[206] Owen J. Dwyer and Derek H. Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1987), 75.

complex nature of commemoration and the civil rights memorials. They argue that "civil rights memorials cannot be understood as purely the result of activism or commercialism but rather as an ambiguous blend of both, one that often involves conflicting sympathies, temporary alliances, and occasional co-option." [207] In addition the blending of activism and commercialism is redefining the story of the movement as reflected in the monuments these groups produce. Representing the side of commercialism most often are the conservative business owners while the liberal-minded most often represent the side of activism. These two sides represent very different viewpoints especially in the case of the civil rights movement. As a result the plan for the monument usually follows the "won cause" narrative that focuses on the aspects of the movement that met with success namely integration and the ability of the races to interact socially. This narrative fails to address the other concerns of the civil rights movement, namely the economic concerns of poverty and redistribution of wealth. These issues came to the forefront of the movement following the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 when the movement entered the more radical phase. The end result is that the monuments fail to tell the whole story of the civil rights movement. Visitors get a dissolved version of the truth and walk away feeling good about the status of blacks in America today. Joshua Inwood's study of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. birthplace in Atlanta, Georgia, argues that civil rights sites and memorials are guilty of providing a selective history and leaving out the whole story for visitors. In such places, "the theme is one of racial reconciliation and not one focused on addressing the continuing legacies of racism." [208] Unfortunately both the monuments in St. Augustine's Plaza fail to challenge the racial reconciliation-themed narrative. Visitors to either monument fail to

[207] Dwyer and Alderman, 75-76.
[208] Joshua F. J. Inwood, "Contested Memory in the Birthplace of a King: A Case Study of Auburn Avenue and the Martin Luther King Jr. National Park," *Cultural Geographies* 16: 105.

get an honest sense of the past and nothing speaks to the unfinished work of the civil rights movement.

The dedication ceremonies surrounding the two civil rights monuments in the Plaza de la Constitucion offered a very different view of activities from those of 1964: people celebrated and sang, local citizens greeted civil rights legends such as Andrew Young and Martin Luther King III, and visible signs of friendship were evident as people of different races shook hands. However, the dedication of these significant monuments cannot tell the full story. Has America silenced the "real" civil rights movement forever? What about the economic injustices and poverty which continue to overwhelm the black community? Perhaps what St. Augustine needs most is time, along with open lines of communication within the community. The monuments on the Plaza, the first of their kind in St. Augustine, represent a first step. More steps will follow. The 40th ACCORD has announced the plans for a civil rights museum in the building that once housed the office of Dr. Robert Hayling. The obstacles that St. Augustine's African American community faced from the beginning of segregation well into the modern era have proven the value of persistence and time. St. Augustine possesses a very rich and vibrant African American community no longer contained to Lincolnville. Within this community are leaders working now to correct many of the wrongs associated with the past, but also working to insure the future provides opportunities for the community's success. With focused efforts to educate and inform the public and community in St. Augustine about the heritage and culture of the city, both black and white, time will provide those opportunities. Journalist Tom Dent retells a story he heard from James Jackson, one of the black participants in the St. Augustine movement: "One day I was downtown and I almost bumped into an old white man. He said, 'Excuse me, sir,' and walked on. He was entering a store as I was coming out. Then it hit me

who he was. It was Hoss Manucy. Of course, he didn't recognize me." When Dent asked Jackson what the incident meant, Jackson replied, "I can't even begin to explain what that might mean. I was just amazed. Maybe time changes everything, whether we like it or not." [209] The fact that Hoss Manucy, the leader of the local Ku Klux Klan referred to a black man as "sir" represented a shift in societal and racial norms. If Manucy, the embodiment of racism and discrimination, can demonstrate respect to an African American, surely this bodes well for the future. Jackson is correct that time does change everything and as Lincolnville looks to the future and back on the legacy of those who made the community such a unique community, change will come but by embracing that legacy St. Augustine insures history will not repeat itself.

[209] Tom Dent, *Southern Journey: A Return to the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: W. Morrow, 1997), 206-207. Much of the violence during the 1964 demonstrations stemmed from the Klan's use of violence under Hoss Manucy's supervision towards those marching against segregation.

Appendix: Lincolnville and St. Augustine, Florida

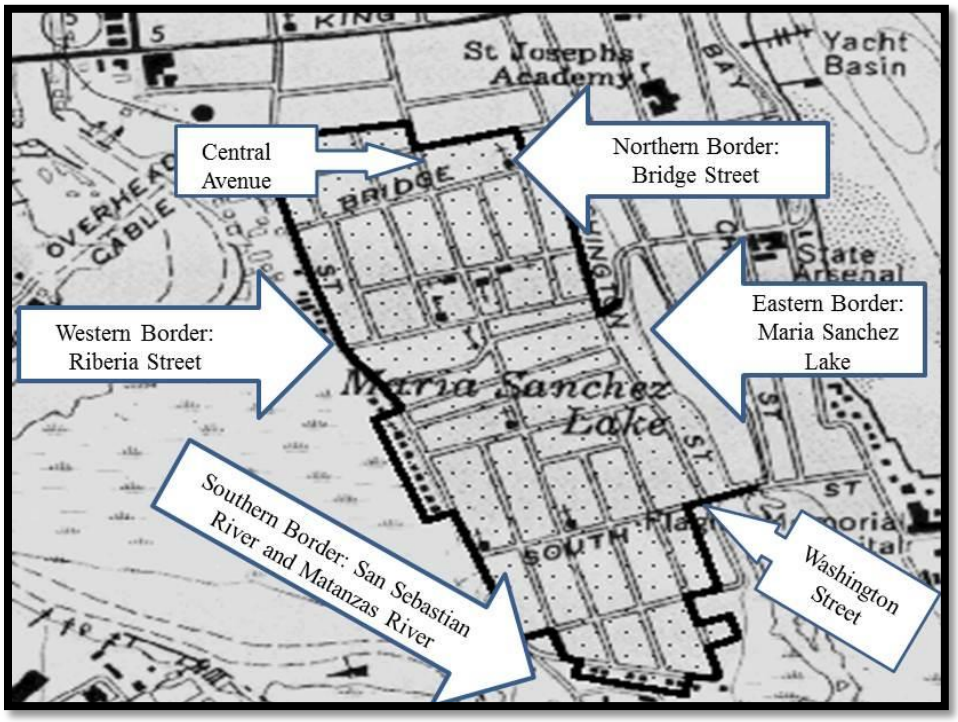

Figure 8: The Lincolnville Community in St. Augustine, Florida
Source: "Florida Facts," Florida Department of State: www.flheritage.com

Originally known as "Africa," St. Augustine's Lincolnville community formed as a neighborhood of freed slaves following the Civil War. The property, which had functioned previously as plantations for growing oranges, was developed under the supervision of a black Republican politician named D.M. Pappy. [210] Under Pappy's leadership, the city laid out streets and divided the property for construction of homes specifically for African Americans. Further development occurred during the Flagler era when Henry Shelton Sanford earmarked the northern portion of the community nearest King Street as winter residences for wealthy white

[210] Nolan, "Lincolnville," 4.

property owners.[211] The construction of Flagler's Hotel Alcazar with its barracks for hotel servants required the filling in of Maria Sanchez Creek to the east of the Lincolnville tract. Similarly, Flagler's fellow Standard Oil partner, William Warden, selected the easternmost portion of the tract to entice wealthy northerners.[212] Meanwhile, Lincolnville residents constructed churches, schools, homes, and businesses. Boasting a number of successful businesses and churches, Washington Street emerged as the center of economic and social life in the community. The Odd Fellows Hall, built in 1908 on Washington Street, provided meeting space for a number of local religious and masonic organizations as served as the site of local school events such as dances. [213] In 1960 Rev. Thomas Wright, minister of St. Mary's Baptist church on Washington Street, assisted Florida Normal College students in planning and carrying out sit-in demonstrations at the local Woolworth's store. St. Mary's became the center for the 1963-1964 demonstrations led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In addition to Washington Street, Central Avenue (later renamed Martin Luther King, Jr., Avenue) played a prominent role in the life of Lincolnville. A number of churches such as St. Benedict the Moor, St. Paul A.M.E. Church, and St. Cyprians occupy places on Central Avenue as do all the schools within Lincolnville. Today, reminders of the community's unique culture remain. The Excelsior Museum and Cultural Center honors the contributions of its citizens and offers meeting space for lectures and organizations seeking to preserve the neighborhood's legacy. The Willie Gallimore Center at the southern end of Lincolnville hosts a number of sporting events as well as a weekly farmer's market for local residents. As the city of St. Augustine plans for its 450th anniversary, Lincolnville and its historic significance remain a topic of great interest. In March 2014, the city launched an exhibition centered upon preserving black

[211] Nolan, "Lincolnville," 4.
[212] Nolan, "Lincolnville," 5.
[213] Rajtar and Goodman, *A Guide to Historic St. Augustine, Florida*, 143.

history and commemorating the prominent role of Lincolnville. Organizations such as ACCORD as well as several black churches intend to memorialize the local civil rights movement with a museum located in Lincolnville. Such efforts to honor the legacy of Lincolnville afford both visitors and residents the opportunity to appreciate the unique culture, history, and prominence of this community.

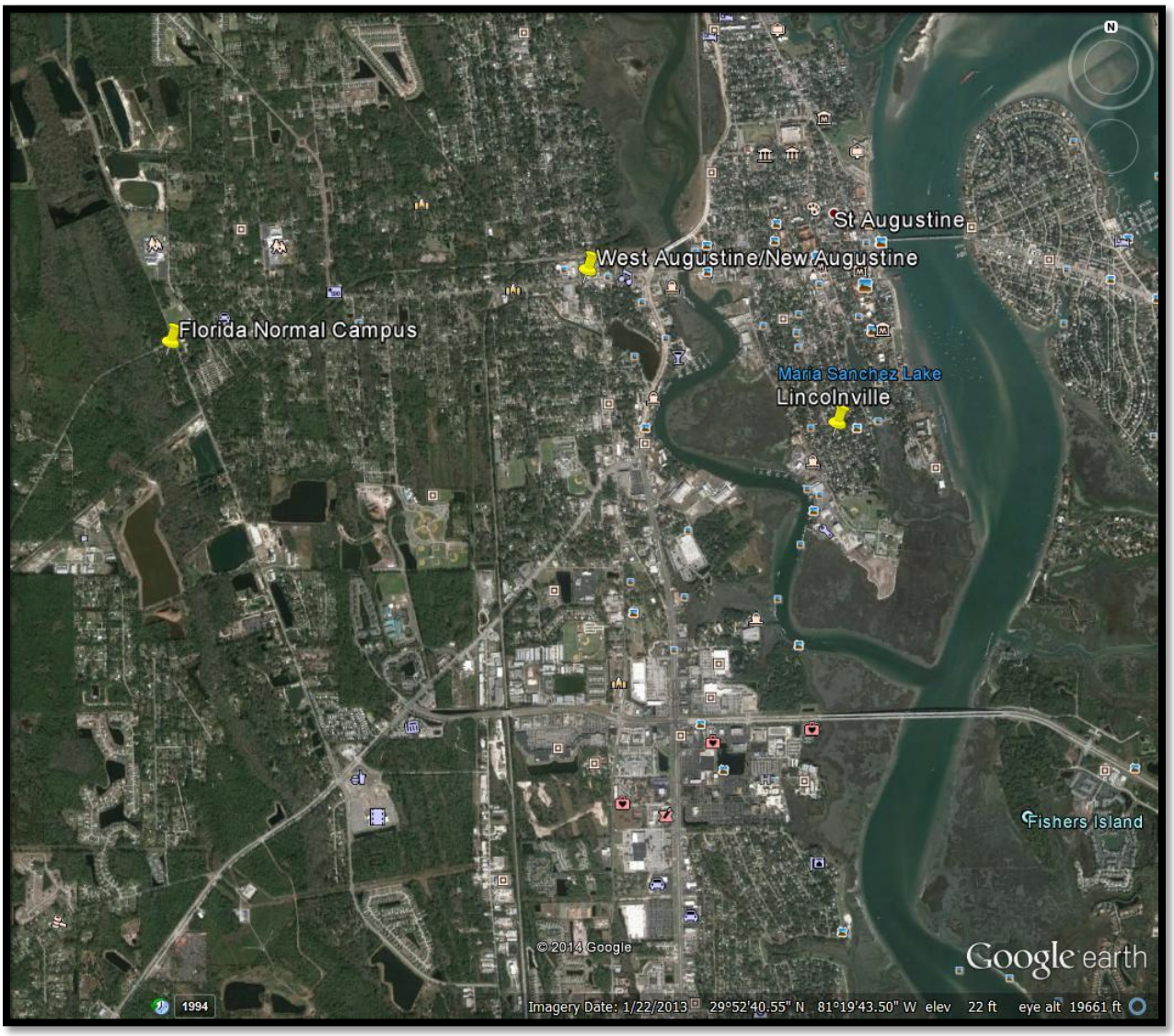

Figure 9: Map showing the locations of Florida Normal's campus in relation to New Augustine (also known as West Augustine) and Lincolnville. Source: Google Earth

Appendix: Charts

St Johns County - Total Population	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Total Population	9,165	13,208	13,061	18,678	20,012	24,998	30,034
White	5,540	7,749	8,335	11,981	12,951	16,671	21,804
Negro/Colored	3,621	5,454	4,721	6,689	7,056	8,299	10,086
Other	4	5	5	8	5	28	39
Percent of Population - White	60.4%	58.7%	63.8%	64.1%	64.7%	66.7%	72.6%
Percent of Population - Negro/Colored	39.5%	41.3%	36.1%	35.8%	35.3%	33.2%	33.6%
St. Augustine - Total Population	**1900**	**1910**	**1920**	**1930**	**1940**	**1950**	**1960**
Total Population	4,272	5,494	6,192	12,111	12,090	13,555	14,734
White	2,533	3,373	4,415	8,812	8,866	10,240	11,323
Negro/Colored	1,735	2,116	1,772	3,293	3,219	3,290	3,396
Other	4	5	5	6	5	25	15
Percent of Population - White	59.3%	61.4%	71.3%	72.8%	73.3%	75.5%	76.8%
Percent of Population - Negro/Colored	40.6%	38.5%	28.6%	27.2%	26.6%	24.3%	23.0%

Chart 1: Total Population by Race for St. Johns County and St. Augustine[214]

State of Florida Net Intercensal Migration by Age, Sex and Color (or Race)								
Florida: Negro Males	**1870-80**	**1880-90**	**1890-00**	**1900-10**	**1910-20**	**1920-30**	**1930-40**	**1940-50**
Ages 10-14	(100)	1,400	900	1,500	500	2,700	2,200	1,600
Ages 15-24	(200)	2,500	6,100	7,900	900	7,900	7,800	4,600
Ages 25-44	300	3,900	8,500	12,400	(1,400)	16,100	14,400	(3,100)
Ages 45-64	500	800	400	1,400	(2,200)	500	(1,100)	(3,700)
Ages 65+	200	200	200	-	200	200	1,800	1,300
Total	**700**	**8,800**	**16,100**	**23,200**	**(2,000)**	**27,300**	**25,000**	**700**
Florida: Negro Females	**1870-80**	**1880-90**	**1890-00**	**1900-10**	**1910-20**	**1920-30**	**1930-40**	**1940-50**
Ages 10-14	(100)	1,500	900	1,700	300	3,000	2,500	2,100
Ages 15-24	500	2,400	3,000	6,600	3,100	10,500	9,900	5,000
Ages 25-44	400	2,100	3,000	8,400	2,000	12,700	10,400	(700)
Ages 45-64	(100)	700	200	800	(500)	300	(200)	(1,500)
Ages 65+	-	300	200	-	300	300	2,200	1,600
Total	**700**	**7,000**	**7,300**	**17,500**	**5,200**	**26,800**	**24,800**	**6,500**

Chart 2: Net Intercensal Migration of Negro Males and Females[215]

[214] Data compiled from Census Reports for Population, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1900-1960.
[215] Data compiled from *Population Redistribution and Economic Growth: United States, 1870-1950; Demographic Analyses and Interrelations*, by Hope T. Eldridge and Dorothy Swaine Thomas (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1964).

State of Residence of Florida-Born Non-White	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Georgia	**2,100**	**2,400**	**3,200**	**5,300**	**7,000**	**9,500**	**9,900**	8,300	9,900
Louisiana	800	900	700	700	800	900	800	600	800
Alabama	800	1,000	800	1,400	2,200	2,800	3,700	3,000	3,600
Texas	700	800	600	700	600	600	500	400	900
Mississippi	300	600	300	500	800	700	700	500	500
Arkansas	200	200	300	300	300	200	200	100	200
South Carolina	200	200	200	300	300	1,100	800	1,000	1,100
Tennessee	100	100	100	200	300	400	600	500	900
New York	100	200	200	600	1,300	3,700	9,600	**14,800**	**27,800**
North Carolina	-	-	-	100	200	500	1,100	1,100	1,800
Ohio	-	-	-	100	200	1,500	3,100	2,900	4,900
New Jersey	-	-	100	200	400	2,200	5,000	5,000	9,500
Pennsylvania	-	100	100	200	400	5,400	7,900	7,200	11,000
Michigan	-	-	-	-	-	1,300	3,600	3,500	6,600
California	-	-	-	-	200	300	600	900	2,900
Illinois	-	-	100	100	200	1,000	1,900	2,000	3,500
District of Columbia	-	-	100	100	100	300	600	1,100	2,300

Chart 3: State of Residence of Native Non-Whites (of Florida)[216]

Farm Operators	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1954
White	304	276	405	287	468	331	330
Black	24	27	35	26	30	32	20
Acres of Land	**1925**	**1930**	**1935**	**1940**	**1945**	**1950**	**1954**
White	25,355	20,239	43,167	31,526	114,132	195,601	182,338
Black	621	696	834	740	478	1,615	242
Value of Land and Buildings	**1925**	**1930**	**1935**	**1940**	**1945**	**1950**	**1955**
White	$3,318,970	$3,400,141	$2,089,400	$1,415,720	$4,093,881		
Black	$113,725	$105,420	$60,325	$38,950	$35,300		
Average Acres	**1925**	**1930**	**1935**	**1940**	**1945**	**1950**	**1955**
White	83	73	107	110	244	591	553
Black	26	26	24	28	16	50	12
Average Value	**1925**	**1930**	**1935**	**1940**	**1945**	**1950**	**1955**
White	$10,917.66	$12,319.35	$5,159.01	$4,932.82	$8,747.61		
Black	$4,738.54	$3,904.44	$1,723.57	$1,498.08	$1,176.67		

Chart 4: Agricultural Data for St. Johns County, 1925-1954[217]

[216] Data compiled from *Population Redistribution and Economic Growth: United States, 1870-1950; Demographic Analyses and Interrelations*, by Hope T. Eldridge and Dorothy Swaine Thomas (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1964).
[217] Data compiled from Census Reports for Population, 1900-1960.

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