THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA:
ITS EARLY YEARS, 1853-1906

By

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
The idea for this study began to take form in 1948 when the University of Florida started making plans for its centennial celebration in 1953. The late J. Hillis Miller, then president of the University, set up a Committee for the Writing of a Centennial History which, in turn, appointed me to write the history of the University and its antecedent institutions. The task has taken much longer than was anticipated, so that the history was not completed in time for the anniversary itself. As it turned out, the study is both more extensive and intensive than had originally been intended. A second volume, which will cover the history of the University of Florida from 1906 to the present, is now planned.

The history of the University, like the history of most of the other state universities in the country, shows how precarious and parochial were its origins. Each of the four small institutions—the East Florida Seminary, the Florida Agricultural College, the South Florida Military and Educational College, and the St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School, which are the parents of the University of Florida—had feeble beginnings. Only one of these schools was established before the Civil War; the others came into existence during the post war period when the economic and political problems of recovery and expansion were uppermost in the minds of Floridians. That these institutions survived the long years of indifference and
neglect is a tribute to the boards of trustees, the administrative staffs, and the faculties who revealed, by their sincerity and loyalty, that they believed that education was an indispensable element of our society.

In recounting the early history of the University of Florida I have not only sought to understand and describe what was happening at these antecedent institutions, but to relate their story to the social and intellectual movements of the state and the region. I have organized this account along topical lines, as much as possible, within a chronological framework. Although this method has led to a certain amount of repetition, it seemed the most satisfactory means of examining and discussing the processes and factors in the creation and development of the parent institutions of the University.

I am indebted to William Graves Carleton who has supervised the research and writing of this history, and who gave me the benefit of his long and wide experience at the University of Florida. To the other members of my supervisory committee, William E. Baringer, Manning J. Dauer, E. Ashby Hammond, Paul L. Hanna, and Rembert W. Patrick, I am grateful for counsel and help.

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In the preparation of this history difficulty was encountered in locating pertinent sources. Only a few of the official records, such as the minute books of the boards of trustees and faculties, have been preserved, and there is no body of correspondence extant reflecting the day by day, or even year by year, activities of any of the administrative offices of the four institutions. Almost no faculty and student records exist. Of necessity, I have had to depend upon the memories and reminiscences of people connected with these early schools. Care has been taken to check names, dates, and facts, but I cannot be sure that all errors have been detected. Nor do I expect, or even hope, that every reader will agree with all the opinions expressed and judgments made.

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CHAPTER I

ORIGINS FOR STATE SUPPORT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

When Florida became an American territory in 1821 the precedent for tax-supported higher education was already well established in the United States. In 1785 Georgia had issued the first charter for a state university in the country, but the University of North Carolina in 1795 was actually the first to begin instruction. Ten years later the South Carolina College and the University of Georgia were in operation. The University of Virginia, which was to become the South’s most original contribution to higher education, had already been conceived by Thomas Jefferson, who was to regard it as one of his three greatest achievements.¹ Plans for state-supported institutions in Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana were being made.

All of these institutions were small, their enrollments were limited, and many of them were having a struggle to keep open. Transylvania College in Kentucky was the most flourishing in the South, with 140 students in the year 1819² and 400 in 1825.³ Unless the boys in the preparatory departments of the colleges be counted, the

¹Francis B. Simkins, The South Old and New (New York, 1947), 86-88.

²Alma P. Foerster, "The State University in the Old South" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1939), 134.

total number of students in southern colleges in 1820 was probably less than 1,000.\(^4\) There were, on the other hand, many southern boys attending northern schools. In 1820 there were fifty enrolled at Harvard, forty-seven at Yale, forty-two at Princeton, and others at the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Brown, and the United States Military Academy.\(^5\)

Few of these southern institutions differed in any important respect from the church colleges. The Universities of North Carolina and Georgia were, for all practical purposes, Presbyterian colleges.\(^6\) Others were under the influence of the Episcopal Church. Since a majority of the faculty of southern schools had been educated in the North they tended to make these institutions approximate their alma maters. Therein was one of the reasons why state universities were so much like the denominational colleges—both patterned after the larger northern colleges.\(^7\)

None of these state schools, moreover, embodied all the concepts associated in the nineteenth century mind with the term "state university." According to authority, the term, in briefest compass, implied that "providing for higher education was a vital function of society; that the most suitable agency in the United States to perform this function was the state, independent of religious and of private bodies; that the state university should crown the whole system of

\(^{1}\)Ibid., 64.

\(^{5}\)Charles F. Thwing, History of Higher Education in America (New York, 1906), 254-55.

\(^{6}\)Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 66.

\(^{7}\)Ibid., 68-69.
public education with which it was to be closely integrated; that the recipients of higher education in a democratic civilization should be not an intellectual elite, but all citizens capable of benefiting from such training; and that the curriculum of a state-supported institution of higher education should embody not only scholarly purposes of traditional institutions but the professional and practical needs of the citizenry, individually and collectively."

These concepts and the recognition that higher education was a vital function of American society did not go unrecognized by the pioneers who settled in Florida during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In 1822 and 1823 Congress enacted a series of laws establishing a civil government in the Florida territory. Following the precedent as established by the Federal Ordinance of 1787, in which it was agreed that "religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," President James Monroe, on March 3, 1823, signed a bill which was to have an important effect upon the future of higher education in Florida. This law stated that "an entire township, in each of the districts of East and West Florida, shall be reserved for sale, for the use of a seminary of learning."


10Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, III, 756. The dividing line between East and West Florida was not clearly defined. In establishing the first two counties, St. Johns and Escambia, in 1821, Governor Andrew Jackson used the Suwannee River as the dividing line. In the matter of the seminary lands, however, the Apalachicola River was considered, at that time, the dividing line.
When members of the territorial council gathered for the first time in the new capital in Tallahassee in 1824, they discussed the advisability of founding a university, and they prepared a resolution to Congress petitioning support for such a project. Recalling that "the endowment of a Territorial university is in the power of Congress," the legislature asked that additional lands, "located in the middle district," be set aside as a permanent endowment.11

Although Florida's sparse population of less than 35,000 people and her lack of wealth discouraged Congress from taking positive action on the request, it was obvious that the state university had already begun to agitate the minds and to arouse the interest of some Floridians. It is hardly likely that there were any, however, who envisioned a fully developed blueprint for "a secular, state-supported and state-managed institution in which any qualified youth might equip himself for a richer life."12

Any attempt to develop education in territorial Florida had to take into consideration the large number of illiterates, white and Negro, the scarcity of schools, and the general apathy of the population. There are no statistics on the number of illiterates in Florida, but it has been estimated that during the 1830's about a third of the adult white people of Alabama, Louisiana, Virginia, and North Carolina were illiterate.13 There is no reason to believe that conditions were better

12Curti and Carstensen, The University of Wisconsin, 4.
13George W. Pierson, Tocqueville and Beaumont in America (New York, 1938), 641.
in other southern states, including Florida, and the likelihood is that they were worse. The British and Spanish governments had operated church schools when they occupied Florida, and there was an English school in St. Augustine in 1802 for American children, but none of these had continued into the territorial period. Newspapers of the time do not record that there were any schools until 1827, and it was another year before an educational institution received a charter from the Florida legislature. Apathy resulted from the general circumstances of southern life at that time:—the difficulty of providing education for a thinly scattered rural population in a section where almost all the roads were bad, the lack of trained teachers, and the unwillingness of taxpayers to support public education. The president of the University of North Carolina had noted that many illiterate and semi-illiterate southern people were proud of their ignorance of "book learning" and were contemptuous of the profession of teaching.

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16Leon Academy in Tallahassee, Webbville Academy in Jackson County, Pensacola Academy, and the Academy at St. Andrews Bay were in operation in 1827 according to the Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser, March 30, May 18, and June 15, 1827. Union Academy in Jacksonville was incorporated by the territorial council in 1828.

17Simkins, The South Old and New, 91.

18Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South (Durham, 1940), 68.
also pointed out the aversion to taxation, even to provide for the education of poor children.  

American settlers moving into Florida from other parts of the Old South brought to their new homes the attitudes, the standards, and the traditions of the old. The southern educational system, if it can be described as a system, was an heritage from the colonial era, and it remained virtually unchanged for generations. Some well-to-do planters hired tutors for their children or sent them to schools variously known as primary, common, or old-field schools. Frequently sons who had shown ability or interest were allowed to continue their education at universities in the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, or at northern or English institutions. In towns, when parents could afford the practice, children attended private schools. Other families taught their own children, but in the case of poor farmers and laborers there was little attempt to educate the youth. In those places in the South where there were free schools, they were generally regarded as charitable agencies, and many poor families refused to accept the "pauper school" stigma. Such conditions tended to perpetuate ignorance and illiteracy among the lower classes and to produce and maintain an aristocracy among the more prosperous.

19 Ibid.


21 For a defense of this aristocratic system, see Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition* (New York, 1930), 92-121.
Education based upon an aristocratic conception of society did not quite suit the needs of those Floridians who had come from the Piedmont and were firm adherents to the principle that "all men are created equal." Such citizens hoped that institutions of higher education, which would provide for citizenship and general welfare, could be established through individual initiative and group action.22

The history of higher education in Florida is interwoven with the history of public lands. Within the meaning of the tenth amendment to the federal constitution, education was the prerogative of the states. While the federal government did not assume the responsibility for education in Florida, it did encourage it by reserving a total of 92,120 acres of land for the use of a public school system. This property was given to Florida when she entered into the union as a state in 1845.23 Under the Congressional Act of 1823, the secretary of the treasury had the responsibility of "locating the lands." In 1827 a federal law authorized the territorial governor and council to take possession of the property, to lease it on a year-to-year basis, and to use the income for common schools and "a seminary of learning."24 Supervision of the Seminary Land Fund became the responsibility of the territorial treasurer.25

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24Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, IV, 201-02.

Seminaries, or academies as they were often called, were the secondary schools of the Old South and were basic to the success of the colleges. They were of English origin and had been adapted to the particular needs of the southern frontier. Planters organized these schools so that their sons, and sometimes their daughters, could acquire an education and learn the graces that were thought necessary to southern society. The institutions operated generally under state charters and were governed by self-perpetuating boards of trustees drawn from public-spirited men in the community. There might be some state or denominational support, but the income from tuition and fees was needed to keep the schools going. Seminaries met the educational needs of the upper classes fairly well, but, once again, neglected poor children who were unable to pay tuition.

A plan for the establishment of a tax-supported seminary, providing for the education of white citizens without distinction of class, was proposed by Governor William P. Duval in his message to the territorial council in October, 1828. He recommended that Congress authorize the sale of all seminary lands and the investment of the proceeds by the treasurer of the United States. The revenue from such investments would be used to pay "salaries of Professors, the purchase of philosophical apparatus and astronomical instruments, and a Library composed of well selected books on Arts, Science, History, and the languages." The governor suggested that the attic of the capitol might be used for classes until permanent college buildings could be erected. Such legislation, he thought, would enable Florida "without further procrastination ... to shed the light of science, equally on the sons of poverty
and affluence."26

Again, on January 4, 1831, Governor DuVal called the council's attention to the necessity of providing for education in order to preserve the integrity, morals, safety, and even the existence of free government and liberal institutions. Cautioning against any system that aimed at educating only the upper classes, he declared: "Unless knowledge is diffused, unless it pervades and circulates through every class in society, its effects, however salutary, are but partial and inadequate."27 The council took no action on the governor's proposals, partly because of a general reluctance of people to tax themselves and because there were still many people in Florida and throughout the South who regarded it as the duty of the individual and not of the state to see that his children were educated. DuVal's statements, nonetheless, reveal his understanding of the need of providing free public schools and place him with the group of southern political leaders who sought before the Civil War to arouse the people from their apathy toward the education of the masses. Such leaders included Governor Joseph E. Brown of Georgia, Christopher G. Memminger of South Carolina, Archibald DeBow Murphey of North Carolina, Henry A. Wise and Dr. Henry Ruffner of Virginia, Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky, William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama, and Governor Andrew Jackson of Tennessee.

Meanwhile, an effort had been made to locate Florida's seminary lands, and the register of public lands announced that about 27,000 acres

26Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser, October 28, 1828.

had been located between 1827 and 1829. Because of a controversy over private land grants made by the Spanish government, DuVal, on September 7, 1829, ordered the seminary land locating activities suspended until the courts adjudicated these claims. It was felt that more advantageous selections could be made if these claims were decided in favor of the United States. The job of locating seminary lands was not resumed until 1844.

In 1833, four years after he had issued the suspension order, Governor DuVal informed the territorial council that the time had come "for the establishment of a University" and a system of tax-supported primary and secondary schools, but again the legislators were reluctant to take any action.

An act of Congress in 1836 authorized the council to sell approximately one-half of the lands that had been reserved for the seminaries and to use the proceeds "for the benefit of the University of Florida." Commodious and durable buildings were to be erected according to this law, laboratory apparatus, books and equipment purchased, and the remaining money invested, with the stipulation that proceeds would be "devoted forever to the benefit of said University of Florida." Supervision of the institution was to be entrusted to a fourteen-man board of trustees, composed of men who were active in the political and economic life of the territory. Board members were Joseph M. White,

28Letter from W. P. DuVal to Richard C. Allen, agent for locating seminary lands, September 7, 1829, in Papers and Documents Relative to Seminary Lands, Field Note Division of the State Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee. Cited hereafter as Seminary Lands MS, F.N.D.

29Legislative Council Journal, 1833, 4-5.

The following year the committee on schools and colleges, appointed by the council, returned an unfavorable report on the plan to establish a university, although it admitted that the seminary lands were valued at "not less than $250,000; a fund, amply sufficient, if carefully husbanded, to accomplish the benevolent designs of Congress." The committee felt that there was no "urgent necessity for the establishment of a seminary of learning in this territory, with an immense endowment, many professors and few pupils." The frontier politician often felt that education was the universal solvent of social ills, and that schools could promote the cause of religion and virtue, but he was also insistent that education be of more practical use. He was particularly determined to receive a fair return from his tax investments in education, as reluctant as he was to be taxed at all. Apparently, the Florida committee on schools and colleges was not convinced that a university would provide practical education, and perhaps it was also aware that the seminary land endowment would not continue to meet the financial needs of a university, and that taxes for education would be necessary eventually. The committee also pointed out in its report that "this country is but yet in its infancy. Its geography and its resources of wealth are but little known. Locate the University now, and in a few years, when a dense population shall overspread the

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30The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, V, 63.
peninsula, the country may have cause to regret the location."\(^{31}\)

In 1836 an effort was made to establish a state-supported normal school to be known as the Dade Institute.\(^{32}\) Its announced purpose was to honor the memory of Major Francis L. Dade and other Americans killed in the Seminole War, and to provide free education "for the children of the war dead and for other students." Captain J. A. L. Norman, who had been a soldier in Jackson's army at the time of the Florida invasion in 1818, was largely responsible for this effort, and he was to be in charge of the projected school. A graduate of Columbia College, South Carolina, where he had prepared himself as a teacher, Norman had seen the need of establishing a college in Florida.\(^{33}\) In 1838 the territorial council appointed Norman "president for life," and empowered a board of trustees to employ professors and teachers, and to confer "diplomas and testimonials of Scholarship in the arts and sciences."\(^{34}\) The council also provided that "one destitute young man shall be sent from each county to be educated as a teacher of his county."\(^{35}\) Captain Norman's efforts were well received and there was every indication that the Dade Institute would be a

\(^{31}\)Legislative Council Journal, 1837, 38.

\(^{32}\)Pyburn, The Development of a Single System of Education in Florida, 35.

\(^{33}\)Sidney Walter Martin, Florida During the Territorial Days (Athens, 1944), 221.

\(^{34}\)Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1838 (Tallahassee, 1838), 64-66.

\(^{35}\)Ibid., 60.
success. In 1840 the territorial council petitioned Congress for a township grant for the institute which was to be located near Fort King in Central Florida. The house voted the request, but it was denied by the senate, and there the matter stood. The Seminole War diverted the attention of the people from education, and, when the war was over, Dade Institute was a forgotten enterprise.

The records of the constitutional convention of 1838, which met in St. Joseph, reveal that several delegates held strong beliefs about the need of establishing a state-supported educational system. During discussion by the committee on education, Committee Chairman George T. Ward of Leon County moved that it would be the duty of the general assembly "to provide by law, a General System of Education, and also for the disposition of the lands applicable to that purpose." When his motion lost, William Wyatt, also of Leon County, proposed that the convention "provide by law for a general system of Education throughout the State, commencing first with common or primary schools, and ascending as the funds may justify, in a regular graduation to the establishment of such higher institutions of learning, as shall be deemed by the General Assembly best calculated to promote the great object of Education, in which tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."38

36 Norman was lauded in resolutions adopted by the faculties of the University of Georgia, September 3, 1837, the University of Virginia, March 23, 1839, William and Mary College, April 6, 1839, and the College of Charleston, April 17, 1839. Cited in Martin, op. cit., 221-22.

37 Martin, op. cit., 222.

38 Dorothy Dodd, Florida Becomes A State (Tallahassee, 1945), 265.
This motion also failed, largely because of a reluctance to commit Florida to the tax program that would be necessary to finance such a system. The convention did vote to maintain the Seminary Land Fund as "a perpetual fund, the interest of which . . . shall be inviolably appropriated to the use of Schools and Seminaries of learning respectively, and to no other purpose." In the newspaper discussion of the time no mention was made of the proposals to establish a public school system and create a university.  

Governor Richard Call, in his message to the territorial council on January 10, 1843, treated again the matter of establishing seminaries. Referring to "the lands appropriated by Congress for the use of schools," he emphasized that "this valuable endowment, would under judicious management" amply support primary schools, as well as "a seminary of learning." He argued that such a seminary should be immediately established so that the "youths of Florida might receive complete education without the necessity of resorting to foreign institutions."  

Before the legislators could take any action on the governor's recommendations they wanted to know the status of the township grants. Their request was referred to R. J. Harkley, register of the public land office, and he informed them that when Governor DuVal suspended

39 Ibid., 321.  
40 This statement is based upon a check in the following newspapers of the period: Gazette (Apalachicola), The Pensacola Gazette, East Florida Herald News (St. Augustine), News (St. Augustine), and The Floridian (Tallahassee).  
41 Legislative Council Journal, 1843, 23.  
42 Letter from R. K. Call to R. J. Harkley, January 23, 1844, in Seminary Lands MS, F.N.D.
locating activities in 1829 a total of 27,300 acres had been located. Interest, meanwhile, had become directed toward the question of Florida's entrance into the union, which was finally achieved in March, 1845. At that time the new state received the two township grants that had been reserved in 1823, and two additional township grants "for the use of two seminaries of learning--one to be located east and one west of the Suwannee River." Much of the discussion in Florida up until this time had centered around a single "seminary of learning." Now it seemed according to this statute, that there were to be two seminaries.

It was apparent that if state-supported higher education developed in Florida the financial basis would have to be the Seminary Land Fund. Most of the land had not yet been selected and until that was done little of the acreage could be sold. Consequently, Governor William Mosely, Florida's first elected governor, appointed a land agent on July 25, 1845 with instructions to complete the job as quickly as possible.

The state office of register of public lands was created December 26, 1845, and the responsibility of selecting school lands was turned over to this agency. Two years later the register was placed in

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44The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, V, 788. Obviously the boundary line between East and West Florida had now definitely become the Suwannee River.

charge of all seminary and school property, and was directed to protect, rent, or sell the lands and to invest the proceeds in United States securities.\(^{46}\) The register was in a position to supervise and aid in the development of public education, and the legislature in 1849 appointed him ex-officio state superintendent of public instruction.\(^{47}\)

Florida, like the other southern states, was slowly awakening after 1840 to the need of providing free public schools. The universities in the states of Georgia, Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Kentucky were receiving larger appropriations for buildings, books, scientific equipment, and, in some instances, for ordinary running expenses.\(^{48}\) The faculties of southern colleges began more and more to include the names of men who had been trained in the South. A larger number of public-spirited citizens advocated the development of state-supported education. Some Floridians had pointed out that "the cause of public education was languishing while great acres of lands allocated for its maintenance were lying idle or going to waste."\(^{49}\)

During the fall of 1846 a series of educational articles appeared in the Tallahassee Floridian under the pen-name of "Franklin." The author urged, among other things, that all school and seminary lands be sold forthwith and that the proceeds be consolidated into a single fund.\(^{50}\) He wanted the state to invest the fund and use the interest to support

\(^{46}\)Ibid., 1846-47, 47-49.

\(^{47}\)Ibid., 1848-49, 25.

\(^{48}\)Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 70.

\(^{49}\)Edwin L. Williams, Jr., "Florida In The Union, 1845-1861" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1951), 461.

\(^{50}\)The Floridian (Tallahassee), October 17, 1846.
a public school system so that every capable child could learn "at least
to spell and read and write." 51 "Franklin" demanded that the schools
be staffed with teachers whose character and capacity would "entitle
them to the confidence of the whole community." He also called for the
organization of a state department of education, 52 and two seminaries,
one of which would be a normal school to train teachers for the school
system. 53

The legislature in 1846 adopted a resolution "relative to the
establishment of a complete Educational system" which directed the
governor to appoint an eight-man committee, representing west, middle,
est, and south Florida, to examine the needs of advanced education in
the state, and to "give their views with regard to the establishment of
Academies, and the two Universities and the manner of their organi-
zation." 54

George R. Fairbanks, a member of the sectional committee, sub-
mitted one of the plans for the establishment of academies and the
eventual creation of one or more universities. Realizing the need of

51 Ibid., November 7, 1846.
52 Ibid., November 17, 1846.
53 Ibid., November 21, 1846. An analysis and description of
"Franklin's plan" is made by Larraine Nicholson Hood in "The Proposed
System of Education in Florida (signed) 'Franklin,' 1846, in its
National Setting, Limiting the Time to the Years 1816 to 1860"
(unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1947). It is
probable that "Franklin" was the nom-de-plume of John D. Westcott of
Tallahassee. In 1844 he had recommended that the territorial council
establish a system of public education, and set up a common school fund
to support it. He also proposed a county public library system in a
letter to Thomas Baltzell, president of trustees of seminary lands, Nov-
ember 28, 1844, in Seminary Lands MS, F.N.D.

54 Laws of Florida, 1846, 83.
educating teachers for the common schools, he advocated four or five academies as branches of a university, where teacher training courses would be offered. He also recommended the establishment of a normal department as part of the university, and any other college departments as were needed and for which there were available funds. "The plan of our Universities," Fairbanks said, "... should aim at nothing less than the highest excellence and they should be made equal in point of standing and literary reputation to any of the Universities in our country." 55

Although the legislators received Fairbanks' report with interest, they felt that the greatest need was the creation of a state-supported common school system, and toward that goal the Florida State School Law was enacted in 1849. It provided for a system of common schools for the benefit of "the children of all men," and a common school fund which controlled the income from the sale of the sixteenth section of each township grant and used the money to finance the operation of the schools. 56 It was after this law was passed that the legislators were ready to resume their consideration of the needs of higher education.

John Beard, register of public lands and ex-officio state superintendent of public instruction, reported on November 9, 1850 that there was $46,954.44 in the Seminary Land Fund. 57 Without adequate taxes to
increase this amount, the state could hardly establish a university, but seminaries, Beard thought, were another matter. In his report he recommended that Florida "establish and endow two Normal schools" since "the rearing of teachers" was necessary for the development of a secondary school system. He suggested that "instead . . . limiting instruction to the classics, and other customary studies, let it be extended to the rudiments of all useful pursuits; and these, too, be associated in the minds of the young, with future respectability, prosperity and distinction."58

Governor Thomas Brown, a Whig who had been elected in 1848, reminded the lawmakers in his message on November 25, 1850 that "in a State in the condition of ours, no subject can claim a more pressing interest than that of public instruction . . . The first simple, yet grand and important object, is to place within the reach of every child in this State the opportunity . . . of acquiring those indispensable elements of education which shall place him in a position to fit himself for the enlightened discharge of his important civil and social duties . . . ."59 Governor Brown was raising his voice, along with other influential southern leaders, in the cause of primary and higher education. Just a few years before, Governor Thomas Bennett of South Carolina had asserted that popular education was "at once the safeguard of the liberties we now enjoy, and the prolific source of future greatness."60 In 1858 Georgia's Governor Brown declared his own faith in a public school

58 Ibid., 58-59.

59 Florida Senate Journal, 1850-1851, 8.

60 Quoted in South Carolina Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly, 1847, 232, and cited by Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 60.
system which would be equally available to "the children of the richest and poorest parents in the State."\(^{61}\)

On November 30, 1850, in the Florida legislature, Senator O. M. Avery of Escambia County, chairman of the committee on schools and colleges, announced that he would shortly introduce a bill "to provide for the establishment of two Seminaries of learning."\(^{62}\) In due course this measure was introduced and was referred to Avery's committee. Realizing that a growing public school system would need many teachers, Avery, in his bill, said that the main purpose of the seminaries should be "the instruction of persons both male and female in the art of teaching." It was also felt that such institutions should "give instruction in the mechanic arts, in husbandry and agricultural chemistry, in the fundamental laws and in what regards the rights and duties of citizens." Lastly the seminaries should not neglect instruction in those "arts which enoble man and make him truly independent."\(^{63}\) Avery's bill was reported out of committee on January 3, 1851, and was passed by the senate on January 20 by a vote of twelve to three.\(^{64}\)

In the house the seminary bill was sponsored by B. F. Allen, chairman of the house committee on schools and colleges. Representative Allen was an enthusiastic admirer of the educational system in Virginia, and he considered the comprehensive plan of popular education as outlined by Thomas Jefferson to be "the most perfect and magnificent

\(^{61}\)Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South, 74.

\(^{62}\)Florida Senate Journal, 1850-51, 33.

\(^{63}\)Ibid., 209.

\(^{64}\)Ibid., 336.
scheme of public instruction ever devised for a free people." Jefferson's plan provided for local support and control of elementary schools, public control of all grades of instruction, gratuitous instruction in the primary schools for rich and poor alike, higher education at state expense for poor boys of character and exceptional ability, and for a state university of high grade. According to Allen, "this plan commenced with the primary schools and thence passed onward, by regular gradations, through higher institutions to the university." Its crowning glory, Allen argued, was that "rare geniuses" among the "destitute poor" could be educated through the university at public expense. "Thoroughly educating the entire mass of the people," the law-maker concluded, "is one of the most remarkable achievements of modern times." The seminaries bill passed the house on January 22, 1851 by a vote of sixteen to six, and it was signed into law by Governor Brown two days later.

The law provided for the establishment of two seminaries, "one upon the east and the other upon the west side of the Suwannee River," whose main purpose would be to train and certify teachers for the public schools. Of those making application for entrance, first preference would be given, according to law, to any person of "good


66Florida House Journal, 1850-51, 188-95.
67Ibid., 410.
moral character, and capacity to make apt and good teachers," if they would sign a declaration of their intention to teach in "primary schools in this State." Fees and tuition were to be waived for such students. After attending a seminary for twenty weeks, the student was to be examined by the principal and the board of education to determine whether he possessed "the learning and other qualifications necessary to teach a good common school." A seminary board could, if it saw the need, establish an experimental school for teacher-training.

In addition to courses in mechanic arts, husbandry, and agricultural chemistry, the seminaries were to offer lectures and courses in comparative anatomy, astronomy, chemistry, the other sciences, and "any branch of literature that the Board of Education may direct." There was also to be instruction in history, moral philosophy, and the languages.

Government of each seminary was vested in a five-man board of education. Three members were to be appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate, and two were to serve ex-officio, namely the state superintendent of public instruction and the county superintendent of the county in which the seminary was located. Each board was to elect annually one of its members as president. The county superintendent was to be secretary, and the county treasurer, while not a member of the board, was to be in charge of the school's finances. Each board was to make all rules and regulations affecting the seminary under its jurisdiction, appoint principals and assistants, fix salaries, set fees and tuition, select textbooks, and determine entrance requirements. Each county could send students to the seminary in its part of the state, in proportion to its representation in the legislature. Tuition would be
waived for such students. A three-man board of visitors, appointed by the governor, was to examine periodically the affairs of each seminary and report to the state superintendent of public instruction. The superintendent, in turn, was supposed to visit each school at least once a year and to make a full report to the governor on its conditions and needs. Each seminary was to be financed by gifts, donations, tuition, and one-half the interest from the Seminary Land Fund.69

Shortly after the seminary act became law, the legislature authorized the appointment of a committee to select sites for the two institutions. Local officials were asked to state "the amount which said city or county authorities or individuals will contribute land, buildings or money, for the purpose of establishing a Seminary of Learning." The seminary would be located in the county "which, in the opinion of the said General Assembly, presents the greatest inducement for the location."70

It was noted by Attorney-General D. P. Hogue, in his annual report to the legislature in November, 1852, that neither of the two seminaries had yet been located, and, that although the Seminary Land Fund was "sufficiently large for the objects indicated," nothing had been done "with a view to carry out the purpose of the (Seminary)

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69 An analysis of the Seminary Act of 1851 was made by L. M. Bristol, Supplementary Material Accompanying Lectures on Three Focal Points in the Development of Florida State System of Higher Education (Gainesville, 1952), 114-15.

70 Laws of Florida, 1850-51, 199.
Act. 71 Shortly after this report was submitted, the legislature received a concrete land and money offer from Marion County. This offer was accepted, and steps were taken to bring into existence the East Florida Seminary, the institution from which the University of Florida traces its origin.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EAST FLORIDA SEMINARY

Florida had been in the Union as a state only six years when the legislature in 1851 authorized the establishment and location of the two tax-supported seminaries.

For the most part, Florida at that time was a wilderness of swamp and virgin forest land. Roads and other means of transportation were lacking, harvests were uncertain, wild animals freely roamed the woods, and the threat of Indian attack was still present in many sections of the state.

A huge amount of work and building would have to be done before Florida would be ready for anything but sparse settlement and a rude society. The forests needed clearing, and land, timber, and mineral resources would have to be explored and made available. New enterprises and new population were needed. Railroads, post roads, and bridges must be constructed so that raw materials and finished goods could be shipped to market. Social attitudes would have to be adapted to a frontier community so near the older part of the country. Political ideas and philosophies and a variety of religious beliefs would have to accommodate themselves to one another. Newspapers, schools, and libraries were needed. All of this would take time and hard work.

During the years immediately following 1851 a small group of men, handicapped by meager capital and lack of experience, struggled
with all of these problems and yet found time to concern themselves with providing a system of public education. From the point of view of background and experience, the men who laid the foundations for the four institutions which were eventually to evolve into the University of Florida, were poorly equipped for their task. Many of the early principals, teachers, and members of the boards of trustees had no college or high school training. Those who did possess the educational qualifications had, for the most part, attended private schools and had little or no experience with tax-supported institutions. Nonetheless, a few men worked to secure the necessary lands and funds so as to provide adequately for the state seminaries. They sought aid from the federal government, the state legislature, and private citizens. On occasion, when there were no official funds available, they met expenses from their own pockets. They provided the inspiration for those early educational institutions and helped meet and overcome the many obstacles which repeatedly threatened them.

In the creation of the seminary east of the Suwannee River, the steps taken were modest enough. During the legislative session of 1852-53, two bills were introduced pertaining to the establishment of such an institution. The first was entitled "An Act granting chartered privileges to the Trustees of the 'East Florida Seminary.'" The senate committee on schools and colleges submitted a report on December 22, 1852, recommending "that the Seminary to be established ... shall be located at Micanopy in Alachua county."1 The second bill, introduced in the senate, recommended Ocala as the site. This change stirred up

1Florida Senate Journal, 1852-53, 139.
dissension in the house, and a joint committee on conference was appointed to study the problem and try to effect a compromise.

Both communities had private seminaries at the time. A school called the "East Florida Seminary," and sometimes the "East Florida Male and Female Seminary," had been located in Micanopy by the Methodist Church, South, in 1852. A newspaper advertisement two years later listed a faculty of five in the Micanopy school and claimed that the institution enjoyed a relatively large patronage. The Ocala school, established in 1851, was called the "East Florida Independent Institute." Its patrons, the leading citizens of Marion County, offered to turn over the school property of three buildings and the land upon which they were constructed in addition to sixteen town lots and sixteen hundred dollars, if the seminary was located in their community. The records do not show any offer made by the Micanopy institution.

The Marion County proposal led the committee on conference to recommend on January 5, 1853 an amendment to the original seminary act, endorsing Ocala as the site of the state seminary and authorizing the seminary's board to accept the property on behalf of the state. The committee predicted that if the amendment were adopted, "the Seminary will soon be organized and in successful operation."

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2Unpublished minutes of the East Florida Seminary (Micanopy), July 10, 1852, in F. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. See also Charles T. Thrift, Jr., The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider (Lakeland, 1944), 30-85.

3Southern Sun (Ocala), June 10, 1854.


5Florida Senate Journal, 1852-53, 256.
John P. Baldwin, chairman of the senate committee on schools and colleges, was a strong proponent of the Ocala site. He argued that the community was "highly desirable, as well on account of the position of that town with reference to the other portions of East Florida, as of the other advantages which it possesses." Among the advantages and virtues which Baldwin extolled was Ocala's climate; one of "the most healthy towns in the country," he averred. The senator felt that Ocala combined "all the comforts and advantages that could be desired by parents and pupils." 6

The legislature accepted the amendment on January 5, 1853 and on the following day the bill was signed by Governor Thomas Brown. 7 The governor appointed Major Lewis C. Gaines, the Reverend William Royall, and William S. Harris, all of Marion County, as members of the first board of education of the East Florida Seminary. 8 John M. McIntosh, judge of probate court and county superintendent, became ex-officio secretary of the board.

The quality of the membership of the board and the absence of partisan favor attests the care of Governor Brown's selections. That the Seminary was able to begin operations within a short while after January 6 indicates the administrative ability and forceful leadership of the board. Major Gaines, president of the board, was editor and proprietor of The Conservator, a weekly newspaper published in Ocala,

6 Ibid., 140.
7 Ibid., 279; Laws of Florida, 1852-53, 87-88.
8 Ibid., 277.
and the *Tropical Farmer*, called by its editor "the only agricultural paper south of the Potomac." However untrue this claim, the *Farmer* was the only agricultural journal then published in Florida. Gaines, a veteran of the Indian wars, had been secretary of the board of trustees of the East Florida Independent Institute. The Reverend Mr. Royall, a Baptist minister, had also been one of the original trustees of the earlier institution and revealed a consistent interest in education.

As a strong supporter of the needs of higher education, William S. Harris worked diligently in the legislature to establish a second seminary at Tallahassee. The Harrises were among the original settlers in Marion County, and members of the family helped organize the first Methodist Church in the area and built the hotel long famous as the Ocala House. The McIntoshes were likewise Florida pioneers who settled in Tallahassee in 1830. John M. McIntosh was employed by the quartermaster's corps during the early part of the Seminole War, operated a sutler's store on the Suwannee River in 1839, and then farmed a tract of land near Little Orange Lake in Marion County, granted under the federal Armed Occupation Act. In 1845 Governor Mosely appointed him chairman of the first board of Marion County commissioners.

A few stores, a hotel, two churches, a courthouse built of pine poles and used as a meeting-hall and theater, a postoffice, a saloon or

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10Florida House Journal, 1854, 192.
12Ibid., 99.
13John M. McIntosh Diary (MS owned by Mrs. Ralph Hamlin, Tallahassee).
"doggery," as it was called, and a score or more houses made up the town of Ocala during the early 1850's. 

A visitor in 1852 reported that there were "between three hundred and fifty and four hundred inhabitants," and that there were "some of the best houses in Ocalo [sic] that I saw in Florida." The town, according to this writer, was "surrounded by large and extremely fertile hammocks where improved Farms . . . sell for from twelve to twenty dollars per acre." 

The county roads, many of them following the patterns of Indian trails, had been beaten out by half a century of hooves and wagon wheels coming south across the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers deep into Florida territory. Ocala was centrally located, and there were some who thought the state capital would eventually be placed there. 

Silver Springs, about six miles east of town, early became a curiosity for visitors, and Lady Amelia Murray, lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, visited the Springs during the 1850's. 

A number of well-to-do South Carolina planters moved into Marion County after 1845, developing plantations which were described as "among the largest and finest in the South." 

Cultivated and educated themselves, and coming from a state which had established schools

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14J. C. Ley, Fifty-two Years in Florida (Nashville, 1899), 42.

15Incidents of a Journey From Abbeville, South Carolina to Ocalo, Florida by an Observer of Small Things (Edgefield, S. C., 1852), 27-28.

16Ibid., 27.

17Amelia M. Murray, Letters From the United States, Cuba, and Canada (New York, 1856), 224-31.

and colleges, they were concerned with the problem of building schools and providing educational facilities for their children.

A "publick road," begun in 1846, ran from Ocala to Fort Butler on the St. Johns River, and an old military trail afforded transit from north Florida through Fort McCoy and Fort King to Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay. No regular stage reached Ocala until 1858, and travelers arrived on horseback, in their own wagons, or in carriages hired in Palatka or Gainesville. It was in this latter way that there arrived, one morning in the early fall of 1851, two travelers who introduced themselves as S. S. Burton and Horatio Mann. Burton's real name, as it later turned out, was Gilbert Dennis Kingsbury. What had attracted these two to Florida and particularly to Ocala is not known and they did not offer an explanation. Sometimes later it was suggested that Kingsbury had heard that Ocala was "a new and rather boom town" and perhaps had come to make his fortune. They lived at first in the small hotel near the town square and then with a private family, each paying eight dollars a month for room and board.

Kingsbury, who was to have an important influence on the development of higher education in early Florida, was born March 2, 1825 in New Hampshire. His family was poor and suffered serious financial

19Marion County Commission Minutes, Court House Records, Book A, 9.
21Letter from E. G. Kingsbury to Charles W. Randall, April 11, 1923, in Kingsbury Papers, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas.
22Kingsbury revealed this in his speech "For the Location of the Seminary at Ocala," delivered to Florida legislature, 1852. (MS speech in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives).
difficulties after his father died. Years later, in a letter to his brother, Kingsbury recalled the circumstances of "father's tragic death and its causes, of the robberies of our heritage by the natural protectors of our infant orphanage, of our mother's struggles through years of poverty and widowhood, our own poor-boy rebuffs as we toiled along the path of a hireling."24

Kingsbury attended school in Lebanon, and later in the nearby community of Ruddsboro.25 The catalogue of the Thetford Academy (Thetford, Vermont) shows that he was a student in the classical department in 1847-1848.26 The school, established in 1819 was housed in a white, churchlike building.27 An adjacent dormitory, Burton Hall, was too small to accommodate all the students, and many, like Kingsbury, lived in the main academy building. The records do not reveal exactly when he graduated, but he gave the valedictory address.28 In 1849 a group of students commissioned two portraits, one of Hiram Orcutt, the principal, and the other of Simeon Short, a founder of Thetford Academy. Kingsbury's name is listed among the contributors, and he was

24Letter from G. D. Kingsbury to Milton Kingsbury, May 30, 1862, in Kingsbury Papers, University of Texas.

25Ibid.

26John Eaton (ed.), Thetford Academy: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary and Reunion (Concord, 1895), 35.


28MS of "Valedictory Address" in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives.
chosen to present the portrait of Short to the board of trustees. He was already known as an excellent speaker and debater and lectured frequently in nearby communities.

In 1849 and for a while in 1850 Kingsbury was the "teacher of penmanship" at the academy. It was about this time that he became engaged to Emeline D. Tenney of Hanover who was also a student. The Tenneys were important people in that section of New England, and at least two of them were connected closely with the affairs of Thetford Academy. Whether or not the Tenney family opposed the love affair we do not know, but it is a fact that shortly afterwards Kingsbury severed his connections with Thetford and traveled to New York to study law. He had "no idea of ever practicing," he said, and it is not likely that he earned a law degree.

While Kingsbury was a man of no particular distinction, he was not narrow in his interests and when he returned to New Hampshire during the summer of 1851 he planned to try his hand at some serious writing. Although he did not live with his brother, Milton, in Hanover, old animosities which had marred earlier years became even more bitter, and Gilbert complained that his brother showed "not only indifference but contempt for what engaged all my pride and ambition." Perhaps this situation motivated him to leave New England. Whatever the cause,

29 Letter from Mary B. Slade to author, May 19, 1952.

30 G. D. Kingsbury, "The Elements of Correct Education and the Responsibility of the Teachers Profession" (MS in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives).

31 Letter from G. D. Kingsbury to Milton Kingsbury, March 13, 1863, in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives.
we know that by late summer he and Horatio Mann had begun the journey which eventually took them to Florida.

Almost nothing is known about Mann except that he was a native of West Randolph, Vermont, and that he was graduated from Thetford Academy in July, 1848, intending to enroll in the University of Vermont that fall. In the Thetford catalogue of 1847-1848, he is listed both as a graduate and "teacher of penmanship." In Florida he said that he had a bachelor of arts degree, but there is nothing to substantiate this claim. It probably had no more validity than Kingsbury's claim to a master of arts degree. Mann and Kingsbury remained life-long friends, and years later Kingsbury often referred to him in letters.

When Kingsbury arrived in Florida, he was twenty-six years old, and, by his own account, he was "full of purpose, energy, and courage." He was handsome, and used this asset to good advantage. He was tall and possessed a full forehead, prominent nose, and a beard.

Writing once to his brother, he stated that his life had been a series of "eccentric experiences . . . full of follies" which "bear everywhere the marks of my impulses." Perhaps it was this impulsiveness which caused Kingsbury to introduce himself in Ocala as S. S. Burton. He probably took the name from the prominent New England divine, the Reverend Asa Burton, who had been Thetford's most distinguished

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32 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Thetford Academy at Thetford, Vt., For the Academical Year 1847-48 (Hanover, 1848), 5.


34 Ibid.

Many of the Marion County planters whom the pseudonymous New Englander encountered saw the need of consolidating and expanding school facilities in the community. The vastness of Florida's undeveloped territory and sparse population had, during the territorial period, held back schools in all parts of the area. Nonetheless, pioneer parents were eager that their children be educated, and they cooperated in establishing necessary facilities. Many men who had come to Florida to build their fortunes in the new land were willing to put up money to establish educational institutions.

In Marion County in 1851 there were five small schools, and, as Kingsbury later explained, each of them was "the favorite of a clique that was interested to support it." Soon after his arrival in Ocala, he learned that the planters were dissatisfied with these schools, and, sensing an opportunity to advance his fortune, he suggested a merger. The men of substance in the community agreed and called a meeting of the "subscribers to the school house enterprise" for Saturday evening, October 25, 1851. A notice in the Ocala Conservator invited "the friends

35Slade, Thetford Academy's First Century, 28.
36G. D. Kingsbury, "Fourth of July Oration" (MS in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives).
37Kingsbury, "For the Location of the Seminary at Ocala," loc. cit.
of education . . . to attend and hear some remarks by Mssrs. Mann and Burton, gentlemen wishing to take charge of a school at this place." The county commissioners had already set aside four acres of land in Ocala for the establishment of an academy, and now the problems of financial support and community cooperation had to be solved.

Presumably some of these questions were answered at this first meeting since the following item appeared in the Conservator on November 5, 1851:

We the undersigned, proposing to locate permanently in Ocala, respectfully solicit the support of the friends of education. Having had the experience of several years in teaching, we hope to make our School so profitable to our patrons that it will merit their approbation.

We shall commence the first term on Monday, January 5th, 1852, and continue 11 weeks. Those wishing to patronize our School are requested to inform us as soon as convenient, that our arrangements may be made accordingly. Terms of tuition ranging from $4 to $12 per term.

S. S. Burton
H. E. Mann

The response to this advertisement was encouraging, and a few days after the school opened Burton announced that "our school is now in successful operation, 53 students and still they come." By March sixty-five were enrolled. On the first Saturday in February, 1852, the patrons of the academy called a meeting and elected a board of trustees composed of the following men: S. T. Thomas, Lewis C. Gaines, Stephen

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38Conservator (Ocala), October 22, 1851.
39Marion County Commission Minutes (February 7, 1853), Court House Records, Book A, 87. Kingsbury mentioned this earlier in "Speech for Additional Funds for School" (MS in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives). Kingsbury delivered this speech in Ocala, March, 1852.
40Conservator (Ocala), February 11, 1852, reprinted from Conservator, November 5, 1851.
41Ibid., reprinted from Conservator, January 21, 1852.
Bryant, E. D. Howse, W. J. C. Rogers, Willis Hall, and William Royal. Thomas was selected president; Gaines, secretary; and Bryant, treasurer.43

Its organization completed, the board proceeded to the business of founding an educational institution. A committee was appointed to raise $6,000 by subscription, and another was authorized to draw up plans for a permanent school building. The building committee moved promptly, and in a few days the board approved plans for a one-story frame building, fifty feet long and twenty feet wide. The contractor, Spencer T. Thomas, promised that it would be ready for occupancy by April 1. Before this building was complete, the board decided that it was already inadequate for the growing student body and contracted for the addition of another room, thirty feet long and twenty feet wide. The cost of these rooms, enclosed, with floors laid and partitions built, was nine hundred and twenty five dollars.44 In March two additional members, A. Waterman and N. M. Bradley, were elected to the board of trustees, and the name East Florida Independent Institute was chosen for the school.

The prompt and decisive action of the board may be attributed to the vigorous counsel of Burton. When he saw the new academy approach its first financial crisis, he persuaded Gaines, the aggressive editor of the Conservator, to call a community meeting. There, he dramatically argued the cause of education. Calling attention to the generous subscriptions made by citizens in the nearby towns of Micanopy, Alligator.

43Conservator (Ocala), February 11, 1852.

44Kingsbury, "Speech for Additional Funds for School," loc. cit. Most of the cost was never paid. In 1860 a bill was introduced into the legislature in an unsuccessful effort to persuade the state to pay this obligation.
(now Lake City), and Newnansville (then the county seat of Alachua County) to their own educational institutions, he announced that the people of Ocala had subscribed only $425. Meanwhile, the contractor was demanding $300 payment. Burton tried to show the economic value of the Institute to Marion County and predicted that in the future the school would be a monument, "surmounted by the pillars of science, overtopped by the dome of genius, and inscribed with the name of truth."

To build this monument, Burton demanded from his audience foresight, courage, fortitude, and generosity. To the surprise of his listeners, who were not at all sure they could pay for the work already contracted, he asked that a third room be built immediately. The school without this addition, he said, would be like the "boy's jacket which was too short and too narrow and too tight and pinches like lightning." Two thousand dollars, Burton announced, must be spent to plaster the building, build chairs and desks, dig a well, provide heating, lay out a yard, and secure a bell. Three more instructors would have to be employed, "one female teacher who will teach French, drawing and music, and two male teachers." Burton climaxed his talk by predicting a glowing future for the school and community. "In two years," he said, "150 students will be here ... real estate raised in value 50 percent, trade and every industrial interest doubled, and morality and intelligence become universal."45

Burton's high-flown oratory on this March evening must have had a telling effect. Shortly afterwards he announced that the new teachers would arrive in May and that the first term of the newly reorganized

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45 Ibid.
academy would begin in June. Although the school was still without sufficient funds, the following announcement appeared in the Ocala paper:

**EAST FLORIDA INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE AT OCALA**

The first term of this Institution will commence on Monday, June 14th, under the direction of the following:

**TEACHERS**

**Male Department**
- S. S. Burton, A.M. Principal
- J. F. Mowe, A.M.) Associate Principals
- H. E. Mann, A.B.)
- Orville Mason, Teacher of Penmanship and Drawing

**FEMALE DEPARTMENT**
- Miss P. L. A. Underwood, Teacher of Music and French
- Miss Eva M. Darling Preceptress

Such other assistance will be obtained in the Primary Department, as the wants of the School may require.

**RATES OF TUITION PER SESSION OF FIVE MONTHS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading, Spelling and Writing</td>
<td>$8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Arithmetic and Geography</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic with slate and Geography with the atlas</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Grammar and History</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Mathematics and Languages</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EXTRA CHARGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music with use of Piano</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing Materials</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocal music will be taught in the school at reasonable prices.

The Trustees have been at great expense in completing a commodious building, capable of accommodating two hundred students, and have secured the services of a full board of teachers, who have added their literary acquirements, several of successful experience in teaching. They can, therefore, with confidence recommend the Institute to the favorable consideration of parents and guardians, as a desirable school in which to acquire a thorough English education to fit young gentlemen for business, or for either class in College, and to complete the education of young
ladies, on whom Diplomas will be conferred, after a prescribed course has been finished; also as offering an excellent opportunity for elementary culture. The Trustees can confidently recommend the health of the village, and the eligibility and accessibility of the place. Board can be had in good families at reasonable prices. For the better arrangement of time, the school will continue half a session, of eleven weeks, and on the first Monday in September, 1852, will commence its regular sessions, consisting of ten consecutive months, which will constitute the scholastic year.

The seminary building was not yet complete on dedication day. There was as yet no fence to frame the deep bed of sand the workmen had piled up around the foundations of the building, and there were neither front steps nor windows. Inside the walls were unplastered and floors were rough and bare. Backless pine benches covered most of the large room, with a space at the front for the master's table upon which lay a few books Burton had brought down from the North. Nonetheless, it was a bright summer afternoon, and a sizeable crowd had gathered under the live oaks and pines surrounding the building to watch the ceremonies and listen to the speeches.

Burton's dedicatory address was not long, and its main theme developed his philosophy of education. He outlined the role of education in society and observed that schools were "contrivances by which the people seek to supply their intellectual wants and aid their advance toward a higher and more perfect state of social life."

He went on to examine the role of academies and seminaries in American education, finding them "organic parts of the body politic, essential, if not to its being, at least to its well being, and for the reason that they concern themselves with a more advanced stage of mental

46 Conservator (Ocala), June 23, 1852.
culture and discipline, they serve as a support and regulator of the whole system of popular education. They are emphatically public schools." He promised that the East Florida Independent Institute would be a public school according to this meaning and would have "a direct influence on all the individual minds and interests that shall in time constitute this public."

Burton cautioned against expecting too much from the Institute too quickly. He felt that the "embarrassments and disasters not uncommon for new academies in a new country will doubtless attend the history of the Institute." He was careful, however, to promise that the school would "grow up from cradled infancy to honorable manhood . . . by unwavering courage, untiring perseverance, boldness of perception and promptness of action." 47

The Institute copied the organization and curriculum of Thetford Academy, which was similar to that offered by seminaries and academies throughout the country. 48 Reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, Latin, the sciences, and composition, together with religious teachings, were stressed. The Bible was regularly read and the study of American history was considered vital. Webster's "speller," Goodrich's History of the United States (which emphasized the perfection of our Revolutionary heroes), Markham's History of England, Well's Grammar, Richard Orcutt's Class Book of Prose and Poetry (which cost seventeen

47 G. D. Kingsbury, "Inaugural Address Delivered at the Opening of the East Florida Independent Institute in Ocala" (MS in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives).

cents a copy and contained seventy-two selections from American and English authors), and Burritt's Geography of the Heavens made up the basic texts. For Latin, Burton planned to use Folsom's Cicero and Gould's Virgil, and for Greek, Arnold's Greek Prose Composition, the same textbooks he had used at Thetford.

Except for Burton and Mann, almost nothing is known about the Institute's first faculty. It is possible that the Orville Mason, who taught penmanship and drawing, was Rufus O. Mason of Sullivan, New Hampshire, a contemporary of Burton's at Thetford. If so, Mason had lived as a student in the home of Mr. Frost, as did Miss Tenney from Hanover, and perhaps this is where Burton first met him. When it came time to hire teachers for the Institute, Burton wrote to a friend in the North, authorizing him to "secure the best teachers . . . regardless of prices." Probably this process discovered the two female teachers and J. F. Mowe, associate principal.

After the excitement of moving into the unfinished building and starting the new term, the Institute slowed to a steady routine. It was no longer an unusual sight each morning to see boys and girls being driven into town from nearby plantations in wagons and buggies and chaperoned by Negro household servants. By late summer, passersby no longer stopped and listened to the drone of the students studying their three R's, or the resonant voice of Burton explaining to his history class why "Almighty God brought this nation into existence and reared it up as a theatre for

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50 Ibid., 8.
51 Kingsbury, "Speech for Additional Funds for School," loc. cit.
a high order of civilization."\textsuperscript{52}

The autumn of 1852 was a prosperous, happy time in Florida. Crops were good and the price of cotton held firm. At the Institute examinations and final exercises were over, and the pupils were released for a holiday. For the planters it was a season of great activity. There was cotton to be baled and shipped to market, sorghum to be ground, and sweet potatoes to be bedded with straw in the earth against the colder months to come. There were also political issues to be argued and talked about because the legislature was scheduled to meet in Tallahassee on Monday, November 22. For the people of Marion County this session of the legislature was important. It was understood that the locating of at least one of the state-supported seminaries would be decided, and Burton and the Institute's board of trustees hoped that this school would be placed in Ocala.\textsuperscript{53}

Because of his connection with the Institute, Burton was chosen as special agent to represent Ocala, and he journeyed to Tallahassee with a generous offer in his pocket. He asked for and received permission to address the legislature. Reading from a manuscript, he set forth the business qualifications of Ocala: "A bank agency in prospect, 1 steam mill for cutting lumber and corn grinding in operation, another with a planing machine . . . a large tannery, a large brickmaking establishment and all kinds of mechanical tradesmen and mechanical wares." Burton boasted that Ocala was "the most accessible [sic] to the people

\textsuperscript{52}D. Kingsbury, "The Providential Peculiarities of Republican History" (MS in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives).

\textsuperscript{53}L. Crow, "The East Florida State Seminary While in Ocala, 1853-1866" (MS in UF Archives).
of East and South Florida of any place" and that it was "supplied with 7 mails per week besides several horse mails."54

"The achievements of that community," Burton exhorted the legislators, "are sufficient to guarantee for the citizens (sic) possessing intelligence, enterprise and worth. That in 4 years they have raised that town from the wilderness and given it wealth and importance and drawn to it from abroad, population and such thrift as should demand three steam mills to supply building materials as they are needed, and give her such institutions as rank with the best in the state, is sufficient guarantee for their enterprise and intelligence."55

Burton said that his arguments were "not the results of my partiality or the creation of my sophistry." He insisted that "these were statistical facts and facts are stubborn things. These are matters of record. This is God's truth and you can't shake it." Burton's "truth" was more academic than real, for his speech was filled with exaggerations, garbled facts, and untruths. He credited Ocala with a thousand inhabitants and Marion County with seven thousand, although the census of 1860 would reveal a much smaller population. An 1870 census of Ocala listed only six hundred people. He stated that the Institute was a "school of 137 scholars, 16 in music, 16 in drawing, 12 in the Classics and 7 preparing for teachers." Probably there were fewer than one half the "137 scholars" attending the school at the time.56

54 Kingsbury, "For the Location of the Seminary at Ocala," loc. cit.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
Burton fortified his arguments with a liberal offer of land and cash:

Sixteen town lots in a square, valued at two hundred dollars each, also a building standing thereon, built in the form of an L, with two fronts of fifty feet each, and twenty feet wide, together with two other buildings erected on the said lots, twenty by thirty feet each, and three valued at three thousand eight hundred dollars, also one thousand and six hundred dollars in money . . . the whole amount of the donation being eight thousand six hundred dollars. 57

This proposal, and the fact that Ocala offered "central position, accessibility, and a large, respectable, and thriving school in being, with various other considerations," convinced the legislators that the state-supported seminary should be established there. So it was enacted that "after proper and authorized conveyances of said town lots and buildings," and "after said amount of money be paid to such Board of Education as the Governor may appoint for said Seminary, under the Act of January 24, 1851," the Seminary East of the Suwannee should be located at Ocala. 58 The property could be used only for a seminary and it was to revert to the donors if the institution should be removed to some other place. The act was signed by the governor on January 6, 1853. State support for higher education in Florida was beginning.

The term higher education does not reflect the program actually achieved during the period of the East Florida Seminary at Ocala and for many years afterward. However, it does reflect the intended purpose of the Seminary Land Fund. In common with many other institutions which date their founding from their antecedent institutions of academy

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rank, the University of Florida's founding is dated from the Florida statute of January 3, 1853, authorizing State funds for the Ocala East Florida Independent Institute.\textsuperscript{59}

Burton had won. As he expected, he was made principal of the Seminary. There were some changes in the faculty. Horatio Mann, whose health had been steadily declining since he arrived in Florida, resigned and returned to the North.\textsuperscript{60} Orville Mason must have left Ocala about this same time, since a list of the new faculty failed to include his name. In addition to Burton, there were three other teachers: J. F. Mowe, male assistant; Miss Laura Chamberlain, female assistant; and Miss P. L. A. Underwood, teacher of music.\textsuperscript{60}

Although no suggestions for a salary scale had been included in the act passed by the legislature, the school's board of education "thought it advisable to allow as salaries . . . the interest of the State Fund for one year together with the tuition."\textsuperscript{62} This amounted to $2,366.20, of which $1,400 had been received from tuition fees. Fortunately, the $1,600 given by Ocala was added to the income of the Seminary and part of it was apportioned for salaries. Burton as principal received $1,400 for the two terms and Mowe drew $700. The two female instructors each received $358.85 for the year. Burton was paid

\textsuperscript{59}The Seminary West of the Suwannee was established in Tallahassee in 1857. It was called the West Florida Seminary.

\textsuperscript{60}Kingsbury's comments on Mann's health are contained in his "Speech for Additional Funds for School," \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{61}Report of the Register of Public Lands, Appendix to Florida Senate Journal, 1854, 17.

\textsuperscript{62}\textit{Tbid.}
$359.37 for incidental expenses in connection with the operation of the Seminary.\textsuperscript{63}

The record of Burton's relationship with his board of education shows that he maintained a firm control over the policies and activities of the Seminary. In many ways he considered the Seminary as his school, and he seems to have been somewhat independent of the board. This was reflected in a report of Lewis C. Gaines, president of the board, to the superintendent of public instruction:

The Principal, Mr. S. S. Burton, failed to report in accordance with the instructions of the Board, the number of scholars attending the school, the amount of tuition, and the studies pursued in the Institution. It is consequently not in the power of the Board to state certainly and have to rely upon a verbal report of the Principal, that the number of scholars in attendance during the year was varying from sixty to ninety.

The Gaines' report was concluded with a listing of the subjects taught: Reading, writing, arithmetic, natural philosophy, English grammar, geography, drawing, music, and "a small class of beginners in Latin."\textsuperscript{64}

A few weeks after this report was received in Tallahassee, events occurred which were to have a serious effect upon Burton and upon the operations of the Seminary. For all his vision and ambition, Burton was a creature seemingly dominated by his emotions. A moment of anger resulted in an unfortunate student flogging which turned the tide of his popularity.\textsuperscript{65} Almost overnight people began calling the principal a caustic and obstinate man.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{63}Ibid., 19.
\item \textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 17.
\item \textsuperscript{65}Crow, "East Florida Seminary While in Ocala," \textit{loc. cit.}, 114-115.
\end{itemize}
A few weeks later, he became involved in a scandal that rocked the little village of Ocala. The whispering began soon after the September term got underway. For a long time Burton and Anna Underwood, the music teacher, had been seen together at parties and other social functions in the community, and it would have surprised no one had they announced they were getting married. Anna's main interest seemed to be the Seminary. She was young and vivacious and was described as "a most exemplary woman, good and beautiful and one always above reproach."

It is not known how stories of misconduct between the principal and the lady teacher began to circulate. Once started, the rumors spread rapidly, and in a few days many people were "convinced that Burton and Miss Underwood had been indiscreet."

The climax of the affair was reached on a dark, rainy night in early December. The board of education met at the courthouse to hear the charges and weigh the evidence against the principal. Burton calmly denied all the accusations. It was a tissue of lies, he claimed, a fabrication of gossips out to ruin the careers and reputations of two people who had labored for the children of the community. In the end, however, he offered to withdraw from the school, and, although it meant closing the Seminary, the board agreed unanimously to accept his resignation. Before the meeting ended, the board called for and accepted the resignations of the other faculty members.


Burton left behind in Ocala a darkly shadowed history. No one knew when he left town and hardly anyone cared. He went North, first to New Hampshire, and then to Philadelphia. He corresponded with Anna Underwood, and married her when she came to Philadelphia in the late summer of 1854, a few weeks before the birth of their child. The infant lived only a short while. After Anna's convalescence the couple decided to settle in Texas. Traveling a circuitous tourist-like route through New York, Albany, Niagara Falls, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis to New Orleans, they eventually arrived in Brownsville, early in January, 1855.68

Three weeks later, Burton, who by now had again changed his name, this time to Francis F. Fenn, was employed as a teacher by the Rio Grande Institute at a salary of twelve hundred dollars a year. The following year he rented a farm, and in 1857 he bought a half interest in eighty cattle. He eventually gave up teaching and farming and became a prosperous rancher.69 His life was marred by a series of personal tragedies. His second child died in infancy, and the third, a boy named Albert, born in 1858, lived only a few months.70 On August 3, 1859 Anna died in childbirth, and she and her still-born infant were buried on the banks of the Rio Grande near Brownsville.

68Letter from G. D. Kingsbury to Emeline Tenney, November 2, 1862, in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives.

69Ibid.

70Letter from E. G. Kingsbury to Charles W. Randall, April 11, 1923, in Kingsbury Papers, University of Texas; letters from E. G. Kingsbury to J. C. Yonge, May 26, June 27, 1923 in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Gilbert Kingsbury also mentions his son in a letter to Anna's sister, Maria, August 16, 1858, in Kingsbury Papers, University of Texas.
When the Civil War began Gilbert's sympathies lay with the northern cause.71 He was suspected of being a Union spy, and his property was confiscated by Confederate authorities. At intervals during the war he went into hiding in Matamoros, Mexico.72 After 1865 he resecured part of his confiscated property and renewed his contacts with Emeline Tenney, who had served during the war as an army nurse. In 1865 they were married in Chicago. Death in 1877 stilled at last the "enthusiastic, imaginative, adventurous spirit," who with all his eccentricities, is recognized as the founder of the school that slowly grew into the University of Florida.73

71 Letter from G. D. Kingsbury to William A. Waugh, June, 1862, in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives.

72 Letter from G. D. Kingsbury to Emeline Tenney, November 2, 1862, in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives; letter from G. D. Kingsbury to Milton Kingsbury, October 20, 1862, in Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives.

73 Letter from E. G. Kingsbury to J. C. Yonge, June 27, 1923, Kingsbury Papers, UF Archives.
CHAPTER III

THE SEMINARY IN OCALA, 1853-65

In Ocala, with Kingsbury gone, the board of education took action to replace him and his faculty. In many newspapers throughout Florida, and in the Savannah Georgian and the Charleston Courier, the following advertisement appeared in December, 1853:

TEACHERS WANTED

The Board of Education of the East Florida State Seminary are desirous of securing the services of two Male and two Female teachers for said institution. They propose salaries:

- Principal, male $1,500
- Assistant, male $1,000
- Literary teacher, female $500
- Music teacher, female $600

All must bring with them satisfactory credentials, as to morals and literary acquirements. Southern men and ladies will be preferred.¹

The board was determined that the new teachers "shall be such as will do honor in the institution, and in every way in their power to bear every influence calculated to increase the usefulness of the Seminary, and to cause the feelings of the people to cluster around it, to bear it up, to support, defend, honor it."² The board further informed the public that the Seminary would reopen on Monday, January 3, 1854, "under the most flattering auspices, with the prospect of becoming one

¹Florida Mirror (Ocala), December 9, 1853.
²Ibid. (editorial).
of the first institutions in the South."³

A few days after Christmas, 1853, the board held a special meeting to examine applications, announcing finally that the new principal would be John G. Bowman of South Carolina. Bowman was described by the editor of the Tallahassee Sentinel as a "polished gentlemen, a ripe scholar and an experienced teacher."⁴ His assistant, Archibald F. Gould, was an Episcopal minister from Jacksonville, who also served as rector of Grace Church in Ocala.⁵ The board appointed Miss R. L. Rogers as teacher of music and Miss Lizzie Witherspoon of Tallahassee as literature teacher.⁶ For some reason, the latter appointment was either refused or withdrawn, and Miss Virginia E. Baughan, who had been teaching at Gadsen Hall, an academy in Quincy, became the "female assistant" at a salary of $50.34 for the year.⁷ The fact that women had been employed at the Seminary from the start was characteristic of a changing national attitude toward employing women as teachers. Such ladies were finding no difficulty during the latter half of the nineteenth century in securing positions, particularly in the West and South, where they were considered as especially adapted "to become the instructor of the rising generation from the peculiar character of their minds."⁸

³Ibid.
⁴Florida Sentinel (Tallahassee), June 20, 1854.
⁵Journal of the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida, 1854 (Tallahassee, 1854), 10.
⁶Florida Mirror, December 30, 1853.
⁸Quoted from the Vermont Aurora of the Valley, March 17, 1849, by Slade, Thetford Academy's First Century, 99.
Transportation difficulties delayed the new teachers arriving in Ocala until January, and the Seminary opened late. Parents who had feared the institution would not open at all had enrolled their children in other seminaries throughout the state, and several new schools were organized in Marion and the surrounding counties.

Increasing enrollment was very important, and, with this in mind, the board of education, following the suggestions of Principal Bowman, reduced fees in accordance with the following schedule:

- Spelling, Reading, and Writing, per Session, (5 months,) $6.00
- Primary Arithmetic & Geography, together with above $8.00
- Arithmetic, Geography and English Grammar, together with the above $10.00
- The Natural Sciences and History together with the above $16.00
- The higher branches of Mathematics, the Classics and Moral Philosophy, together with the above $20.00
- Piano Music (Extra) per session $20.00
- Use of instrument per session $2.50

The board let it be known again that "persons filing a declaration of intention to become teachers ... will be admitted free of tuition fees." Such students were known as "beneficiaries."

When the East Florida Seminary finally got under way in February, sixty-five students were enrolled, "studying from Spelling to Latin." Most of these were male students from the farms and villages of Marion County who varied in age from six to eighteen. About a dozen girls studied music with Miss Rogers, and, according to a report in the Tallahassee paper, this lady presided over the music department "with signal ability and success. Already the pupils under her tuition were beginning

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to give evidence ... of their capacity to discourse sweet music.11

Only a few girls studied regular courses, and most of these specialized in French, art, or needlepoint—at a slight additional fee—and tried to develop "the grace and urbanity of their manners."

Girls generally did not take the same courses as did the boys. It was believed that classics and mathematics would undermine their bodily and mental health and produce the objectionable "learned female.12 At the end of the seminary course a girl received a certificate or a medal, and, if her progress had been exceptional, she might be awarded a degree such as M.P.L.—Mistress of Polite Literature.

There was never any prohibition against women attending the East Florida Seminary, and this was generally true of southern academies and seminaries. Coeducation had long been the policy of such private Florida institutions as the Leon Academy (Tallahassee), the St. Augustine Academy, the Quincy Male and Female Academy, and the Select School (Apalachicola). Following the lead of Oberlin College in Ohio, which established a "female Collegiate Institution" in 1833, colleges throughout the country began to concern themselves with the problem of women education.13 Georgia Female College at Macon (now Wesleyan College) was established in 1836 as one of the very first institutions offering college level work for women. During the 1840's Buffalo, Earlham, Grinnell, Eureka, Iowa Wesleyan, and Lawrence Colleges, among others, were

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11Florida Sentinel, June 20, 1854.
12The New England Magazine, III (October, 1832), 280, Robert E. Riegel, Young America (Norman, Okla., 1949), 214:2-43.
13Robert Samuel Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College (Oberlin, 1943), I, 373-76.
founded as colleges for women. The University of Deseret (Utah) in 1850 was the first state university to open its doors to women followed by Iowa five years later. During the 1860's seven more state universities began to admit women, and by the end of the nineteenth century a majority of the tax-supported institutions were coeducational.14

Coeducation as an issue had never been debated by the legislature when it was locating the East Florida State Seminary. It had been accepted as a matter of course that girls would be admitted on equal terms with boys. Although there was no official policy on coeducation, girls and boys sometimes recited together but that is as far as the mingling of sexes went. The main Seminary building was divided into three parts: a large recitation room, and separate study rooms for the boys and girls. Likewise, the playground area was divided into male and female sections. In the morning waiting for the school bell to ring, during the lunch period, and after school, boys and girls were not allowed to play or mingle together. Each sex was carefully separated and closely chaperoned by instructors.

Throughout the early history of the East Florida Seminary, the largest number of students was from Marion County. In the first report of the board of education, it was noted that this situation existed because there were no boarding facilities available at the school and because so few in Ocala were "prepared to accommodate the willing and able with board."15 Not until the Seminary was moved to Gainesville did


the state build dormitories.

The teaching of Principal Bowman and his faculty had little to distinguish it from that found in academies throughout the South during this period. None of the students were of regular college standing. In fact, most of them were children taking elementary or preparatory courses. The students met together for daily recitations and spent eight hours a day in class or in study hall under the supervision of a tutor. Homework was always expected. The teachers were ostensibly responsible for instruction in clearly defined, if somewhat numerous, disciplines, according to the pronouncements of the board of education. Actually, most of the faculty taught what had to be taught, even though it might be outside the fields assigned them. The female faculty was responsible, generally, for instruction in the primary department and for the girls; the principal and his assistant were expected to teach the preparatory students. It was not unusual, however, to find all members of the faculty instructing alike in the three R's.

The duties of the board of education were manifold. Besides personnel problems they handled the business affairs of the Seminary. The first board had relied heavily on Burton for leadership and did not attempt to deal directly with broad problems of educational policy. Because of the criticism levelled against the school after the Burton scandal, the board felt a closer responsibility to the Seminary, and, thereafter, no important action could be taken unless it received the board's official stamp of approval.

The board's greatest problem was money. Cash was scarce in a frontier economy. As the secretary of the board pointed out in 1854,
the means of a wilderness people were "necessarily exhausted in procuring homes, habitations and the necessaries of life." Whatever their original purpose, the land grants did not assure the future of public education, but only a few in Florida looked with any favor on the idea of taxation as a means of maintaining the Seminary. It would be years before the legislature would give regular and adequate financial support for higher education. The board warned the people of the state that unless the Seminary could secure a loan, using public lands as security, the school "must retrograde in character, or suspend operations until the sum due it becomes adequate to its necessities." During the two year period 1853-1855 the state appropriated only $2,407.49 for operations, in addition to the funds allowed for salaries.

David S. Walker, state superintendent of public instruction, made an official visit to the Seminary in May, 1854. On his return to Tallahassee, Walker informed the governor that he was "much gratified in being able to say that, though in its infancy," he had found the school "in a flourishing condition, and giving promise of great future usefulness." The superintendent predicted that the time was "not far distant when the children of our State will be no longer under the necessity of going abroad in search of educational advantages, but the time is near at hand when they will have at home, within our own borders, as ample opportunities for intellectual and moral culture as can be found elsewhere." The editor of the Tallahassee Sentinel also reported that the

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16 Ibid., 17.
17 Ibid., 19.
18 Report of the Register of Public Lands, Appendix to Florida Senate Journal, 1854, 4-5.
Seminary was "in a healthy and flourishing condition." Notwithstanding these laudatory comments, it is known that when the Seminary had completed its first term in the summer of 1854 a serious attempt was made to close it. Whether this movement was led by the citizens of Ocala or by outsiders is not known, but the attempt failed.  

During the legislative session of 1854-1855 the Seminary again came under attack and there were again serious threats to its continuance. Many in the state believed that public education for an average American boy or girl should begin and end in the elementary schools and that it was not important to develop and maintain tax-supported institutions of secondary education. On January 2, 1855, the Florida senate passed and certified to the house a resolution asking permission of Congress to divert the Seminary Land Fund for the support of common schools. Opposition developed in the house of representatives and the resolution was withdrawn. Reconsidering its action, the house agreed to the reintroduction of the measure. It was read again and referred to the committee on schools and colleges. There it was sidetracked by more important business and no more was heard of it. Meanwhile, an attempt was made by the Seminary supporters on the committee to procure funds for "Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus and a Library." 

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19Florida Sentinel, June 20, 1854.
20Letter from John M. McIntosh to T. W. Brevard, December 24, 1855 in Florida State Library, Tallahassee.
21Florida Senate Journal, 1854-55, 235.
23Ibid., 237-38.
24Ibid., 258.
Little regard seems to have been shown by the lawmakers for the little school's precarious financial condition at that time or in subsequent years. Governor James E. Broome, in his annual message delivered November 26, 1855, pleaded for an intelligent financial policy toward the Seminary, but no action was taken on his proposal that all future payments due the institution be made promptly on a semi-annual basis and that the accrual for past years be also paid. Furthermore, his recommendation for a special appropriation of $12,087.71 was ignored.25

When it became obvious that the Seminary would not be able even to pay salaries, the board of education asked permission to borrow $6,000 from the Seminary Land Fund at six percent interest for a ten year period. The senate committee on schools and colleges rejected this request on the grounds that the time was too long and the rate of interest too low.26 Succeeding Florida governors called attention to the financial plight of the school, and some efforts were made to regulate the value and sale of seminary lands, but the legislature remained generally disinterested.

A new board of education was appointed by Governor Broome in January, 1855. Lewis C. Gaines was nominated to serve another term as chairman, and John E. William and John M. Taylor, both residents of Marion County, were added as members.27 Gaines resigned within a few

24Ibid., 258.
25Message of the governor in Florida Senate Journal, 1855, 11.
26Ibid., 75.
27Florida Senate Journal, 1854-55, 329.
weeks and was succeeded by Oliver P. Tommey, an affluent merchant who owned a large store in Ocala and was the town's chief money-lender. 28 During the thirteen years that the East Florida Seminary was located in Ocala, almost all of the members of the board lived in Marion County. Although provisions had been made for paying members on a per diem basis, travel was difficult in those days. This explains why control remained in the hands of Marion County men and why there were frequent complaints that the Seminary was merely a local school. This feeling was enhanced when it became known that the board did not often trouble itself to send to the register of public lands, its official superior, an annual account of its administration. 29

The makeup of the board during the 1850's varied. One member was a newspaper editor and publisher but most of them were ministers, businessmen, or lawyers. It is not known how many were college men. None was experienced in founding or directing such an institution. It is impossible to determine the political affiliation of these men but probably most of them after 1852 were Democrats. A few, like Lewis Gaines and Adin Waterman, however, were Whigs. Several held political offices in local or state government, and a few were to distinguish themselves in the Confederacy as military and government officials. Even though the collective action of the board was always of importance, it is interesting to note that none of the members in this early period

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28 Florida Home Companion (Ocala), March 9, 1858.

rendered conspicuous individual service to the Seminary.  

Although Florida was then primarily agricultural and would continue to be until well into the twentieth century, agriculture courses were generally not an important part of the curriculum. Suspicion and contempt for bookfarming had been traditional with American farmers who were convinced that farming was a practical, not a scientific, matter and that what there was to learn could be taught by a working farmer to his sons. Most of the board members until 1866 owned and operated farms, even though they might also be involved in other kinds of economic activity, but this fact seems to have had little influence in determining the Seminary's curriculum. It is also likely that the faculty was not trained to give that kind of instruction.  

One of the immediate problems that had to be solved by the board of education in 1855 was the selection of a new principal. A growing dissatisfaction with Principal Bowman resulted finally in his resignation at the close of the spring term in July, 1855. Bowman had been assisting William Royal in the editorial work on the Southern Sun, an Ocala newspaper. Perhaps this outside work caused dissatisfaction. It may be more than a coincidence that Bowman resigned as principal of the Seminary a few months after Royal left the board of education.  

The next principal was George McNeill, Jr., about whom little is

30 This paragraph is taken from information compiled by Eloise Robinson Ott, Ocala, who allowed the author to use her notes.  


32 The Southern Sun (Ocala), April 8, 1854.
now known beyond his name. There are no pictures to portray the man, and there are no archival records descriptive of his administration. It is probable that he lived in Marion County and was a kinsman of John McNeill, a well-known county official of the time.

The first term of McNeill's administration progressed satisfactorily according to reports dispatched to Tallahassee. The register of public lands notified Governor Broome that he had learned from the treasurer of the Seminary that "the Institution is in a more prosperous condition than at any previous period." In a statement to the comptroller, the secretary of the board announced enthusiastically that "the examination and exhibition at the close of the last session would compare with that of any institution in the southern states, and surpass many. The session has closed under more favourable auspices in every respect than any previous session. The present Teachers have given a full and general satisfaction to all concerned, and I am happy to learn from them that they are satisfied to remain in the Institution." These reports cannot be reconciled with statements concerning the precarious financial condition of the Seminary in the legislative journals for that same year.

The male teachers at the Seminary during this period consisted of local ministers, serious men with high ideals, but whose efforts

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33Vouchers submitted by the secretary and president of the board to the state comptroller, dated December 24, 1855, and April 1, 1856, reveal that McNeil was principal. These vouchers are in the Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

34Report of the Register of Public Lands, Appendix to Florida Senate Journal, 1855, 4.

35McIntosh to Brevard, loc. cit.
at dispassionate objectivity foundered on the reefs of sentiment and sectarian bias. The efforts made by McNeill and succeeding principals to strengthen and widen the curriculum on the secondary school level were not successful.

Emphasis on the classics and mathematics continued, with some attempt at teaching rhetoric, philosophy, and logic. Textbooks, when available, were memorized by the students who were expected upon request to repeat whole pages, usually when there were visitors in the classroom. Maps, books, and scientific apparatus were almost non-existent, and this condition remained unchanged for many years. Enrollment in 1855 averaged around fifty, and most of these were children who were registered for primary work.Suspicion of the school, engendered at the time of the Burton scandal, had not yet entirely disappeared. This, together with the existence of other schools and academies in the area, accounted for the low attendance at the East Florida State Seminary.

A new board of education was appointed in 1857. Tommey remained as chairman, and the new members, appointed by Governor Madison Starke Perry, were Samuel St. George Rogers, renowned Indian fighter on the Florida frontier, and Adin Waterman, a prominent Marion County planter. Almost as soon as their commissions arrived from Tallahassee, the board faced formidable tasks. The Seminary was again under attack in the legislature. A serious but fruitless effort had been made in December, 1856, by a group of prominent citizens from Alachua County to have the state transfer its aid to the Methodist East Florida Male and Female

36Ibid.
37The notes of Eloise Robinson Ott.
Seminary in Micanopy. The Seminary buildings in Ocala were in need of major repairs, the fence was sagging, and the yards were overgrown with weeds. Suspicion of the school continued and competition cut heavily into attendance. The school was so poor that only two teachers could be hired.

Meanwhile, McNeill had resigned as principal, and the board was again faced with the task of finding someone to take his place. As was the custom, the board advertised in the more widely circulated Southern newspapers, announcing that the job would pay a thousand dollars a year. It was not thought advantageous at that time to have at the head of the Seminary a local person who would know its problems and who would be acquainted with people of the state. Great prestige and glamour clung to scholars imported from other states. Applications forwarded from Georgia and South Carolina usually took precedence over those received from Floridians. It is also likely that with Florida's small population and inadequate educational system that there were few scholars available in the state qualified for such a position.

Samuel Darwin McConnell, a native of Liberty County, Georgia, was interviewed and employed by the board in March, 1857. Born January 14, 1834, the son of a prosperous physician, McConnell counted among his ancestors some of the well-known southern families of the time, including the Dix family from Charleston. With this background and an

38Florida Senate Journal, 1856, 171, 185.
40Biographical data furnished by McConnell's grandchildren, Darwin McDonald and F. Elizabeth McDonald in an interview in Jacksonville, Florida, February, 1952. Additional data in Biographical Souvenir of the States of Georgia and Florida (Chicago, 1889), 533-34.
adequate amount of education received in the schools of Waltourville, Georgia, the board considered him a desirable candidate for the principalship. His figure was said to be tall and impressive, his profile distinguished. At twenty-three McConnell was described as a handsome man, sturdily made. A quiet reserved air and a reassuring knowledge of the social graces made him a welcome addition to Ocala, which was then "in the Zenith of her ante-bellum fame."

When McConnell arrived at the Seminary, he found the buildings rundown, the student body almost non-existent, and only one other teacher. She was Mrs. Caroline T. West, who had been hired to be his administrative assistant, teach the primary classes, and preside over the music department. Under McConnell's positive and vigorous leadership, the Seminary prospered. Its financial condition improved, its standards were raised, enrollment grew, the faculty was enlarged, and the school gained prestige in the eyes of the public. Within a year, patronage of the institution had so increased that another teacher was hired. Mrs. West had been replaced by Mrs. Amelia Farquar, and Hermann Bechter, a German who operated a singing school in Ocala, became the new music teacher. Each of these was paid six hundred dollars a year.

In May, 1858, the register of public lands inspected the institution and reported that he had "found it in a flourishing condition, and giving

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41Jones, Ocala Cavalcade, op. cit., 27.
42Florida Home Companion, January 19, 1858.
43Ibid., March 9, 16, 1858.
44Voucher with this information in Seminary Lands MS, FND. It is also printed in Nita K. Pyburn's Papers and Documents Relative to Seminary Lands (Tallahassee, 1950), 23.
promise of much usefulness."\textsuperscript{45} That same month, "through the urbanity and politeness of the Principal," the grand jury of the county visited the Seminary and described the school as "large and flourishing" which, it felt, spoke "very highly in favor of the assiduous and indefatigable Principal."\textsuperscript{46}

During McConnell's administration the board lowered tuition.\textsuperscript{47} According to the board's official statement, instruction in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and history was offered. A small number of boys received preparatory training in botany, philosophy, geology, astronomy, chemistry, algebra, geometry, and Latin.\textsuperscript{48}

The board of education was pleased with McConnell's administrative ability. It felt that because of him "all opposition to the School and its management had subsided, and every person residing near Ocala, manifests satisfaction and a desire to promote and sustain the interests, as well as participate in the advantages offered, which no longer remain in doubtful obscurity, but are manifest to all who visit the School during recitation hours."\textsuperscript{49} So said the board, but enrollment figures do not substantiate such exuberance. Fifty-eight students attended the October, 1857 - March, 1858 session and sixty-five enrolled

\textsuperscript{45}Report of the Register of Public Lands, Appendix to Florida Senate Journal, 1858, 16.

\textsuperscript{46}Florida Home Companion, May 4, 1858.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., March 16, 1858.

\textsuperscript{48}Report of the Register of Public Lands, Appendix to Florida Senate Journal, 1858, 17.

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., 18.
for the next term. The October, 1858, session opened, according to school officials, "with a very flattering prospect . . . 35 females and 17 males attended this week, 52 in number, and we expect 6 or 8 additional pupils to enter next week." Eighty-four students enrolled for the October, 1859 session and eighty-seven the following term. Unusual for the times was the fact that girls outnumbered boys. In most cases a seminary fulfilled no functions for girls except as a way-station between the common schools and matrimony.

Although the policies of the Seminary were dominated by a board of education, whose members continued to be drawn almost exclusively from Marion County, the student body became more representative of the state. From time to time students from other states were enrolled. "I will have pleasant company on my way to Savannah," wrote Samuel McConnell to a friend in 1860. "Some of the students from Georgia will be returning home then, and will go along with me." A few days later he wrote from Georgia: "I arrived here safely this morning . . . I left Ocala on the 1st inst. with my hands full of weighty responsibilities, have five young ladies and as many boys under my care to be distributed at various points along the route . . . I had to stop at Jacksonville, where I disposed of the greater part of my charge."

Interest in and enthusiasm for the Seminary continued. This was also largely the result of McConnell's ability as administrator and teacher. Even though the board supervised the smallest details of

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50 Ibid., 16.
51 Letter from Samuel D. McConnell to Mary Brumby, July 13, 1860, in the McConnell Papers, UF Archives.
52 Ibid., August 8, 1860.
management, he was given authority which had been denied most of his predecessors. McConnell was popular with his students, although he was "quick-tempered, strict and a stern disciplinarian." As was typical of his times, he believed firmly in using the ubiquitous rod as was "sanctioned by tradition, by Holy Writ, and by the American Annals of Education." He authorized his teachers to "use a ruler on the palms" if there was any cause. In describing Miss M. P. Clarke, who was in charge of the primary department while McConnell was principal, a student years later said: "She also whipped."

It was generally known that McConnell considered his work at the Seminary an interlude and that his real ambition was to study law. Early in 1860 he announced his engagement to Mary E. Brumby, and, a few weeks later, the board reluctantly accepted his resignation as principal, to take effect at the close of the term. The board had wanted McConnell to remain another year, but he was determined to try his hand in a new profession.

Final examinations for the session were announced for the last week of July, 1860. The examinations were public exhibitions, to which the board and the parents were invited to hear the teachers examine their charges with questions carefully designed to show their progress. The students, to demonstrate their skill and ability, recited "elevating" poetry, gave dramatic readings, or performed at the piano. It was with obvious satisfaction that McConnell announced that the "examination . . .

53 Riegel, Young America, 236.

54 Crow, "The East Florida Seminary While in Ocala," loc. cit. 85.

55 Letter from McConnell to Mary Brumby, July 13, 1860, in McConnell Papers, UF Archives.
passed off in a manner very satisfactory to the public, and very gratifying to me." A committee of examination reported that the average proficiency of the students was high and that "some of the classes exhibited a remarkable grade of scholarship." The committee said that it had "never witnessed a more gratifying exhibition of the fruits of faithful and unremitting application on the part of the students, and of careful laborious and conscientious discharge of duty on the part of the teachers."56

Describing the final ceremony in a letter to his fiancée, McConnell wrote: "At the conclusion of the concert on yesterday evening my scholars presented me with a beautiful goblet, as a testimony of their regard. The presentation was accompanied with a speech by one of the students, which drew tears not only from the scholars, but from many of the audience. While responding to it, it was with great difficulty that I could control my feelings sufficiently to be able to speak. I have never thought that I would feel so much when the time of parting would arrive, but the Manifestations of regard that I have received from the people, as well as from my scholars, completely unmanned me. I almost felt like withdrawing my resignation, and yielding to the requests of the Trustees and people to continue in my position as Principal of the Seminary."57


57Letter from McConnell to Mary Brumby, July 27, 1860, in McConnell Papers, UF Archives. (The silver goblet to which McConnell refers was placed on permanent loan to the University of Florida by F. Elizabeth McDonald, Jacksonville, Florida).
With the resignation of McConnell came the task of finding his successor. The board was slow in taking action, and, at first, tried to persuade McConnell to withdraw his resignation. He wrote Mary Brumby that while "I feel highly complimented by this evidence of their confidence, I do not feel disposed to abandon my plans for pursuing my profession."58 As late as November, the Seminary was without either a principal or faculty, and, consequently, the doors of the school were shut. McConnell blamed this "entirely to negligence on the part of the Board. They did not begin in time to try to secure competent teachers.... I hope they will soon succeed in securing teachers and get everything going on well."59

Finally, in January, 1861 the board announced that it had employed Robert P. Bryce as principal, Betty Gooch as assistant in charge of the literary department, and Mrs. Simons to supervise the primary work. Bechter continued as music teacher, and a French teacher was hired later.60 Bryce seems to have been a man of considerable ability and personal magnetism, but, unfortunately, he was not connected with the school long enough to leave a lasting impression or to alter its policies.61

Florida, in those tumultuous days, had little time to give to such matters as education. With the news of Lincoln's election as president, the state announced plans for increasing the size and strength of the militia. In Pensacola banners proclaimed: "Resistance to Lincoln

58Ibid., August 29, 1860.
59Ibid., November 19, 1860.
60Crow, "The East Florida Seminary While in Ocala," loc. cit., 82.
61Ibid., 76.
is Obedience to God." In Tallahassee church bells pealed when the call went out for a convention to consider the matter of secession. Florida left the union on January 10, 1861, and the announcement of that news brought forth torch light parades and oratorical marathons throughout the state. There was great excitement, and boys talked much more about joining the army than they did of Latin, or rhetoric, or natural philosophy.

On March 4, 1861, in the chill air of Washington, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated sixteenth president of the United States. In April came the bombardment at Sumter, followed by Lincoln's call to arms. The Confederacy had been organized at Montgomery, and Jefferson Davis had asked for volunteers. Red and blue rosettes fluttered proudly from men's coats and women's hats; perfervid orators extolled the Southland, boasting of its superior manhood and denouncing the North; and women vied with the recruiters in urging the lukewarm to engage in the contest and in branding as cowards those who were slow to enlist. In almost every Florida village volunteer companies were organized, and it was a moment of romance and excitement when the colors were presented by the prettiest girl in town. In Ocala, Miss Jeffie Crutchfield, who was about to be graduated from the East Florida Seminary and who was to become the school's new primary teacher, presented the hand-sewn silk standard to the soldiers of Marion County as they prepared to leave for Fort Lee on the outskirts of Gainesville.62

Closing exercises of the Seminary for the year took place on July 12, 1861. The program was long, including fourteen musical selections, eight declamations, six "Compositions," a "Dialogue," and three "Original Speeches." The war spirit and the patriotic enthusiasm of the South was manifest in the exhibition. The exercises closed with a wild demonstration of devotion to the southern cause, as Miss Susannah Bruton sang, to the tune of "Dixie," a song specially written for the occasion by Principal Bryce. The stirring melody and the martial words had a profound effect on the audience, already excited by the warlike spirit of the time. Before many days had passed every boy in the senior class, a few from the lower classes, and Bryce himself had volunteered for service in the Confederate army. Of this number, nearly all, including Bryce, were to become war casualties.

The effects of the war upon the activities of the Seminary were immediate. Enrollment dropped severely, and tuition income, upon which the school depended largely for its funds, was drastically cut. Acting upon a resolution adopted by the legislature in December, 1860, the comptroller and treasurer had turned over to the governor $60,992.45 from the Seminary Land Fund account to be used in purchasing arms. This indicated that the state appropriations for the Seminary would be drastically limited.

This did not mean, however, that state officials were unconcerned over the welfare of the institution. In February, 1861, the legislature

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63 Original copy of the commencement program in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.

64 Crow, "The East Florida Seminary While in Ocala," loc. cit., 80, quoting from an article in the Ocala Banner, October 2, 1932.
enacted a measure which authorized, but did not direct, the reorganization of the East and West Florida Seminaries on "a collegiate and military basis." The faculty of each school was empowered to give diplomas and confer degrees upon students who had "satisfactorily completed the course of studies" as prescribed by its own board of education. The following year the legislature passed another law which placed the board of education of each school more directly under the supervision of Tallahassee. Each board was also increased to six members, to be appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate. The county superintendent was to continue to be an ex-offizio member and to act as secretary. The purpose of these two laws is not clear. Floridians from the beginning had thought of the East and West Florida Seminaries as collegiate institutions, and military drill had been part of the curriculum of the latter institution since 1859. Whatever the purpose, the new regulations had little effect at the time. As we have seen, the legislature on December 1, 1860, had authorized the governor to use the Seminary Land Fund, along with other resources, to purchase arms and to pay the pressing debts of the state. The Seminaries were still supposed to receive the interest from the Fund, but the comptroller and state treasurer often found it impossible to honor requisitions from the institutions. The financial situation made educational expansion impossible, and the continuing pressure and demands of the war caused the faculty and student body of the East Florida Seminary to face difficult challenges.

65 Laws of Florida, 1860-61, 70.
66 Ibid., 1862, 13-14.
67 William G. Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary (Tallahassee, 1952), 18.
to become virtually non-existent.

War excitement which increased with the federal invasion of Florida in 1862, the deteriorated financial condition of the East Florida Seminary, the depreciation of Confederate and state currency, and the resultant inflation of prices caused the institution to decline during the remainder of the war. The interest of state officials in the welfare of the school waned after 1862 and the board of education neglected to submit annual reports to Tallahassee.

After Bryce's resignation, the Reverend William Dundas Scull, an Episcopal minister who had recently been assigned to the Ocala parish, became the new principal. Born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1804, Scull early became interested in religion and was educated at the Gettysburg Theological Seminary. Before coming to Florida, he had been an agent for the American Tract Society and had served on the frontier as an army chaplain. "His high attainments as a scholar and his sound principles as a churchman" were qualifications which seemed to make him acceptable as principal of the East Florida Seminary.68

Scull's devotion to the Seminary must have been tried considerably when pay warrants did not arrive from Tallahassee and tuition fees dwindled. He served as principal until March, 1862, and was succeeded by J. H. Ringo, about whom there is nothing known except his name.69

68Obituaries in Floridian (Tallahassee), October 24, 1871, and Southern Churchman (Richmond), November 2, 1871. Additional biographical data furnished by Elizabeth Young, a descendent of Scull, of Orange Park, Florida, in letters to author, March 1; and September 3, 1952, and by the Librarian, General Theological Seminary, New York City, in letter to author, November 15, 1951.

69State comptroller voucher, November 15, 1862, in Florida State Library, Tallahassee.
Seminary was certainly closed for a while in 1863, and it is probable that there was no real activity again until the winter of 1864. At that time, the board of education assembled to make plans for reopening the institution. Although the Seminary was still without state support and was practically a private ungraded academy, the Seminary buildings were intact, and there was an urgent need for a school.

About this time the Reverend R. R. Rushing became the principal at a salary of six hundred dollars a year. He found it a difficult task getting the building cleaned and repaired, rounding up a few textbooks, reestablishing a curriculum, and directing the mind of the community towards the need of supporting the school. That the Seminary was again receiving state support can be determined by the fact that state pay warrants for the faculty were issued from Tallahassee in 1865, and from the following announcement which appeared in a Gainesville newspaper on April 20, 1865:

**EAST FLORIDA (STATE) SEMINARY**

This Institution now under the care of Rev. R. R. Rushing, assisted by Miss Jeffie Crutchfield, is in full operation with good patronage.

(Miss Crutchfield was the Seminary graduate who had taught in the primary department in 1861.)

So far the Seminary had done little to meet the needs for which it had been established or to advance the economic and political life of Florida. Poverty stricken, with a faculty of two, and perhaps a

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70Cotton States (Gainesville), April 20, 1865.


72Cotton States, April 20, 1865.
dozen students, there seemed in 1865 little chance of its measuring up to the dream of service to the state envisioned by its founders.
CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY YEARS IN GAINESVILLE, 1866-77

In 1861 Florida had two state seminaries of secondary learning, with the Seminary Land Fund for their support, and a state system of common schools for white children. State law provided for adequate means of control and supervision, and the population had become somewhat less opposed to paying taxes for the support of schools. Floridians had begun to accept more readily the idea that an educated population benefited the whole state. All of this changed rather suddenly with the advent of the Civil War. As the editor of the Gainesville New Era explained: "When the first tocsin of war sounded, the professor and student, the teacher and scholar, flew to arms in the defense of secession. The chair and desk were alike vacated in the eagerness to defend our State. As a natural sequence, our colleges were deserted, our academy halls became desolate, and in many instances, even village schools were closed for want of pupils and teachers. Nearly all were in the service, and those who remained at home were so occupied in thinking of the war, that they had no time to improve the mind."¹

Florida made a serious attempt to maintain its public school system during the war period but without much success. In 1862 Hugh A. Corley, ex-officio superintendent of public instruction, reported

¹The New Era (Gainesville), August 26, 1865.
that the seminaries, like other businesses, had been embarrassed by the war and that it was impractical to determine their "prospects and usefulness." No reports had been received from either Seminary board of education since 1860, so it was difficult to determine in Tallahassee whether the East Florida Seminary was in continuous operation. It was obvious, however, that the income from student tuition had dropped.2

Only through strenuous effort was Florida able to keep alive even a small part of its educational system. By 1865 both the East and West Florida Seminaries were closed, as were most of the public schools throughout the state. The principal of the Seminary Land Fund and common school fund had been spent for arms and ammunition, and the only really productive portion remaining was about six hundred thousand acres of unsold land.3

The condition of Florida's public schools was typical of schools and colleges throughout the South. With few exceptions, schools, seminaries, academies, and colleges had been forced to suspend operations from time to time during the war, and some had not been able to function at all. In view of the progress that had been made in southern education since 1840, and the proportionate decline in the illiteracy of the adult population, some historians consider the destruction of the state-supported schools of the South one of the tragic results of the conflict.4 Likewise, the further enlightenment of the population through the


4Eaton, Freedom on Thought in the Old South, 77. Eaton makes reference to "free schools" but such institutions were very rare in the South before 1860.
expansion of public libraries and newspapers had been rudely inter-
rupted.5

There were many formidable problems facing Florida's educa-
tional leaders in 1865, including "a want of school funds, a lack of
administrative organization, an almost total lack of suitable school
buildings, textbooks, and supplies, a small and poorly trained teaching
force, no clearly defined course or courses of study, no provision for
secondary or higher education and no suitable organic school law."6
Moreover, the native white population was apprehensive that "mixed"
schools would be forced upon them.

Meanwhile, there were those who thought that reactivation and
reorganization should begin immediately. Evaluating the Florida situa-
tion, the editor of the New Era wrote: "Colleges and schools must be
rebuilt, competent professors and teachers must be employed, and our
halls of learning must be fostered and patronized, or in the great edu-
cational march which is about to commence, Florida will be left far
behind her sister States. This matter should not be neglected a week,
no, nor a day. Do not let the cry of 'can't afford it,' obtrude its
obnoxious head."7

In the matter of reorganizing the East Florida Seminary, one of
the first actions taken was to move the institution away from Ocala.
There was no special dissatisfaction with Ocala as the home of the Semi-

5Ibid., 78.
6Cochran, History of Public-School Education in Florida, 49.
7The New Era, August 26, 1865.
money or additional lands for support and enlargement of the school. It is possible that Ocala lacked even enough money to make necessary repairs to the buildings, although this was really the state’s responsibility. Cognizant of all this, the nearby community of Gainesville, which had long been casting envious eyes upon the Seminary, now made an earnest effort to secure it.8

The plan to transplant the school seems to have been mainly originated by James Henry Roper—educator, politician, orator, real estate developer, philanthropist. A native of Montgomery County, North Carolina, Roper entered Trinity College (now Duke University) in 1852 at the age of seventeen, and was graduated three years later with a bachelor of arts degree.9 While in college, he contracted tuberculosis, and it was later recalled that he had become so weakened at commencement time that two of his class-mates had to support him while he read his graduating essay.10 Advised by his physician to move to a warmer climate, Roper decided to settle in Florida. He went first to Tampa where, on January 1, 1856, he announced in the local paper that he was organizing a small school for girls, the Tampa Female Academy.11 With a population of only a little more than two hundred, Tampa could not have offered a

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8Crow, "The East Florida Seminary While in Ocala," loc. cit. 102.


10This information appeared in Roper’s obituary in The Weekly Bee (Gainesville), August 18, 1883.

11Florida Peninsular (Tampa), December 31, 1856. Quoted in letter from Ernest B. B. Simmons to C. L. Crow, August 27, 1935, in UF Archives.
very enthusiastic response to this announcement, and the school failed
to open. Undismayed, Roper decided to try his luck elsewhere, and on a
spring afternoon a few weeks later he rode slowly out of the woods into
the little village of Gainesville.

Roper boarded with Dr. Stephen McCall, who had recently arrived
in Gainesville, and had established a drug store on the south side of
the courthouse square. The McCall family consisted of four sons and
seven daughters. According to a contemporary report, there were only
two unmarried females of eligible age living in Gainesville before the
arrival of the McCall family, and, consequently, this addition to the
population had created much excitement among the bachelors in town. An
early settler later recalled that there had been a dearth of social
activity until "old Steve McCall came here from Savannah with seven
grown girls, and we then had a dance every night." After his arrival
in Gainesville Roper's physical condition greatly improved, and he made
plans to open a school, the Gainesville Academy, in the fall of 1857.

The first school was a one-story one-room affair located on the
property of Judge J. B. Dawkins near the present site of West University
Avenue and Southwest Second Street (Penney's Store is now on this site).
W. L. Finger, who owned a sawmill near Sweetwater Branch, and who con­
structed the first county courthouse, built this first school. Enrollment
was greater than had been expected, and the small school building
was soon taxed beyond its capacity. The Academy trustees, James B.

12"Reminiscences of W. L. Finger," in the Swann Papers, P. K.
Yonge Library of Florida History.

13James Doig, "Reminiscent Sketches of Gainesville's Early Days,"
Gainesville Sun, July 15, 1917.

Bailey, T. Ingram, Cornelius Rain, and W. W. Babcock, purchased a large lot for the sum of five dollars and arranged for the construction of a new school. This structure, a two-story white painted frame building, was located on land which later belonged to the Methodist Church (the site was immediately south of the present Epworth Hall on Northeast First Street). It was used for the first time early in 1858.

The Academy remained open throughout the war period, even though enrollment and attendance were sharply curtailed. From time to time, advertisements appeared in the local newspaper showing the courses taught, the tuition fees charged, and explaining that since the school was "in one of the healthiest locations in the interior of the State, it is our design and highest aspiration to make this Academy merit the patronage of all friends of Education." A notice appeared early in 1866 listing the Reverend W. J. McCormick as principal of the male department, the Reverend J. H. Tomkies as principal of the female department, and Mrs. J. Smithers in charge of the musical department. Although Roper was not mentioned in this advertisement, subsequent notices and the records prove that he was, at the time, in charge of the Academy.

According to the Gainesville newspaper of June, 1865, commencement exercises were "largely attended by the parents of the pupils." The editor labeled the examinations a success, "considering the disadvantages under which the professors have labored during the last four

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15The deed for this property was granted by Judge of Probate, December 7, 1857. See Deed Book C, 103, Office of County Clerk, Court House, Gainesville.

16Cotton States (Gainesville), June 21, 1862, and April 16, 1864.

17The New Era, January 13, 1866.
years... and the concert at night very creditably gotten up. We anticipate a flourishing condition for the Gainesville Academy, now that the tocsin of war has been quieted and the people are beginning to think that the 'pen is mightier than the sword.'

In a letter to the newspaper, an enthusiastic citizen who signed himself "Syntax," revealed that "this academy has never faltered a day on account of the war, but with untiring and most indefatigable persistence, its doors have been kept open for the reception of pupils. It is too true, and even sad to think of it, that many of its larger pupils exchanged, for a period, their books for the musket and vindicated with their might the wrongs perpetrated upon their rights."

In November, 1865, Roper announced that he was a candidate for the state senate to represent the nineteenth district which comprised Alachua County. He was elected by a substantial majority. According to the local newspapers, there were no major issues in the campaign and the matter of moving the East Florida Seminary from Ocala to Gainesville had probably not come up for public discussion. However, by the haste with which he acted after he arrived in Tallahassee, Roper revealed that he had been giving much thought and consideration to the possibility that his academy might become the state-supported school. The legislature convened on December 18, 1865, and, four days later, Roper notified the senate that he was prepared to introduce a bill "to be entitled an Act

18 Ibid., July 8, 1865.
19 Ibid., September 2, 1865.
20 Ibid., November 25, 1865.
21 Ibid., December 2, 1865.
to provide for the removal of the Seminary East of the Suwannee from Ocala to Gainesville, Florida. Such a bill was put in the hopper on December 27; it was read the following day, and referred to the senate committee on schools and colleges.

The committee, of which Roper was a member, reported the measure favorably. It endorsed "the advantages which are promised to the education of youth, by reason of the ready facilities of communication, a healthy location, and buildings, and a Faculty now occupied and engaged in instruction, present considerations of the first importance to the interests of the State." On January 2, 1866, the senate voted eighteen to four in favor of removal to Gainesville.

The bill which had moved through the senate with so little trouble did not receive such a smooth passage in the house. After reading the prepared measure for the first time on January 6, it was referred to the house committee on schools and colleges. The committee reported the bill without comment, except to say that "the House will be the best judge of the conflicting claims of these places. Both have their advantages, and it is for the House to determine which is most to the advantage of the people of East Florida."

A minority report, submitted by the committee members from Marion

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22Florida Senate Journal, 1864-65, 63.
23Ibid., 78.
24Ibid., 81.
25Ibid., 102-05.
27Ibid., 207-08.
and Jackson counties, criticized the removal of the Seminary and called it "an injustice to the liberal citizens of Ocala and Marion County." Such action, it was felt, would not "further the cause of education—the grand object of the Seminary Fund." The minority report admitted that "there is a flourishing school at Gainesville. The flourishing condition during the war was owing to the influx of refugees more perhaps than to anything else. This school already supplies the wants of Gainesville and all that part of the country that has easy access to it. By leaving the Seminary at its present location, the wants of that community will also be supplied. Many young persons will enjoy the benefits of education, which they never would enjoy were it removed to Gainesville or any other place."28

When the bill was read a second time in the house, two amendments were introduced by the opposition in an attempt to kill the measure. The representative from Baker County insisted that the bill pass only if "a majority of donors of said academy at Ocala are willing to have it removed to Gainesville."29 This amendment was accepted. Then, George M. Bates of Marion County rose on a point of order to demand that a rider be attached to the first section of the bill which would force Gainesville to turn over to the state enough property and money to equal "the contribution originally made by the citizens of Ocala, viz: Eight thousand and six hundred dollars."30 At this point the representative from Alachua County, in a wise parliamentary maneuver, secured postponement until the following day.31

28Ibid., 208-09.
29Ibid., 249.
30Ibid.
31Ibid.
Actually, debate was not resumed until January 15 when the Ocala opponents tried unsuccessfully to forestall final action. Meanwhile, the legislators who favored Gainesville were anxious to alleviate a suspicion that the state would lose financially in making the change. The Bates amendment was superceded by another which clearly stated that the superintendent of public instruction should "be authorized to see that the State loses nothing in value of property donated to the seminary by the transfer of the institution from Ocala to Gainesville."\footnote{32}{Ibid., 292.}

The bill was read for the third time, and then the vote for final passage was taken. The measure passed by a vote of twenty-four to twelve.\footnote{33}{Ibid.}

A new difficulty arose when the senate refused to concur in the house amendments. The legislature was nearing the end of the session and immediate action was needed or the bill would fail. Conference committees were appointed by each chamber. Roper was chairman of the senate committee, and F. C. Barrett of Alachua headed the house committee. With such a meeting of minds, difficulties were settled in short order, and a compromise bill was reported back. When the legislature reassembled in a night session, it adopted the committees' report without debate and the measure was signed into law by Governor Walker on January 16, 1866. The bill, as passed, reads in part:

> Whereas, the Academy at Gainesville in Alachua County has been offered to the Seminary east of the Suwannee river in the event that said Seminary shall be located at that place: And whereas, there is a large and flourishing literary institution now in operation in Gainesville: and Whereas, Gainesville
offers central position, accessibility by railroad, a healthy
location and various other advantages;

Therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of
Representatives of the State of Florida in General Assembly con-
vened, That the Seminary east of the Suwannee river be removed
from Ocala in Marion County and the same is hereby located at
Gainesville in Alachua County, Florida . . .

Section two of the act stipulated that all provisions of the
"establishment law" of January 24, 1851 and the "locating law" of Janu-
ary 6, 1853 be "made applicable to the Seminary located at Gainesville."
It permitted each county east of the Suwannee River "to send to said
Seminary as many scholars or beneficiaries as it may have representa-
tives in the House of the General Assembly of Florida, who shall
receive all the benefits of instruction of said Seminary free of all
charge." This measure thus shifted the state subsidy to the Gaines-
ville institution. The Ocala school remained in operation for a number
of years after under private auspices.

When the news reached Gainesville, local sentiment, as expressed
in the New Era, did not reveal any great enthusiasm. The paper's announ-
cement was brief and matter-of-fact: "The State Seminary has been re-
moved from Ocala to this place." "We hardly think that such an act
of the Legislature," the editor wrote, "would be highly estimated by the
people of Marion and the Counties South of it; for it would look like
'robbing Peter to Pay Paul.'" A feeling held by many Floridians was
reflected in this editorial comment: "Instead of changing institutions
of the kind, others should be established. They are certainly generally
needed."36

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35The New Era, January 13, 1866.
36Ibid., January 20, 1866.
To the citizens of Gainesville, it probably meant little more than that the state would aid in the support of a local academy. The next session of the Academy would open under the same principal, with the same faculty, and in the same building. Tuition was reduced somewhat now that the Seminary Land Fund had been partially replenished and its income had again become available, but the required fees were still high enough to keep out poorer children of the community. The only thing different for the moment was the name. Instead of the Gainesville Academy, the official title was State Seminary East of the Suwannee, but most people called the school the East Florida Seminary.37

Gainesville was a new community, only thirteen years old when the Seminary was moved there. Before the Civil War, a small settlement, lying somewhat northwest of the present courthouse square in Gainesville, was known as Hog Town, a name still borne by a nearby creek.38 In 1853, after some argument, the county seat was moved from Newnansville to a new site in the eastern part of Alachua County, designated as Gainesville. According to local tradition this name was chosen to honor General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, who had served with the United States army in Florida during the Seminole Wars.39 The community began to grow when the Florida Railroad extended its line through the county


38 Citizens from other parts of the county sometimes derisively referred to area east of Hog Town, the site occupied by Gainesville, as Hog Wallow. See Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida," loc. cit., 6.

39 Ibid., 10. The exploits of General Gaines are described by James W. Silver, Edmund Pendleton Gaines: Frontier General (Baton Rouge, 1949, 54-88, 167-90.)
An early settler remembered that a section of the roadbed crossed land which eventually became part of the first experimental farm of the University of Florida.\textsuperscript{40} When the federal army occupied Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine during the Civil War, refugees poured into interior Florida, settling in and around Alachua County.

Gainesville after the war was a bustling, frontier-type of town, straining at its seams. The presence of a growing and unassimilated population and a large number of freedmen helped gain for the community the reputation of being wild and unruly. "There was considerable rioting and fighting" and according to later reports, "there could hardly be a gathering on Saturday without somebody being killed or hurt."\textsuperscript{41} As late as 1867 the Gainesville newspaper announced that a posse of citizens was called out every night "to patrol the town and endeavor to prevent the firing of guns which has become such a nuisance of late, and to see that the peace is not otherwise broken."\textsuperscript{42} It was in such an atmosphere that the East Florida Seminary began its operations.

In 1866 Gainesville was undergoing a building boom. The editor of the local newspaper boasted that the city was "growing more rapidly than any in the State." He pointed out that "there are 11 mercantile establishments opened here, including drug stores.... The demand

\textsuperscript{40} Doig, "Reminiscient Sketches of Gainesville's Early Days," \textit{loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{42} The New Era, April 27, 1867. A few months after this announcement a local Ku Klux Klan was organized, purportedly to help "keep the peace." Its fifty-two members included some of the most prominent men of Gainesville. See U. S. Congress, \textit{House of Representatives Report No. 22, 42nd Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 13} (Washington, 1872), 158; and Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida," \textit{loc. cit.}, 99.
for dwellings and store houses is very great and rent is very high indeed. In addition there is a bakery, and a number of doggeries (bar rooms) unfortunately. There are 6 lawyers and 4 doctors in practice . . . . The church in which the different denominations worship is the largest, best fitted up, and owned by the Presbyterians . . . . There are 3 hotels, 2 dentists, a livery stable, a boot, shoe and harness factory, a tannery, machine shop, carpenters, wheelwright and blacksmith shops . . . . By uniting a chain of reasoning we have concluded that in less than 5 years Gainesville will be the largest city east of the Suwannee.\textsuperscript{43} A few months later, a South Carolina newspaper reviewed the general economic situation in Florida, and announced that Gainesville was "now the most thriving inland town east of the Suwannee.\textsuperscript{44}

The city kept growing and changing, and the New Era reported in March, 1867 that "buildings are springing up like mushrooms all around us, and new stores line our streets. The incubus of listless despondency, occasioned by the disastrous results of the war, was not allowed to brood over this place long . . . . Since the first of last November . . . no less than twenty-eight buildings have been finished or are in course of erection within half a mile of the Courthouse, and we hear that many more would be started if lumber could be procured."\textsuperscript{45}

Gainesville's prosperity and phenomenal post-war growth was partly the result of her location along the railroad route. This

\textsuperscript{43}The New Era, October 12, 1866; F. W. Buchholz, History of Alachua County, Florida (St. Augustine, 1929), 140.

\textsuperscript{44}Standard (Chester, S. C.), reprinted in The New Era, March 16, 1867.

\textsuperscript{45}The New Era, March 16, 1867.
afforded her access to markets and enabled settlers to move in without too much difficulty. The town was also the center of a flourishing cattle-raising and vegetable-growing area and served as a market place for the surrounding countryside. Savage and Haile Company, located on the east side of the courthouse square, was one of the largest commercial houses in east Florida, furnishing seed, fertilizer, farm equipment, and hardware to the farmers of Alachua and surrounding counties. Moreover, cotton prices were good after the war because of a shortage and the heavy demands made by northern and English textile mills. The soil and climate conditions in the Gainesville area favored the growing of Sea Island cotton, and a large cotton brokerage firm had been located in the town to market this commodity. It was expected that in such prosperous surroundings the East Florida Seminary would flourish.

On the last day of the 1865-66 session of the legislature the senate approved the board of trustees as nominated by Governor Walker. Most of these men lived in Gainesville; perhaps Walker thought that if they were on the scene they would show a greater interest in the school's progress and would devote more time to its affairs. The trustees--J. M. Sparkman, John T. McIntosh, Stephen McCall, J. H. Roper, Cornelius Rain, J. C. Gardner, and W. H. Robertson--were men who had distinguished themselves by service to the community. J. C. Gardner, secretary of the board, was judge of the criminal and probate court in Alachua County.

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46 Letter from Samuel A. Swann to E. C. F. Sanchez, Fernandina, September 26, 1908, in Florida Historical Society Library, Gainesville.
47 Ibid.
48 The New Era, January 20, 1866.
49 Ibid., March 2, 1867.
W. H. Robertson was proprietor and editor of the *New Era*. Stephen McCall, president of the board, was a doctor in addition to operating his large drugstore. McIntosh, Rain, and Sparkman were well-known figures in the county. Because of his close connection with the Gainesville Academy and because of his activities in the senate, James Roper was perhaps better known than the other trustees. When the new board met for the first time on the afternoon of March 20, 1866, Roper the trustee helped elect Roper the educator principal of the Seminary.  

Even though board sessions were held in Gainesville, attendance was generally poor. Apparently, Governor Walker's plan was not working out. The first few meetings of the board were well attended, but for a number of years afterward the board struggled along with a bare quorum. Frequently a meeting had to be called off when even a quorum was lacking. Hoping to stimulate interest, the board in 1875 voted to pay each trustee two dollars for each meeting attended. There is nothing in the records to reveal whether this had any positive effect. At first, meetings were held each Friday noon, but since there was not enough business to transact at such close intervals, the trustees agreed that monthly meetings would suffice.

As long as Roper was both a trustee and principal, the other trustees relied on him for leadership. The board concerned itself largely with approving, usually without question, the faculty chosen by the principal, and accepting or rejecting policies recommended by him.

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50 Buchholtz, *History of Alachua County, Florida*, 137.

51 Board of Trustees Minute Book, East Florida Seminary, March 31, 1870. Cited hereafter as *EFS Minute Book*.

52 Ibid., May 20, 1870.
The board seems to have occupied a great deal of its time considering trivia. For instance, at one of the earliest meetings, the board debated whether it should permit the Seminary students to participate in the May Day fete in Gainesville, and whether it should, after the coronation of the May Queen, allow all "those who desire to trip the light fantastic in the Academy building."

While Roper was attending the legislature, the acting principal was the Reverend W. J. McCormick, pastor of the Gainesville Presbyterian Church. Born in Canada of Irish stock, McCormick received his early education near Ogdensburg, New York, and began studying for the ministry at Oglethorpe University in the spring of 1846. He was graduated four years later, and immediately entered the Presbyterian "School of the Prophets" in Columbia, South Carolina, from which he received a theology degree in 1853. Four years later, McCormick was invited to come to Florida by a group of Presbyterian families living in Alachua County. He accepted, and in January, 1858, he began conducting services in the new courthouse. After a few weeks, the congregation asked him to become the regular minister for Alachua County, and within a few months he moved his family to Florida. For a short time during the war he served in the Confederate Army as chaplain for the Seventh Florida Regiment. In order to supplement his meagre ministerial income, McCormick accepted a position as acting principal and professor of languages at the East Florida Seminary. His first love, however, was the ministry, and, as "soon as the people [were] so far recovered from their financial embarrassments as to be able, in part, to support the gospel,"

53 Cotton States, January 21, 1862.
he resigned as principal of the school, although he continued for a while teaching a class in Latin and Greek. 54

Roper returned from Tallahassee in the latter part of January, 1866 and resumed his duties as principal. This first term of the Seminary went along smoothly with one exception. In March a severe smallpox epidemic broke out in Gainesville, and many parents refused to allow their children to attend school. The epidemic lasted only a short while, and at the end of the month the newspaper reported the town "entirely free from the loathsome pest, and our country friends need not be afraid to visit us now." 55

As was usual, when school closed in June, 1866, final exercises were held and the editor of the New Era reported that the exhibition had "proved conclusively that a thoroughly competent and able corps of teachers had faithfully discharged the sacred and responsible duties imposed upon them, whilst students themselves as a general thing, evinced an eagerness and determination to excel." 56

Just before the 1866 term ended, the board announced the faculty for the fall term: J. H. Roper, principal; W. J. McCormick, professor of languages, moral philosophy, and belles lettres; W. R. McConnell, professor of mathematics and natural sciences; J. H. Tomkies, instructor in the female department; and Mrs. R. Smithers, instructress in music. 57

54W. J. McCormick, Historical Sermon of the Presbyterian Church in Alachua County, Florida (Gainesville, 1883), 2-8.
55The New Era, April 20, 1866.
56Ibid., June 29, 1866.
57Ibid., June 1, 1866; Buchholtz, History of Alachua County, Florida, 139.
In July, Miss Julia E. DuPont was appointed governess of the female department. Tomkies resigned a few months later and was replaced by a W. S. Dudley of Orangeburg, South Carolina. Professor McCormick resigned his professorship in the spring of 1867, with the plea that he now needed to "devote his whole time and attention to his ministerial duties." Other than principals, the faculty remained fairly stable after this for the next decade.

Roper was exactly the kind of conscientious, hardworking teacher and administrator the growing Seminary needed. During the years that he served as principal, as a member of the board, and as a patron, he was the decisive force in the institution. He worked unceasingly for the school, trying to raise its scholastic standing, increase enrollment, and secure larger appropriations from the legislature. He never tired of advancing the idea that the Seminary should serve the interests of all the people in Florida and that it was not just a Gainesville institution.

Roper was the type of self-made man for which pioneer Florida had respect. Despite chronic illness which plagued him all his life, his buoyancy and energy, which seemed inexhaustible, carried him in several directions. He represented his district in the state senate; he had an interest in several Gainesville businesses; he built Roper's Hall which served as a place for Gainesville meetings and entertainments; and he promoted a housing development in north Gainesville. In 1870 he became one of the incorporators of the Suwannee and Inland

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58 The New Era, July 6, 1866.
59 Ibid., May 4, 1867.
Railroad Company, and he eventually became one of the largest land owners of the county. An early subdivision and a Gainesville street later bore his name. His many investments proved successful, and when he died in 1884, the newspapers estimated that his property was valued at more than one hundred thousand dollars.

In 1868, when his business life began to take up so much of his time and overshadow his academic activities, Roper resigned as principal of the Seminary. For the next few years the school suffered from a rapid turnover in principals. Men came and went in relatively quick succession. Some of them left their impress upon the contemporary records; others survived only in occasional, obscure references, and for the most part have been well-nigh forgotten. Throughout much of 1868 the institution was closed because no person could be found who would accept the principalship. Then, in the late fall of that year, Professor Dudley of the Seminary faculty accepted the appointment at a salary of one hundred and thirty dollars a month. He had revealed his ability to teach mathematics and the natural sciences, and he had some administrative experience. At the close of the school year in June, 1871, Dudley resigned to become principal of the Peabody School in Lake City, and in September of the following year he was named principal of the Leon County High School in Tallahassee.

60Laws of Florida, 1870, 88.
61The Weekly Bee, August 18, 1883.
62Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 40. This school, under the control of the Leon County School Board, met in the buildings of the West Florida Seminary. Because of financial reasons the seminary was not in session from June, 1872 until September, 1873.
To fill the vacancy at the East Florida Seminary created by Dudley's resignation, the board appointed A. A. Robinson of whom very little is known. He was paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month, and he resigned several weeks before the term ended. Robinson's action was sudden, but not necessarily the result of difficulties with the trustees. A month before his resignation, the board reorganized the school, and set up three departments--male, female, and primary--placing each of them "under the direction and control of the Principal." The Alachua County school board agreed to finance the primary department and it continued this practice as long as the department was a part of the Seminary. Henceforth, there were to be strict entrance requirements for admission to the upper division, and the course of study was to include work of at least "high school" level. A similar reorganizational program had been instituted at the West Florida Seminary a short time before. These were excellent long-range plans, but, as things turned out, the critical problem of finance prevented their being fully carried out.

In 1870-1871 the Seminary's faculty members received their salaries in state scrip, worth at the time only about twenty-three cents on the dollar. The state was then paying the interest from the Seminary Land Fund in scrip, and, the board could never be sure just how much they would be able to realize in "good money." Educational planning was

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63 EFS Minute Book, May 6, July 8, 1870.
64 Ibid., April 15, 1870.
65 Ibid.
66 Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 36.
impossible when the board could not determine, even approximately, what the school's income was going to be. In an effort to secure additional funds, the trustees lowered fees and launched an advertising campaign, hoping to secure a larger student enrollment.

Meanwhile, the problem of finding a new principal was before the trustees again. Robinson's sudden departure had made it difficult to hire a new man so late in the school year. After some persuasion, Roper stepped into the breach and offered to administer the Seminary until someone else could be employed.

Although board members were authorized to contract with a new principal at a salary of a hundred and fifty dollars a month, no "proper person" was found for a whole year and Roper continued as principal. On May 24, 1871, the president of the board read a letter from C. D. H. Snead of Newton, Alabama, expressing his interest in coming to Gainesville the following September, provided his wife could also teach.67 The board was willing and Mr. and Mrs. Snead signed a one-year contract at a joint salary of fifteen hundred dollars.68

When the Sneads left in 1872 the board invited Edward Willcocks Meany, Episcopal rector of the church of the Holy Trinity in Gainesville, to accept the post as principal. After being assured that his responsibilities to the Seminary would not interfere with his religious duties, Meany accepted. The precedent of using local ministers to teach at the Seminary was a common practice throughout the South, and the tradition had been established at the East Florida Seminary while the institution was still in Ocala. Since Meany already had his church salary, he was

67EFS Minute Book, May 24, 1871.
68Ibid., June 8, July 31, 1871.
willing to teach and supervise at the Seminary for ninety dollars a month. His assistant was paid seventy-five dollars a month, male teachers sixty, and the lady teacher received forty-five dollars a month.70

It is likely that Meany was one of the best educated men ever to serve as principal of the East Florida Seminary. A native of Lovingston, Nelson County, Virginia, he was described as "a close thinker on all questions, religious and economic. An aristocrat by birth and training, he was especially beloved by the working men ... with whom his economic views associated him."71 Meany was eighteen years old in 1862 when he received his bachelor of arts degree from St. Mary's College at Oxford, England. He was ordained a deacon in 1868 and a priest two years later. He served as assistant rector at St. Paul's in Baltimore before being assigned to the Gainesville parish.72

In 1874, Meany was transferred to a parish in Tallahassee and was forced to resign his position at the Seminary. The board, after some consideration, appointed William Claudius Miller, former assistant principal. Miller, a native of South Carolina, was born in 1841 and had come to Gainesville during the early 1870's. He was principal of the Seminary until June, 1877, when he left to become chief engineer of the Florida Southern Railroad.73

69 Ibid., October 3, 1874.
70 Ibid., August 7, 1874.
72 Biographical data from American Church Directory, 1905, 193, and Living Church (Chicago), May 9, May 23, 1908.
73 Biographical data furnished by Arthur Snowden Miller, son of William C. Miller, in letter to author, April 11, 1952.
Miller's resignation brought another trying search for a principal—a search of sufficient interest to stir up talk throughout the state. Many editors of East Florida newspapers insisted that the man hired as principal should be not only an educator and a scholar but a public relations expert and an experienced administrator as well. Even the politicians were saying that the post must go to "the very best available man." They insisted, moreover, now that reconstruction was ended, that the principal must be a "Southern man—let him come from where he will in the South." This prodigy they expected to get for twelve hundred dollars a year. Although this was comparable to salaries being paid in other southern academies and seminaries, it was about a half of what presidents on the university and college level in the South were receiving. The University of North Carolina had appointed its president in 1876 at a salary of $2,500, and this is approximately what institutions like Wofford College and Trinity College were paying their executive heads. 74

In Gainesville applications from several men were considered and rejected. The trustees spent more than a week sifting correspondence and reading letters of recommendation. On July 19 they announced that Professor Morgan Calloway had been "elected principal of the Seminary for the next scholastic year," at a salary of $1,200. 75 Something happened to prevent Calloway from accepting the offer. William N.

74 Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1912), II 117; David D. Wallace, History of Wofford College, 1852-1949 (Nashville, 1951), 60; and Nora C. Chaffin, Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University (Durham, 1950), 367.

75 EFS Minute Book, July 19, 1877.
Sheats, who had been elected first assistant at the July 19 meeting, informed the board a week later that he would accept the post of principal, if it were available, at a salary of one thousand dollars. At least two of the six trustees opposed Sheats' offer and it was decided to defer action.76

The post finally went to Edwin Postell Cater. It is impossible to determine whether it was one of the trustees or perhaps someone influential in Presbyterian circles in the South who first suggested his name. It is probable that he had not been considered for the position before the first week in July, 1877. Cater and his family were well-known for their sectarian interests and activities, and he was a familiar figure in educational circles in Tennessee and Georgia. There seems to have been no opposition to Cater among the board, particularly after it became known that he was willing to accept the post at one thousand dollars a year. He was unanimously elected principal of the Seminary on August 6, 1877.77

The new principal was thirty-six years old. He was not a tall man, but he had a well-proportioned frame, expressive features, and dignified manners. His contemporaries remembered that he carried himself erect, as though he were a soldier on the parade ground. Born in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1841, he had been educated in the common schools and academies of that state and had entered Oglethorpe University in 1857. Despite his youth, Cater, with persistent effort, received his divinity degree in May, 1861. Less than two weeks after his graduation

76 Ibid., July 30, 1877.
77 Ibid., August 6, 1877.
he enlisted in the Confederate army, fought under General Beauregard at Manassas Junction, and participated in many engagements in Virginia and South Carolina. When the war was over he returned to Columbia, and a few months later secured a teaching job in a small country school in Tennessee. He remained in that state three years, teaching in academies and collegiate institutions, and then moved to Georgia. He was teaching in Griffin, Georgia, when he received the offer from Florida.78

Cater possessed a wider experience in school administration and teaching than any of his predecessors. Although it was said that he "had no superior as a disciplinarian," his attitude toward his students was kind and paternal, and his ability as an administrator showed itself many times in his fine sense of diplomacy when he had to solve unpleasant problems. Hardheaded and sensible, he was able to establish a remarkable leadership, both of his faculty and of the members of his board. His success in working with others was nowhere so well displayed as in his relations with these groups. His success with the trustees was more than that of a new broom; he had the ability to win confidence and to keep it. Cater was deeply religious and he sincerely believed that educated citizens had a responsibility in trying to raise the community to its highest ethical and moral level. He was aware, however, of the limitations of the Seminary he had been employed to direct, and he had been told of the problems and the difficulties he would face as principal of the institution.

78Biographical data on Cater in George Cary Bush, History of Education in Florida, No. 6, Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 7, 1888 (Washington, 1889), 35-36; The Sun and Bee (Gainesville), September 8, 1881; The Daily Sun (Gainesville), 1899, 3-5.
CHAPTER V

STUDENT LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

During the Seminary's first years in Gainesville its enrollment hardly rivalled that of its Ocala period. In 1866 seventy-one students were registered,¹ and by 1882 it had only increased to one hundred and eighty-four.² Enrollment fluctuated from year to year: in 1889 there were one hundred and seventeen students,³ and in the 1898-1899 session there were ninety-one.⁴ The size of the student body increased rapidly during the next five years, and by 1904 two hundred twenty-five boys and girls were enrolled at the Seminary.⁵ Enrollment at the East Florida Seminary was larger than in the private academies and seminaries of the state, but it was about the same as at the West Florida Seminary.⁶ It was less expensive to attend a state-supported institution and this is probably the explanation of the larger enrollments in the state institutions.

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¹Report of the Register of Public Lands, Appendix to Florida Senate Journal, 1866, 53; The New Era, November 2, 1866.


⁴Ibid., 1900, 179.

⁵East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1904-05, 108.

⁶Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 39, 74, 97, 100.
Throughout this period, and particularly before 1890, most of the students at the East Florida Seminary represented Gainesville and the immediate vicinity. Although each county east of the Suwannee River was entitled to send tuition-free beneficiaries to the Seminary, few took advantage of this privilege. In his report to the legislature in 1866 the ex-officio superintendent of public instruction stated hopefully that "only a few of the counties have already sent forward their beneficiaries . . . (but) the prosperity of the institution will probably induce others to avail themselves of the opportunity at an early day." 7

The frequently made charge that the Seminary was a local institution, a mere public school for Gainesville and Alachua County, caused Cater and his board of trustees grave concern. Partly in answer to the criticisms, the Seminary reports to the superintendent of public instruction frequently analyzed the student attendance. In 1870 it was noted that "very few persons from other counties have ever availed themselves of the privileges of the Seminary. This may have been due in part to the want of knowledge as to the right and in part to the comparatively high price of board for students." 8 Both of these drawbacks to a larger enrollment were remedied, and by 1884 fourteen counties, besides Alachua, were represented in the Seminary's normal department. At the same time, the trustees boasted "Chicago, Illinois sends three young men, and Savannah, Ga., one." They also carefully pointed out that "these last named students are not 'winter visitors', but have been sent here

7Report of the Register of Public Land, Appendix to Florida Senate Journal, 1866, 53.
by their parents (who have not accompanied them) for the purpose of attending the seminary, while securing the benefits of a warm climate." In 1889 there were students from fifteen counties, and "one student in attendance from each of the States of South Carolina and Texas." A year later the principal reported that there were "enrolled eighty-seven cadets and thirty young ladies, representing eighteen counties of Florida, and the states of Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Louisiana." Similar reports continued to be made, showing that students were attracted from various parts of the state and nation, although it is unlikely that the Seminary had a national reputation. Most of these students were probably members of northern families who "wintered" in Florida, or they were sent down for health reasons.

During its first twenty-five years, the Seminary had no strict rules regarding the age requirement for students who sought to register. When Cater arrived in 1877, he found students attending classes who ranged in age "from four to past twenty years." Upon his insistence, the trustees raised the age for entrance first to thirteen and then to fourteen, and ordered all applicants to "pass examination in the Third Reader and the Primary Arithmetic." This was merely putting into operation part of the plan which the trustees had adopted in 1870.

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9Ibid., 1883-84.
12EFS Minute Book, July 12, 1880.
13Supra. 97.
over the years from the curriculum, the average age of the students was raised.

Students attending the Seminary were necessarily restricted to those living in the Gainesville area as long as no provisions were made for low-cost room and board. In February, 1867, the board made arrangements with a Mrs. Roberts to accommodate a number of "young ladies attending school with board at reasonable rates." There were no facilities for boys who were expected to live with relatives or to make arrangements with private families. A small addition to the Seminary building was constructed in 1872, but without dormitory facilities.14

Adequate classroom and laboratory space was a pressing problem affecting students on the Seminary campus. The small frame building, constructed in 1857, and slightly enlarged in 1873, had become so dilapidated that it was almost unusable in 1877 when Cater took over as principal. Repeatedly, he demanded that the trustees act to remedy this situation, but straitened circumstances prevented the board from making any move either to remodel the old building or to construct another. The income the Seminary received from the Seminary Fund amounted to only about $2,700 in 1882. This was typical of the annual income during the previous years, and it was hardly sufficient to pay faculty salaries. It provided almost nothing for capital improvement.

When it became obvious that the state was disinclined to render financial assistance to a building program, the editor of the Gainesville Weekly Bee suggested that the wealthy and influential men of Gainesville pay for remodeling and enlarging the existing building.15 This idea had

14EF's Minute Book, August 30, 1872.
15The Weekly Bee, May 12, 1882.
already been suggested by the trustees, and they had appointed a building-fund committee headed by Judge T. F. King.\textsuperscript{16} A campaign to raise $10,000 was waged throughout the county, and by May 26 the front pages of the local paper announced that $2,200 had been subscribed. The largest pledge was $500 from L. A. Barnes and there were hundred dollar pledges from other leading citizens of Gainesville, including W. W. Robinson, J. H. Roper, G. K. Broome, Mrs. F. X. Miller, Fred Bayer, John M. Taylor, E. C. F. Sanchez, J. H. Post, Philip Miller, G. W. Sparkman, J. F. McKinstry, and B. H. Thrasher.\textsuperscript{17} The board agreed to give scholarships to any one donating at least one hundred dollars, in either money or materials, for a building.\textsuperscript{18} In the case of one patron, J. R. Crawfords, the board agreed to exempt his sons from military drill in return for subscription of $250. By mid-summer the building fund was complete. The next step was to collect the pledges, but nearly everyone agreed that this would take many months.\textsuperscript{19}

It was still not definitely decided whether the money was to be spent in putting up a new building or in remodeling the old. Then, on the evening of January 31, 1883, the problem was resolved. It was a cold, rainy night, and passers-by hardly looked in the direction of the Seminary until people in a nearby house shouted that strange lights were flashing through the windows. A few minutes after seven-thirty, with a crackling roar, a mass of flame burst out over the Seminary roof. The

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16}EFS Minute Book, April 26, 1882.
\item \textsuperscript{17}The Weekly Bee, May 26, 1882.
\item \textsuperscript{18}EFS Minute Book, May 29, 1882.
\item \textsuperscript{19}Ibid., July 5, 1882.
\end{itemize}
building burned like tinder. By the time the fire wagon clanged and clattered past the square and up the street, the building was all ablaze and the roof had collapsed. Nothing could be saved except a few books, some old desks from one of the corner rooms, and the upright piano belonging to Mrs. Laura G. French, the music teacher. After the fire Mrs. French refused a further loan of her piano, and the state was forced to purchase one for $750. The cause of the fire was not known, but a defective flue was blamed. The loss of the building, furniture, and apparatus amounted to about $2,700; the Seminary carried $2,500 insurance. Most people thought the fire a blessing in disguise. Now a new building would have to be constructed. Meanwhile, the city rented five rooms in the old Dennis Block, Cater bought six desks and chairs for $1.30 each, the citizens of Gainesville donated books and supplies, and the school was soon back in operation. The city council voted to let the students use the courthouse square as a playground, and immediately a baseball diamond was laid out on the south side of the square.

Bids for a new building were advertised, and a contract was awarded early in March to J. O. Goodale on a low bid of $11,000. According to a newspaper description, the building was to be ninety-one feet long and forty-five feet wide, laid upon a solid foundation of sand-stone. The paper reported: "The walls will be built entirely of hard northern brick . . . . The outside walls will be 32 feet high from

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20 The Weekly Bee, February 2, 1883.
21 Ibid., February 9, 1883; EFS Minute Book, February 7, 1883.
22 The Weekly Bee, October 27, 1883.
the ground, surmounted with a handsome cornice . . . . A tower will project ten feet from the center of the southside of the building . . . . On the ground floor of the tower will be the main entrance to the school. This will consist of double doors, made of our native pine . . . . Ascending the steps which will lead to the main entrance, we see on either hand broad stairways leading to the upper story. Passing into the main building, we will find ourselves in a long hall-way, eight feet wide, and extending the entire length of the building. There were to be four large classrooms on the first floor, and a study hall, library room, principal’s office, and commandant’s office on the second floor.\(^{23}\) Construction moved forward rapidly, and early in 1884 the building was ready for occupancy. The Seminary building never received a formal name or title, although later it was suggested that it should be named in honor of Principal Cater.

Not until 1886 did the trustees take the first steps to provide board or room. At first the trustees thought of turning the second story of the Seminary building into temporary dormitory apartments.\(^{24}\) High costs prohibited such a venture, and the space was needed for classrooms and laboratories. The next step was to appoint a committee to probe the possibility of constructing a permanent dormitory. Land in back of and adjacent to the Seminary property was made available by the Roper estate and by the city of Gainesville,\(^{25}\) but there was almost no chance of securing an adequate building appropriation from the state.

\(^{23}\)Ibid., June 30, 1883.

\(^{24}\)Ibid., June 15, 1886.

\(^{25}\)Ibid.
Consequently, in July the board borrowed five thousand dollars from a local bank, giving as security a first mortgage on the administration building. A contract was let to the low bidder in August, but, when he failed to "make a good and satisfactory bond for $2000" the contract was awarded to John T. Walker.

By November, 1886, a long, low, two-story, wooden structure had been constructed about one hundred yards east of the administration building and it was ready for the board's inspection. Built in the form of a large quadrangle, 197 feet long and 92 feet wide, the dormitory enclosed an open court, 150 feet long and 50 feet wide. A fence was constructed around the campus to help keep the students in and roving cattle out. In one wing an apartment for the principal and his family was provided, rooms for the male teachers in another. Infirmary, dining room, and supply rooms were located on the first floor; students lived on the second. A gymnasium was also on the ground floor. All male teachers and boys whose homes were outside Alachua County were required to reside in the dormitory. Inadequate funds forced the board to put up a relatively cheap building. Constant repairs were necessary, and in 1889, when the dormitory was not yet three years old, repairs on the

26Ibid., July 7 and 26, 1886.
27Ibid., August 11, 1886.
28Ibid., November 9, 1886.
29Described in Bush, History of Education in Florida, 34.
30Information furnished author by Mina L. Walker, Alexandria, Tennessee, in letter, April 9, 1952. Mrs. Walker is the daughter of William E. Lumley, one-time principal of the Seminary, and as a child she lived in this building in the principal's apartment. A description of the building was also furnished the author by Bruce M. Wade, a former student, in letters, May 30, July 9, 1951.
31Bush, History of Education in Florida, 34.
1.11 roof had to be made.32

Dormitory rooms were furnished with "two single bedsteads, two chairs, one study table, one stove, one wash-stand, one wardrobe, one book shelf." Rent was eight dollars a year,33 plus four dollars per half session for gaslight and fuel. At the end of the term, the principal pro-rated the actual cost of these items, and returned the unexpended balance. Later, students brought their own wood, at ten cents a week, to burn in iron pot-bellied stoves.34

During the next decade almost no concern was shown about providing living quarters for women. In 1899 the board talked of devoting the men's dormitory to this purpose and of requiring male students to find room and board with private families.35 Nothing came of this proposal. Two years later a committee was appointed to select a location for a women's dormitory and to receive bids for construction.36 After looking over many properties in Gainesville, the dormitory committee recommended purchase of the Porter and Bartleson residences across the street from the Seminary building. Both of these houses were owned by W. K. Bartleson, who was willing to sell them for $4,750 cash. The bid submitted by Bartleson stated that the residences had "modern conveniences, such as gas, city water, baths, and are in good state of repair, and I think by being connected, would be most admirably adapted to your

32EFS Minute Book, July 26, 1889.
33Ibid., June 3, 1890.
35EFS Minute Book, June 8, 1899.
36Ibid., June 18, 1901.
wants for a dormitory." The trustees agreed with Bartleson, and voted to accept his offer. They also purchased, at the same time, the adjoining Stringfellow property for $1,500. As it turned out, only a minimum of construction was needed to turn the residences into a dormitory, and, with the opening of school in September, 1901, girls for the first time in the history of the East Florida Seminary did not have to depend on townspeople for room and board. The rent for rooms was the same as in the men's dormitory. Gaslights in the women's dormitory were supplied, but each girl furnished her own fuel, and paid for her own laundry.

Although the Seminary officials boasted that "the arrangements for lighting and heating the buildings have been pronounced by competent judges to be of the very best," the students frequently held a contrary opinion. To help overcome the monastic appearance of the dormitory rooms, students were allowed to hang curtains and decorate the walls with college banners and sports pictures. Any student caught hanging pictures not in "perfect taste" was severely reprimanded by the principal. For many years the dormitory walls were left unpainted, and until 1896 the upper sash in each window could not be lowered "to provide for free ventilation without draft." As late as 1889 blinds for outside windows were lacking. For many years students had to carry their own supply of water from a well in the rear of the dormitory.

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37 Ibid., July 2, 1901.

38 East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1901-1902, 36.


privies were used until the 1880's, and the constant bad condition of these little buildings was the subject of frequent discussion by students and faculty. Inside water-closets were installed when the men's dormitory was constructed, and in 1890 the trustees authorized Principal Cater to "contract upon the most reasonable terms possible for the building of an addition to the Water Closets . . . said addition to contain ten additional seats or compartments, in such position as may be practicable, having reference to the present locations of the closets now standing." During the 1890's four full-length bathtubs were installed, with "pipes for both hot and cold water." 

Although students could get good board with Gainesville families for three or four dollars a week, the trustees in 1886 ordered the establishment of a mess hall for those who wanted less expensive meals. The trustees placed a matron in charge of the dining room, with the understanding that she was to furnish board at the rate of two dollars and fifty cents a week. The dining room, according to the principal, was a pronounced success, though the students from time to time voiced complaints. When forty cadets signed a petition in 1891, charging that "they were obliged to eat food that cannot be said to be perfectly clean and wholesome," the board took action. A new matron was employed, repairs and additions were made to the kitchen and mess halls, and table board was set at $12.50 a month.

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1 EFS Minute Book, January 6, 1890.
2 Register of East Florida Seminary, 1898-1899, 35.
3 EFS Minute Book, March 27, 1891.
Tuition at the Seminary was low. For a while none was charged except to students who received instruction in "instrumental music" and they paid fifteen dollars a session. In 1880 the trustees ordered all students, except beneficiaries, to pay fees "at the ratio of fifty cents, seventy-five cents and one dollar per month according to grade." Anyone wishing to study Latin or Greek had to pay another dollar a month directly to the instructor, and these fees made up his salary. Tuition was generally paid after the term was over. Frequently, the secretary of the board had to write several letters before parents cleared their accounts. Often, overdue accounts were turned over to a regular "collector" who received ten per cent for his services. Tuition gradually increased, and by the 1890's students paid a five dollar entrance fee and twenty dollars a year. After 1900 tuition was reduced to ten dollars a year. The principal once estimated that a student could attend the Seminary for about $185 a year, including "board, lights, fuel, washing, room rent, furniture, entrance and tuition fees, books and stationery, and uniforms.”

Besides providing inexpensive room and board and keeping the other costs moderate in order to attract a large and representative

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44 The New Era, August 30, 1873.
45 EFS Minute Book, July 8, 1880.
46 Ibid., July 17, 1880.
47 Ibid., June 30, 1881.
48 Ibid., June 3, 1890; Register of East Florida Seminary, 1898-1899, 41.
49 East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1901-1902, 35.
enrollment, several attempts were made to provide scholarships. The free beneficiaries, allowed under state law, were advertised widely in county newspapers throughout East and South Florida. In 1882 and 1883, as we have seen, it was announced that scholarships would be given to anyone contributing money or building materials for the construction of the new administration and classroom building. These efforts were not too successful in building up the size of the student body.

Many of the out-of-town students arrived in Gainesville by train, since special student rates had been authorized by Florida railroads. A student paid full fare coming to the Seminary, but was returned home "over the same route without charge."51 Whether arriving by train, farm wagon, or afoot, the new student sought out the principal in order to make arrangements to be examined, assigned to appropriate classes, and to secure a room in the dormitory. Catalogues suggested that each male student bring with him "two pairs of black leather shoes, two black neckties, four or five white shirts, seven to nine white linen collars, four or five pairs socks, three to five undershirts, three to five pairs drawers, two night shirts, four to six pocket-handkerchiefs, six towels, two clothes bags, one clothes-brush, one hair-brush, one comb, two pillow cases, four sheets for single bed, two blankets, one quilted bed-cover, one pillow, four table napkins, one napkin ring, one blacking brush, one box blacking, one tooth mug or tumbler."52 Women were to wear blue serge skirts and waists in the winter, and blue duck or serge skirts and shirtwaists in the summer. These outfits were

51Register of East Florida Seminary, 1896-1897, 34.
52Ibid.
completed by black or dark-blue sailor hats. The Seminary catalogue cautioned that the "garments must be made according to specifications, and young-lady students must be sufficiently provided with articles of uniform to enable them to appear in uniform at all times when on duty."

In 1881 the board of trustees, as authorized by the legislative act of February 14, 1861, ordered the Seminary reorganized as a military school for its male students. The board for the West Florida Seminary ordered a similar reorganization at this time. Perhaps this was a result of the strong military tradition which had existed in the South ever since colonial days. Any examination of the civilization of the Old South must consider the military code as a vital part of the region's chivalric cult. Young southerners thought of making a livelihood in terms limited largely to law, politics, plantation management, or the army. As one historian notes, "experience in everyday life had made the Southerner a kind of fighter unique in the world. His ordinary amusement was the chase, and as a hunter, horseman, and rifleman, he was almost naturally trained to war." Military schools and academies operated successfully in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Virginia, and Louisiana before the Civil War; the Virginia Military Institute and South Carolina's Citadel were among the influential military institutions in the country.

53 Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 57.
56 Rollin G. Osterweis, Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South (New Haven, 1949), 93-94.
claimed to be the fountainhead of martial spirit in the United States, and argued that it had turned the tide of battle in the nation's wars, and had provided the training ground for most of the country's soldiers.57

There was a flurry of interest in military training and education during the Civil War in both the North and South, but this subsided when the conflict ended. In the period following the Civil War, there was a reaction against the whole concept of military training, except in those agricultural and technical colleges which were eligible to receive federal funds because they taught military science.58 This, however, was not the case with either the East or West Florida Seminary. There is nothing in the records of the East Florida Seminary to indicate the thinking of the trustees. Whether it was a part of the southern military tradition, an example of local patriotism,59 or merely a means of raising the prestige of the institution is not known. The fact is that, as a result of the board order, on all except special and rainy days, "males of the height of five (5) feet and over," were required to drill each afternoon, Monday through Friday, for at least an hour.60

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57 Franklin, op. cit., 10.


59 W. J. Cash in The Mind of The South (New York, 1941), 101, points out that Southern patriotism in the post-War period was very high, and that the memories of the war "would ever after be to them (Southerners) as the sounding of trumpets and the rolling of drums, to set their blood mounting, their muscles to tensing, their eyes to stinging, to call forth in them the highest loyalties and the most active responses."

60 EFS Minute Book, December 27, 1881.
Each cadet was responsible for his equipment, consisting of a rifle, a bayonet with scabbard, and a cartridge box and belt. For the officers there were swords or sabres with scabbards, and for the use of the corps gun-racks and other conveniences. The initial equipment consisted of three swords and sword-belts and twenty copies of Upton's Tactics, the latter sold to the cadets at cost. Through the intercession of United States Senator Wilkinson Call, the secretary of war gave the Seminary one hundred Springfield cadet rifles, one hundred sets of infantry equipment, signal flags, and one set of hand reloading tools, with powder, balls, caps, pasters, and targets, for gallery practice.

The military program was divided into two phases: practical instruction, involving close order drill, bayonet exercise, bellbar calisthenics (the rifle being used as a bellbar), and signal drill; while the theoretical course entailed recitations in the signal code, drill regulation, and organization and tactics.

For all students the Seminary was conducted in military style. Dormitories were "barracks," the dining room "the mess." Students were awakened each morning by a bugle. During the early years the janitor doubled as the bugler. Later one of the cadets was chosen for the job, and it was considered a privileged position since the bugler did not always have to drill. The cadet uniforms, ordered from Cincinnati, were gray, trimmed with blue. A uniform consisted of a blouse, costing $8; trousers, $5.15; cap, $1.85; and gloves, 25 cents a pair. Each cadet,

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61 Ibid., March 25, 1887.
62 The Weekly Bee, May 12, 1882.
63 Register of East Florida Seminary, 1898-1899, 33.
who was able, was required to own one regular blouse, one summer blouse, two pairs of trousers, two caps, and four pairs of gloves. The initial expense was rather high, but, as the catalogue explained, the uniform not only "does away with all invidious distinctions in dress," but, over the school year it is "the most economical as well as the neatest dress a student can wear, costing much less than ordinary clothing of same grade."64

All the military and non-military members of the faculty were given titles of military rank. The principal was called "colonel," and the other male faculty were permitted to affix titles of "major" or "captain" before their names. Many of these individuals retained their military titles even after they had severed their affiliations with the East Florida Seminary. A few of the faculty, such as Cater, had seen army service, but most of them had not. A student who attended the Seminary while Frederick Pasco was principal in 1900 recalled, in later years, that whenever the principal wanted to address the cadets, he asked the commanding officer to order the students to "front face."65 The cadet officers were selected "according to their aptitude for military duties and general good conduct."66 In 1887 the board ordered all male teachers to wear on the campus and in the classroom a uniform of dark blue cloth, similar to the fatigue uniform of regular army officers. Moreover, all teachers were cautioned to "deport themselves in respect to dress in such

64Ibid., 32, and reiterated in successive catalogues.
65Information furnished author by T. C. Merchant, Marianna, Florida, former Seminary student, in letter, January 26, 1952.
66Register of East Florida Seminary, 1898-1899, 33.
a manner as to place a good example before the students of the school."

In 1883 the board authorized a graduated system of penalties, depending on the number of demerits accumulated. The lightest punishment consisted of a private reprimand, but, if a lad missed enough drills, or was consistently disrespectful, he could be punished "by dismissal with privilege of resigning" or even by "unconditional expulsion." According to Lt. Arthur L. Wagner, the first commandant, the discipline was "firm and exacting, but gentle, and . . . based upon the principle that a boy's self-respect must be thoroughly cultivated in order that it may be the solid foundation of a true manhood." After the military program was introduced there were any number of dress parades, drills, and special occasions in which the cadets participated. Such an event was the opening of the new term, September 30, 1898, as described in The Reveille, a Seminary monthly publication: "Long before the hour for the opening the streets leading to the Seminary had begun to be busy and happy. Here came the old cadets in squads, the young ladies in companies, and the new students in mixed battalions . . . . In front of the Barracks were planted two cannon. On the opposite side of the parade ground towered the new flagpole, seventy or seventy-five feet in height . . . . The gunners were in position at the guns. The Seminary officers, in full dress uniform, stood just in front of the Barracks. The long piazzas and the neighboring

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67EFS Minute Book, October 6, 1887.

68Ibid., January 23, 1883.

69Wagner's statement quoted in Register of East Florida Seminary, 1898, 1899, 34.
streets were crowded with visitors. Then came the escort to the colors. Just at high noon the bugler sounded reveille, with the first notes of which the flag began to rise. Then, while the band played 'The Star Spangled Banner' and all heads were uncovered, 'Old Glory' glided slowly up the mast. The instant it reached the top, the battery burst forth with the national salute of twenty-one guns, and truly there was thunder in the index . . . . The musicians, by their excellent renditions of patriotic music, contributed very largely to the inspiration of the occasion. Besides saluting the colors, they praised the nation through 'Columbia' and then, as if in sad reminiscence, ended the program with 'Dixie'.

Although compulsory military drill was not popular with a majority of the students, visitors to the Seminary were generally very enthusiastic over the program. The board of visitors reported in 1885: "The physical advantages of out-door exercises and drill are seen in the erect and manly carriage of the cadets and the robust appearance which most of them present. We observed a noteworthy absence of the pale and languid type of students, too many of whom are apt to be found in institutions of this character. The military drill which the cadets undergo promotes their health while engaged in study, and in future emergencies may be of value to the Commonwealth."

Student behavior and activities were strictly regulated. Students were required at all times to show "prompt and cheerful obedience, studiousness, truthfulness, honor, gentlemanly conduct; attendance upon all exercises, both literary and military; to treat with proper courtesy

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70The Reveille (Gainesville), November, 1898, 3-4.
instructors and officers; to wear uniforms as prescribed; and to conform to order of studies. At the same time students were subject to many prohibitions. They were forbidden "to have or to use malt or spirituous liquors of any kind, or to visit any place where they are sold." The trustees warned "all whiskey dealers and hotel or boarding housekeepers, that, if they sell any malt or vinous liquors to any cadet, or permit any cadet to play any game of billiards or pool on their tables, or within their houses of business, every such offender will be prosecuted by this Board under the laws of this state in relation to selling whiskey to minors." Students, moreover, were forbidden "to have or to use fire-arms (excepting the rifles and cannons used on drill) or weapons of any description; to have or read books or papers other than those approved by proper authority; to use profane or vulgar language; to indulge in hazing; to contract debt; to gamble, or to have or use cards or dice; to discontinue any course without permission; to leave the corporate limits of Gainesville without special permission; to be on the streets of Gainesville outside the prescribed limits; to loiter about the post office, depots, or hotels; to hire horses or teams of any description without written permission from parents; to have eatables of any kind in rooms; to have or use tobacco in any form; to wear any but prescribed articles of dress after uniforms have been issued." 71

There were no major incidents of student violence against persons or property during this period, and only occasionally was there a discipline problem serious enough to be brought to the attention of the trustees. In 1883 several students were suspended because they "permitted

71Register of East Florida Seminary, 1896-1897, 36.
their animal spirits to get the better of their judgment and created entirely too much mischief.72 In 1904 six cadets were expelled for behavior considered "detrimental to the best interests of the East Florida Seminary." Details of these "incidents" are not revealed in the records, which say only that the principal made a full and satisfactory explanation to the board.73 Another time several cadets stole a large white coconut cake that was to have been served for dessert at Sunday dinner. One of the lads hid the cake under his coat, and managed to get it to his room. Suspecting that the cadets had probably taken the cake, the principal ordered all students back into the dormitory, and began searching the rooms. Just before he entered one room, the cake was passed out the window to students in the next room, and thus it traveled until it reached the end of the building. Since there was no place to hide it and the principal was just opening the door to enter, the cadet who now had the battered cake hastily, but expertly, tossed it behind an abandoned woodshed below. A careful search of the grounds finally revealed the cake, but the only punishment administered was to force the boys to eat the cake flavored with sand for Sunday night supper.74

Seminary officials were concerned with the spiritual life of their charges. The entire student body was required to assemble each school day morning for religious exercises. Hymns, Scripture reading, a short talk by the principal or a faculty member, and prayer comprised

72 The Weekly Bee, May 25, 1883.
73 EFS Minute Book, May 25, 1904.
74 Mina L. Walker to author, op. cit.
Each student, moreover, was encouraged to begin each day with a personal prayer. On Sunday students were expected to attend morning services in one of the local churches. Frequently, they participated in Sunday afternoon and evening services, acting as ushers or singing in the choir.

The faculty regulated all student social activity. Parties were seldom allowed except on special occasions. At such times the students played games or danced to music by a student orchestra or by the Gainesville Reed and Cornet Band, always under the watchful eyes of a large delegation of chaperones. The wives of the faculty and the matron of the women's dormitory were encouraged to instruct the "young ladies in the etiquette of receiving and entertaining company." Permission to attend balls, parties, or other entertainments in town was given reluctantly, and only when it would not interfere with school work, and after written consent of the parent or guardian had been filed with the principal. It was frequently emphasized that "attendance upon such entertainments involves considerable outlay of money, and has the effect of unfitting students for Seminary duties." Parents were advised to limit the expenditures of their children. The authorities felt that "students who have large amounts of money to spend seldom do good school work."

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75 East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1901-1902, 34.
76 Ibid. Additional information and description of the life of the Seminary coed was secured from interviews and conversations in Gainesville with Ida Burkham, Mrs. P. C. Winn, Anna DaCosta, and Alma Fennell, who were former Seminary students.
77 Ibid., 1903-1904, 84-85.
78 Ibid., 85.
There were three favorite picnic areas enjoyed by the students: the woods west of town (the present site of the University of Florida), Boulware Spring (east of the present site of Gainesville's water works), and Oliver's Park. Properly chaperoned and with permission, students were sometimes allowed to hire hacks, stuff picnic baskets with sandwiches and cold meats, and have an outing on Saturday afternoon. Despite all the restrictions, in the Gainesville of over a half a century ago, these boys and girls found many sources for lighter amusements. Boating, fishing, and swimming in the nearby lakes or streams were popular and not expensive. Almost all students made more than one outing by wagon or carriage to Devil's Millhopper, about a dozen miles northwest of town, to marvel at this unusual natural formation. The younger boys scoured the countryside in the early summer, looking for blackberries and watermelon patches, and in the fall, for unguarded pecan trees. Older students used Miller's store, across from the courthouse square, which boasted of the "finest sodawater outfit in the state," as their meeting place.

A striking change in student life in the 1880's and 1890's was the rise in interscholastic athletics. Athletics, however, never reached such importance among the Florida seminaries and academies as it did among the colleges of the North and Middle West. The students had their games—baseball, basketball, hiking, and the rest—in season. At the East Florida Seminary, during Cater's administration, sports were organized

79 Interview with Mrs. M. Z. Dreher, former Seminary student, in Jacksonville, November, 1951.

80 Mrs. Ruth Baxter, Gainesville, a former Seminary student, attests to the fact that "Miller's was the best ice cream emporium in Gainesville."
and encouraged for both boys and girls. One of the most exciting events each year, beginning in 1898, was the baseball game played against the Florida Agricultural College team. The 1903 catalogue carefully pointed out that "the Seminary takes great pride in the fact that her football team, although outclassed in both average weight and age, in every contest, did not lose a single game during the season of 1902-1903."

Athletic contests between the East and West Florida Seminaries could not be scheduled too often because there were no funds to transport the teams to Gainesville or Tallahassee. Cater and his faculty approved of athletic exercises, although they assured the board that such pursuits were not "followed at the expense of literary studies."

Under the persuasive influence of Professor W. L. Floyd, a member of the faculty, the Seminary began a rather daring experiment by establishing a compulsory physical culture program for the lady-students. The school catalogues explained that the need for such a program was apparent when one sees "the wan cheeks, stooping shoulders and narrow chests of the school girls in many of our schools." The athletic exercises, according to the W. G. Anderson and Dio Lewis system, consisted of "marching, breathing exercises, free gymnastics, movements with poles, wands, dumb-bells and Indian clubs." The drills were scheduled for thirty minutes daily, and were performed, the catalogue states, in "a large, well-ventilated hall, where hygienic conditions and laws

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81 East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1903-1904, 82.

82 Register of East Florida Seminary, 1897-1898, 39.
are carefully followed. Piano music accompanies all the exercises after the correct positions are learned and inspires to greater energy and helps to secure more perfect harmony.\(^{83}\)

The intellectual interests of the students were not ignored. In 1884 C. C. Cochran, professor of English grammar, persuaded Cater to allow him to supervise publication of a small student newspaper to be called the *East Florida Seminary Record*. The paper was described as an "unpretentious sheet, of little interest to those not immediately connected with the Seminary, but it accomplished its purpose and was productive of good."\(^{84}\) The students wrote news articles, and the publication was justified in terms of self-improvement. Realizing its value, the trustees in 1890 agreed to subsidize the *Record* with an appropriation of five dollars a month.\(^{85}\) The following year, when the Eleve Association, the Seminary's first alumni organization, was formed, the paper was taken over and turned into a student-alumni journal. It was now called *The Reveille*, and described as a "journal devoted to the educational interests of Florida."\(^{86}\) Actually, it became a news-literary magazine, and in its fervent attempt to stimulate "thinking, self-reliant, educated men," it published articles of serious purpose with such illuminating titles as "The Old Roman Senate," "The Illimitable Confines of the Inevitable Void," "Our Public Schools," and "Old Ideas

\(^{83}\) Ibid., 39-40.

\(^{84}\) This history recorded in *The Reveille*, October, 1900, 13.

\(^{85}\) EFS Minute Book, October 20, 1890.

\(^{86}\) This information appeared on the front cover and the editorial page.
of Precious Stones." Several pages were devoted to Seminary news items, and there were special columns written by student editors. One of the more popular columns, captioned "Our Girl Cadets," described social activities and gave the latest feminine notes. One whole column was devoted to a humorous and detailed analysis on "How to Make a Shirt-waist." It insisted that the sleeves should be very tight, but warned that it would "not be advisable to wear it while drilling with Indian clubs." The authoress promised that future columns would be devoted to "Hints on Hair-dressing" and "The Art of Putting on Clothes." The Reveille was usually edited by a member of the faculty, but sometimes an Eleve member was willing to assume this responsibility. At such times, a large section of the magazine would be devoted to alumni news, pictures, and biographical sketches of the more prominent Eleves. The journal was circulated at the subscription price of one dollar a year, but most of the funds for its publication came from advertisements and small donations from generous alumni.

A second student publication, the East Florida Seminary Exponent, appeared in 1891. In style and content it was similar to the Reveille, although its format was somewhat larger. It was described as a "monthly journal devoted to the East Florida Seminary," and its articles extolled the virtues and superior assets of the school. The policy of the magazine was set down in an editorial which stated firmly: "We are partial to our school. Our love for it is deep, and our energy to make it the best in the land is strong. It is the purpose of the Exponent to give parents and friends a short review of the work being done by

87 The Reveille, February, 1901, 131.
their boys and girls, in school and out of school. Special attention will be given to each department. Letters or notes from former students will be appreciated." Occasionally, serious articles appeared which revealed a rather self-conscious interest in literature, poetry, philosophy. Such enthusiasm was shown in a detailed review of Swinburne's "October Ninth Eighteen Ninety-Nine," in which the author gives Swinburne his due as a great English poet, but questions both his patriotism and philosophy. Light pieces were published from time to time, in which atrocious puns, bad spelling, and outlandish exaggeration became principal elements in the students' attempts at humor. On the whole, however, both the Reveille and the Exponent authentically mirrored the conservative attitudes and limited interests of undergraduates on a provincial southern campus at the turn of the century.

In the intellectual sphere literary societies and joint debates made up most of the extracurricular activity of the Seminary students. Two literary groups were organized during the early 1880's, and occasionally public debates were given for the enjoyment of students and townspeople. The editor of the local paper reported on January 27, 1882, that the "public debate by the Young Men's Literary Society of the East Florida Seminary, at Roper's Hall last evening was largely attended and listened to with interest. The young men discussed with vigor and creditably the question: 'Resolved that the Pen is mightier than the Sword.'" A few days before the Young Ladies Literary Society had

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88 East Florida Seminary Exponent, November, 1899, 6.
89 Ibid., 2.
90 The Weekly Bee, January 27, 1882.
performed for commencement guests. Two years earlier, when Frederick Pasco was professor of ancient languages, he organized a literary group which the students named the Pasconian Society. None of the literary organizations functioned entirely as "independent" organizations. They were conducted by the faculty, much as were regular classes, and were hampered in their activities by a number of restrictions and limitations. Membership in these groups fell off somewhat after Pasco left the Seminary in 1886 to become principal of Duval High School in Jacksonville. The records of 1891, however, show that there were then two literary societies meeting each Saturday morning.

In 1898 the Literary and Debating Club was formed, and according to the Reveille became "one of the most important organizations in the college," taking "precedence in point of good works over the Athletic and fraternal societies." According to its prospectus, the club was not "intended to develop orators, but to simply train us to speak our thoughts in a free and graceful manner." From time to time public debates were advertised, and representative groups of students and townspeople usually turned out to hear the discussion of such topics as "Resolved, That the Philippine Islands should be Annexed to the United States," or "Resolved, That Cuba should be annexed to the United States." These debates, according to the Exponent, "showed close and earnest study on the part of the participants and reflected credit on themselves, the school and the debating club which they represented."92

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91Ibid., January 20, 1882.
92East Florida Seminary Exponent, April, 1900, 4.
The Pasconian Literary Society was reorganized in October, 1900, when Pasco returned to serve as principal, and it was merged with the debate club. A record of one of the first meetings indicates how the programs were planned. Roll call was answered by quotations from Oliver Wendell Holmes. A debate, arguing the question of whether the state capital should be relocated, was the main feature of the evening, followed by a general discussion, in which each person was given a slip of paper containing the subject of some current event which he had to explain briefly to the group.93

The West Florida Seminary in 1900 invited representatives from the East Florida Seminary, Florida Agricultural College, Rollins College, Florida Conference College, South Florida Military Institute, and the John B. Stetson University to form a Florida Inter-Collegiate Oratorical Association. The invitation from Tallahassee explained that the association would meet annually "at some convenient place," at which time "representatives from the several institutions will contest for a gold medal . . . and the winner of this medal will then represent the State of Florida at the Southern States Oratorical Association."94 Cadet J. D. Christie was elected to represent the Pasconian Society at the organizational meeting of the association held in Jacksonville. The first regular meeting of the state group was set for February 22, 1901.

Since both the debate club and the Pasconian Society excluded women, girls from the sophomore, junior, and senior classes formed the

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94W. B. Crawford and Asa B. Clark to "the Students of East Florida Seminary," September 19, 1900, letter printed in The Reveille, October, 1900, 21-22.
Round Table Social Club for the avowed purpose of cooperating "with the young men in raising money to defray the expenses of students to Jacksonville . . . when the State Debating Society will hold their annual contest." According to the report in the Reveille, "Miss Mary Strobhar was unanimously chosen president; Miss Ida Burkhim, vice president; by a large majority Miss Gertrude Cushman was made permanent secretary, and Miss Jesse Evans, treasurer, without a single murmur."95 The club raised money by giving parties for the children of Gainesville. One such affair was held on the Seminary lawn and it was termed "quite a financial success, $7.65 being the amount taken in."96 Although the club was essentially a social organization when first organized, it was later reorganized as the Dialectic Literary Society.97

By 1903 six new societies had been organized which held weekly meetings under the supervision of a faculty member. The new organizations were the Philomathian Society for members of the junior and senior classes; the Periclean Society for sophomores; the Hermean Society for freshmen; the Ciceronian Society for members of the sub-freshmen class; and the Dialectic and S. K. S. Societies for women students.98 Every student was required to belong to one of these literary groups. The musical organizations included a mandolin club, which rendered "one of its choice selections" at a special La Fayette Day celebration at the Seminary in 1889, and the Gainesville Band Club, which performed each

95The Reveille, November, 1900, 54.
96Ibid., 56.
97East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1901-1902, 40.
Friday afternoon at the "dress parades."

For many years the Seminary did not have a library, and it was not until 1884 that Lieutenant A. L. Wagner submitted to the trustees a plan for the organization of such facilities. The lieutenant proposed that the public be invited to donate books to the Seminary. Since this would entail no expenditures on the part of the trustees, they adopted the plan, and appointed G. Y. Renfroe, head of the normal department, librarian. A student was designated assistant librarian. The first library holdings were nine volumes donated by Wagner, and included a five-volume set of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Burns's *Poems*, Wordsworth's *Poems*, *The Story of the Bible*, and William Black's *Yolande*.99 Renfroe, Wagner, and Cochran of the English department worked with great enthusiasm to increase the size of the library, but at the end of the year there were only a few dozen volumes, culled from the students, faculty, and townspeople. There were not enough books to fill a single bookcase, and most of those were comparatively worthless. Later, the Seminary began subscribing to a slender list of periodicals, but often-times these had to be discontinued because of financial straits.

The deplorable state of the library was, nevertheless, a stimulus for its improvement. In 1886 a library association was formed, and students and faculty were invited to join. Dues were a dollar a year, and were used to purchase "monthly magazines, weekly publications and daily papers."100 No regular librarian was hired, and the library

98Ibid., 1903-1904, 83.
99The Weekly Bee, March 22, 1884.
100Register of East Florida Seminary, The State Military Institute, 1886-87 and 1887-88 (in archives of the First Presbyterian Church of Gainesville), 35.
was supervised by the English faculty. After the men's dormitory was constructed, a room was set aside as a "reference-book room," and a few dictionaries, gazetteers, atlases, and a set of the Columbia Encyclopedia were purchased. The library grew slowly, and by 1888 it contained between eight hundred and a thousand books. A decade later, according to Seminary officials, the shelves of the library were "well filled with standard books of history, biography, travel, and general literature. To the earnest student this room will prove a treasure." No catalogue of the books was ever arranged, but it is safe to assume that the officials had exaggerated the size of the library, and that it contained little of value. Although much was done to improve the services of the library, as late as 1904 a cadet could be punished with only two demerits for not returning a book to the library at the proper time, while he might receive four demerits for having a toothpick in his mouth at the dining table.

Faculty members were much concerned about the reading habits of the students. According to an article in the Reveille, February, 1901, the Seminary, when it opened, "had its full quota of 'Nick Carter's' admirers, and to prevent this 'libellant on Fiction' was the first object of the faculty." The booksellers of Gainesville were asked to remove, "as far as possible from the cadets, every temptation to wrong-doing," and they were warned not to fill the "shelves with the cheap, trashy literature that, when read, weakens the mental faculties and creates a distaste for reading of a higher order." Miller's, the popular

102 Register of East Florida Seminary, 1897-1898, 45.
103 The Reveille, October, 1900, 14.
student store, complied with this request, and "instituted a boycott on the dime novel . . . and in place of the flashing, lurid papers is to be found first-class works of fiction." The Reveille noted also that the principal, "finding that the boys' minds were ready for a substance that would aid them in destroying the desire for the 'King Brady' variety of reading, placed at their disposal a number of good story books." The Reveille editor reported optimistically that "these books, read during their leisure moments, soon revealed to them that a story with clean characters and a good moral was far more interesting and entertaining than the blood-curdling incidents wrought from depraved and crime-permeated imaginations."

The Seminary's interest in music and the other arts had been evident for a long time. The teaching of music, particularly to the girls, had held an important place in the curriculum since the Seminary was founded, and this was generally true of seminaries throughout the South when women were part of the student body. The music program was gradually broadened at the East Florida Seminary, and in 1873 the board announced that "vocal music will be taught to the entire school FREE OF CHARGE." This interest in the musical arts was not extended to dancing, and, a few years later, when a Professor Miles tried to conduct a private dancing school at the Seminary, he was forced out of the building by the trustees. The free vocal lessons did not continue

104 Ibid., March, 1901, 151.
105 Ibid.
106 The New Era, August 30, 1873.
107 EFS Minute Book, March 7, 1877.
very long either. The musical director, as he was called, was paid no
salary, but charged for lessons which were given at the Seminary. He
turned over to the school ten per cent of his income and pocketed the
remainder. A special music department was organized during the latter
part of the 1890's, and there was instruction in both piano and voice.
The music students were assured that they would "have frequent oppor-
tunities to perform before public audiences." The new terms were "50¢
per lesson, payable in advance" in the vocal department, and there were
no charges for piano lessons.108

Although a declamation course was part of the curriculum as
early as 1870, Miss V. P. Carrington, who was employed in 1883, was the
first elocution teacher at the Seminary. Her salary was $150 a year,
and her job, according to the board report, was to hear at least one
recitation a week, which would be "devoted mainly to principles of good
reading and the cultivation of the voice."109 Unfortunately, this
course had to be dropped the following year because of the "pecuniary
embarrassment of the Board."110 A special department of elocution was
organized during the 1890's for the purpose of giving "the student such
command of his muscles and members that they will serve him properly
and effectively in the enforcement of thought and the portrayal of
feeling." By 1903 this department had been broadened to take in both
reading and elocution, and a three-term curriculum had been established.

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108East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue,
1903-1904, 75-9.

109EFS Minute Book, June 1, 1883.

110Ibid., February 5, 1884.
During the first term students were drilled in the "essentials of voice, form, quality, stress, pitch, force and movement," and in the following terms the "principles of gesture, action and facial expression" were carefully studied.

By the beginning of Cater's administration the custom of holding public examinations at the end of the academic year before a specially appointed board of visitors, and presenting a literary exhibition in conjunction with closing exercises had already become an established practice. The editor of the Gainesville Times told his readers in 1878 that he had attended the recent examinations which ended Cater's first year as principal, and that he was "satisfied that the pupils are properly instructed."

A four-year college program was introduced at the Seminary in 1878, and bachelor of arts degrees were conferred, and diplomas were issued for the first time at the Seminary in 1882. The first three graduates were Sumter Brock Hill, A. H. King, and M. E. Mixson. Mixson had been designated as the honor student. Five students were graduated the following year; one in 1884, four in 1885, seven in 1886, seven in 1887, and eleven in 1888. Graduating classes were never large at the Seminary in view of the relatively small size of the student body. There were no graduates at all in 1902. During its history the Seminary graduated a total of one hundred and twelve students.

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111The Gainesville Times, June 12, 1878.

The plan of a formal commencement program was inaugurated by Cater in 1881, although there were no graduates that year. It was to take the form of a literary exhibition with the students reading "essays" and reciting "orations." Commencements after that also included a musical program, a baccalaureate sermon, and a speech by an "important official," in addition to the readings and recitations. The program for 1900 was typical. On Sunday, May 20, special services were held in the local churches. Monday evening was taken up with a reception to the graduating class, the members of the junior class acting as hosts. Beginning at 4:30 on Tuesday afternoon the cadet companies drilled, and then individuals competed for the Eleve medal. The public literary exhibition was set for that evening. The program opened with music and prayer. There followed four orations delivered by graduating seniors: "The Present War in South Africa," by Cadet Captain John William Blanding; "The Four Greatest Generals of the World's History," by Cadet Captain Harry R. Knight; "The Progress of the United States During the Nineteenth Century," by Cadet First Lieutenant Edward L. Carroll; and "Life and Character of Stonewall Jackson," by Cadet Second Lieutenant James A. Fennell. The senior essay on "The Influence of Literature" was read by Miss Nena Jernigan. After the principal introduced the graduates to the audience, the young lady students performed calisthenics drills. More music followed and then the benediction. The following afternoon a dress parade was held on the campus, and final graduation was scheduled for eight o'clock that evening. It began with music, and after medals were presented to students who had ranked first in each

113The Sun and Bee (Gainesville), September 8, 1881.
class, the diplomas were handed out by the principal. The valedictories by the first and second honor graduates came next, and finally the literary address, usually made by a prominent alumnus, a well-known educator, or a state political figure. In 1900 State Superintendent of Public Instruction Sheats gave the address. Musical numbers came after each forensic effort. A long benediction and a song concluded the exercises.

There was little in the plain living, the simple amusements, the narrow curriculum, or the rigid and confining discipline of the Seminary that would appeal to students today, but many a student who had attended this institution before 1905 remembered his school days as one of the most exciting periods of his life. At the first large alumni meeting of the Seminary, a former graduate, B. R. Milam of Leesburg, indicated such feeling when he told his audience: "My heart is stirred profoundly and my enthusiasm aroused by the very words, East Florida Seminary. These words, wherever and whenever I hear them, turn my mind backward to the time when I was laboring under its hallowed roof in the pursuit of an education, and where I was forming associations and attachments as deathless as mind itself. Its name as well as its principles is [sic] hallowed to me. There I learned to love the Alma Mater, whose fostering care was to influence so greatly my entire life without its walls."[114]

CHAPTER VI

THE STUDENT MIND

The students who came to the Seminary from the farms and villages of Florida arrived with diverse educational backgrounds and experience. Some had been trained in public schools, some by private tutors, but most of them were relatively unprepared for college work and many even for a secondary education. Of the ninety students enrolled in 1870, forty were studying their basic three R's and were enrolled in the primary department.

The physical condition of Florida's schools and seminaries during the post-war period was partly responsible for this situation. Buildings were old, many of them were log cabins, and nearly all were in need of repair. Textbooks were in short supply, and they varied from school to school and often within the school itself. According to one report, "the pupils are furnished by their parents with every description of books, such as they could pick up here and there .... The miscellany would be laughable if it were not so harassing and painful to both teacher and pupils." Teachers were critically needed, and

1This statement is based upon reports from the county superintendents of public instruction for the years 1870 and 1873. The delapidated condition of buildings of the campus of the West Florida Seminary is described by Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 42.

those who were in the classroom were often not well trained. The average pay for public school teachers was thirty dollars a month.\textsuperscript{3} There were frequent changes in the offices of state and county superintendents during the period which made it difficult to operate an educational system.\textsuperscript{4}

Florida's illiteracy rate was high,\textsuperscript{5} and although there was a steady increase in school expenditures, the amount spent on each child in both the public schools and seminaries was far below the average of northern states.\textsuperscript{6} School terms were short, and many schools operated only three months each year. Sparsity of population created still another problem, particularly when there were so few highways and railroads. In most of the state in 1870, the average was less than six inhabitants per square mile, and only in the area around Tallahassee were there as many as eighteen to forty-five inhabitants.\textsuperscript{7} Under such conditions it was difficult to establish and maintain schools or to transport children to the places where educational institutions were

\textsuperscript{3}Tbid., 5.

\textsuperscript{4}In the period between 1869 and 1876 there were six different superintendents. For a short history of the state superintendents of public instruction in Florida from 1870 to 1876, see Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1880 (Syracuse, 1901), 56-57.

\textsuperscript{5}In 1880 twenty-one per cent of the white population and seventy-one per cent of the Negro population of Florida above ten years of age were illiterate, according to Fletcher W. Hewes and Henry Gannett, Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the United States, Showing by Graphic Methods their Present Condition and their Political, Social, and Industrial Development (New York, 1883), lvii.

\textsuperscript{6}Means of support and expenditures for Florida's public schools for the period 1869-1884 are described by Cochran, History of Public School Education in Florida, 53-58.

\textsuperscript{7}Kathryn T. Abby, Florida Land of Change (Chapel Hill, 1941), 309.
After the Civil War, Florida, along with the rest of the South, was faced with the need of reorientating its pattern of education. The curricula of both the East and West Florida Seminaries were typical: classical and literary by description, their main emphasis was upon ancient languages, literature, rhetoric, and moral philosophy. While Floridians were not altogether blind to a certain incongruity of such courses in schools in the South, they, for the most part, believed that education "was designed for the strengthening and adornment of the mind and not for immediate and practical use of vocational advancement." 8

The war and its outcome convinced many southern educational and political leaders that a new conception of education would have to be adopted. The South needed "geologists, chemists, mineralogists, engineers, machinists, superintendents of railroads, and captains of ships," as well as lawyers, doctors, and theologians. 9 The time had come, educationists thought, when the South could no longer depend entirely upon Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute or the United States Military Academy at West Point for its engineers, or upon Yale University for its chemists. 10 Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia, in his speech before the University of Georgia alumni society, delivered July 31, 1871, said that the South must make its contribution toward "the

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8 Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., 13.
10 Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., 20-21; Walter P. Rogers, Andrew D. White and the Modern University (Ithaca, 1942), 28.
extension of educational facilities to the masses of the people," and "the establishment of scientific, mechanical and polytechnic schools." General Daniel H. Hill of North Carolina used his *The Land We Love*, from its first issue in May, 1866, to express a similar point-of-view and to call for a new kind of education for southerners. Likewise, Henry W. Grady of Georgia, by newspaper articles and oratory, carried a similar message to the country. Robert E. Lee, when he assumed the presidency of Washington College, promoted departments of practical chemistry, experimental philosophy, practical mechanics, applied mathematics, modern languages, history, literature, and journalism. Vanderbilt University adopted a similar program when it began instruction in 1873.

That a small, provincial institution like the East Florida Seminary, supported by a state as poor as was Florida during the later decades of the nineteenth century, could do little to advance specialized education was evident enough. Nonetheless, Cater, when he became principal of the institution, was determined that his school should raise its academic standards so as to achieve collegiate rank, and that it should offer an educational program that would help meet some of the practical requirements of the citizens. That Cater, who was a graduate of Oglethorpe, the stronghold of southern Presbyterianism, should be cognizant of these needs was interesting in itself. His training had been

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12*The Land We Love*, I (May, 1866), 1-11. (June, 1866), 83-91.
13Coulter, *op. cit.*, 318.
with men who had been educated in the North, particularly at Princeton and Harvard, and at a time when there was great emphasis upon the classical curriculum.14

Florida needed engineers to drain her swamplands, geologists to fathom her mineral wealth, agriculturists to develop her citrus and truck farming, and trained teachers to serve in her classrooms. While the East Florida Seminary could hardly have been expected to fill all of these needs, her administrators and faculty attempted, within their ability and limited means, to provide a practical educational program. During the time that Cater was principal, the curriculum was reorganized several times in an effort to develop a collegiate program. A normal department was also set up, and it became one of the most important parts of the Seminary's program. Under the principals who succeeded Cater, a commercial department was created, and an attempt was made to establish a law school.

In Florida, as elsewhere in the South, there was a constant need for teachers, properly trained, and with the fortitude to adjust to low salaries and poor working conditions. This need had been obvious and had been recognized in Florida since the territorial period, but nothing had been done about it until the passage of the Seminary Act of 1851, which specified that the state seminaries would be authorized to instruct "persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching all the various branches that pertain to a good common school.

14Cater studied under Samuel K. Talmage, a graduate of Princeton, Joseph Le Conte, a graduate of Harvard, and James Woodrow, a Harvard graduate and a maternal uncle of Woodrow Wilson. For a brief description of the Oglethorpe curriculum, see Allen P. Tankersley, College at Old Oglethorpe (Athens, 1951), 37.
From the start, teacher training courses became part of the East Florida Seminary curriculum, and Miss Jeffie Crutchfield was the first Seminary graduate to go into public school teaching. These courses were based in large part on the ideas projected by Horace Mann of Massachusetts, who pioneered teacher training and educational reform in this country. Travelling widely in Europe, Mann had studied various educational systems, and he was particularly impressed with those that he found in Germany. Through his influence, the report on Prussian education, written by Victor Cousins, was translated into English and published in the United States. It was read by educational leaders in all parts of the country who saw how its basic principles could be adapted to American needs. When Mann became chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1837, he formulated his plans to establish America's first normal school. It began instruction in 1839, and set the pattern for normal schools and teacher training courses in institutions like the East Florida Seminary. Besides Mann, Florida's schools were also influenced by the educational philosophy of John D. Pierce of Michigan, who waged an effective educational crusade throughout the West.

When the Seminary was established in Gainesville, the normal program seems to have been dropped for a while. In 1870, when the board of trustees reorganized the school into three departments, male, female, and primary, teacher training was not mentioned. However, the

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16 EFS Minute Book, April 15, 1870.
state superintendent reported in 1871 that several of the teachers in the Alachua County public school system had received their education at the Seminary. The following year, the superintendent of Alachua County schools revealed that "our chief dependence for competent teachers is in the graduating pupils of the East Florida Seminary." An advertisement in the Gainesville paper in 1873 stated that the Seminary would provide "a sound English education" to all pupils, and that "special care will be taken that boys instructed here shall be prepared for business," but specified no special normal program.

Cater was determined that the school he had been called to administer should become an institution of advanced learning in fact as in name. Teacher training was a cause dear to his heart. Through his persuasion, the board of trustees in January, 1878, invited W. P. Haisley, state superintendent of public instruction, to come to Gainesville to explain the role which the Seminary could play in educating "teachers competent to fill the positions open to them in the Common Schools of the state." Haisley announced that the George Peabody Educational Fund, which had been established in 1867 by a Massachusetts-born English banker and benefactor who wanted to promote "intellectual, moral, and industrial education in the most destitute portions of the Southern

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19The New Era, August 30, 1873.

20EFS Minute Book, January 2, 1878.
States," was anxious to help state normal schools.\textsuperscript{21} The fund, consisting of more than three million dollars in cash and Florida and Mississippi state bonds, was directed by Barnas Sears, former president of Brown University, who saw the need of primary school education and the training of teachers for those institutions.\textsuperscript{22} In 1870 the East Florida Seminary received an initial appropriation of $700, which enabled the board to keep the school operating after its other funds had been exhausted.\textsuperscript{23}

With the prospect of continuing financial support from the Peabody fund, the Seminary board authorized Cater in February, 1879 to establish a normal course.\textsuperscript{24} During that summer, the principal, on an experimental basis, taught "theories and practices of elementary instruction" to a class of ten students. Presumably, it was a success, and the following year teacher training was placed on a more permanent


\textsuperscript{24}EFS Minute Book, February 3, 1879.
basis, and the course was named normal school system of instruction. According to the board's announcement this course would pursue the "best methods adopted by State Normal Schools." It was also predicted that the Seminary would now be able to "furnish to the State a large portion of her future educators."

G. Y. Renfroe, a recent graduate of Lebanon (Ohio) Normal College, was placed in charge, with the title of professor of didactics and pedagogies. Enrollment was restricted to boys over the age of fifteen and girls over fourteen. The curriculum included methods of teaching, school organization and management, history and philosophy of education, and educational psychology. The classes below the normal department served as an experimental school for observation and practice teaching.

Because of the success of the normal course, the legislature in 1883 passed a law establishing normal school departments at the East and West Florida Seminaries for white students, and at the Lincoln Academy in Tallahassee and the Union Academy in Gainesville for Negro students. A graduate at any one of the four institutions was to receive a certificate which was to have the "same force and value as a teachers' certificate." The legislature appropriated for each of the years in 1883 and 1884 the sum of $3,000, to be divided among the four institutions. The records of the East Florida Seminary board of trustees

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25 Ibid., July 8, 1880.
reveal that state officials were loath to transfer money to Gainesville. In 1883 an appropriation was released from the normal school fund only after a number of pleading and threatening letters had been dispatched to Tallahassee. The following year, however, A. J. Russell, the newly elected state superintendent, met with members of the board in Gainesville, and assured them that in the future there would be no undue delays in the transfer of funds.29

From the point of view of interest and students enrolled, the normal department flourished. Nevertheless, a feeling was developing throughout the state that the teacher training program, which called for strict and constant supervision, should be divorced from the Seminaries, where enthusiasm for a liberal arts curriculum was strong. Sectionalism was also a factor to be considered. The people of central Florida resented the fact that Gainesville and Tallahassee held a monopoly in state-supported seminaries. This feeling was reflected in the constitutional convention in 1885, where pressure was brought to bear upon delegates to set up special normal schools. As a result, the new constitution authorized the establishment of two such institutions.30 The legislature in 1887 created and located the State Normal School for Negroes at Tallahassee, and the State Normal School for Whites at DeFuniak Springs. At the same time the normal department at the East Florida Seminary was discontinued, for the time being, by its board of trustees.31 Occasionally the Alachua County board of

29EFS Minute Book, August 6, 1884.

30Constitution Adopted at the Convention of 1885, Article XII, Section 14 and 28.

public instruction held special six-week teacher-training sessions, or teachers institutes as they were called, at the Seminary.

That the Seminary's program in training teachers had rendered great service is documented by the educational statistics of Alachua County. Because of the proximity of the county schools to the Seminary, as has been shown, most of the teachers were Seminary graduates. In 1869 none of the twenty-eight teachers in the public schools of the county held teaching certificates, and only fourteen had any previous teaching experience. In 1880 two teachers held a first class certificate, six years later eight possessed such a certificate, and Alachua County had more teachers of that rank than any other county in the State. School officials attributed this directly to the influence of the Seminary.

In 1899 the board reinstituted a pedagogical department, based upon a three-year teacher-training program. During the first year the normal course included mathematics, English, history, geography, and history of education. Pedagogy, school management and theory, and practice of teaching were listed as specialized sophomore courses. Successful completion of two years' work earned for the normal student a first-class certificate, which was good for three years and could be used in another county upon its endorsement by the superintendent of that county. An additional year of normal work was necessary for a state certificate which was valid for five years, and could be used...


anywhere in the state.

Beginning March 16, 1903, a special teachers' review term was established to help teachers (without sufficient normal school training), prepare for the spring examinations required for certification. The normal program was under the supervision of the regular faculty, and the Seminary catalogue emphasized that the purpose of the school was "to give the teachers of Florida the best possible advantages for review and for advanced work at the least possible expense." Certification, not teacher training, was the objective. "No special effort will be made," a 1904 announcement read, "to develop a Normal course in this institution, as that is hardly the mission of the Seminary." Any prospective teacher who, because of financial reasons, could not register at the DeFuniak Normal College was allowed to attend the Seminary.

Cater, in addition to instituting a teacher training program when he became principal, insisted upon higher educational standards at the school, consolidation of courses, and more difficult entrance requirements. He found that the Seminary was teaching everything "from the alphabet . . . to the end of a collegiate course, including French and German."

The board of trustees, carrying out the policy of its predecessors, "had opened the doors of the Seminary to all who chose to attend." Cater fully realized that it would be "a difficult task to bring order and symmetry out of a mass of such incongruous elements," but he was determined to reorganize the whole Seminary program. During the three-year period, 1877-1880, the school, under Cater's guidance, was carefully graded, and two departments—a

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preparatory department, with primary and high school courses, and a college department—were organized. New textbooks and a more rigid grading system were introduced, and college courses, similar in standard to those being offered to freshmen in many institutions of higher learning throughout the South, were added to the curriculum. Only those students who showed in preliminary tests their ability to do advanced work were to be admitted to the college program. A similar program was announced for the West Florida Seminary in 1879.35

In the summer of 1880 plans were made to abolish all secondary school classes, but since there was no high school in Gainesville or in the surrounding counties, it was decided to continue for the time being a "sub-freshman" class. Courses ordinarily found in the last two years of high school were offered, and the largest percentage of the Seminary's enrollment was in this college preparatory department. Cater continued to strengthen his college department, and by 1888 it included four sub-departments—mathematics, English, science, and ancient languages.36

In 1892 the board of trustees ordered most of the preparatory courses dropped, and added about a third more college courses.37 Again in 1896 the board dropped some pre-college courses, and added more college courses to the curriculum.38 In 1900 the trustees ordered a further curriculum reorganization "so that the studies of the highest

35Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 54-55.
37EFS Minute Book, June 15, 1892.
38Tbid., June, 1896.
class of the Seminary" would be equal to "those taught in the Sophomore classes of southern colleges generally and so that graduates of the Seminary may be prepared to enter the junior classes of such colleges." In 1901 all college preparatory courses were finally eliminated, and for the first time in its history the Seminary, except for the commercial department, offered only college work.

In 1904, the collegiate department, as it was now called, was expanded to a four-year program, and the catalogue listed a variety of courses in mathematics, ancient and modern languages, history, including Florida history, political science, economics, English and American literature, and military science and tactics. Under the elective system students could study in any one of four departments: classical, Latin-scientific, English-modern languages, or English-scientific. The curriculum changes are typified by the course of study as listed in the catalogue for the Latin-scientific department. A freshman read Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, in his sophomore year he read Virgil's *Aeneid* and Cicero's *Orations and Essays*, as a junior he studied Livy and Horace, and as a senior he concentrated on Latin comedy and philosophy. Students who chose to study Greek, in addition to Latin, were expected to read the *Iliad* in the sophomore year, and to study Herodotus, Demosthenes, and Sophocles in their junior and senior years. These students also studied chemistry, physics, biology, and mathematics.

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Students majoring in English-modern languages studied French throughout the four years, and were expected to take another year of either German or Spanish. In addition, they studied mathematics, history, political science, philosophy, rhetoric, oratory, and literature. The English courses in the freshman year were devoted to grammar, and, according to the catalogue, the purpose was "to ground the pupil thoroughly in the principles of entymology and syntax as a basis for further study." Special emphasis was laid upon "parsing" sentences. Two periods a week for freshmen and three periods a week for upperclassmen were devoted to literature. The faculty felt that the students should not only develop a taste for good books, but should also cultivate their imagination, and sharpen their faculties of moral perception. In four years a student was expected to read The Revolt of the Tartars, Lady of the Lake, Vicar of Wakefield, Silas Marner, Evangeline, Pope's Essay on Man, Tale of Two Cities, Vision of Sir Launfal, Carlyle's essay on Burns and his Heroes and Hero Worship, Macaulay's essay on Milton, Paradise Lost, and Shakespeare's As You Like It, Julius Caesar, Anthony and Cleopatra, Macbeth, Merchant of Venice, Hamlet, and Othello.

In addition to strengthening the college program, the board of trustees had long felt that the Seminary should offer a variety of commercial subjects. Typewriting and shorthand courses had been introduced in 1881, and they had proved to be popular with students. Some members of the faculty wondered if the Seminary might not become a

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43 Ibid., 35.
44 Ibid., 36.
business college if other commercial courses were introduced, but the trustees obviously did not feel that this would threaten the liberal arts program. The growing industrial program of Florida had revealed the need for "intelligent and skillful office help," and the board said that the Seminary had a responsibility to provide a "thorough and practical business education." With a legislative appropriation of $875 the commercial department was set up in 1901. The catalogue announced courses in bookkeeping and general office practice, arithmetic, commercial law, spelling, and penmanship. The Longley system of shorthand was taught in the stenographic course, and no commercial student could be graduated until he could "write and read with facility any business matter at the rate of not less than one hundred words per minute and be able to transcribe his notes on the typewriting machine at a rapid rate and in a neat manner." According to the catalogue, a course in telegraphy was offered in which the student would be trained "in sending and receiving messages, train orders, and such work as belongs to general commercial and railway telegraphy." Tuition in the commercial department was the same as for the rest of the Seminary, plus an additional $10 fee for incidentals. The Seminary promised "to place deserving students in positions" wherever and whenever possible.

Although the Seminary was ill-equipped to establish a law school, the ambitious members of the board of trustees, in the summer of 1903, announced that such a department was being organized. For years members of the legal profession, who were alumni of the Seminary, had argued

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46Ibid., 61-67.
for a school of law. Although the financial plight of the Seminary and the lack of an adequate library provided major obstacles to the plan, the trustees in July, 1903 appointed a special executive committee with full power to hire a law faculty and to set up a course of study in time for the fall semester.47

Horatio Davis, who had been on the board of trustees, was appointed dean and professor in 1903 at an undetermined salary, to be paid from student fees. Captain George M. Lynch was relieved of part of his teaching load in the mathematics department and made professor of law at no increase in salary. J. M. Rivers and Christopher Matheson were appointed professors, and William Wade Hampton was designated lecturer without pay to give instruction as he had the time. These latter three appointees were prominent Gainesville citizens, and were not regular members of the faculty. There were no admission requirements to the law school for graduates of the Seminary or other recognized institutions. Applicants from non-recognized schools would have to take an entrance examination.

In addition to the customary lectures and textbook discussions, the course was to include moot courts to "be held from time to time" for the argument of cases. The law course was to cover two academic years. During the first year it was planned that the student would study constitutional law, torts, real property, contracts, personal property, and Florida Statutes; in the final year courses would be offered in common law pleading, criminal pleading, partnership, equity pleading, corporations, negotiable instruments, evidence, and Florida

47 EF S Minute Book, July 15, 1903.
pleading and practice. Arrangements were made for the law students to purchase their textbooks through the Seminary and thus receive the publisher's discounts. Tuition was $30 a year.\textsuperscript{48} It was expected that the law school would strengthen the Seminary by giving it a rapidly increasing number of influential alumni. Actually, the school never developed beyond the paper stage. Classes were organized at the opening of the fall term, September 28, 1903, but the Seminary records do not list a single law student. There is nothing to indicate that any further attempt was made to establish a law school at the Seminary after 1903.

In addition to curriculum changes, there were, over the years, other modifications in the Seminary's educational program. The lecture method, partly because it was becoming increasingly common in schools throughout the East and partly because of Cater's interest, began to supplant textbook recitation in many of the courses during the 1880s. The lecture method and oral questioning had been widely used at Oglethorpe when Cater was a student,\textsuperscript{49} and probably he felt that it would be useful at the Seminary, particularly in the history, political science, and philosophy courses. The trustees, conservative in outlook, greeted this innovation with differing reactions. A few felt that the lectures would be too advanced, that professors would tend to talk over the heads of the students, and that the pupils could learn more by reading a book than by listening to an explanation. The lecture system had its defenders, however, both among the trustees and the students, who argued that no textbook could be kept as up-to-date

\textsuperscript{48}East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1903-1904, 68-71.

\textsuperscript{49}Tankersley, op. cit., 40.
as lectures. They pointed out that many of the natural science courses, such as chemistry, physics, geology, and botany, made extensive and successful use of lectures. As time went on, the combined lecture and recitation system grew in favor.

To broaden the educational program, the faculty encouraged students to attend as many "good lectures and musical entertainments" as they could. In Gainesville after 1900 a lyceum course was offered, and members of the faculty and outside speakers were invited to talk on some aspect of their field. Special rates for Seminary students were advertised. From time to time during the academic year, special lectures were given at the Seminary. In the 1903-1904 session, the principal delivered a series of lectures on parliamentary law to the literary societies, and members of the faculty were often invited to address these groups. Cater had regularly delivered lectures on various religious topics at assembly programs, and this practice was continued by many of his successors.

If academic standards were to be raised, and if the Seminary was to eventually become a recognized collegiate institution, well-equipped laboratories for science courses were necessary. Cater in 1881 valued all laboratory equipment at $1,500, and there was a question whether the state could provide additional funds for this purpose. It was not until 1889 that the trustees had enough money to purchase the

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50East Florida Seminary and Military Institute Catalogue, 1901-1902, 34.
51Ibid., 1903-1904, 82.
minimum needs of the chemistry laboratory. Dissecting lenses and a compound microscope were purchased for the botany department in 1898, and for the first time the science professor could gather native plants and dissect them in the classroom. For anatomy and physiology courses "a human skull, section models, anatomical charts, and a large number of histological preparations" were also provided. Additional equipment was added from time to time, but even by the standards of that day the laboratories could never have been classed as first rate. There was no equipment provided for the geology students, but they did take field trips to the phosphate and limestone beds in the area around Ocala and Dunnellon.

The grading system at the Seminary was similar to that used by many academies and colleges in the South. Beginning in 1871 grades were given for both deportment and scholarship. Monthly and term grades were reported in writing by the principal to the parent or guardian. Such reports were submitted on a printed, standardized form with 70 the minimum passing grade. A figure of 90 to 100 denoted a first grade scholar, 80 to 90 a second grade, and 70 to 80 a third grade. Later the passing grade was set at 75. The students were subjected to monthly examinations, in addition to the public inquisition held at the end of each term. Superintendent Cater in 1896 asked permission of the board of trustees to "abolish all examination and determine the average of daily recitations as the basis for reports and promotions."

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53 EFS Minute Book, July 26, 1889.
54 Register of East Florida Seminary, 1898-1899, 23.
55 East Florida Seminary report cards for 1871 in the James B. Bailey Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.
He insisted that "the tendency of examinations is only evil and that continually they are being dropped by many of the best schools when attendance on recitations is compulsory." The board accepted Cater's recommendation only in part, substituting semi-annual examinations for monthly tests. After 1900 there seems to have been less institutional control over the giving of examinations and tests, and the decisions of content and timing were left to the discretion of the individual instructors.

After its settlement in Gainesville in 1866 the growth of the Seminary was slow. Its greatest progress and development began after Cater became principal. With the support of a cooperative board of trustees and a conscientious faculty, the academic standards of the Seminary were slowly raised. By the turn of the twentieth century the Seminary was no longer "just a local school." More and more it had begun to meet the needs of the state's population. Its administrators gradually eliminated college preparatory courses and insisted that students receive such academic training in high school. It seemed at last that the Seminary was about to achieve the goal for which it had been founded, that is, to provide advanced educational opportunities for the young men and women of Florida.

56 EFS Minute Book, 1896.
CHAPTER VII

FINANCE, FACULTY, AND PRINCIPALS

Finance was a serious problem which vexed the East Florida Seminary throughout its history. When the legislature in 1851 authorized the establishment of the two seminaries, the obvious intent was to create a much needed system of higher education. Little concern, however, was given to the problem of providing financial support for these institutions so that they could fulfill the purpose of their establishment. Until 1883, when it received the allotment of $750 to finance its normal course, the East Florida Seminary subsisted entirely upon income from the Seminary Land Fund, tuition in the years in which such fees were charged, and meager appropriations from the Peabody Educational Fund. At no time during this period was this income large enough to allow the Seminary to employ the faculty, purchase the equipment, or construct the buildings which were needed to enhance the growth of the institution. Very often, particularly during the crucial war and reconstruction years, the Seminary operated with a deficit, and it was necessary to slash salaries and reduce the school term. It is likely that the school could not have operated during the 1870's had not the Alachua County Board of Public Instruction agreed to finance the primary department, and had not the trustees of the Peabody fund allocated grants.
Interest from the Seminary Land Fund was the institution's principal source of revenue, although its payment was not always certain, nor when paid was it uniform, varying from $2,950 in 1868 to $5,000 ten years later. Since the state treasurer paid in scrip, the trustees were never sure how much "good money" they would receive. In 1870 the chairman of the board of trustees complained that the depreciated warrants "renders it difficult for us to employ teachers."¹ The largest sums ever received by the Seminary from the land fund were $4,682 in 1873 and $5,000 in 1878. The average was about $2,850 a year.²

Each year, the trustees of the Peabody fund allocated varying sums of money to Tallahassee, to be distributed at the discretion of the state superintendent of public instruction to white and Negro schools throughout Florida. It was possible for the superintendent to discriminate against a particular institution, and it was the belief of the trustees of the West Florida Seminary that such had happened with their school.³ There is nothing in the records to indicate that the East Florida Seminary had suffered such discrimination, although no total on the amount received between 1868 and 1884 is available, and


²These figures are taken from the annual reports of the state comptroller who verified the warrants and the state treasurer who paid them. See Reports of the Comptroller of the State of Florida, 1866-1905, and Reports of the Treasurer of the State of Florida, 1866-1905.

³Dodd, op. cit., 42.
no kind of a comparison can be made. The grants received were small, always less than $1,000, and they varied almost as widely as the income from the Seminary Land Fund. Tuition was also an uncertain source of income, dependent upon enrollment and the fees charged.

In the history of higher education in Florida 1887 has been called "the year of awakening." A constantly growing number of enlightened citizens realized that Florida's public schools and seminaries would remain backward indefinitely unless generous financial aid was provided by the state. The spread of this feeling led Florida to embark in 1887 on a permanent program of subsidizing her educational institutions, an important step in the development of a college and university system.

Florida's financial condition at this time was stronger than it had ever been before. In the decade after reconstruction the state had taken broad strides toward utilizing her resources of agricultural and mineral wealth, and she was effectively exploiting her temperate climate as being ideal for both the tourist and the permanent settler. Population increased, as did taxable property values. All of this had the effect not only of raising the spirits of the population, but of allaying "the cautious fear of their representatives in the general assembly," to the extent that the legislature appropriated for the biennium 1887-1889 the sum of $43,900 for educational purposes. Of

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4According to Cochran, *History of Public-School Education in Florida*, 73, Florida during this period received $68,700 from the Peabody fund.

5Dodd, *op. cit.*, 68.

6Ibid., 69.
the total, the East Florida Seminary received $10,000 to pay for the
construction of the men's dormitory, and $2,000 to supplement salaries
and incidental expenses. This educational appropriation, while not
sizeable by today's standards, was very large for the time, approxi-
mating six per cent of all funds voted by the legislature for that
biennium. More important, it established the policy of the state's
financial responsibility toward her institutions of higher learning.

Another important law enacted in 1887 reorganized the boards of
trustees of the two state seminaries. The governor, with the approval
of the senate, was to appoint a seven-man governing board for each
institution. Neither Alachua nor Leon County could supply more than
three members to the board of its own Seminary. The final section of
the act amended the law of February 14, 1861 by providing for the issu-
ance of military arms and accoutrements to the schools, and the gradua-
tion and commissioning of the officers in the cadet corps. This act
also permitted the faculties of the institutions to use military
titles.

The East Florida Seminary received a total of $35,000 in state
aid in the period between 1887 and 1901. The appropriations for the
West Florida Seminary were smaller during this time because that insti-
tution began receiving in 1887 an annual income of $2,000 from the

7Laws of Florida, 1887, 37. The Florida Agricultural College,
which had been established in Lake City in 1884, received $7,500;
$16,000 was to be used to establish the two normal colleges for white
and Negro students, as authorized by the constitution of 1885; $3,000
was to be used for teachers institutes; and the remaining $5,400 was to
reimburse the city of Ocala for the expenditures made in 1852 in order
to secure the East Florida Seminary.

8Ibid., 134-35.
estate of James D. Westcott, Jr., a graduate of the school. In 1901
the legislature voted $13,500 to the East Florida Seminary to pay for
the purchase and furnishing of the women's dormitory, to set up the
commercial department, and to supplement regular expenses. For the
next biennium, 1903-1905, the Seminary received approximately $30,000
from the state, out of a total of $255,522 which had been voted for all
the institutions of higher learning. The costs of higher education
had been mounting ever since 1887, and many citizens had begun to ques­
tion the state's wisdom in trying to support more educational institu­
tions than it could comfortably afford. Such sentiment encouraged the
legislature to enact in 1905 a bill consolidating the institutions of
higher learning.

Until 1882 the records of the East Florida Seminary do not
reveal any financial reports. In that year Cater stated that his school
had received $2,550 from the Seminary fund, $1,000 from tuition, and
$300 from the Peabody fund, a total of $3,850. Expenses included $2,945
for salaries and $690 for incidental expenses, leaving a balance of $205
in the treasury. Expenses were broken down into more detail in 1893,
and expenditures for salaries, janitorial services, furniture, insur­
ance, advertising, repairs, postage and stationery, printing, and
utilities were listed. Very often the Seminary closed its school year
with a deficit and sometimes it was necessary to postpone payment of
bills until additional money was received from Tallahassee in the fall.

Obviously, these problems of finance affected the growth and
development of the Seminary, particularly when it came to employing
faculty. Salaries were low, even for those times, by comparison with
both the national average and with schools in other parts of the South.
Cater, who had been employed at $1,000 a year in 1877, was given a $300 increase in 1884. At the same time the salary of a professor was set at $850, although the following year only the principal's first assistant was actually paid this amount. In 1887 salaries were readjusted to a lower scale, but to make up the difference free living quarters in the new dormitory were furnished the faculty and their families. In 1895 it was announced that the principal's salary was $1,200; the commandant of the cadet corps, $900; the head of the science department, $800; and the professor of languages and literature, $800. According to a study made in 1893 of salaries paid by one hundred and twenty-four colleges, the national average was $1,470.54. The average salary received by the presidents and principals of the institutions included in the study was $3,047, or approximately two and a half times that paid to the head of the East Florida Seminary. Of the twenty-eight southern colleges included in the survey, it was found

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10 W. R. Harper, "The Pay of American College Professors," The Forum, XVI (September, 1893), 99, and Claude Charleton Bowman, The College Professor in America (Philadelphia, 1938), 39-40. Comparative statistics of teaching salaries for the period before 1904 are hard to come by. The first report on salaries paid in state universities and land grant colleges which provides appropriate data was published by the Bureau (now Office) of Education in 1908. Earlier data, if any were gathered, were not published and are not now readily available. The best study for the period since 1904 is Beardsley Ruml and Sidney G. Tickton, Teaching Salaries Then and Now: A 50-Year Comparison With Other Occupations and Industries, Bulletin No. 1, The Fund for the Advancement of Education (New York, 1955). An analysis of the annual earnings and real wages of elementary and secondary school teachers was made by Paul H. Douglas, Real Wages in the United States, 1890-1926 (Cambridge, 1930), 361-85.

that the average faculty pay was $1,494.18. In some cases, housing was also furnished. The southern average, as reported, is misleading unless one takes into consideration the fact that most of the small schools in the region, where salaries were very low, were not included in the study. Undoubtedly, the southern average would have been considerably lower had the salaries of all institutions, such as the East Florida Seminary, been considered. Faculty salaries in the West and South were about $400 below the average for the North, but this was explained by "the lower cost of living in those sections." Had these statistics been gathered after the financial panic of 1893 and the ensuing depression, they would likely have revealed even smaller salaries for both college administrators and teaching faculty.

The cost of living in Gainesville was low. Although it was of no concern to the Seminary faculty who were furnished housing, a plain but comfortable house in the residential section near the campus could be rented for less than $350 a year at any time during the 1890's. Food prices were also reasonable with white potatoes selling in 1894 for 40 cents a peck, onions 50 cents a peck, green beans 5 cents a quart, corn 15 cents a dozen, peaches 10 cents a quart, eggs 15 cents a dozen, and chickens 25 cents each. Utilities and clothing costs were also low by comparison with urban areas, particularly those in

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12 Ibid., 101.
13 Ibid.
14 The Weekly Sun (Gainesville), May 31, 1894. The rental figures are based upon advertisements which appeared in the Gainesville paper during this period. Although prices in 1894 were typical of the deflationary prices throughout the country, they did not change too much in small rural communities like Gainesville until after 1900.
the North. Prices tended to rise after 1900, and there were some salary adjustments, but the cost-of-living generally remained ahead of professorial income. It was obvious that the Seminary faculty, after paying for food and other costs, had little left for travel, additional study, or to purchase books. This problem, of course, was not peculiar to the Gainesville institution. Similar complaints were voiced by the faculty of the West Florida Seminary and other Florida educational institutions, and of schools throughout the country.\(^\text{15}\)

Salaries were not the only matter of concern to the faculty of the East Florida Seminary. Teaching appointments were given on a year-to-year basis "upon election by the Board." Election meant that members of the board nominated individuals for a vacant post, after which they voted to determine the winner. Sometimes there was a delay before a nominee received the necessary majority, and records of the board reveal that on a few occasions this delay extended over several meetings. In 1875 Miss Fannie Weeks was elected as first assistant teacher by a vote of four to one, and in 1882 it was duly recorded in the minutes that the "Reverend F. Pasco of Monticello, having received the highest number of votes, a majority of the whole, was declared elected by the Chair."\(^\text{16}\)

\(^{15}\) A professor, teaching in a community similar to Gainesville in size and location, estimated that in 1897 it cost him $1,820 a year to take care of a family of four. His food costs were $65 a month. See "Confessions of a College Professor," Scribner's Magazine, XXII (November, 1897), 629-34. A similar report was made by a professor teaching in a larger and wealthier university, for the period 1896-1905, in "What Should College Professors be Paid?" The Atlantic Monthly, XCV (May, 1905), 647-50. For contemporary discussions of this problem see John Davidson, "The Economy in High Wages for Teachers," Educational Review, XV (February, 1898), 155-66; "The Status of an American Professor," Educational Review, XVI (December, 1898), 417-34; and Bliss Perry, "The Life of a College Professor," Scribner's Magazine, XXII (October, 1897), 513.

\(^{16}\) EFS Minute Book, December 12, 1882.
It appears from the records that the trustees did not always consult the faculty, even on those matters about which the professors felt that they were competent to make recommendations. The trustees directly concerned themselves with student discipline, choice of textbooks, and the material that was to be taught in a particular course. Faculty members were made well aware of the many restrictions on their activities, inside and outside the classroom. Each teacher at the time of his employment was thoroughly briefed by the principal on the eighteen rules and regulations drawn up by the board. He was told that he would have to wear a uniform in class (blue serge in winter and dark cotton in summer), that he could not give examinations "at any other than the regularly appointed times," that he could not accept presents from his students nor excuse them from class, and that the services of the janitor were prohibited for personal use. He was forbidden to "disparage a fellow teacher," and he could be fired if he were found guilty of such an offense. He was also forbidden to "criticize the school or its management under any circumstances." If he was dissatisfied with any aspect of the institution he could make his complaint known in a letter to the principal, and, if his grievance continued, he had the right to appeal to the board. If, however, the professor was still dissatisfied, and could not "acquiesce cheerfully in the decision of the authorities," he would be asked to resign.17

Until 1877 most of the Seminary faculty was made up of women who taught in the primary department and local ministers who offered more advance work. Because of the limited budget, there could be

17Regulations for Teachers, East Florida Seminary (copy in UF Archives).
little specialization, and a professor was expected to teach several subjects. Cater, after he became principal, tried to change this situation, and in 1882 teaching areas were broken down somewhat, and no longer was one professor asked to instruct in every department.

Low salaries did not necessarily mean that the Seminary was deprived of a good faculty. Often it was possible to employ a person who had just received his degree and who wanted teaching experience. Others were attracted by the area's moderate climate, the low living costs, or because they had family connections in Gainesville. Some members of the faculty, thus recruited, had an important effect upon the growth and development of the Seminary. William N. Sheats was such a person. Georgia-born, he had been graduated with highest honors from Emory College in 1873, had received a master's degree three years later, and had taught school in Thomasville and Camilla, Georgia, before arriving in Gainesville to become assistant principal.18 His training was limited to his undergraduate study; the advanced degree had been awarded by Emory on the basis of his three years of outside teaching and the fact that he had "sustained a good moral character."19 Sheats had a firm foundation in Greek and Latin, and at the Seminary he taught ancient languages, mathematics, rhetoric, history, and English grammar. His greatest contribution was cooperating with Cater and the trustees in planning and developing the Seminary's reorganization. He was a true friend of the institution, and was particularly helpful in organizing the normal course. Later, when he became superintendent of schools in Alachua County and served as a Seminary trustee, he

19 Ibid., 50.
advertised the school, hoping to attract students from all parts of Florida and other states. He acted for a number of years as secretary to the board of trustees.

While the Seminary faculty was never large in size, it included among its numbers several competent scholars. E. W. Meany, the former principal of the Seminary, returned to Gainesville, and, in 1882, he was appointed as professor of ancient languages and literature. Since his earlier residence in Gainesville he had travelled widely, and he was, perhaps, the most urbane member of the faculty. He suffered poor health, however, and after a few months he was forced to resign his teaching position.

Frederick Pasco, a graduate of Harvard University, succeeded Meany as professor of ancient languages. As we have seen, Pasco's enthusiasm for the classics stimulated his students to form the Pascanian Literary Society, of which he became a faculty adviser. In spite of a personality clash with Cater, which once erupted into a hearing before the board of trustees, Pasco's student following was not impaired. His students held him in highest regard, and regretted his leaving the Seminary in 1886 to take a more lucrative administrative position in Jacksonville. In 1889 W. R. Thomas, a graduate of Vanderbilt University, was named instructor in Latin and Greek.

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20 EFS Minute Book, December 12, 1882.
21 Meany served as rector of the Episcopal church in Tallahassee after he left Gainesville.
22 EFS Minute Book, May 25, 1885.
Thomas resigned to enter business in Gainesville, the teaching of ancient languages became the responsibility of Cater, who sought to impress "the principles of the language so thoroughly upon the mind of the learner that he will be able to read any author with pleasure and profit." After 1899 ancient and modern languages were consolidated into a single department directed by John C. Johnson, who had studied at such widely distant places as the University of Mississippi and Harvard University. Johnson had originally been employed at the Seminary as professor of English. His course, "History of English Literature," was one of the most popular offered at the institution. After Johnson became head of the languages department, the Latin course was extended to four years, and Greek, German, and French courses were each lengthened to a two-year period.

To fill Johnson's position in the English department, the board in 1899 employed Martha W. Crymes, a graduate of Peabody Normal College. Before arriving in Gainesville, she had taken graduate work at the University of Chicago, and had taught school in Mississippi. Finding the Seminary courses in rhetoric and grammar unsatisfactory, she immediately reorganized the department. Her main interest was rhetoric, and

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24 Thomas also entered politics and was mayor of Gainesville in 1905 when that city was selected as the site for the University of Florida.

25 Register of East Florida Seminary, 1897-98, 20.

26 Ibid., 1898-99, 24.

27 Ibid., 26.
there was no great insistence on her part that students study English and American literature. Her students were assigned readings in the Latin and Greek classics, but mainly for the purpose of studying form rather than content.

Tom F. McBeath, a versatile and widely read young teacher, became professor of English languages and literature at the beginning of the fall term of 1903, after Miss Grymes accepted a teaching position in another school. Unlike his predecessor, McBeath was interested in literature. At the Seminary he became a propagandist for the American writers of the nineteenth century, and he took particular pleasure in reciting to his classes the poetry of Walt Whitman. He insisted that his students read widely, and that they develop the art of objective criticism. He introduced a junior course called "Elements of Criticism," and, years later, students remembered it as one of the most stimulating and lively courses they had taken.28 McBeath was an unusually popular lecturer and speaker, and after he left the Seminary he remained in Gainesville to edit a newspaper called the Exponent. An article on compulsory education written in 1905, in which McBeath argued that states should not undertake to enforce attendance in public schools by statutory enactment, created a stir of controversy in educational circles throughout the South. Dr. Andrew Sledd, who was then president of the University of Florida in Lake City, became so incensed with some of McBeath's propositions that he challenged him to a public debate on the subject.29

28Statement of Ruth H. Baxter, former pupil of McBeath at the Seminary, to author, October 7, 1952.

29Sledd to McBeath, January 6, 1905, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
in a letter to Sledd, described McBeath as a "very shrewd antagonist," and advised Sledd to "get out of it (the debate), if you can, with humor; and, if not, be very careful." It was his ability to stir up scholarly controversy that made McBeath a popular teacher at the Seminary, and in his students he aroused enthusiasm for English and American literature.

After 1881 Principal Cater reorganized the mathematics department, and turned it over to Lieutenant A. L. Wagner, commandant of the military department. In addition to his military pay from the war department, Wagner received $270 a year for teaching classes in algebra and geometry. The following year his salary was increased to $400, with the stipulation that he teach three mathematics classes instead of two. When Wagner was transferred away from Gainesville by the war department, Cater took over the teaching responsibilities of the department. Apparently at one time or another, Cater taught nearly every course offered in the Seminary curriculum.

In 1896, when a four-year mathematics program was introduced, George M. Lynch was placed in charge of the department. A former graduate of the Seminary, Lynch had been teaching school in Melrose and Green Cove Springs, Florida. After he became an instructor at the Seminary, he so strengthened his department that it became one of the

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30Pound to Sledd, January 16, 1905, ibid.
31The Weekly Bee, November 24, 1882.
32EFS Minute Book, May 29, 1882.
33Ibid., October 29, 1883.
best known in the state. He realized the necessity of training the minds of his students to be "thorough, analytical, and self-reliant."

At the same time, he sought to bring mathematics out of lofty spheres down to a level on which it could be understood and liked. Lynch was highly regarded by his students, one of whom, years later, on learning of his death wrote: "We felt sorry for any student of mathematics in Florida who did not come in contact with a class in Algebra, Plane and Solid Geometry, and even the dread Trigonometry and Calculus, presided over by Captain Lynch! Well do we remember the hearty and far-reaching voice propounding mathematical principles of the now obsolete textbooks of that day . . . . Threats, debates, competitions formal and informal, and withal a rare spirit of doting raillery prevailed in those classes which met daily. Never did a group have a more understanding comrade as well as instructor. Though we were of mere high school calibre, and as shiftless as can be imagined, we do not seem to recall any discipline in Captain Lynch's classes. Order was not enforced, it just was, and there lives not one soul today who could say why it was. The secret lay in the genial and forceful personality of Captain Lynch."

When the University of Florida began instruction in 1905, Lynch became a member of the faculty, teaching civics and geography, and later he was appointed professor of secondary education. Still later he was city superintendent of schools in St. Petersburg, and then he became superintendent of public instruction for Pinellas County.

35Gainesville Daily Sun, November 11, 1935.
Wilbur F. Floyd, a native of Nichols, South Carolina, and a graduate of the Citadel, came to the Seminary in 1892 to take charge of the science department. Few men who served on this early faculty made such major contributions to the development of higher education in Florida as did this scholar. His influence among his students was almost unparalleled at the Seminary. He was not only an excellent teacher, but he took a warm, personal interest in his students. Although his teaching consisted largely of lectures, students remembered the great amount of time devoted to personal suggestions and advice in the science laboratories. He graded laboratory notebooks meticulously, insisting that experiments should not only be recorded accurately but that commas and periods should be in the right place. He encouraged his students to read widely, and he often invited them into his home to discuss matters dealing with their research or course work. His own favorite reading was in the fields of horticulture and floriculture. Floyd had administrative ability, and he served as acting principal for a while after Cater's death. There is reason to believe that the board of trustees would have made this a permanent appointment had not Floyd wanted to devote full time to teaching. As will be described later, he became professor of physics and biology at the University of Florida, and then still later professor of horticulture and dean of the college of agriculture. Andrew Sledd once described Floyd as "a man of wide and successful experience as a teacher ... pleasant to deal with, never having any trouble either with his colleagues or his students ... courteous, diligent,

36The Daily Sun (Gainesville), January 31, 1899.
faithful, and successful in his work, and ... in every sense, a high toned Christian gentleman."37

When the science faculty was enlarged in 1904, the board appointed George Frank Oliphant, a native of Tennessee. He had moved as a child with his family to Georgia, and he received his education in the schools of that state. After graduating from the Robert E. Lee Institute, he read law, and later edited a small farm weekly, the Thomaston Times. Before coming to Gainesville, Oliphant served as president of his own alma mater, took graduate work at the University of Chicago, and served as vice-president of Gordon Institute in Georgia. He was on the faculty of the East Florida Seminary only one year, resigning in 1905 to become superintendent of the Georgia Academy for the Blind at Macon.38

Since the military personnel taught academic subjects they must also be considered in a description of the Seminary faculty. With only a few exceptions, the army and navy officers who were appointed commandant of cadets came and went in quick succession and left hardly a trace in contemporary records. Many had been retired from service and taught at the Seminary to supplement meager pensions. Lieutenant A. L. Wagner, the first commandant in 1881, taught mathematics; other military personnel taught the subjects in which they had some knowledge or training. Charles A. Curtis, who became commandant in July, 1886,

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37 Sledd to J. E. Smith, Charleston, S. C., July 25, 1906, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives. (Floyd Hall on the University of Florida campus was named in honor of Dean Floyd).

38 Georgia Education Journal (April, 1941), 99. Additional biographical data furnished author by Mrs. Frank Oliphant, Macon, Georgia, in letter, December, 1951.
taught English; Charles S. Ripley, United States Navy, had classes in modern languages and geography; and T. Raleigh Raines, commandant in 1897, became the best known and most popular history professor at the Seminary.

There were only two instances, according to the records, in which difficulties arose between the regular faculty and the military personnel. One of these involved Lieutenant Ripley, who, when he became commandant in 1891, resented taking orders from Cater. The principal complained to the board, which refused to accept Riley's appointment for a second year. The other incident involved George R. Bureult, who succeeded Ripley in 1892. Shortly after Bureult arrived on the campus, Cater received reports that the officer had been seen smoking on the streets, that he was involved in "some sort of immoral business" since he was away from Gainesville nearly every weekend, and that witnesses had allegedly seen him under the influence of whiskey. Although Bureult denied these accusations, he began to miss classes without a valid excuse, and, in March 1893, Cater reported to the board that the lieutenant was being derelict in his duties. The board immediately asked for and received Bureult's resignation.\textsuperscript{39} Interest in military education declined somewhat after 1899,\textsuperscript{40} but it was revived again in 1902, and, according to the cadet commandant, "the military department (had) greatly improved."\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{39}EFS Minute Book, February 27, March 4, 1893.

\textsuperscript{40}W. N. Hughes, cadet commandant, to U. S. Adjutant-General, December 31, 1902, in East Florida Seminary Papers, War Records Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid.
In the reorganization program directed by Cater, and particularly after the military program was instituted in 1881, an attempt was made to limit the number of women on the faculty. In fact, the board, for a time, considered the possibility of limiting enrollment to male students and employing an all-male faculty. The attorney-general ruled, however, that the Seminary could not legally abolish coeducation, and a few women continued to be employed to teach sub-freshmen courses, music, elocution, English, and commercial subjects. Among these were the Misses A. H. Porter and C. H. Matheson, who, in 1877, were appointed second and third assistants respectively. A Miss McCall was placed in charge of the primary classes that same year. Miss V. P. Carrington was appointed professor of elocution in 1883. Mrs. Laura French served a number of years as musical director, and it was her piano that was saved at the time of the fire.

In 1899 Martha Crymes, as we have seen, took over the chair of English languages and history, and in 1902 Ruby Rose was employed to teach English and history. Gertrude Dzialynski, who later became one of Florida's best-known woman lawyers, was appointed head of the commercial department in 1902. In 1904 Clara M. Wimberly was listed in the catalogue as professor of elocution and literature.

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42 EFS Minute Book, May 5, 1884.
43 Ibid., July 19, 1877.
45 A biographical sketch of Gertrude Dzialynski Corbet was compiled for the author by Freda Greenfield, New York City. Additional information supplied by Miss Greenfield in letters, January 27, June 24, 1953. See also The Women's Press, May 24, 1919.
The principal was, of course, the immediate supervisor of the faculty, and it was through him that the board issued regulations and made known their policies. The job of principal was not an easy one. The person who held this position not only administered the Seminary and taught a number of classes, but he also acted as errand boy for the board of trustees. Cater, for instance, was assistant secretary of the board, and he was responsible for keeping an account of the receipt and disbursement of Seminary funds.\(^{46}\) He purchased all supplies and equipment, whether it was apparatus for the chemistry laboratory or a new cookstove for the kitchen, and he even contracted for building "water closets" in the dormitory. In 1890 Cater was ordered by the board "to forbid or prohibit the emptying or throwing out of water or slops of any kind underneath or around or about any part of the Barracks yards or building, or out in the streets near the Barracks."\(^{47}\)

Cater was business manager, auditor, and father confessor for faculty and students. He was also in charge of public relations and publicity.

Cater's career at the Seminary was a long and distinguished one. Under his leadership, and largely through his efforts, the Seminary achieved collegiate rank. Standards were raised, facilities were improved, and a library was organized. Cater had proved himself a man of wisdom and culture. With all his religious piety and insistence on morality, he was something of a humanist, sensitive to other men's reactions and attitudes, and generally tolerant of their ideas and enthusiasms. His humanism was, of necessity, limited by the times in

\(^{46}\)EF S Minute Book, June 11, 1889.

\(^{47}\)Ibid., January 6, 1890.
which he lived and by the fact that he resided in a small, rural, conservative community. His outlook was broadened somewhat by his contact with faculty members who had been educated outside of the South and with educators he came to know at various meetings.

Outside Florida Cater was not considered an outstanding educator, but in the eyes of his students he was a gifted teacher.\footnote{This statement is based upon interviews and correspondence with students who attended the Seminary while Cater was principal: Bruce M. Wade, Ft. Myers, Florida (letters - May 30, July 9, 1951); Charles Reade Walker, Darien, Georgia (letter - May 16, 1951); Mrs. M. Z. Dreher, Gainesville (interview - November 1, 1951, letters - November 15, December 14, 1951, September 23, 1952); and R. C. Shuford, Atlanta, Georgia (interview - December 27, 1952).} To him, teaching was no mere drudgery but a privilege to be discharged conscientiously and with enthusiasm. He was one of the best-known and most popular men in Florida, and when he died unexpectedly on January 29, 1899 there was widespread mourning. A few days before he had been operated on for hernia. There were no complications, and he was recuperating when pneumonia suddenly set in. Death followed in a few hours.

On the morning after the funeral the board held a special meeting, and named Professor Floyd principal until the end of the term. Meanwhile, the board began examining the qualifications of several likely candidates for the post. Floyd had already indicated that he was not particularly interested, at the time, in an administrative position. By June the field had been narrowed to three men--Wilbur F. Yocum, who was then president of the Florida Agricultural college in Lake City, J. B. Garne, and William Excell Lumley.\footnote{EFS Minute Book, June 8, 1899.} Yocum stated that he did not want to be considered, and on June 14 the board decided in favor of
Lumley. He was to receive $1,500 a year, in addition to housing and expenses for traveling in the interest of the Seminary.50

Lumley was a northerner, born on his father's farm in Rootstown, Ohio, March 29, 1858. He received his early education in the local schools, and, in 1877, at the age of nineteen, he began teaching in a one-room schoolhouse in Portage County, Ohio. By teaching and working at odd jobs he saved enough to enter Mount Union College (Alliance, Ohio), and by 1889 he had earned his bachelor of philosophy degree. He had made a good record at college, graduating with honors. Immediately after graduation he became president of Hickman College (Hickman, Kentucky). He received a one-year leave of absence, enrolled as a graduate student at Mount Union, and received his degree of master of philosophy in 1892. He then returned to Hickman, and served there two more years, resigning to become city superintendent of schools of Pulaski, Tennessee. It was his work in Tennessee and the record he made while studying for his degree of doctor of philosophy at the State Normal College in Troy, Alabama, that brought him to the attention of the trustees of the East Florida Seminary.51

Lumley was at first reluctant to accept the Florida offer at the salary that the trustees were willing to pay. He viewed the situation more favorably, however, when the board reminded him that he and his family would have an apartment on campus. Lumley, with his normal

50Ibid., June 14, 1899.

college training, was also concerned about the fact that the Seminary had not given more emphasis to a teacher-training program. Upon his insistence, the board authorized establishment of a regular four-year normal course, and Lumley persuaded the trustees to allow him to travel around the state, canvassing student prospects for this work. The editor of the Gainesville Sun announced that Lumley's appointment betokened a bright future for the Seminary. He told his readers that if they would "hold up the hands of the new superintendent, and his accomplished assistants . . . Gainesville will, in the course of time, become the center of educational interests in Florida."  

The Seminary was already showing the vigorous and healthy growth that Lumley, the board, and the Gainesville newspaper had hoped for. As has been noted, enrollment and financial support increased substantially during this period. Lumley, however, became increasingly dissatisfied with the limited powers allotted him. He resented the fact that he was, in many ways, an executive in name only and that the real power was lodged in the board. Lumley seemed to lack Cater's ability to maintain harmonious relations with the trustees. On more than one occasion he vainly sought wider powers to choose his own textbooks, determine what courses would be offered, and to "hire and fire" faculty. The board, however, considered these functions to be its responsibility and was still reluctant to delegate to the principal and teaching staff very much authority.  

Thus, it was mutually satisfactory to all.

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52The Twice A Week Sun (Gainesville), June 16, 1899.

53Lumley's controversy with the board was not unusual for the times. Only in the larger universities such as Yale, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Cornell had faculty opinion begun to be seriously
concerned when the board announced on June 13, 1900, that it would not elect Lumley for a second year. His career after he left Gainesville was varied. He received a law degree in 1901, and was admitted to the bar in Tennessee, although he never became a practicing attorney. He became superintendent of schools in Toronto, Ohio, and later taught and administered schools in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia. At the time of his death in Alexandria, Tennessee in 1936, he was regarded as a leading southern educator.

To succeed Lumley, the board appointed Frederick Pasco, who had earlier served on the Seminary faculty, and who had other close associations with the school. There was no recorded opposition to Pasco, and he accepted the board's offer immediately. Students, alumni, and newspapers in the state generally approved his election. Like so many other distinguished southerners, Pasco was a northerner by birth and education. Born on May 4, 1844, in Prince Edward Island, he had moved with his family to Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1866, at the age of twenty-two, he received his bachelor of arts degree from Harvard, and shortly afterwards he came to Florida to live with his brother, Samuel, in Monticello. Samuel Pasco was one of Florida's important nineteenth-century political leaders, and twice served as United States


5LIEFS Minute Book, June 13, 1900.
senator. Frederick had studied for the ministry, and in 1876 he was named pastor of the Methodist Church of Gainesville. His work in the Florida Methodist Conference was outstanding, and Emory College recognized his achievements in 1880 when it conferred an honorary master of arts degree upon him. In 1901 Emory awarded him an honorary degree of doctor of divinity. As we have seen, he had taught Latin and Greek at the East Florida Seminary during the 1880's, and had helped develop the first major literary society in the history of the school. Moving to Jacksonville in 1886, he had become principal of Duval High School, and in 1897 he was appointed head of the School for the Deaf and Blind in St. Augustine. He was serving in that capacity when he was elected principal of the Seminary in 1900.55

During his two-year administration, Pasco watched the Seminary grow in many directions. He was a man of ability, and his marked capacity to formulate and carry out projects and to maintain amiable relations with board members and faculty were major causes for the development of the school. Enrollment increased to such a degree that there was concern after 1900 that there would not be enough classroom and dormitory space to meet the needs of all the qualified students who

wanted to enter. Pasco was much more of a humanist than his predecessor, and during his administration he encouraged the expansion of the English, history, and languages departments. Pasco's idea was that the Seminary should promote scholarship for the common good, and that as a public-supported institution it should work to help satisfy in every way possible the needs of the citizens. Thus, while he was not personally interested in teacher-training courses or in the commercial department, he saw their practical value, and insisted that they not be neglected.

When Pasco entered upon his duties as principal he was fifty-six years old, although he looked much younger. He was not a large man, but he carried himself erect and dressed in the latest fashion. Unlike the faculty, who wore uniforms, he often appeared on the parade ground wearing a black fedora or a bowler. His costume was hardly ever without a thick, shining, gold watch chain, dangling across his vest. He was a gentle, kindly man, greatly beloved by his students, and it was with a real feeling of loss that his resignation was accepted in 1903. The board adopted a resolution affirming the large gains of the Seminary under his administration. Pasco became secretary of the Florida Methodist Conference, and subsequently devoted all of his time to religious work. For a while he was minister in Lake City, and later in Jacksonville. He died in Boston on October 31, 1919, and the body was returned to Jacksonville for burial in the Old City Cemetery.

According to cemetery records, Pasco and his son are buried in a common,

56Mrs. T. P. Jordan, "Historical Sketch of Methodist Church in Lake City" (unpublished MS in files of Methodist Church, Lake City).
As far as the records show, only one man was considered when the board sought a successor to Pasco. When the trustees learned that Pasco was planning to resign, they offered the post as principal to John M. Guilliams at a salary of $2,000 and a guarantee that he would have full authority to select and control his faculty. Guilliams was already well known in Gainesville because of his earlier connection with a local Negro school. Guilliams' cause had been energetically promoted by Frank Adams, a prominent Florida politician, who learned of his work when Guilliams was a teacher at the Independent Normal Institute at White Springs, Florida, and later when he was president of Jasper (Florida) Normal Institute. Adams explained that his friend was the son of farming parents from Indiana, and that he had graduated from the Central Normal College in Danville, Indiana, in 1882. The two Florida institutions that Guilliams had been connected with were, perhaps, the two best-known private schools in the state at the time. State Superintendent Sheats said that these two institutions had trained more teachers for Florida during this period than all the state schools combined. Because of his outstanding work with the Jasper Normal Institute, Guilliams in 1900 was appointed president of the Southern

57 Burial Records, Old City Cemetery, Jacksonville, in the Office of Florida State Board of Health, Jacksonville.

58 EFS Minute Book, May 22, 1902.

59 The Daily Sun (Gainesville), August 1, 1891, reported that Guilliams was head of this school.

Normal Institute at Douglas, Georgia.61

When Guilliams received the offer from the East Florida Seminary, he accepted immediately, and, in a letter, he thanked the trustees for "tendering . . . this unsought honor," and pledged his "utmost endeavors . . . in making the East Florida Seminary all that the warmest friends of the institution desire."

Guilliams' drive, exuberance, optimism, and practicality proved valuable assets, and the board had little reason to regret its choice. He knew how to coax funds from the legislature and how to deal with state officials. These attributes were vital, particularly at a time when educational sectionalism was rampant in Florida, and when half a dozen seminaries and colleges were competing for larger appropriations and more bountiful favors from Tallahassee. Guilliams' plans for the extension and improvement of the Seminary were explained in terms of their potentialities, both for the institution itself and for the people of the state. In the first catalogue prepared under his direction, Guilliams set forth what he considered to be the aims of the Seminary: "To provide for the young men and young women of Florida an education that will fit them for life, that will form character and right habits of thought and action . . . . To reach down to the young men and women of the State who have completed the work of the country and village schools and give them such an education as will broaden their intellectual horizon and increase their interests in literature, science, art and all that pertains to higher and better living."62

61President Paul L. Garrett, Western Kentucky State College, to author, July 30, 1952.
62East Florida Seminary Catalogue, 1901-02, 28-29.
Guilliams was a big-boned man, with a large, plain face, partly concealed behind a heavy, drooping mustache. He possessed a gruff manner, and some people, after a first meeting, said that he was abrupt, even crude. His associates, however, found him sympathetic, warm-hearted, and eminently just. Years later, a colleague remembered him as "a forceful, highly confident, extremely independent, and able character. He left his mark wherever he went, no matter whether one agreed with him or not."63

In 1904 Guilliams was invited to return to the Southern Normal School in Georgia at a higher salary than he was receiving in Florida, and he accepted. Later, he became professor of English and mathematics at Western Kentucky State Teachers College. Still later, he taught at Georgia State Teachers College, and he ended his long professional career teaching at Berea College in Kentucky.64

At the board meeting on May 25, 1904, Jere Madison Pound, who was superintendent of the schools of Bibb County, Georgia, was elected principal. His salary was $2,500 a year, and he took over his duties on July 1 of that year.65 Born at Liberty Hill, Georgia on March 23, 1864, Pound had attended Gordon Institute at Barnesville and the University of Georgia. After receiving his bachelor of arts degree from Georgia, he studied law in Atlanta for a few months, and then accepted

63W. R. Hutcherson, Gainesville (a friend of Guilliams) to author, July 23, 1952.


65EFS Minute Book, May 25, 1904.
a teaching job in one of the city's high schools. In 1888 he was made president of his alma mater, Gordon Institute, and nine years later he was appointed director of the normal department of what is now Georgia State College for Women. Later, he became superintendent in Bibb County.66

When Pound arrived at the Seminary he found student enrollment at an all-time high and the faculty increased to sixteen. This growth had placed a great strain on the physical plant, and it was obvious that the needs of the institution would have to be dealt with firmly and immediately. In 1903 the president of the board of trustees announced that "here-to-fore there has been a lack of students, now there is a lack of accommodations."67 That same year the city council of Gainesville pledged one hundred acres of land for a new campus, and a committee was appointed to prepare estimates on buildings to be presented to the legislature at its 1905 session. Later, it was thought that the new campus might need as many as three hundred acres, but the city was willing to provide this, and a tentative site was chosen about a mile west of the city, where the University of Florida is now located.68

The prospect of becoming president of this new and vastly expanded school was the most inviting prospect in bringing Pound to Florida.


67EFS Minute Book, March 25, 1903.

68Ibid., May 25, 1904.
Pound later felt that he might have become president of the University of Florida after the legislature passed the Buckman Act, had he been able to remain in the state without salary for the interval between the closing of the Seminary and the opening of the University.69

This move to enlarge the Seminary, and perhaps turn it into a state university, had started long before Pound arrived in Gainesville. As early as 1883, writing in the Weekly Bee, Cater had suggested that the income from the Agricultural College Fund be used for expanding the Seminary into a state agricultural college or university. He pointed out that the Seminary was already offering courses in the languages, history, mathematics, and literature, and that it would only need to add to the curriculum courses in physics and analytical and agricultural chemistry to meet the basic requirements of an agricultural college.70 In 1889 the editor of the Gainesville Sun told his readers that Gainesville was "the proper place for a state college. From a point of health it has no superior. The water here is the finest on earth, the general advantages surpassed by none."71

After Pound became principal, the time seemed ripe to present the need for a state university to the legislature. Armed with the fact that they already had the East Florida Seminary and the site for a new campus, the citizens of Gainesville were determined that, if a university were to be created by consolidating the tax-supported schools

69Merritt B. Pound to author, July 11, 1951.


71The Twice A Week Sun, June 16, 1899.
already in operation, such a consolidated institution would be located in their community. They sent their legislative representatives to Tallahassee in the spring of 1905 with the mandate: "Make the Seminary the state university."
CHAPTER VIII

BEGINNINGS OF THE FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

The Florida Agricultural College, another parent of the University of Florida, owed its existence to the benefits which the state received under the provisions of the Morrill Land-Grant Act. Sponsored by Senator Justin Morrill of Vermont, and supported by important educational and agricultural leaders in the East and Middle West, this act was signed into law, after years of controversy, by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862.1

The act, the significance of which was almost unrecognized at the time, granted each state thirty thousand acres of public land for each senator and representative it had in Congress in 1860. Lands were to be sold, and proceeds invested in stocks that were supposed to earn at least six per cent a year. Those states that lacked public lands were to receive land scrip titles to federal land that could then be sold to private persons. Proceeds were to be used for educational purposes.

The principal sum, according to the act, was to remain forever undiminished, and the interest was to be "inviolably appropriated to

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1 For the text of the Morrill Act see Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, XII, 503. The background of the act, including the controversy over President Buchanan's veto of the measure in 1859, is detailed in Earle D. Ross, Democracy's College, The Land Grant Movement in the Formative Stage (Ames, Iowa, 1942), Chaps. 1-3.
the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college, where
the leading object shall be . . . to teach such branches of learning as
are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the
Legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe in order to pro-
mote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in
the several pursuits and professions in life." The law carefully
pointed out that "other scientific and classical studies" were not to
be excluded, and that military training and tactics would be required
subjects. The Morrill Act further provided that "no portion of said
fund, nor the interest . . . shall be applied directly, or indirectly,
under any pretense whatever, to the purchase, erection, preservation,
or repair of any building or buildings."2 The purpose of this measure,
according to Senator Morrill, was to offer "an opportunity in every
state for a liberal and larger education to larger numbers, not merely
those destined to sedentary profession, but to those needing much
higher instruction for the world's business, for the industrial pur-
suits and professions of life."

The Morrill Act was not, in the literal sense, the outcome of
a grass-roots movement.3 Most farmers strenuously resisted any attempt
to teach them their occupation from a book. James B. Angell, the
Michigan agriculturist, noted that "the great and insuperable trouble
is to inspire farmers with the belief that science has anything to
offer them."4 The traditional impulse of American farmers was toward

2Blackmar, The History of Federal and State Aid to Higher
Education, 48-50.

3Hofstadter and Hardy, Development and Scope of Higher Educa-
tion in the United States, 38.

4Carl Becker, Cornell University: Founders and the Founding
(Ithaca, 1943), 26.
"extensive and mechanized farming and speculative business operations rather than toward careful and intensive cultivation." Scientific farming was something supported by the agricultural press of the country, and not necessarily by the farmer. As a result, the chief support for the Morrill Act did not come as much from the farm areas of the country as it did from the industrial and financial sections of the East. Certainly the measure had some important friends in the West, but it was bitterly resisted by the states'-rights southerners. In fact, it was impossible to enact the measure until after the South seceded from the Union.

The purposes of the act help to explain why the East supported it so strongly. First of all, it aimed at promoting more efficient agricultural methods, which would enable eastern farmers to compete more favorably with those on the richer lands of the West. It would also provide industry with badly needed trained technicians at a time when the country, particularly the Northeast, was moving into the industrial revolution. Lastly, the act "offered poorer boys greater opportunities, helped to equalize educational advantages in disparate regions of the country, and narrowed the gulf between academic and practical pursuits ... between thought and action."  

Florida, with its predominantly agricultural economy and large rural population, might have fulfilled more readily the conditions imposed by the act had the offer been extended during a more normal era.

5Hofstadter and Hardy, Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, 38.

At the time that federal aid to education was becoming a reality, Florida was less concerned with educational problems than with the military crisis imposed by the Civil War. Reconstruction, however, brought with it the realization that the only hope for improving the wretched economic status of Florida lay in training its citizens to develop the natural resources of the state, beginning with the land.

The wisest disposition of the federal funds derived from the Morrill Act was in those states which decided to enlarge already established educational institutions—Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. In some states, such as Massachusetts, Illinois, and Maine, there was fierce rivalry among a number of small schools which insisted upon a division of funds. In Missouri there was a serious effort to divert the endowment to the common school fund, and in Indiana there was a proposal to use the money to maintain a soldiers' home. Some universities, however, received vital help in a period of growth and expansion, as was the case with Yale's Sheffield Scientific School, Brown in Rhode Island, and Rutgers in New Jersey. The sale of landscrip provided the greater part of the endowment of Cornell University. In the South, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, and Florida sought to launch new institutions.7

In Florida, Harrison Reed, the state’s first Republican governor, informed the legislature in 1870 of his efforts to secure landscrip equal to 90,000 acres. The federal government had already given Florida large quantities of land, and after the Civil War settlers had acquired thousands of additional acres under the provisions of the Homestead Act.

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7For a scholarly discussion of the use of the grants by the various states see Ross, op. cit., 68-85.
Governor Reed announced that since there was not enough desirable federal land available in Florida, the Department of the Interior had authorized the issuance of land scrip. The director of the General Land Office had said that he was ready to relinquish this scrip whenever the authorized officials of Florida made application for it. Upon investigation, Reed found that the scrip would "sell in the market for ninety cents per acre, and yield $81,000," which could be invested and the income used in establishing an agricultural college.8

Legislative action was prompt, and on February 18, 1870 Governor Reed signed into law an "Act to establish the Florida Agricultural College."9 The purpose of this institution would be to "teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the pursuits and professions of life."

Looking forward to the actual establishment and operation of an agricultural school, the legislators authorized a board of trustees to receive the land scrip. Although the Morrill Act forbade such action, it was decided that ten per cent of the proceeds of the land scrip sales would be used to purchase farm lands, the balance to become a permanent fund invested "in the stocks of the United States, or in some of the States of the Union, bearing an annual interest of not less than six per cent on a par value." The lawmakers had agreed that neither principal nor interest of this fund would be devoted to the purchase, erection, or repairs of any building, nor for any purpose other than

8Florida Senate Journal, 1870 (governor's message), 24.
9Laws of Florida, 1870, 45-49.
expressed in the "establishment of law." They also stipulated that the college should be located near the center of the state, and that the trustees should secure, either through gift or purchase, a tract of land of not less than one hundred acres" to be used as an experimental farm, or for the location of workshops, or otherwise to promote the objects of the institution."

Government of the college was to be vested in a board of trustees, designated by the legislature, which in turn would select the administrative staff and faculty of the institution. A trustee could be removed, "when, by continued neglect or refusal he fails to perform his duties, or when by reason of age or infirmity he shall have become permanently incapable of performing them." New trustees were to be elected by the board, subject to the approval of the state supreme court. In addition to the trustees, the school was to be administered by a president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and a three-man executive committee. The trustees were to be given no compensation for their services, but they would receive "necessary expenses while going to, from, and attending Board meetings." To the trustees were granted extensive powers to employ faculty, determine salaries, define duties, limit powers, and authorize tenure. The board could limit the size of the student body if it saw fit, and it was authorized to confer appropriate degrees. To the first board of trustees the legislature appointed William J. Keyser, William D. Bloxham, Oliver Bronson, Chandler H. Smith, John L. Requa, James H. Roper, C. H. Pearce, and C. Thurston Chase.

Most of the trustees were important politically in either the Democratic or the Republican party. Bloxham was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor in 1870, and he was to be
defeated in his race for the governorship in 1872. He was later elected governor, and was the only man in Florida to hold that office for two terms. Roper is remembered as the principal and patron of the East Florida Seminary. C. H. Pearce, or "Bishop" Pearce as he was known, although he never attained any higher ecclesiastical rank than presiding elder in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was a prominent Negro politician of the time. He was superintendent of public instruction for Leon County, and he represented his county in the state senate. Chase, an "enlightened carpetbagger," who moved to Florida shortly after 1865, served as state superintendent of public instruction, and was mainly responsible for organizing Florida's educational system under the school law of 1869. Although Chase came from Ohio "with a bad crowd," it was said that "he was better than the crowd he came with." Chase was characterized by those who knew his capabilities and achievements as a "frank, honest, conscientious, capable man." He died before his term of office expired. In March, 1871 Charles Beecher, brother of novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher, was appointed superintendent to succeed Chase.

The state comptroller was empowered to examine, from time to time, "the actions and doings of said trustees," and he was to receive an annual report from the board on the condition of the agriculture fund. The board also reported annually to the superintendent of public instruction, and copies of this report were transmitted to Washington.

10 Rhodes, "The Legal Development of State Supported Higher Education in Florida," loc. cit., 83.

and to the other land-grant colleges. The justices of the state supreme court were designated as an examining committee, "with power to investigate the affairs of the college."

The college, according to the legislative act, would be open to all applicants "at the lowest rate of expense consistent with the welfare and efficiency thereof." Each county in the state could send as many students to the school, tuition free, as it had representatives in the legislature. Scholarship students were to be selected by county boards of public instruction, and were supposed to be "those best qualified as to scholastic attainments, good health, and upright moral character." Before admission to college, students would be subject to examination and approval by the faculty.

The faculty was to include a president, professors, a superintendent of the farm, and the secretary-treasurer of the board of trustees. The faculty would have jurisdiction over the college and experimental farm, and was authorized to determine the basis of admission, the type of courses to be offered, textbooks, and the hours of farm labor and classroom attendance. The faculty had authority over student discipline, and it was charged with the responsibility of making "all needful rules and regulations for the government and discipline of the students, and for promoting, in the highest degree, their morals, health, decorum, and scholastic advancement."

Since the land scrip had not yet been turned over to the state, the board of trustees could do nothing further about organizing the college. When the legislature met in 1872, sections three and five of the establishment act of 1870, having to do with the personnel of the board, were repealed. According to a new law, adopted February 17, 1872,
the state superintendent of public instruction was to serve as president of the board. In this case it was Beecher, who had been a member of the old board, and who knew of the efforts that had been made to organize the college. Other carry-overs from the old board of trustees were William Bloxham, Oliver Bronson, and Chandler Smith. The new appointees were J. S. Adams, Josiah T. Walls, Robert Meacham, John Varnum, and Peter Knowles. Bloxham became vice-president, and Adams, secretary-treasurer. The Florida State Agricultural College was formally incorporated in 1872, and the legislature directed the trustees to choose a campus site, announce a course of study, and begin the teaching operations of the institution.

During its early history the board was mainly concerned with obtaining the land scrip as authorized by the Morrill Act. In November, 1872, Bloxham was sent to Washington in an effort to secure the scrip and to dispose of it "at the rate of not less than eighty-five cents on the dollar." His efforts to cut government red-tape were fruitless, and "being both unable and unwilling to remain in Washington for months, with the prospect of being again unsuccessful," Bloxham entered into a contract with Cleason F. Lewis, a land operator from Cleveland, Ohio. Lewis had been buying up agricultural college scrip since 1866, and in four years he had purchased over sixty-seven per cent of all the scrip that had been placed on the market. Although

12Laws of Florida, 1872, 64.
14For biographical data on Lewis and a description of the disposal of the land scrip, see Thomas LeDuc, "State Disposal of the Agricultural College Land Scrip," Agricultural History, XXVIII.
the Florida scrip was not yet delivered, Lewis agreed to purchase it for 90 cents an acre, provided Bloxham signed the scrip over to him.\textsuperscript{15} Lewis understandably felt uneasy as to the security of his proposed investment, and postponed making any payments until he received some assurance that the scrip would be forthcoming.\textsuperscript{16} The secretary-treasurer of the board complained at a meeting in Tallahassee in January, 1873, that "the expectations of the receipt of the Agricultural Scrip . . . have been disappointed by the utter failure of all the efforts of the Executive Committee to secure any portion of the scrip."\textsuperscript{17}

Bloxham was criticized for the manner in which he had handled the transactions with Lewis, and was accused of jeopardizing the state's interests. He answered these accusations in a report to the president of the board, stating that the "malicious falsehood gotten up for political effect at Washington falls stillborn when brought into contact

(July, 1954), 99-107. LeDuc, in his article, "Scrip Versus Land: The Value of the Federal Grant to the Agricultural Colleges of the Public-Land States of the South," The Journal of Southern History, XIX (May, 1953), 216-20, concludes that, because of prevailing prices, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida were better off receiving scrip than land.

\textsuperscript{15}Lewis paid varying prices for land, depending upon the time he made his purchases. In 1866 he bought acreage in Kentucky for 50 cents an acre. The following year he paid 55 cents for public land in Pennsylvania, and 55.8 in Ohio. North Carolina sold him land for 50 cents an acre. Land prices rose after 1869, and land in New York sold for 86 to 90 cents an acre, in Tennessee for 90 5/8 cents, in Louisiana and Texas for 87 cents, and in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, and Florida for 90 cents an acre. The 95 cents an acre that Lewis paid Virginia in May, 1872 was the highest price ever paid a state for college scrip. See LeDuc, "State Disposal of the Agricultural College Land Scrip," loc. cit., 99-107.


\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 13.
with the touchstone of truth." His report revealed that at no time had the state's interests been placed in jeopardy, and that the whole affair would be settled quickly when the scrip was released by the federal government. This was finally accomplished on April 11, 1873, at which time the transactions with Lewis were completed. On May 22, at a meeting of the board, Bloxham was "tendered the thanks of the directors for the faithful and efficient manner in which he has discharged his trust." 

Upon the suggestion of State Comptroller C. A. Cogwill, the $81,000 received from the sale of the scrip was invested in Florida state bonds, which were then selling at 80 cents. The agricultural fund, thus, had a paper value of $100,000, which paid an annual interest of eight per cent. In 1874 the question of the constitutionality of the bond issue, in which the college fund had been invested, was being argued in the state courts. Although an interlocutory decree seemed to affirm the legality of the bonds, the absence of a final decision prevented any expenditures from the fund. The secretary-treasurer of the board, in his annual report in 1875, announced that "lack of any other means has precluded the trustees from proceeding with any of the preliminary work, for although several generous donations have been offered they have all been conditioned upon a prescribed location and the immediate putting into operation of the college, which the tying up of the fund made impossible." 

18 Ibid., 27.
19 Ibid., 19.
20 Ibid., Florida Senate Journal, 1875, 40-42.
The board had meanwhile appointed a special planning and curriculum committee to draw up a general course of study for the projected college. By January 9, 1873, this committee had completed its investigations, and had submitted its report to the trustees. The committee recommended that the college "adapt its ministrations to the educational necessities of the practical working classes," so as to educate them for "industrial pursuits, whether agricultural or mechanical, which the majority of such classes, whether from choice or necessity, will be apt to follow." In order to obtain this result, the committee felt that special emphasis should be given to "arithmetic, algebra, surveying, geography, natural history, English language, natural philosophy, chemistry, geology, botany, and to other similar and kindred branches." "It shall be a leading aim of the College at all times," the committee stated, "to aid in the development of physical strength and symmetry, and at the same time to do its part in endeavoring to train its students in habits of due subordination to proper and rightful authority ... by placing the new college under regular and steady military discipline, while instruction in military art and tactics shall be imparted to all."

It was planned that the college would develop into a manual-labor school, enabling it "from the results of its own labor, to contribute as largely as possible to its own support and maintenance." The committee suggested finally that the agriculture and horticulture curricula be adapted "to the peculiar and unique semi-tropical character of the vegetable capacity of Florida." It recommended that the trustees, in cooperation with the state commissioner of agriculture, "establish an extensive nursery for the introduction and cultivation of those rare
and precious tropical and semi-tropical plants and fruits that can in all the United States be only raised by open-air culture in Florida, and thus endeavor to furnish a valuable adjunct to the natural departments of agriculture." The committee's report was adopted by unanimous vote.21

Choosing a site for the new college had, meanwhile, become a pressing problem. On April 4, 1872, the secretary-treasurer of the board was requested "to solicit donations to the college as an inducement to its location."22 Former United States Senator David Levy Yulee had long been interested in the establishment of a state university. In 1859 and 1860 he had written from Washington to friends in Florida, explaining the need for such an institution.23 When Florida became eligible for federal funds under the provisions of the Merrill Act, he enthusiastically endorsed the steps taken in the state to secure the land scrip, and he felt that perhaps a university was beginning when the board of trustees adopted a course of study for the projected college. He wanted the school located somewhere on the line of his Florida Railroad, both because it would enhance the value of his property, and because it would provide a means of transportation for students traveling to and from college. In May, 1873, he persuaded the county commissioners of Alachua County to offer 10,000 acres and $50,000 to the

21Ibid., Florida Senate Journal, 1874, 14-17.
22Ibid., 1872, 11.
23Yulee to Richard K. Cralle, August 8, 1859; Yulee to J. H. Johnson, November 30, 1860, in Cralle Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
Yulee, on behalf of his company, was willing to give another 10,000 acres, and to provide free railroad transportation "for all the materials necessary to be used in the construction of the requisite buildings." These offers were made to the board of trustees by Josiah T. Walls, Negro congressman from Florida, who was himself a member of the board. The offers were unanimously accepted, and it was hoped that within a few weeks a site could be selected and work started on the first buildings.

Despite Alachua County's liberal offer, the proposition made by Yulee, and the optimism expressed in newspapers throughout the state, the Florida Agricultural College was never located in Alachua County. While there was sufficient land available, the $50,000 gift from the county was not forthcoming, and, as Governor William S. Jennings explained in a speech delivered in 1902, "the scheme to locate the college in Alachua County failed to materialize, owing to the lack of available funds to take the preliminary steps." W. N. Sheats, who,

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24 Minutes of the Alachua County Board of Commissioners, Book A, 11. See also Florida Independent (Gainesville), May 10, 1873.


26 Josiah Walls, a carpet-bagger from Pennsylvania, was a member of the Florida constitutional convention of 1868, and for two years represented Alachua County in the state legislature. He was elected to Congress three times as a Republican candidate, representing the second district, and was twice unseated by Congressional committees investigating contested elections. See William Watson Davis, The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida (New York, 1913), 619.


28 Florida Times-Union and Citizen (Jacksonville), July 11, 1902.
as we have seen, had settled in Gainesville a few years after this incident occurred, but who probably had heard about it, agreed that the county had failed "to comply with the terms of the bid." It is likely that Alachua County did not have the necessary funds even at the time the offer was made. It is also possible that the question of the legality of the institution's endowment fund, then being argued before the state courts, might have had something to do with the fact that the college was not located in Alachua County.

When the Alachua County proposition failed, a strongly partisan South Florida faction argued that, in view of the projected agricultural program of the college, and the fact that it would specialize in tropical and sub-tropical plant life, the institution should be located somewhere in that area. In a paper read before the National Educational Association in 1873, Jonathan Gibbs, Florida's superintendent of public instruction, pointed out that South Florida was "below the frost line, and offers in this direction large inducements for the location of this College." He told his audience that the "College will possess advantages in relation to all tropical and semi-tropical production possessed by no other college in the United States. The flora and fauna of the tropics will be its great specialty. Our arboretum will of necessity challenge the attention of the Bureau at Washington, and be made by judicious foresight and action a blessing


30This explanation was given in the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year, 1880, 56.
to the entire country."  

Meanwhile, no other offers of land or money seemed forthcoming from any section of the state. As a result, during the early months of 1874, the following advertisement appeared in a number of leading Florida newspapers, including the Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Union*:  

**AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE SITE**

The conditional location of the Florida State Agricultural College in Alachua County having failed, from the interposition of legal obstacles to its consumation:

Now, therefore, Pursuant to the order of the Trustees of said college,

Propositions are Invited from the citizens of each and every county in the State, setting forth the inducements by way of donation to the funds of the college, or contributions to the expenses of building that can and will be offered in each section upon the condition of locating therein the Florida State Agricultural College.

The sale of the Agricultural Scrip belonging to the college has been so consumated as to assist in strengthening the credit of the State and to yield for the support of the college $1.10 per acre in the most approved of the State securities, and the Trustees are anxious to proceed immediately with the construction of the necessary buildings so as to put the college in active operation early in the fall.

When W. H. Gleason, one of the largest real estate developers in South Florida and former Republican lieutenant governor of the state, read this advertisement in the *Tallahassee Sentinel*, he was convinced that if the college were located along the Indian River, where he had large land holdings, that area of Florida could be quickly developed.

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32 *Tri-Weekly Union* (Jacksonville), February 3, 1874.
After considering the matter some months, Gleason offered the state 2,320 acres of land in Eau Gallie, and, in a letter, stated that "the influence of the Gulf Stream upon the climate and the vegetable kingdom is very marked, and nowhere more so than along the southeastern coast of this State." He assured the trustees that there was an adequate supply of coquina stone and limestone for construction purposes, and that there were available transportation facilities.

W. R. Anne of Sand Point, who was also interested in the development of Eau Gallie, offered an additional 1,000 acres in Volusia County, provided that the college was located "at a point anywhere on Indian River, between Sand Point and Elbow Creek." He announced that if the object of the school was to develop tropical vegetation, any site north or west of the Indian River would be worthless. Land in this section, according to Anne's estimate, was selling for five dollars an acre, and, consequently, he considered his "donation equal to a sum of not less than five thousand dollars."33

At a meeting of the board in Tallahassee on March 8, 1875, a committee was appointed to examine sites for the college, and its members were instructed to return a recommendation "at as early a day as practicable."34 The board, meanwhile, received the offers from Gleason and Anne, and directed the examining committee to visit Eau Gallie. On May 1 the committee reported: "For salubrity of climate, qualities of soil, geographical position and picturesqueness of situation, Eau Gallie is pre-eminent." These findings were accepted on May 8, and John Varnum,

34Ibid., 98-99.
the secretary-treasurer, was ordered to proceed to the proposed site and to begin the work of laying out the college campus. 35 By December 1, 1875, the first building was completed. According to Varnum's report, it was "built of cut coquina stone, thirty-five by sixty-five feet, two stories high, and contains ten rooms and a hall. It is made fireproof by stone partitions between all the rooms. The roof is covered with tin. The walls are plastered, and the woodwork painted and grained." 36 A two-room dormitory, a toolhouse, and several storage buildings had been constructed, and a picket fence was built around the campus. Varnum announced that the college had "a fine pair of mules, double and single harnesses, a wagon, cart, light and heavy plows, wheelbarrows, a harrow, a great variety of farming and carpenter's tools; a kitchen stove and utensils, beds and bedding, tables, chairs and forms, a set of Fairbank's scales, a handsome, sloop-rigged yacht-boat, a skiff, etc." The site of the experimental farm was being cleared, Varnum reported, and a construction plan for permanent buildings was being drawn. Approximately 100 town lots and 3,000 acres of farm land belonging to the college were available for sale. Moreover, Varnum announced that the college had $100,000 worth of bonds and $1,024.48 in cash. 37

The college at Eau Gallie never opened. Even before Varnum had completed the task of getting the campus ready for its first students,


37Ibid.
rumblings of discontent were heard throughout the state. Reconstruction had ended in Florida with the election of 1876, and the incoming Democratic administration was determined to undo as many Republican measures as possible, including the location of the college on the Indian River. Governor George F. Drew recommended, in his first message to the legislature in 1877, that "a committee be appointed to investigate the action of the Board generally, and the matter of the location especially, to ascertain if the law has been complied with and if the location of the College is healthy, conveniently accessible, and near the center of the State as possible." 38

The legislature went even further than Drew's recommendation. In addition to appointing a new board of trustees, it empowered the board "to remove said Agricultural College, now located at Eau Gallie ... to any point that will in their judgement be for the best interests of the State of Florida." 39 The lawmakers also passed a resolution requesting permission of Congress to incorporate the seminary and agricultural funds into the common school fund, explaining that the agricultural institution had been located "at a remote and comparatively unsettled and inaccessible part of the State and a large sum of money expended in the partial erection of buildings thereat, the completion of which for years to come will be of little, if any, educational advantage to the inhabitants of this State." The state, according to the resolutions, wanted all federal funds devoted to the "establishment of a normal college for the education of teachers,"

38 Florida Senate Journal, 1877 (governor's message), 49.
39 Laws of Florida, 1877, 103-104.
which, it felt, would be "productive of much more educational development than the continuation of the three present organizations." Although Congress refused this request, it is interesting to note that, as early as 1877, the people of Florida were beginning to realize the value of consolidating their educational institutions, and to recognize the critical need for well-trained teachers in the public school.

When the new board of trustees was organized, Varnum refused to turn over the property of the college. He argued that the legislature could not "annul the act creating the corporation of which he was a member." After the state supreme court ruled in favor of the new board, Varnum agreed to release the property, but he neglected to furnish "itemized estimates or vouchers to show to whom or for what he expended all of this money, either as Treasurer of the College or Superintendent of the building."

The buildings in Eau Gallie stood empty, except for squatters and children in the neighborhood who used the rooms to play in. The roof leaked, plaster crumbled off the walls, but the state authorized no repairs until a gale completely destroyed the old tin roof. In later years, the building was purchased from the state, and it was

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40 Ibid., 149-50.
43 Ibid., 215.
44 Rpt., State Treasurer, Appendix to Florida House Journal, 1881, 72.
remodeled and used as a tourist hotel.\textsuperscript{45}

For the next few years, the issue of agricultural education ceased to exist in Florida except as a football to be kicked about in a half-hearted political game. In 1879 Governor Drew suggested anew that the college be moved "to some more central and accessible point."\textsuperscript{46}

The state superintendent of public instruction, meanwhile, expressed his opposition to agricultural education in general. In his biennial report of 1879 he pointed out that such institutions, "even when supported by endowments of from three to nine hundred thousand dollars, as is the case in some of the leading States in the Union, have proved to be failures."\textsuperscript{47} In 1881 he proposed that the Florida legislature secure Congressional authority to consolidate the agricultural and seminary funds. Failing that, he wanted the interest from both funds held and invested until they were "sufficiently large to enable us to establish a State University with a Normal Department and a Chair of Agricultural Chemistry attached, and in this way carry out the purposes for which the donations were made."\textsuperscript{48}

There were many in Florida who agreed with the state superintendent of public instruction. Others, like Principal Cater of the East Florida Seminary, argued that such a proposition was "so absurdly unjust that it is a wonder it should have found defenders, save among those who

\textsuperscript{45}Williamson, "Eau Gallie Site of First Agricultural College in State," loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{46}Florida House Journal, 1879 (governor's message), 28-29.


\textsuperscript{48}Ibid., 1881, 186-87.
expected to be personally benefitted [sic] thereby."

Nearly a generation of Florida youth," Cater explained in a newspaper article, "has been deprived of a fund donated to it by the Congress of the United States. And wherefore deprive? In order, forsooth, that some future generation may enjoy the benefits of a largely increased fund. If this be wisdom, it is wisdom incomprehensible, and if it be justice it is justice past finding out."49

In 1881 William Bloxham, who had been so closely associated with the earlier history of the college, was inaugurated governor of Florida. Eleven years had now passed since the state, with high hopes of accomplishing much for agriculture, had applied for its 90,000 acres of land scrip. Hopeful and energetic, the new governor kept an eye fixed conscientiously on his duty to serve the state, which, as he saw it, included also the duty to serve the purposes of the Morrill Act. He lacked a concrete plan for establishing an agricultural college, but he possessed both vision and determination. After the immediate difficulties involving internal improvement, uniform taxation, and the Disston Land Sale had been somewhat alleviated, Bloxham reviewed the discouraging history of the agricultural college, and turned optimistically to plans for its future.

By the end of 1882 the agricultural fund had accumulated over $150,000, and, according to a newspaper report, it was drawing an annual interest of $9,000.50 It was not enough to establish and maintain "a genuine university," but it seemed to Cater and others that something

49The Weekly Bee (Gainesville), January 5, 1883.
more needed to be done. Cater felt that it was "high time for the youth of our State to receive some benefit from this fund that has been lying idle for years." Bloxham was inclined to take the same view, and he called a meeting of the board of trustees for January 9, 1883, to "take into consideration the best means of utilizing the income of this fund for educational purposes." A difference of opinion existed in the state as to the application of the fund. There were some who thought that it should be used "to found and sustain an exclusively agricultural college, and others felt that it should be divided between the two state supported seminaries." The Gainesville Weekly Bee naturally supported this second proposition, and its editor wrote: "Experience has amply demonstrated that it is much easier to increase the efficiency of a school already established than to establish a new school. No institution can be established in a day. It takes time to bring any school to the knowledge and notice of the people and it requires a longer period to convince them of its worth and genuine merit." The editor argued that this delay could be avoided, and "the best interests of our Florida youth secured by using the Agricultural College fund of this State to endow agricultural departments in the East and West Florida Seminaries, two institutions of learning that have been long-established, are extensively known, and are doing good work in their respective spheres. Especially is this true in regard to the Seminary in Gainesville."
The editor of the *Fernandina Mirror* stated that he saw no reason why "these State Seminaries, or one of them, should not be designated as the agricultural college, and chairs of chemistry and applied science be organized as departments of a school of agriculture, instead of waiting to create a separate agricultural college."\(^54\)

Local and sectional rivalry, however, demanded that a new institution be founded, and it was apparent that a majority of the board of trustees favored this idea. Committees were appointed by the board to visit centrally located cities and towns in North Florida and to "ascertain what inducements they would offer for the location of the college." Such a group came to Gainesville late in January, 1883, to see how much land and money that community might now be willing to donate to the state.\(^55\) The committee also visited Palatka and Ocala.

The board held a special meeting in Tallahassee on February 24, 1883, to consider offers from Lake City, Gainesville, Live Oak, Tallahassee, Ocala, and Madison. David S. Walker, former governor and former state superintendent of public instruction, advocated at this meeting that the agricultural fund be divided between the East and West Florida Seminaries, but his proposal was not accepted.\(^56\) The adherents of a new school were determined to win. Lake City had been generally recognized as a leading contender for the institution, and, although her money offer was somewhat smaller than that of other communities, her enthusiastic citizens had convinced the board that the town was the

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\(^{55}\) *The Weekly Bee*, January 26, 1883.

\(^{56}\) *The Weekly Floridian* (Tallahassee), February 27, 1883.
ideal site for the college. Lake City had originally offered $10,000, but upon the insistence of the board, this amount had been increased to $15,000. The money had been pledged by two hundred and twenty-six people.57 Joseph F. Baya, a man of considerable state and local political influence, offered a one hundred acre tract of land, about a mile west of the courthouse square, for the campus.

The board announced its decision after the fifth ballot. The offers made by Baya and Lake City were accepted, conditioned upon the payment of $10,000 within three months, and an additional $5,000 six months later. It was further explained that this decision resulted from "the central position and acknowledged healthfulness of the locality."58 The editor of the Gainesville newspaper, when he heard the news, grudgingly extended his congratulations, but at the same time he wrote: "We fear the good people of that town have exaggerated the importance of the possession of the college, and while it would have been a 'big thing' for Gainesville, blended with the Seminary, we are unable to conceive of any great advantage it will be to Lake City."59

Built around a square, Lake City was a typical American frontier county seat. During the Seminole War a military post named Lancaster had been located there, and earlier it had been used as a campsite by the Indians. The first white settlers named their town Alligator for the Seminole Chief who had been one of the leaders of the Dade Massacre.60

57A list of the Lake City donors was compiled by Mrs. May Vinzant Perkins of Lake City for the author.


59The Weekly Bee, March 2, 1883.

60Columbia County, Florida: Description of Her Climate, Soil, Health, and General Advantages (Jacksonville, 1883), 7.
The town grew rapidly after the Civil War, and its existence and development are closely linked with the state's pioneer railroad history. Lake City was described in 1882 as "a prosperous and substantially built town of some twenty-five hundred inhabitants, with a number of brick stores, well-kept hotels, seven or eight churches, good schools, tasteful private residences, and a large trade in vegetables . . . lumber and turpentine." 61 A contemporary traveler found that "Lake City is one of the Florida towns that hasn't been struck by the tide of Northern emigration. It is an old Southern country town that lets well enough alone." 62 It had changed little in either appearance or character by the time the new college was located in its midst.

According to the first catalogue of the Agricultural College "malarial fevers and epidemics are unknown to the town, and the rate of mortality has for years been not over one half per cent . . . . The climate during the months of the scholastic year is unsurpassed in America for its equable mildness, and cannot fail to charm and benefit delicate students from northern latitudes. They will pursue their studies in a pure atmosphere, rarely chilled below 32° in the midst of winter, and not often heated above 84° even in midsummer. To its other advantages the town adds that of a high reputation for morality and love of order." 63

61 George M. Barbour, Florida For Tourists, Invalids and Settlers (New York, 1882), 88-89.
63 First Announcement of the State Agricultural College, October, 1884, 4-5.
The new College campus was located on a high, dry plot of ground, overlooking four fresh-water lakes which offered "the student in his hours of relaxation abundant opportunity for aquatic sports." Marion Street was bricked only part way out to the College grounds, and then it became a narrow, sandy road, running between white-clapboard houses, shaded by giant oak trees. There was a well-beaten footpath, and in some places a plank sidewalk. A heavy growth of pines and oaks shaded the campus, and plans called for magnolias and sub-tropical shrubbery. People in Lake City already talked of the paved driveways and winding footpaths that would eventually traverse the campus. They watched with interest as building plans were drawn and contracts awarded to the Hensly and Emmons Construction Company for the first classroom-administration building. By December, 1883, the walls were part way up, and the dedication and laying of the cornerstone was set for the following February 21.

On the day of the dedication ceremonies, most of the stores in Lake City were closed. Since early morning there had been a steady noise of hooves and wheels, as surreys and farm-wagons moved along country roads into town. Crowds filled the streets and moved slowly toward the courthouse where the parade was to form. Store-fronts were gay with bunting, a flag flew from the cupola of the courthouse, and little boys exploded firecrackers as though it were Christmas or a Fourth of July celebration. Vendors pushed through the crowd, loudly advertising their wares. The Lake City Cornet Band played marches and familiar dance tunes.

64 Ibid., 5.
The band struck up "Dixie" at eleven o'clock, and the parade began. Lake City's elegant new steam fire engine was given a place of honor in the procession, followed by an open wagon conveying the cornerstone itself. College trustees; city, county, and state dignitaries; and representatives of most of the Masonic lodges in Florida rode in carriages which had been freshly painted for the occasion. A large crowd of spectators lined the way out to the campus, and nearly a thousand people gathered there for the ceremonies. An iron box, filled with Masonic mementoes, newspapers, old coins, and Confederate bills, was sealed into the stone, and the stone itself was cemented into place. A. J. Russell, state superintendent of public instruction, delivered the main address. He reviewed the events leading up to the establishment of the College, and told of plans to make it one of the leading institutions in the South. When he finished, the crowd surged back to town.

The fire engine remained on exhibition all day, and that night there was a fireworks display on the courthouse lawn. Rockets rose over the dark town, burst into sparks, and went down in distant fields. According to one newspaper report, "nothing whatever occurred to mar the pleasures or detract in the least from the success of the occasion. It was certainly a great day for Lake City, and will long be remembered with pleasure by all whose good fortune it was to be there."65

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CHAPTER IX

PRESIDENTS OF THE COLLEGE, 1884-1901

It was one thing to establish a new agricultural college, and another to make it a sound technical school. During the winter and early spring of 1884, the board of the Lake City institution faced many formidable and pressing problems in its efforts to achieve this goal. Work on the college building proceeded slowly, and there was still the task of furnishing it. The experimental farm needed planting, a dormitory for students and housing for faculty had to be provided, and the citizens of Florida would have to be made cognizant of the need for students and proper financial support. Then there was the job of securing an administrative staff and faculty which would need to have the training, understanding, and sympathy to provide for a diversified scientific program.

In the choice of a president, there was much to be said for selecting an educator who not only knew the problems of the new College but who was also familiar with the people and politicians of Florida. In earlier years the state seminaries had also been concerned with this problem, but because there were few qualified educators in Florida before and immediately after the Civil War, out-of-state principals were often employed. Florida had made important progress since 1865, population had grown, and the industrial and agricultural resources of the state had been developed. However, it is doubtful whether there was any
greater abundance of trained college personnel qualified to assume the presidency of an educational institution. In that regard Florida was still very much a backward state. There was also the feeling that scholars imported from other states would have more prestige and command more respect. This was a feeling that was to continue in Florida's institutions of higher education for many years. There was also an insistence during the latter part of the nineteenth century that southern college presidents be conservative, and, if possible, southern by birth and training.

Several men were considered for the post of president of the Florida Agricultural College before it was finally offered to Ashley Davis Hurt, principal of Male High School in Louisville, Kentucky, and a fairly well-known figure in southern educational circles. It mattered little to the trustees that many people in Florida had never heard of Hurt, or that he did not enjoy a national reputation. After investigating his record, and reading his letters of recommendation, the board seemed eager to appoint him. Governor James Proctor Knott of Kentucky had written a glowing letter to Governor Bloxham of Florida praising Hurt as an educator and administrator.1 A personal interview with Hurt in Tallahassee convinced the members of the board that they were making a wise selection. Hurt's appointment was announced at a board meeting in Jacksonville on April 12, 1884, and soon afterward he arrived in Lake City.2

1Knott to Bloxham, February 27, 1884, in Hurt Papers, UF Archives.

The new president was fifty years old. He was a big man with a large head and a large face, partly concealed behind a heavy mustache and chin whiskers. Among his professional colleagues Hurt was considered "a rich, accurate, and philosophical linguist."\(^3\) One had said that he was "the most thorough master of both the Latin and Greek languages west of Virginia and the equal of any scholar in the land."\(^4\) Another friend compared him with B. L. Gildersleeve, professor of classics at the Johns Hopkins University and editor of the *American Journal of Philology*.\(^5\) Hurt and Gildersleeve were friends and corresponded regularly. "In the art of improving knowledge," wrote a colleague in 1883, "in the rare way of making the driest subjects attractive, Mr. Hurt, I think is unequalled. That his gift is due somewhat to his perfect knowledge of whatever he undertakes to teach, I have no doubt, but it cannot all be accounted for except upon the assumption that he is what we sometimes term a 'born teacher.'"\(^6\) In Louisville Hurt had revealed "common sense and executive ability," which one observer felt were "qualities rarely associated with great learning." He had a pleasing personality, and was properly regarded as an accomplished scholar and an authority in ancient languages. In the matter of Greek, his friend considered that "he is not only deeply learned in that tongue, but is so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the old masters, that I would

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4Landell to Rufus King, March 26, 1874, ibid.


6Unsigned letter from Louisville, Ky., April 2, 1883 in Tulane University Archives.
say he teaches Greek like an Athenian."

A native Virginian, Hurt was born in Petersburg, December 15, 1834. After attending school at Botetourt Springs, Virginia, he enrolled in Columbian College (now part of George Washington University), Washington, D. C. In 1855, at the age of twenty-one, Hurt transferred to the University of Virginia to major in ancient languages and moral philosophy. He received his bachelor of arts and master of arts degrees, and went on to study at the University of Bonn. He later completed his graduate work and received his doctor of philosophy degree from the University of Berlin. Returning to the United States, Hurt became professor of ancient languages at the Florence (Alabama) Wesleyan University, one of the better known colleges in the South before the Civil War.

In 1862 he enlisted in the Confederate navy, and served as personal secretary to Commodore Frank Lynch, who played an important role in the naval warfare activities off the Virginia coast during the Civil War. The war over, Hurt returned to Virginia to teach Latin and Greek, and in 1869 he was invited to accept the chair of ancient languages in the Male High School in Louisville. He quickly showed himself a capable scholar who also possessed admirable administrative abilities, and he was named principal of the school in 1877.

When Tulane University was being reorganized in 1883, Hurt applied for an appointment as professor.

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7 Ibid.
8 Shale's Catalogue of Students, University of Virginia (1878).
9 R. H. River's letter, loc. cit.
10 Unsigned letter from Louisville, Ky., February 23, 1883, in Tulane University Archives.
of Latin and Greek. When his application was passed over he agreed to remain in Louisville for another year. Hurt's dissatisfaction with his salary as principal of the high school, and his objection to the elective system which gave students the right to decide their own course of study led to his acceptance of the Florida offer.

In July, 1884 Hurt visited Lake City for the first time, and he was greatly disappointed with what he saw. Writing from Tallahassee to his wife, he said: "The college ought certainly to have been placed here (Tallahassee), and Lake City only got it by offering $15,000 while Tallahassee offered 200 acres of beautiful land, her seminary and good will. They simply made a big mistake, and the result will be that the Agricultural College of Florida will be absolutely nothing. I know I am in a swamped boat, but it is too late to do anything but try to get to land." This critical attitude was one of the reasons why Hurt severed his connections with the Florida institution within a few months. Of greater importance, however, was the fact that he had accepted an invitation to teach at a higher salary at Tulane University.

11Cochran to Johnston, loc. cit.

12Biographical information from editorial (n.d.) from Louisville newspaper in Hurt Papers, UF Archives. Other information furnished author by Mrs. H. W. Robinson, in letter, October 10, 1952. See also Jambalaya, 1899 (Tulane University Yearbook), 9-10, and obituary notices in New Orleans newspapers, March 11, 12, 1898 (clippings in Hurt Papers, UF Archives).

The board accepted Hurt's resignation and appointed Alexander Quarles Holladay, then head of the College's department of English literature and elocution, to the position. A member of a prominent southern family, Holladay was born at his parent's plantation, "Cherry Grove," in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, on May 8, 1839. His father was a prosperous lawyer and former member of Congress. As was the custom among many well-to-do southern families, Holladay was educated by private tutors until he was ready to enter the University of Virginia in 1857. He studied law and modern languages, and after receiving his degree he attended the University of Berlin, studying Latin, Greek, and moral philosophy. On the day that Virginia seceded from the Union, Holladay married Virginia Randolph Bolling, and immediately after the wedding he left to join the 19th Virginia Regiment as a second lieutenant. He later served on the staff of General Braxton Bragg. After the war he returned to the life of a planter, lawyer, and teacher. After four years in the Virginia state senate he was made head of the Stonewall Jackson Institute at Abigdon, Virginia, and from that school he transferred to Florida.

Holladay was a man of broad culture and scholarship. Acquainted with the German gymnasia and eastern colleges in this country, he could hardly expect to find much similarity at Lake City. He observed that

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14 Horace E. Hayden, Virginia Genealogies (Washington, 1931), 375.

if instruction were carried on in the Agricultural College at the same level as in the older institutions of the North, the whole student body would probably have to withdraw. Holladay was determined, however, when he came to Florida that he would maintain as high an academic standard in his classes as conditions permitted. He endorsed the lecture method, and he insisted that his students do a maximum of collateral reading. In an attempt to generate the spirit of research among his students, he developed controversial discussion in the classroom and used it as a teaching device together with his lecture. "Stately and polished in manner, disciplined by military service, cultivated by travel, and broadened by wide and thoughtful reading," Holladay, according to one biographer, "represented the best tradition in higher education."\textsuperscript{16}

Holladay was an able administrator, but the College was so hampered by lack of money that he had little opportunity to expand its activities as he had planned. Although his academic interests were predominantly literary, he envisioned a college whose agricultural and engineering program would play a leading role in advancing the economy of the state. He never tired of advocating the idea that the College should serve the interests of all the people of Florida, and in this objective he had the full support of his board of trustees. Holladay did not lack ideas, but his vision far exceeded his grasp and the ability of the state to finance his program. It was because of his encouragement, however, that funds were appropriated in 1885 to beautify the campus. He saw the necessity of building a good library, and he insisted

\textsuperscript{16}David A. Lockmiller, History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1939), 45-46.
that part of the legislative appropriation for 1887 be used to purchase reference books. He helped convince the legislature that a chemical laboratory building was critically needed, and he persuaded the trustees to broaden the scope of the curriculum.

During his administration as president, Holladay was able to abandon many of the manual labor and trade school plans of the College, and he helped lay the groundwork for developing it into a professional institution for the training of agricultural experts and leaders. He enthusiastically endorsed the work of the Florida Experimental Station after it was established on the campus, and he visualized the great role that it would play in developing the agriculture of the state.

In the estimation of a colleague, he administered the College "with a genuine respect of the individual rights of both students and faculty." Years after he left Florida it was still remembered that Holladay had been "tolerant of the foibles with those who had been denied opportunities," and that he had "a gentleman's fine scorn of anything mean, unfair, cowardly, or cruel."

Holladay was not a scientist and he lacked training in agriculture and engineering. Thus, in 1888 when Florida accepted the condition of the Hatch Act, which appropriated federal funds to each state for agricultural research, and made the Experiment State part of the College, it was agreed by all concerned that a more highly trained agricultural specialist should lead the College and direct the activities of the Station. Holladay submitted his resignation as president in the early summer of 1888. He was promptly appointed professor of history, literature, and the English language. Since a new president had not yet
been named, an executive committee, with Holladay as chairman, was named. Holladay remained in Florida until August 30, 1889, when he became president of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (now North Carolina State) in Raleigh.

Poor health forced him to retire a decade later to "Bugely," his home in Nelson County, Virginia. Upon retirement he held the title of professor emeritus of history and political science. He died in 1909 while visiting his daughter in Raleigh. In an obituary in the Raleigh News and Observer Josephus Daniels likened Holladay to Robert E. Lee who had also returned to the academic life after the Civil War. Daniels praised Holladay as "a learned and capable instructor."

Little is known about the early life of Frank L. Kern, who became president of the College in July, 1888 and who served until 1892. According to a brief note in the Lake City paper announcing his arrival, Kern had received his training in normal and scientific schools in Michigan, Iowa, and Illinois. A native of Michigan, Kern completed the two-year common school course at Michigan State Normal College in 1881. In 1886 he was employed by the public school officials of Michigan.

17The Weekly Floridian (Tallahassee), June 14, 1888.
18The News and Observer (Raleigh, N. C.), March 16, 1909.
19A search was made in student, faculty, and alumni records of fourteen Michigan colleges, the Michigan Historical Commission, the Michigan State Library, two Illinois colleges, the Illinois Museum of Natural History, the Illinois State Historical Library, and the Iowa State Department of History and Archives. Only a single item on Kern was found by the Registrar of Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Michigan. Kern is listed as a graduate of that school and his name appears in the History of the Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1849-1899 (Ypsilanti, 1899), 304.
20This information furnished author by Arthur P. Jones, principal of Sherwood School, in letter, June 29, 1953. The data was compiled from a school annual by Mrs. Edna Price, Sherwood.
Sherwood, Michigan, to reorganize and administer the Sherwood Normal and Scientific College, and it was here that he added to his training in agriculture and horticulture. The College catalogue of 1888, the first one issued after Kern became president, notes that the course of study was modeled upon science courses offered at many agricultural and mechanical colleges in Mississippi and Michigan. Perhaps he observed the work in these institutions before he came to Florida. He visited a number of agricultural colleges during the summer of 1890 in order to study their methods of operation.

Kern played an active role in the National Association of Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges and Experiment Stations, serving as secretary in 1891. His main experience was in the field of public school education, and he was active in the National Teachers Association. In 1889 he was elected to a three-year term on its board of directors. He also participated in the work of the Southern Educational Association. He helped reorganize the Florida State Teachers Association, and served as editor of the Florida School Journal, the official monthly organ of the State Board of Education. Kern wrote well, and he contributed the article on Florida to Chamber's Encyclopaedia (new edition, 1888), and he compiled a pamphlet, romantically entitled Florida, The American Italy, for the Florida State Teachers Association.

Kern secured the cooperation of his faculty and the trustees. His recommendations, none out of the ordinary, were usually well received by the board. He early saw the need of additional dormitory

21Florida School Journal, IV (November, 1890), No. 3, 3-4.
22Ibid., (January, 1891), No. 5, 5.
space, and urged that the state appropriate funds to construct a brick barracks building. He questioned the wisdom of maintaining a farm that was not under the jurisdiction of the Experiment Station. The results of the farm experiments "have not been such as to justify the outlay," he told the trustees in 1892. Moreover, he felt that students could not do all the work that was needed to keep the farm under cultivation "without seriously interfering with their military and other regular studies." He recommended that a large and varied number of classics and literature courses be added to the curriculum, encouraged the teaching of modern languages, and urged expansion of the library. In view of his training and interests, it is surprising that Kern did not propose a normal department. He encouraged the work of the preparatory department, and helped set up a small printing shop. When there was no budgetary allotment for printing, Kern paid for the work out of his personal funds. The 1889-90 school catalogue was the work of the printing department.

Although he was happy with his work at the College, Kern was invited to become Florida Educational Commissioner which paid a much better salary than he was receiving in Lake City. As a result, he submitted his resignation in the spring of 1892. In his new position it was Kern's responsibility, among other things, to set up the Florida exhibit at the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1892-93.

23President's Annual Report, 1891-92, 16.
25The Florida Teacher, I (June, 1892), No. 3, 11, and I (July, 1892), No. 4, 12.
Later, Kern left Florida and returned to public school teaching in Michigan.

Steps were taken immediately after Kern's resignation to fill the office of president of the College, and several men were considered before the position was offered to Wilbur Fisk Yocum, principal of the Summerlin Institute in Bartow, Florida. Yocum wanted to make a change at the time and he accepted the offer to become the fourth president of the College.

Yocum's father was a Methodist minister who had served for a number of years as missionary to the Indians of the Middle West. The family was living in Salem, Ohio, when Wilbur Yocum was born on July 20, 1840, but shortly afterwards they moved to Wisconsin. There Yocum received his early training, and in 1860 he was graduated from Lawrence University (Appleton, Wisconsin) with a bachelor of arts degree. Three years later he received his master of arts degree from the same institution, and in 1869 he was graduated from the Garrett Bible Institute (Evanston, Illinois). In 1865 Yocum had traveled to the Pacific coast, walking most of the way, and he subsequently organized the first public school in Walla Walla, Washington. He was appointed professor of mathematics at Lawrence University in 1868, and a few years later was made president of the Methodist Episcopal College at Fort Wayne, Indiana. In 1888 he came to Florida to be principal of the newly organized Jacob Summerlin Institute in Bartow.

As principal of the Institute, one of the best schools in Florida, Yocum became known throughout the state. His influence and experience in the Methodist Church was widely recognized, and he was
respected as an educator. For the first time the trustees of the Florida Agricultural College were appointing as president a person with whom the people of Florida were well acquainted. Yocum took over his new office in June, 1892.

Yocum was fifty-two years of age at the time. He was a man of medium height and build, with a full, expressive face partly concealed behind a short-cropped mustache and beard. Yocum's plans for the improvement of the College when he arrived on the campus were neither large nor extensive. While he himself was a product of the classical education of Lawrence University, he was not a man to adhere to an educational program simply because it conformed to tradition. He sought a program which would produce useful results, and he emphasized the importance of educating students in order to serve the community's good. In the curriculum program prepared after he assumed the presidency, he insisted that all courses have at least three purposes: training minds toward "a logical course of reasoning," arousing "a spirit of investigation," and building "the foundation of a broad, literary culture." To promote scholarship for the individual and the common good was his highest aim.

Yocum was happiest in the classroom. His relations with students and most of his faculty were good. His gentle manner and ready sense of humor endeared him to many. He was conscientious in his work with the board of trustees and cooperative with legislators and state officials. Notwithstanding his abilities as a teacher and scholar, Yocum was not at ease as an administrator. Moreover, he had become president at a particularly trying time in the history of the Florida Agricultural College. The institution was still very young, and the
state was hesitant in accepting full responsibility toward the school. Although the wealth of Florida was growing, and the legislature was increasing its appropriations for higher education, there was always a critical shortage of funds at the College. Without money Yocum could not do many of the things he thought necessary, and the board, due to budgetary limitations, was forced to reject many of his proposals.

Yocum inherited a chaotic condition in the military department. Students hated drill and threatened open revolt if compulsory military training continued. This led to difficulties with the military department, and, in time, President Yocum and the military commandment became antagonistic. Yocum's bitterest experience, however, came with the director of the Experiment Station, and the serious differences of opinion between these two men eventually led to their resignations in 1893 and to a wholesale reorganization of the College. Yocum was criticized for his lack of decision in these matters, and for his seeming reluctance to press matters of administrative importance before they became problems too big to handle on a local level. Many people thought that trouble at the College would not have developed if Yocum had shown himself to be a stronger administrator. With all these difficulties, the board felt that Yocum's major weakness as president of an agricultural and mechanical college was his lack of training and experiences in the sciences. Patience and intelligence, the trustees reasoned, were not enough to solve problems in the departments of engineering, biology, horticulture, and entomology. The College needed the leadership of a trained agriculturist, and in trying to find such a
person the board devoted time and interest during June 1893. Yocum, meanwhile, had decided to return to his former position as principal of Summerlin Institute, and he submitted his resignation. During the summer of 1893 Walter Gwynn, chairman of the board, served as acting president.

Whether Oscar Clute, president of Michigan State College, was the only candidate considered by the trustees for the presidency is not revealed by contemporary board records. In the case of Clute there was no extended correspondence. In June he was offered the position of president, professor of agriculture, and director of the Experiment Station at a salary of $2,500, in addition to housing. On July 12, 1893, he accepted by telegram and arrived in Florida shortly afterwards.26

Clute possessed a wider experience in university administration and a greater knowledge of agriculture and the sciences than any of his predecessors. Born near Albany, New York, on March 11, 1837, and educated in the common schools of that state, he had migrated to Michigan with his family while still a child. A country boy who had lived on the farm until he was seventeen, Clute had become familiar with the practical aspects of farming before he accepted a position as principal of a school in Shiwassee County, Michigan. Two years later he enrolled at the Susquehanna Academy to study the courses that he would need to enter college. Before enrolling in the sophomore class of Michigan Agricultural College (later Michigan State College) in 1859, he served a year as principal of the public school in Ionia,

26Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Florida Agricultural College, July 12, 1893, 91. Cited henceforth as FAC Trustee Minutes.
Michigan. Clute made a distinguished college record, and during his senior year he taught classes in the preparatory department. He received his bachelor of arts degree in 1862, and was appointed instructor in mathematics. The following year he was elected professorship. Clute received a leave of absence to serve with the Michigan troops in the last year of the Civil War.

During his four years at the Michigan institution, to which he returned after the war, Clute built a reputation as a thorough and untiring scholar. A contemporary remembered him as "reverent, earnest and eloquent, always a hard student, not only of history and literature, but of nature as well." Although he was nearly six-feet tall and well proportioned, Clute gave the impression of being a much smaller man because he walked with a slight stoop. His carefully groomed appearance, full dark beard, neatly clipped and streaked with gray, and his great simplicity of speech and manner were his most distinctly remembered characteristics. Clute was neither a brilliant teacher nor a popular one. A serious intellect and a capacity for hard work won him the respect of his associates, who, at the same time, were often irritated by his positive air and exact diction. He was aloof, cold, distant, and sometimes gave offense by objecting too abruptly to the actions of others. Only his closest friends found him gentle and kindly.

In 1868 Clute married Mary M. Merrylees who had come from Lerwick, Shetland Islands, to visit her sister, the wife of President

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Abbott of Michigan State College. Shortly after his marriage Clute resigned his teaching post at Michigan in order to study theology at the Unitarian Theological Seminary at Meadville, Pennsylvania. The following year he accepted a call from the First Unitarian Church at Vineland, New Jersey. For the next twenty years he served as a minister at Newark, New Jersey, Keokuk and Iowa City, Iowa, and Pomona, California. In 1889 he was invited by his alma mater to become her president and to serve as director of the Michigan State Experiment Station. He left this position to accept the post at the Florida Agricultural College.

He arrived in Lake City in time to help prepare the new catalogue and to include in it the chief goals of the institution as he saw them: the teaching of "such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts," the promoting of a "liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life," and the providing of a "general and liberal education along the lines of modern thought." In his annual report, issued to the trustees on April 28, Clute elaborated upon his plans for the expansion of the College. He thought that the students already were being trained by methods "which the ablest educators in Europe and America recommended," and that they were being properly "taught to do

28 Madison Kuhn, Michigan State, The First Hundred Years (East Lansing, 1955), 167-90. Additional information furnished author by Mrs. Katherine Miller, Clute's daughter, in letter, March 19, 1952. There is a biographical sketch of Clute and description of his administration as president of the Michigan institution in Beal, op. cit. 91-99, 393-94.

29 Florida Agricultural College Catalogue, 1894-95, 16-17. Catalogues henceforth to be cited as FAC Cat.
by doing." He felt that such training "in practical knowledge and in noble character" would "abundantly compensate the national government for the generous endowment it has given, and return a hundred fold to Florida for its financial aid and its fostering care." 30

Early in his administration Clute helped organize the three courses of study - agriculture, mechanical, and women's - which led to the bachelor of science degree, and the Latin-scientific course which led to the bachelor of arts degree. Clute had studied the agricultural curricula of a number of northern and western colleges, and had used the best examples that he had found as his model for the curriculum of the Lake City institution. He strongly supported the idea that all physical science students needed training in English, and in mental, ethical, and political science, as well as in the shop and general science courses. Clute was himself a product of the classical school, and he insisted that the Latin-scientific course follow that tradition. The women's course, which Clute organized in the fall of 1893, was the most liberal offered by the College, and included work in English, mathematics, science, modern languages, manual training, psychology, ethics, and logic.

Seriously hampered by a meager annual salary budget of approximately $16,000, Clute supported the idea of appointing graduates of the College to the faculty. Thus, Robert L. Berger, who had received his bachelor of arts in 1893 and had taken graduate work at The Johns Hopkins University, was named assistant in mathematics.

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30 President's Annual Report, 1896-97, 16-17.
in 1896. Altus L. Quaintance joined the biology faculty in 1895 after he received his bachelor of science degree from the Florida Agricultural College and his master of science degree from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. The following year, another graduate of the College, N. H. Cox, was appointed professor of mechanics and mechanical drawing. Miss Jennie Abright was the first woman graduate to be named to the faculty. She completed the business course in 1896, and was employed to teach stenography and typewriting. W. W. Flournoy was named librarian and mathematics assistant after he received his bachelor of arts degree in 1896. J. P. Davies was appointed instructor of chemistry and physics shortly after his graduation in 1895.31

Clute's aloof, distant nature failed to win him popularity, either among his students or faculty. He was also disliked by people in Lake City, who considered him arrogant and unfriendly, largely because he showed little interest in their social and civic affairs. Clute regarded the College as a state institution, not one to cater to the whims of the local citizens. He had little patience with social graces which he considered petty. A sober, serious, hard-working, somewhat humorless man, he had a social inferiority complex which many people misinterpreted as conceit and disinterest. Resentment against him grew, and bitter attacks were made on him and on the College. The situation finally reached a climax in June, 1897, when a group of Lake City men requested a meeting with the board of trustees to discuss rumors which had been circulated about Clute. The board agreed to meet the delegation on the afternoon of June 15 in the president's office,

31 Ibid., 17-18.
at which time charges of immorality and indecency were made against Clute. The trustees refused to accept these unsubstantiated accusations and re-elected Clute for another year.\textsuperscript{32}

This was only the beginning, however. On July 22 a Lake City delegation appeared again before the board and presented a new list of charges, this time supported by affidavits. These statements listed the occasions of Clute's purported misconduct, but they did not go into much additional detail. In addition to the charges directly involving the president, the delegation also claimed that students had been frequenting a disreputable poolroom in Lake City, and that one of the professors had been recognized in local brothels. The person or persons who had seen the professor were not identified. The trustees requested that Clute appear and answer the charges. The governor of the state was also asked for funds to pay the cost of an investigation if one had to be made.\textsuperscript{33}

The charges against Clute and the College were never proved, nor was there any investigation. However, at the next meeting of the board on August 17, Clute offered to resign, and the board decided that it would probably be better for the College if a new president was appointed. The board unanimously voted to erase from the records the accusations that had been levelled at Clute.\textsuperscript{34} Broken in health and spirit, Clute left Florida to enter the Soldiers' home near Los Angeles,

\textsuperscript{32}FAC Trustee Minutes, June 15, 1897, 277.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., July 22, 1897, 282-87.

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., August 17, 1897, 288.
California, where he died on January 27, 1902.  

Clute's four years as president of the Florida Agricultural College were years of personal tragedy. He lost reputation, family, and friends. Professor P. H. Rolfs, later director of the Florida Experiment Station, in a speech delivered many years afterward, remembered that Clute had come to Lake City "in the prime of life and health." "He left completely broken," Rolfs reported, "politics could not down him, but the 'whisper-phone' inflicted a mortal wound." For the College, Clute's administration meant growth and progress. His strong support and encouragement of research in agriculture and mechanics had helped to fit the institution more securely into the expanding economic pattern of the state. His efforts to redirect emphasis in undergraduate instruction, his endorsement of coeducation, and his understanding that a good college needs not only buildings and adequate equipment but a well-trained and well-paid faculty laid strong foundations upon which his successors could build.

With Clute gone the trustees again faced the problem of electing a new president. On August 17 the board not only accepted Clute's resignation but began considering the problem of his successor. The qualifications of State Superintendent Sheats and Horace Edward Stockbridge of Americus, Georgia, were carefully examined. Because of his scientific training and experience, Stockbridge was the better qualified candidate. However, Sheats' educational background, his wide

\[35\text{Beal, op. cit., 394.}\]

experience as a teacher and public school administrator, and his political influence made him a strong enough candidate to convince the trustees that he should be offered the position on a one-year trial basis. The salary was set at $2,500. The superintendent was sitting in his Tallahassee office when the telegram arrived notifying him of his selection. He immediately wired back: "Consider your proposition favorably. Will come first train to consult with you." 37

He did so the following afternoon, and then asked for time to consider the offer. 38 Although the position would have paid Sheats $1,000 more than he was receiving as state superintendent, and it would carry with it a large measure of respect and prestige, he was not pleased with the fact that he would be receiving only an interim appointment. He was also reluctant to assume the responsibility of directing the Experiment Station in view of his own limited scientific background and training. Consequently, on August 23 he declined the offer.

It seemed that there were many men interested in becoming president of the Florida Agricultural College, and the board received a number of detailed testimonials and letters of application. The board's task was not to find a candidate, but to choose the best. When the trustees assembled in Lake City on September 7 they examined the credentials and qualifications of no less than eighteen applicants from Florida, Kentucky, Arkansas, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Georgia. Stockbridge's application was included in this group. Several aspirants were present for personal interviews, but withdrew their

37 FAC Trustee Minutes, August 17, 1897, 288.
38 Ibid., August 18, 1897, 289.
applications when the board announced a salary reduction to $2,000. Housing was still to be furnished the president and his family.\textsuperscript{39}

When the remaining applicants had been interviewed and their qualifications examined, the trustees voted. Stockbridge was again a strong candidate, but on the sixth ballot cast former President Wilbur Yocum emerged the winner. A telegram was dispatched to Yocum, and he wired his acceptance immediately.\textsuperscript{40} He resigned for the second time as principal of Summerlin Institute, and arrived in Lake City in time to begin the new semester on October 1. Obviously, the board was not as insistent upon having a scientist as president as they had been earlier. Why the trustees had changed their attitude is not indicated by the records. Perhaps they realized that the Florida institution was not as important as they had imagined it to be and that a local man could very well serve as president.

The board had little reason to regret its action. Yocum's four-year administration was a success in that he did much to rebuild the morale of the faculty and students and to re-establish the faith of people throughout the state in the institution. His kindly, gentle manner has already been described, but it is interesting to note how he used his personable nature to coax funds from the legislature, to stimulate enrollment, and to make friends for the College. Although Yocum had not always known how to deal with state officials, he was largely responsible for softening the harsh attitude of citizens who had become disturbed by the Clute affair.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., September 8, 1897, 293.

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., 294-95.
Yocum himself was not a man of great originality or boldness, but his earlier experience as president of the College and as principal of Summerlin Institute had broadened his administrative skill and ability. His original determination to educate the student not only for himself but for the good of the community had been strengthened, and he saw the necessity of developing a teaching program to achieve this goal. Yocum's educational purposes were best expressed in the catalogue of 1899-1900 when he promised that the institution would offer "an education adequate to the demands of the age." 41

The College continued to progress and grow in several areas during Yocum's administration. By comparison with earlier years there was a large amount of building on the campus. Foster Hall was constructed as a dormitory for women students, a two-story wing was added to the mechanical building, and the preparatory building was enlarged. New equipment was purchased for the mechanics and physics departments, the condition of the College farm was improved, and the campus was beautified. Trees and shrubs were planted, flower beds laid out, and for the first time the lawns were systematically trimmed and raked. Dining room facilities were enlarged, buildings were wired for electricity, and the third floor of the main building was at last finished.

There was a critical shortage of skilled labor in Florida, and Yocum saw the responsibility of the College in helping meet this need. He soon added practical shop courses in carpentry, metal work, and electricity, designed to equip "young men to do the work of skilled mechanics." A minimum of theoretical work was required, and certificates of proficiency were given upon completion of the course. Yocum

41FAC Cat., 1899-1900, 11.
strengthened the preparatory program, and insisted that students who expected to take the college classics course study Latin. He eventually expanded the preparatory curriculum into a two-year course. With Yocum's persuasion, the board in 1899 revised all courses of study. The degree for the Latin-scientific course was changed from a bachelor of arts to a bachelor of science in literature, and a classical course was added. The latter course of study, which led to a bachelor of arts degree, was based on the curriculum of a typical nineteenth-century classical school, of which Yocum himself was a product. Latin, Greek, philosophy, mathematics, mental and ethical logic, history, and English literature were stressed. The women's course, which had never been very popular, was merged with the Latin-scientific course. Yocum recommended that a domestic science course be added, but lack of funds prevented this. The professional departments of agriculture and engineering flourished. He helped broaden the research base of these departments, and was instrumental in establishing the department of veterinary science in 1901. Yocum sought more adequate financial support, encouraged research, and strengthened the faculty throughout the College. Ever aware of the growing need of training teachers for the public school system, Yocum, during his last year as president, secured board approval of plans to organize a normal department. He personally took charge of this work, and was gratified by the number of students who took the course. There was no opposition to this program, however, since it was not related to the agricultural and mechanical education for which the College had been designed, and the normal department was
abolished in 1902.\textsuperscript{42} Yocum's abilities and his generally happy relations with the board and faculty did not halt criticism and attacks on him and on the College. Circulated innuendoes and half-truths irritated Yocum. Moreover, he resented the heavy responsibilities which took him out of the classroom and away from the work which he most enjoyed. In 1901 he decided to relinquish for the second time the position of president of the Florida Agricultural College. He agreed to remain at the school, however, and he became professor of philosophy.

\textsuperscript{42}Analysis of Yocum's second administration as president rests upon his biennial reports published in the Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1898, 1900, 1902; the College catalogues, 1897-1901; and interviews with H. Harold Hume, provost of agriculture emeritus and dean emeritus, College of Agriculture, University of Florida, and the late Miss Lucia McCullough, Washington, D. C., who were associated with Yocum during this time and knew of his work.
CHAPTER X

THE FACULTY

Contrary to conditions which prevailed in many southern institutions of higher learning at the time, the president and faculty of the Florida Agricultural College had, by legislative action, seemingly been vested with the administration of the school. In practice, however, this was not true, and real power was always in the hands of the board of trustees. The trustees appointed all academic and non-academic personnel, defined duties, fixed salaries, limited tenure, and established policy. The faculty, with the approval of the board, determined admission requirements, laid down the scope and length of courses, and adopted textbooks and teaching materials. In addition, the faculty supervised discipline and academic standards, subject to revision, alteration, or rejection by the board. The faculty had little direct contact with the board, and its recommendations and reports were made through the president. It was not considered proper for a professor to report directly to the trustees on his personal needs or those of his teaching department.

In a general reorganization program undertaken by the board in 1893, it was announced that members of the faculty would be hired on a year-to-year basis, and would be paid in ten installments. The president and other administrative personnel had twelve-months contracts, and were paid on that basis. All personnel were notified that their
employment could be terminated at any time by the board, but that staff resignations required a sixty-day notice.

In 1901 the board agreed that faculty could be selected by the president, but only with the final approval of the trustees.¹ Until 1884 faculty appointments were made only after the trustees voted upon eligible candidates for the position. This was the same method used by the board of the East Florida Seminary and many other southern seminaries and colleges. In 1893 the minutes of the board of the Agricultural College reveal that in filling a vacancy in the department of ancient languages, the trustees considered three candidates, J. N. Anderson (later dean of the Graduate School of the University of Florida), C. B. Waugh, and J. N. Steaton, and finally elected Waugh.² Early presidents of the College were always selected in this manner. Board members nominated candidates and then voted their choice. Only the total vote for each candidate was recorded in the minutes.

When the College opened, salaries compared favorably with those paid by other southern institutions. They were considerably higher than those received by the faculties of the East and West Florida Seminaries. In 1884 President Hurt received $2,400, which was only $100 less than the president of the University of North Carolina was being paid.³ The Lake City institution paid its professor of mathematics and the head of its chemistry-physics department $2,000 each, and the professors of agriculture and English $1,600 each a year. At the East

¹FAC Trustee Minutes, June 19, 1901.
²Ibid., July 11, 1893.
³Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1912), 11, 117.
Florida Seminary in 1884, Cater was only receiving $1,300, and the highest paid professor received $850. The principal of the West Florida Seminary also received $1,300, and the salaries of the instructors corresponded with those at the Gainesville institution.¹

In 1893, when the positions of president of the College and director of the Experiment Station were combined, the board set a salary of $2,500. The professor of mental and moral philosophy in 1893 was also vice-president of the College and received $1,800 for his combined duties. The following year, when housing was provided for the vice-president on campus, his salary was reduced to $1,500. The salaries of professors ranged from $1,000 to $1,800 a year, and teaching and laboratory assistants were paid from $500 to $900. In 1897 the head of the department of biology and horticulture received $1,200.⁵ When a new man arrived to take this position in 1899, the amount was reduced to $1,000.⁶

Academic salaries in American colleges have never compared favorably with the income of men in positions of first or second rank and responsibility in the industrial community. On the basis of a study made in 1893 of more than one hundred institutions of higher learning, it was found that the average annual college income was about $1,470.⁷ The salaries of assistant professors compared at the time with the wages of skilled workmen in the mechanical industries;

¹Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 59-60.
⁵FAC Trustee Minutes, June 15, 1897.
⁶Ibid., September 19, 1899.
⁷Harper, loc. cit., 98.
associate professors compared in income with the lower grades of responsible clerical and subordinate administrative employees. Only the top-salaried professors received an income comparable to junior officers in railroad, insurance, and industrial corporations. The panic of 1893 and the depression which followed effected nearly every economic group in the country, and both industry and government cut salaries severely. Teachers found themselves in a more precarious financial position than ever. Scribner's Magazine reported in 1897 that the average salary for a full professor in all but the largest universities was about $2,000. The average professor's salary in forty-four of the larger white colleges in ten southern states was estimated by a study in 1901 to be about $840. Prices, meanwhile, had been mounting since 1897, particularly with food commodities. According to statistics gathered by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (now a part of the Department of Labor) retail food prices increased over nineteen points between 1897 and 1905. There were also substantial increases in the cost of clothing, utilities, and furniture.

8Ibid.

9Ibid., loc. cit., 512.


12Ibid., 38.
The cost of living was fifteen per cent higher in 1905 than it had been during the 1890's.\(^{13}\)

Florida, along with the rest of the country, suffered the effects of the depression of the nineties. Moreover, the freeze of 1894-1895 had dealt the state a major economic blow. While recovery was rapid as a result of railroad expansion and thousands of new settlers moving in, the standard of living of many families was kept low by a restricted income. The board of trustees of the Florida Agricultural College had sought without much success to increase academic salaries. In 1904 the president of the institution notified a national teachers employment agency that he wanted to employ someone to teach stenography and typewriting at a "salary of $600 for the nine months." He also stipulated that the applicant be "about 20 years of age and a Baptist."\(^{14}\)

In another letter he said that the school needed "men of some experience and of good character, who are Christian," to fill vacant teaching positions. He offered to pay full professors from $1,000 to $1,500 for nine months, and instructors from $600 to $1,000.\(^{15}\) In 1903 an instructor in French and English was hired for $675, with the promise of a $75 raise the following year. The teacher was also to be furnished a dormitory room and one half his board, provided he was willing to serve as a dormitory counselor.\(^{16}\) In 1902, when the president was

\(^{13}\)Ibid., 41.

\(^{14}\)Sledd to Robert McCay, Chicago, August 11, 1904, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.

\(^{15}\)Sledd to Fisk Teacher's Agency, Boston, July 7, 1904, ibid.

\(^{16}\)Taliaferro to Z. V. Judd, Chapel Hill, July 27, 1903, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.
negotiating for a football coach and athletic director, he wrote: "We cannot pay more than $900. I do not care to pay that unless we have to for it will strap us."17

The salary of the president in 1901 was $2,250, in addition to living quarters in the dormitory.18 The board increased this to $2,500 in 1903.19 The average professor's salary in 1905 seems to have been $1,600, and the auditor-bookkeeper, one of the main administrative officers, received $1,000 a year.20 During the period that the school was coeducational the women on the faculty generally were paid from $100 to $200 less than men who were teaching similar courses. The highest salary paid to a woman was $1,100 in 1896.21 In 1902 the dean of women taught a number of English classes, and attended to her regular administrative duties, and received a salary of $750 in addition to her room and board.22

The trustees held a tight check-rein on the faculty. In 1901 the board adopted a resolution which stipulated that faculty was hired "for certain duties and such other duties as the President of the College might require." This action stemmed from the refusal of a professor to teach electricity to some special students in the mechanical engineering department after being requested to do so by the

17Taliaferro to W. N. Golden, State College, Penn., August 29, 1902, ibid.
18FAC Trustee Minutes, June 18, 1901.
19Ibid., June 16, 1903.
20Taliaferro to W. P. Jernigan, Lake City, July 16, 1904, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.
21FAC Trustee Minutes, June 11, 1896.
22Ibid., June 10, 1902.
The professor argued that he had been employed to teach only students registered in the regular classes and that his teaching load should not be increased unless he received additional compensation. The board upheld the president's right to make faculty assignments as he thought necessary. The trustees, furthermore, announced at the time that a member of the faculty could not come before the board in his own behalf at any time, unless he had first received permission of the president.23

There is only one case on record in which a member of the faculty received additional compensation when he was assigned extra teaching duties. Samuel Smoke, the military commandant in 1895, refused to teach certain classes in mathematics unless he received extra pay, and he produced a letter from the secretary of war stating that he was assigned to teach only military subjects. The board finally agreed to pay Smoke $600 a year "for non-military activities," which included two mathematics classes and serving as vice-president.24

The board stipulated that only faculty members above the rank of assistant professor could be considered members of the voting faculty. Assistant professors who were heads of departments were excepted from this ruling. Instructors were not permitted to attend faculty meetings unless specifically invited by the president. Most faculty meetings throughout the period were taken up with academic trivia. The faculty decided whether or not permission should be granted the students to hold a Christmas ball, the type of band music to be

23Ibid., February 11, June 19, 1901.
24Ibid., October 11, 1895.
played for the commencement programs, the kind of uniforms lady students should wear, and on what evening fraternities should be allowed to meet. The faculty had the responsibility of disciplining recalcitrants and acting on their appeals; of determining entrance requirements, grades, and similar matters; of fixing the time for classes and examinations; and of scheduling faculty meetings, which were usually held on Friday afternoon. The records of faculty minutes do not reveal any occasion where the professors showed any vocal dissatisfaction with the restricted limits in which they were allowed to carry on their teaching responsibilities.

The Athenaeum Club, the oldest faculty organization at the University of Florida, was started when several professors of the College, expressed a desire, at the beginning of the fall term of 1905, to form a social and literary club. The president of the College appointed a three-man committee to prepare a constitution and a set of by-laws, and a definite organization plan was formulated. On November 7, 1905, after the regular faculty meeting had adjourned, eleven professors remained in the room, organized as a formal group, and voted to adopt the constitution. Andrew Sledd, who was then president of the College, was elected president of the new club; Edward R. Flint, professor of chemistry, vice-president; and Charles L. Crow, professor of romance languages, secretary-treasurer.

Meetings at first were held in President Sledd's home. Since the constitution had specified that the objective of the organization

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25This information rests on an analysis of the Faculty Minutes, December 8, 1896 - February 14, 1906. Minutes are in UF Archives.
would be "social intercourse and the discussion of questions of interest," it was decided that a literary essay would be read at each meeting. Such papers were to be limited to thirty minutes, followed by a discussion period. Meetings had to adjourn by ten o'clock, according to rules. Professor Crow read the first paper on "Phonetic Spelling," and the second paper, "Impeachments in the United States," was read by Professor David Y. Thomas of the history and political science department. The third paper, "Factors in School Work that Educate," was delivered by Dean Henry E. Bennett.

The name Althenaeum was suggested by Professor A. W. Blair of the chemistry department. It was intended that all essays would be eventually deposited in the library, but this practice was never strictly followed. Often papers were discussed from brief notes, and professors were reluctant to take the time to write out a full essay. Occasionally a paper was submitted to a professional journal or magazine and was accepted for publication.

Although the College was non-sectarian, professors and their families were expected to be active members of some church and to attend services regularly. Students and faculty were required to attend daily morning prayers in the campus chapel. The professors were encouraged to work with student Bible classes and to accept invitations as guest speakers before religious organizations. Faculty members were cautioned to be circumspect in all their dealings with the public, to pay their bills promptly, and to lead quiet and conservative lives.

26The Athenaeum Club Minute Books, Vols. I, II, and III, are in UF Archives. There is also a copy of the original constitution and the revised constitution.
A tennis court, built on the campus in 1900, was made available to faculty members. So many professors took advantage of this facility that students complained. The editors of *Pinakidia*, the yearbook published by the class of 1901, suggested that the professors were indulging in tennis to preserve their youth, "in order that they may be better enabled to give us the advantage of their learning in years to come." Faculty social activities were restricted by the size of the Lake City community and by low salaries. The social highlight of the year came with the annual commencement ball in the spring. Faculty members and wives were invited to chaperone, and the president and his wife always led the grand march. In 1901, the president began the practice of entertaining at an evening reception at the beginning of each fall term, in honor of new members of the faculty.

Professors were discouraged from participating actively in politics, and, although there was no specific ruling, the board of trustees frowned on the idea of a professor's holding public office. The election of 1904, one of the most heated in Florida political history, created controversy throughout the state, with repercussions on the Lake City campus. The president's uncle, James P. Taliaferro, was running for reelection to the United States Senate. According to testimony which was presented later, the president openly campaigned among his faculty, and tried to persuade several to vote for the conservative ticket which his uncle headed. Occasionally, on purely local issues affecting Lake City, the faculty would take sides and speak out.

27 *Pinakidia*, 1901, 64.

28 Mrs. T. H. Taliaferro to author, February 1951.
but this was the exception rather than general practice.

In the matter of their teaching responsibility, professors were often dissatisfied. The belief that superior college training could be better achieved if a professor's teaching assignment was limited to a single field was not widely accepted in most of the small southern institutions before the twentieth century. In the face of limited financial resources and the slow growth of student enrollment, it was not easy to break down broad, almost eclectic, professorships to specialties. Consequently, at the Florida Agricultural College each professor was expected to embrace a large domain of knowledge, and, if the need arose, to teach courses in more than one area. For instance, when Joseph Newton Whitner came to the campus in 1881, he was named professor of theoretical and practical agriculture, and he was in charge of the departments of agriculture, horticulture, and botany. Later, he was also asked to teach a class in Greek.

Whitner, a native of South Carolina and a graduate of the University of Georgia, was amply qualified by training and experience to direct the agricultural work on the campus. He had taught in the public schools of Tallahassee and Fernandina for a while, but he was best known as a pioneer experimenter in vegetable growing and tropical tree grafting in Miami. He brought to the Florida Agricultural College a considerable amount of information pertaining to the specialized conditions of tropical agriculture and horticulture. He put the experimental farm in order immediately, so that it would be ready for

29Biographical information furnished author by Whitner's grandson, Joseph Whitner Wandell, Jacksonville, in letter, October 24, 1952.
the first class of students. Whitner supervised the construction of a fence around the farm property, and helped put in the first vegetable garden. Although he had been trained as a civil engineer, Whitner carried his agricultural work to high levels. In 1885 he wrote Gardening in Florida, one of the earliest descriptions of the vegetable and tropical products of the state. Although its author described certain plants which were not particularly adapted to Florida's soil and climate conditions, the volume was important because of its influence on the development of truck farming in Central and South Florida. Whitner's experiments laid the ground for the significant work in vegetable gardening carried on by the College after the freezes of 1894-1895 and 1899.

Another member of the first faculty was James Marion Pickell, who was appointed to the chair of geology and chemistry, and placed in charge of the physics and chemistry departments. Born in Williamston, South Carolina, in 1855, Pickell received his early training at Furman University. He took his master's degree from this institution in 1876. He did post-graduate work in physics at The Johns Hopkins University in 1880-1881, and while there he attended some of the lectures delivered by Professor Ira Remsen, the renowned chemist and educator. So enthusiastic about chemistry did he become that he immediately changed his major and planned to study that subject in Germany at the

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30 Alumni files of the University of Georgia show that Whitner received a bachelor of arts degree in 1847, and that later he received a master of arts degree in civil engineering.

31 The brief analysis of Whitner's work is based upon a conversation with Professor H. Harold Hume, University of Florida, October 9, 1952.
Universities of Gottingen and Berlin. He traveled extensively throughout Europe, visiting universities and scientific laboratories in England, France, and Germany before returning to the United States in the summer of 1884. It was shortly after he returned to this country that he accepted the offer of a position at the Florida Agricultural College. Pickell was connected with the College for eight years, during which time he built for himself a sound reputation as a scholar. Although he published no books and only a few articles, he was recognized as a zealous and efficient teacher. He tried to keep abreast of new developments in his field, and he pioneered the idea at the College that there was a necessary cultural alignment between the sciences and the humanities. In discussing scientific problems, he was not content unless he could show how the solution had a direct bearing upon human welfare.

In 1892 Pickell left Florida to accept an appointment as professor of chemistry and metallurgy at the University of Alabama. He later became chief chemist for the state of North Carolina. In connection with the department of agriculture in that state, he did outstanding work, both in the development of feed control and testing and in the building of apparatus for this experimental work.

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Ellery Williams Davis, whom the trustees named head of the mathematics department in 1884, was born in Oconomowac, Wisconsin, in 1857. He received his early training at the University of Wisconsin, majoring in engineering, and was graduated in 1879. Wisconsin was already one of the most flourishing universities in the Middle West, and it was an important center for scientific investigation. There, Davis studied with many of the outstanding scholars of the departments of mathematics and engineering. One of these, Storm Bull, nephew of the famous Norwegian musician and himself a man of broad cultural interests, helped convince Davis that he should continue his training at The Johns Hopkins University, which then had the best department of research mathematics in the United States. Davis studied under Arthur Cayley, the noted English mathematician, and received his doctor's degree in 1884. He left for Lake City immediately after the June commencement.

Davis' students responded to his scholarship and his competence as a teacher. He insisted that they study the processes of algebra which he described as "a peculiarly useful and invigorating discipline." Davis was not a garrulous man, and while he stimulated interest by giving popular lectures on the history and significance of mathematics, in his classes he adhered to the idea that "thorough discussion of a few things better trains the mind than a superficial treatment of many."

In addition to his work in the department of mathematics, Davis was also professor of military tactics, a position which he held for

one year. Although Professor Davis did not have any real military rank, his students and friends affectionately called him "Major," and this title was used throughout his life.

While still in Lake City, Davis had begun working on his An Introduction to the Logic of Algebra, which was published in 1890. It was an authoritative text adopted by several American colleges. Although it introduced no new theory to the development of mathematical thought, it was based upon sound research and was considered one of the more progressive mathematical studies of its time.35 His other book, The Calculus, published in 1912, was also favorably received and was widely distributed in academic circles.

In 1888 Davis left Lake City for a better paying position at the University of South Carolina. A few years later he was appointed professor of mathematics at the University of Nebraska, and in 1901 he became Nebraska's dean of the college of literature, science, and the arts. He served in that capacity until his death in 1918.36

Hurt, as president of the College and in accordance with a tradition that had long prevailed in American colleges, taught moral and mental philosophy. Because of his training and experience in teaching languages, he also supervised the language department, and he taught classes in Latin and Greek. The original faculty was completed

35The analysis of Davis' book is based upon a conversation with Franklin W. Kokomoor, head professor of mathematics, University of Florida, October 20, 1952.

with the appointment of Alexander Holladay as head of the English department. He held this position for one year, and, as we have noted, succeeded Hurt to the presidency in 1885.

It is obvious that this early faculty was expected to assume a wide variety of teaching responsibilities. Each professor was supposed to teach several courses, sometimes in three or four different areas of study. The trustees and administrators realized the drawbacks of assigning an individual professor to several widely different fields of study, but because of the limited financial resources of the College there seemed to be little that could be done about the problem. By the 1890's things began to change somewhat, and a tendency toward specialization in both the sciences and humanities began to be evident.

For instance, in 1894 C. V. Waugh, who had been in charge of the whole fields of philosophy and ancient and modern languages, was relieved of his classes in French and German. Miss Cordele K. Mooring was named professor of German and French, and Señorita Aurora Mema of Cuba was employed to teach Spanish.

Hampered by its precarious financial condition and lacking a notable reputation, the College surprisingly enough was able to attract to its faculty many men of excellent scholarship. In the humanities, such a case was Professor Yocum who twice served as president of the institution, and, for a short while, as vice-president. Yocum was always better known as a teacher than as an administrator, and on one occasion he voluntarily resigned the presidency of the Florida Agricultural College to return to the classroom. He taught philosophy for
a while in 1893, and was appointed professor of ancient languages and philosophy in 1901. He was the author of *Civil Government in Florida Under State and Federal Constitutions* and of numerous articles on the philosophy of education, and he helped edit a school geography. His *Civil Government* was one of the earliest and best attempts to analyze the divisions and functions of Florida government. Written in a clear and concise fashion, it was used by state and local officials and served as a school text.

In 1906 Yocum was named professor of education at the University of Florida, and he was appointed head of the department of pedagogy. This was the work he enjoyed most, and his greatest contributions to the field of education came with his leadership in the teacher-training program of the state.37 He was one of the first presidents of the Florida Education Association, an organization that represented diverse educational interests, and he encouraged the Florida Agricultural College, and later, the University of Florida to cooperate effectively with the office of the state superintendent of public instruction and to win the good will of public school administrators and teachers. Yocum saw the important role that Florida's institutions of higher learning could play in inspecting and accrediting high schools, and he was ever conscious of the state's responsibility to train teachers for public schools.

Yocum and Waugh were typical of the scholars and teachers who directed the teaching of ancient and modern languages at the Florida

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37In a letter to author, July 30, 1951, Lucia McCullough, Washington, D. C., who knew and worked with Yocum on the Lake City campus, attributed Yocum's success to the fact that he knew personally almost every teacher in Florida.
Agricultural College. Waugh was born in Manchester, Virginia, and received his training at Richmond College, where he was graduated in 1872. Having also been ordained a Baptist minister, he moved to Florida in 1876 to accept the pastorate of the First Baptist Church at Gainesville. In 1893 he began his career as an educator when he accepted the appointment as professor of ancient and modern languages at the Florida Agricultural College. Waugh was a man of deep scholarship and broad culture. He read Greek, Hebrew, German, Latin, French, and Spanish, and his large library attested his wide interests in psychology, philosophy, physics, history, literature, and mathematics. His poem "Florida, My Florida," written in 1893, was set to the tune of "Der Tannenbaum," and the legislature adopted it in 1913 as Florida's first state song.

Another figure important in the teaching of languages at the College was Zebulon Vance Judd, who was named instructor in romance languages in 1903. Judd had received his training at the University of North Carolina, and he had taught mathematics and French at Chapel Hill before coming to Florida. He was later on the faculty of the University of Alabama.

German classes were under the supervision of Dr. James M. Farr after his arrival on the campus in 1901. Farr, also head of the English department, was a staunch supporter of the classics. Born in

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38 Biographical information furnished author by Kenneth E. Crouch, Bedford, Virginia, in letter, March 10, 1951.

39 Florida Times-Union, October 7, 1928.

40 Original MS in University of Virginia Library. Photostat copy in UF Archives.
South Carolina, Farr had received his bachelor and master degrees from Davidson College and had taken his doctorate at The Johns Hopkins University in 1901. During his last year at Hopkins, he taught a class in Shakespeare at the Randolph-Harrison School for Girls in Baltimore. Dr. James W. Bright, a pioneer in the scientific study of Germanic-English philology, directed Farr’s graduate work at Johns Hopkins and had a great influence on his academic interests and activities. Farr’s memoirs reveal that he had no personal fondness for Bright, although he respected him as a scholar, and to him he dedicated his dissertation, "Intensives and Reflexives in Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English." It was Bright who suggested that Farr apply for the vacancy at the Florida Agricultural College, pointing out that Florida was "one of the few states without a state university. It needs one and if you go there with that task in mind you will be more content in the teaching profession."

Farr discovered that Bright's description of the Florida institution as "a good place for a young teacher to make his initial mistakes" was no exaggeration. He found that the previous English classes had stressed elocution, and that "the English hour was the one for relaxation and amusement, that its main duty was to appear appreciative to her [the lady teacher's] recital of the gems of literature."

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41 Autobiographical information furnished author by Farr, in interview, January 2, 1952.


43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 19.
During his first year Farr succeeded in reorganizing the English curriculum and raising its standards. He assigned his freshmen students Macaulay's *Essay on Addison* and the Sir Roger de Coverly papers, and he insisted that they devote another semester to the history of American and English literature.

Without sacrificing his high standards of intellectual discipline, he aroused enthusiasm for the classics among his students. His classes in Shakespeare were extremely popular, and students seemed to enjoy his emotional, oratorical style of lecturing. He also organized a good world literature course which became very popular. Farr had a reputation as a public speaker of more than average ability and he was quick at repartee. In addition to his scholarly qualifications, he was a good administrator, and in 1905 Farr was elected vice-president of the University. Both he and Mrs. Farr were known as hospitable hosts, and students were always assured of a warm welcome in their home.

It is not to be wondered that many legends and stories would be told about Professor Farr. He recalled in his memoirs an embarrassing situation that developed his first day in his junior English class. The students had been assigned *King Lear*, and Farr was patiently characterizing the *dramatis personae*, when a young lady in the front row asked what a "bastard" was. Realizing that class decorum would probably suffer if he offered a full explanation, Farr used the opportunity to lecture on the importance of consulting a dictionary.45 Small in stature, with a pinched face and a close-cropped haircut, Farr was called by the students "the mighty mite." According

to legend he received this descriptive title after helping to quell a student rebellion on campus soon after he arrived in Lake City. Dissatisfied over a number of real or fancied grievances, the cadets broke into the military storeroom, seized a quantity of rifle ammunition, and threatened "to shoot up the county." An old cannon had been dragged out, and the students were loading it with shot, when suddenly Farr appeared. He climbed onto the cannon, and announced that if it was fired it would be while he was sitting on it. He then proceeded to lecture the cadets which helped break up the rebellion.46

Since the greatest contributions to be made by the College were in the sciences and in agriculture an attempt was made to secure as strong a faculty in these teaching areas as possible. There was also the greatest delimitation and specialization in the science curriculum. For instance, in 1890 James Pickell, who for seven years had been teaching all the courses in chemistry and physics, was relieved of some of his responsibilities by the appointment of J. J. Earle as assistant professor of chemistry. Two years later a separate professorship in analytical chemistry was authorized, and in 1893 the field was further divided when a professor was appointed to teach agricultural chemistry. The year before, the board had set up separate departments of agriculture and horticulture, but then in 1893 horticulture and biology were being taught by the same man, and chemistry and agriculture were being taught by a single professor. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, these large teaching fields had been divided again, and there were separate departments of agriculture,

46 Ibid., 26.
chemistry, and botany-horticulture.

When a department of biology and natural science was first organized in 1891, Frank Welborn Pickel was placed in charge. Like his brother, James Pickell, he had received his bachelor's degree from Furman University. He continued his studies at the University of South Carolina, and he was instructor in bacteriology and hygiene there for two years before coming to Florida. He later did graduate work at the University of Chicago and The Johns Hopkins University. Realizing that there was hardly enough in the biology budget to pay his meager salary and almost nothing for laboratory supplies and equipment, Professor Pickel decided to accept a better-paying position at another school in 1892. For a while he taught Greek and German at Mississippi State College, and then in 1899 he was appointed professor of biology at the University of Arkansas. There he remained until his death in 1922.47

To succeed Pickel, the board in 1892 appointed Augustus Archilus Persons as professor of chemistry and agriculture. Persons was also to act as chemist for the Experiment Station. Trained at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Persons had been professor of natural science at the Alabama Normal College before coming to Florida. During his six years at the Florida Agricultural College Persons published research articles on such subjects as soils and fertilizers and the cultivation and fertilization of cotton. His chemical analysis of Florida soils, published in 1897, was of importance in the field of

agricultural chemistry. His studies on the comparative nutritive value of different varieties of oranges, and the amount of fertilizing constituents removed from the soil during citrus growth proved of major value to the growing citrus industry of Florida. Persons' investigations of phosphates, mucks, marls, mineral waters, and food stuffs were significant, and as agricultural editor of the Florida Citizen he communicated his findings to the farmers of the state. Meanwhile, he was also serving as consulting chemist for the Florida Central and Peninsula Railroad and the Plant Railroad system and as state statistician for the United States Department of Agriculture. It was a loss to Florida when Persons left in 1898 to become head professor of chemistry at the University of Alabama and to serve as consulting chemist for the Missouri and Ohio Railroad.48

The College's major contributions to the state in the fields of biology, horticulture, and botany began with the appointment of Peter Henry Rolfs in 1892. Of German background, Rolfs was born in Iowa, and he spent his boyhood near Le Claire, Iowa, working on his father's farm. He studied at the Iowa State College of Agriculture, and received a bachelor degree in 1889 and a master of science in 1891. After a year as assistant botanist at Iowa Agricultural College, he came to Florida in 1892 to begin his long association with the Florida Agricultural College, the Experiment Station, and the University of Florida. He was appointed horticulturist and biologist for the Station,

48Biographical information furnished author by Person's wife, the present Mabel Know Purcell, Jacksonville, in letter, December 28, 1952. (Person's grandson is Truman Capote, American author and playwright.)
and professor of natural science, entomology, and botany for the College. The latter work was somewhat delimited in 1894, upon the suggestion of President Clute, and Rolfs was made professor of biology and horticulture.49

Most of Rolf's important investigations were in horticulture and entomology, and his influence in these fields was felt almost from the start. His first research was in grasses, forage plants, and tomato blights, the results of which brought large annual savings to Florida vegetable growers. The great freeze of 1894-1895 had a disastrous effect on citrus growers throughout the state, and many turned to vegetable growing. In December 1895 Rolfs published a paper, "Some Market Vegetables for Florida," which was an analysis of the economic value of Florida-grown truck in northern markets. Rolfs won renown for himself and the Florida Experiment Station as a result of his discovery of the effect of parasitic fungi in attacking and controlling small insects. He contributed many research papers on the cultivation of citrus and the diseases of citrus fruits. He urged the growing of tropical fruits, particularly pineapples, mangoes, and avacados, and devoted a large amount of his time to the study of proper frost protection of citrus groves, which was in itself a pioneer contribution. Rolfs was an early member and a major working force in the Florida State Horticultural Society. A man of quiet humor, modest, sincere, and devoted to science, Rolfs achieved a notable reputation for both the Station and the College while he was on the campus.

49 Clute to C. F. A. Bielby, May 1, 1894, in Bielby Letters, UF Archives.
In 1899 Rolfs resigned to accept a position at Clemson College, but he returned to Florida two years later to help direct the activities of the sub-tropical plant laboratory which the United States Department of Agriculture had established in Miami. He returned to the University of Florida as director of the Experiment Station, and gained a national reputation for his work in agricultural education. He was made dean of the college of agriculture at the University of Florida, and later he was invited by the government of Brazil to establish a college of agriculture in the state of Minas Goraes.50

The research work of Rolfs in horticulture and botany was carried to new levels by one of his successors, H. Harold Hume. Born in Russell, Ontario, in 1875, and trained in the public schools there and in Vineland, New Jersey, he showed an early interest in vegetable and flower gardening. Hume's mother, who had been an inveterate gardener and high school teacher in Scotland, was largely responsible for his early interest in agriculture. She encouraged him to enroll at the Ontario Agricultural College which was the agricultural branch of Toronto University. In 1898 he entered Iowa State College to study botany under L. H. Pommell, one of the noted men in this field in the country at the time. Hume graduated in 1899, and was appointed assistant botanist at his alma mater. He had just begun his advanced study of plant rusts when he received the invitation to come to Florida.51


51Autobiographical information furnished author by Hume.
He accepted the appointment when he was assured that he could continue his experiments.

Hume was imbued with a true scientific spirit, and he showed a deep interest in developing agricultural products which had been difficult to grow or which had not been grown at all before in Florida. At the Experiment Station he was largely responsible for the demonstration that pecans could be satisfactorily cultivated on a large scale in Florida, and pecans have subsequently become an important agricultural crop in this state. This, however, was only part of his work. In 1902 he published a bulletin, "Diagrams for Packing Citrus Fruits," which systematized the grading and packing of oranges and grapefruit. His investigations stimulated the growing of kumquats, Japanese persimmons, pineapples, and all types of citrus fruits. He became recognized as a national authority on the growing of citrus products. His studies of potato diseases and the citrus anthracnose, begun on the Lake City campus, had a measurable effect upon agricultural development throughout the Southeast. Meanwhile, he had received the degree of master of science in agriculture from the Iowa Agricultural College in 1901.

In 1904 Hume accepted an appointment as horticulturist for the North Carolina State Department of Agriculture, and two years later he began a business and research association with the Glen Saint Mary Nurseries in Florida. The experimentation and investigations that Hume became involved with brought him international renown as an agricultural expert. His publications on azaleas, camellias, and holly were distributed widely throughout the world.

Hume eventually returned to academic life when he accepted an appointment in 1930 at the University of Florida. There, he served as
provost of agriculture, dean of the college of agriculture, and, for a short while, as acting president of the University. Hume's warm personality, his unfailing courtesy, and his urbane manner won for him the respect and admiration of students and colleagues alike. Many of his students at the Florida Agricultural College and the University of Florida subsequently won distinction as horticulturists and floriculturists.52

In the field of entomology the most important work was done by Altus Lacy Quaintance, a native of Iowa. As a boy Quaintance had moved with his family to Archer, Florida, and he had graduated from the Florida Agricultural College in 1893. He took a master's degree from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and served a year there as entomologist before returning to the Lake City campus in 1895. During the three years in which he was associated with the College, Quaintance did extensive research on the insect enemies of truck and garden crops. His tabulation of these insects and the methods of treating them was a valuable contribution to the development of truck farming in Florida. His studies of strawberry and tobacco insects were among the earliest made, and his detailed analysis of the bean leaf-roller, the crop delphax, and the canna leaf-roller were important to vegetable gardeners in the South. Quaintance became interested in insects injurious to stored grain and cereal products, and at his insistence the College developed a successful research program aimed at eliminating such pests.

52The analysis of Hume's work and personality at the time are based upon statements to the author from the following: Lucia McCullough, Washington, D. C.; James M. Farr, Jacksonville; C. V. Noble, former dean, University of Florida; and Mrs. T. H. Taliaferro, Washington, D. C.
as grain moths, rice and bean weevils, and flour beetles. Quaintance left Florida in 1898 to accept a position at the Georgia Agricultural Experiment Station. Later, he became entomologist for the state of Maryland, and in 1903 he was named by the United States Department of Agriculture as the entomologist in charge of deciduous fruit insect investigations.53

There were important contributions in the sciences by other members of the College faculty. H. A. Gossard, a graduate of Iowa State College, became professor of zoology, entomology, and geology in 1898. He continued the research that Quaintance had begun in listing and prescribing a treatment for injurious plant insects. Largely through his efforts, the Australian lady-bird was introduced into South Florida to help clean up badly infested insect areas, and he devised apparatus for the successful fumigation of the large trees in the state. Professor Gossard was interested in plant scales, and he published several monographs outlining his observations and findings.54

Horace Edward Stockbridge already had an international reputation as an agricultural chemist when he was appointed professor of agriculture in 1897. Born in Hadley, Massachusetts, Stockbridge had studied at Boston University and at the University of Gottingen. After a year at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, he was, in 1885, appointed professor of chemistry and geology at the Imperial College of

53Biographical information on Quaintance from Who's Who in America, 1903-1904, 1207. Analysis of his work is based upon conversation with Professor Hume.

54Biographical information on Gossard from UF Cat., 1902-1903, 5. Analysis of his work based on data in Annual Report of the Director of the Florida Experiment Station, 1901, 7.
Agriculture and Engineering in Japan. For three years he was chief chemist for the Japanese government, and he returned to the United States in 1889 to become director of the Indiana State Experiment Station. The following year he was named president of the North Dakota Agricultural College and director of the state's Experiment Station. He directed many successful experiments with various types of field crops in that state. In Florida, Professor Stockbridge demonstrated the value of cassava as a money crop, encouraged the growing of sugar cane, and did research in cattle feeding aimed at utilizing native feed stuffs. He was in charge of the farmers' institute work, and for a number of years served as secretary of the Florida State Agricultural Society. The state suffered an important loss when Stockbridge resigned from the College to become editor of the *Southern Ruralist.*

H. K. Miller, a graduate of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, was appointed assistant chemist for the Experiment Station in 1894, and he became professor of chemistry for the College in 1898. At a time when water purification processes had not been widely developed in Florida, Miller pioneered the work of analyzing drinking water. In addition, he conducted experiments for livestock dealers to determine the degree of digestibility of velvet bean hay, and he evolved a formula for the preparation of a fertilizer for pineapples and pomelos. In an attempt to find a Florida substitute for olive oil, Miller began extensive experiments with the avocado pear, but, because of lack of

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55Biographical information on Stockbridge from *Who's Who in America, 1914-1915,* 2251. Analysis of his work is based upon conversation with Professor Hume.
time and equipment, he was forced to discontinue his tests. 56

It is apparent that by 1905 the University of Florida (the name given to the Florida Agricultural College by the state legislature in 1903) was making significant contributions to the economic and cultural development of the state. Scientific research, particularly in the field of agriculture, was largely inspired by the awareness of what it might mean to the improvement of the economic status of Florida. The ideal of a university closely articulated with the life of the people, and intimately linked with government would not be fully realized in Florida until there were sufficient funds and increased physical resources. Notwithstanding these restrictions, the University of Florida in Lake City had become, by 1905, a valuable service institution.

56 Analysis of Miller's work is based upon conversation with Professor Hume, and from information in the Annual Reports of the Director of the Florida Experiment Station, 1900-1901, 1902-1903.
CHAPTER XI

CURRICULUM AND ACADEMIC STANDARDS

When the College at Lake City opened its doors on the first Monday in October, 1884, there were thirty-eight male students, all registered in the preparatory department. President Hurt predicted that late registration would raise this figure to forty. Instead the roll dropped to thirty-one, and the following year only twenty-seven enrolled. The size of the student body increased slowly after 1888. In that year there were eighty-six students; one hundred three in 1890; and one hundred eighty-seven in 1894. President Kern, in his annual report for 1891-1892, noted five factors to explain this slow growth: the small endowment given the institution, the general sentiment against a college differing so radically from the traditional concept of study, the established custom of sending boys from more affluent families to colleges outside the state, a small and scattered population, and a relatively low per capita income.\(^1\) In 1897 there were one hundred ninety-seven students, and President Clute rationalized that "the exceptionally close times for money, the excitement and interest due to the presidential campaign [1896], and the

\(^1\)President's Annual Report of the Florida Agricultural College, 1891-92, 11.
great devastation wrought by the storm of last September [1896] have made the attendance at the college this year smaller than it would otherwise have been."2 In 1900 the student body reached its peak with two hundred thirty-six enrolled. Thereafter, as entrance requirements were raised, the number of students declined. In 1903 coeducation came to an end by order of the board, and it had an immediate effect on the size of the student body. There were one hundred seventy-six students in 1903 and one hundred thirty-six in 1905.

Not until 1891 did the number of students taking college work equal that in the preparatory classes, although President Kern carefully pointed out that "a much larger number of young men are in the collegiate courses than are found in any other college in the state."3 As late as 1898, out of a student body of one hundred ninety-nine, only fifty-seven were in college classes. There were forty-eight students in sub-freshman and preparatory classes, eighteen in the normal department, fifty-one in the business department, and twenty-five special students. The latter were students who either could not satisfy the entrance requirements or were unwilling to take the full course. Of a total of one hundred thirty-six students registered in 1905, seventy were taking college work, fifty-one were normal students, and fifteen were special students.4

The frequent charge that the College was too much a local institution for Lake City and Columbia County caused the administration

\[2\] Ibid., 1896-97, 3.


\[4\] Ibid., 1906, 212.
grave concern. Until the early 1890's this criticism was entirely justified, but conditions began to change when the work of the institution was more widely publicized throughout the state. In 1892 the trustees submitted an analysis of the incoming student body which revealed that twenty-five Florida counties would be represented. Three-fourths of the student body would be coming from counties other than Columbia, the largest number representing Osceola County. There was also one foreign student registered, Thomas Angel of Havana, Cuba, the first to enroll from a Latin-American country. In 1888 two boys, whose permanent homes were in Odessa, Russia, but who were living temporarily with their families in Orange County, were at the College. In 1897 there were students from thirty-two Florida counties, two each from Alabama, Georgia, and Massachusetts, and one each from Indiana, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Virginia. Moreover there were two students from Cuba and one from Mexico. In 1902 there were one hundred sixty-four students from Florida, six from Cuba, three each from North Carolina and New York, and one each from South Carolina, Ohio, and Georgia. In 1903 the report showed that ten out-of-state students had registered from Georgia, South Carolina, Illinois, New York, and Kentucky, and five foreign students from Cuba. Similar analyses in 1904 and 1905 revealed that students were attracted from various parts of the state and nation and from Latin America. The temperate climate and the relatively low cost of securing an education probably explain the attraction of out-of-state

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5 Ibid., 1892, 10, Appendix to Florida House Journal, 1893.
6 Ibid., 1904, 184-85.
students to the campus. In the case of those from Latin America, particularly from Cuba, the fact that Florida was near the Caribbean and that there were accessible transportation lines were factors making for matriculation. Other students were encouraged by the Cuban Department of Agriculture, which realized that many of Florida's agricultural problems were similar to those in Cuba and that matriculation on the Lake City campus might be good preparation for work on the island. Probably there were other students who had relatives or whose families had business connections with members of the sizeable Cuban colonies in Key West, Tampa, and Jacksonville.

Concerned with the problem of enrollment, the College's trustees and staff had wondered if the name of the institution, State Agricultural College of Florida, was not misleading and if it had not prejudiced the growth and development of the school. President Holladay, after a trip through South and East Florida during the summer of 1886, "for the purpose of making the institution known and acquiring friends for it," reported that he had found in many quarters "a prejudice against the name 'Agricultural College,' and a belief that our chief work here was to instruct boys in hoeing, ploughing, seeding, etc." Important as it was to eradicate this idea from the minds of those who were seeking a general education, it was also necessary to convince the farmers that agricultural colleges did have something to

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7S. Fontela, Havana, Cuba to T. H. Taliaferro, May 13, 1904, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.

8Taliaferro to B. J. Fernandez, Ybor City, October 16, 1903, in Taliaferro Papers; Andrew Sledd to Jose Gonzalez, Tampa, August 29, 1904, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.

contribute to the advancement of agriculture. Holladay felt that such notions might change if the name of the institution was different, and he recommended University of Florida and State Agricultural College. Governor William S. Jennings, on the occasion of the dedication of the science building in 1902, referred to this attitude which persisted during the 1880's. He said that some people had called the institution "Florida State College," and its young students "Frying Sized Chickens." When their attention was called to the fact that the real name was "State Agricultural College," the irreverent, according to Jennings, often had said, "so the boys got off the roost in [to] the S. A. C., a not unusual proceeding for chickens."10

The board, during its reorganization program in 1893, had officially changed the name of the school to Florida State Agricultural College, although catalogues and other publications had used that designation since 1889. Because of its "mechanic arts," which took almost as large a part of the budget as did agriculture, the institution was sometimes referred to as the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. This was the designation of similar institutions in other states, but this was never the official title of the Florida institution.

President Holladay's recommendation that the College should be the University of Florida was not the only time such a suggestion had been made. On June 17, 1886, the board of trustees announced that the state would be advanced and furthered by the consolidation of the Lake City Agricultural College and the Florida University and Agricultural College which had been chartered in Tallahassee in 1883.11 This new

10Florida Times-Union and Citizen (Jacksonville), June 11, 1902.
institution would be named Florida University and Agricultural College.

From time to time during the 1890's additional recommendations were made by the board to change the name of the school, but nothing was done until 1903. It has been suggested that the basis for this delay stemmed from the acute rivalry between the Florida Agricultural College and the West Florida Seminary in Tallahassee. The patrons and alumni of each school tried to make their institution the leading one in the state; President Taliaferro and his faculty led the faction that "planned as to how the Agricultural College might 'beat'" the Tallahassee school. Whatever the causes for the delay, the law authorizing the change in name was passed by the legislature, and it was approved by Governor Jennings on April 30, 1903. Although the mere change of name did not affect the educational status of the institution, it was a step toward creating a state university in which the liberal arts and agriculture could find a meeting ground.

The institution hoped to encourage a larger and more representative enrollment by providing inexpensive room and board, low tuition fees, scholarships, and employment for students who needed financial aid. When the first dormitory was constructed in 1886, the board of trustees announced that free rooms would be provided for all students. This remained the policy, with only a few exceptions, throughout the history of the College. In 1888 the administration tried charging $1.00 a month rent, but this had so adverse an effect on enrollment that the rental charge was dropped. At various times during

the 1890's a small incidental fee to cover maintenance costs was collected on each room. Throughout this period students were charged a nominal sum for utilities and laundry.

Besides providing free rooms, the College tried to keep the cost of board low. Before dining-room facilities were available on campus, good board could be obtained from families in town for $12 to $16 per month. In 1887, the college charged $6.5 a term for "table expenses payable invariably in advance." Students whose families lived in town were permitted to board with them, "at the descretion of the Faculty." In 1889 a three-acre garden was planted by the students so that fresh vegetables would be available. The vegetables from the garden, the plentiful supply of wild game available in the Lake City area, and other provisions purchased at wholesale rates permitted the faculty and students, who had organized a mess club, to board at approximately $8 a month. The following year the cost was reduced to $7 a month, when the College garden was enlarged and an increased supply of fresh vegetables became available. According to a legislative report, "this placed the advantages of the college within the reach of the poorest, as they cannot live cheaper at home." After 1892 the college dining room charged approximately $10 a month, serving three meals a day, seven days a week.

From the very beginning student fees and tuition were purposely kept low. In order to encourage a larger enrollment, the trustees

13 FAC Cat., 1884, 4.
14 Ibid., 1887, 15.
in 1887, announced that henceforth tuition for Florida students would be free, and that out-of-state students would be charged only $20 per session. All students, however, paid an incidental fee of $5 a term. In 1890 the incidental fee was reduced to $3 and the following year to $2 a session. Special fees were charged for the first time in 1892, when students in the manual training department paid $2 a year and chemistry students $3 a term. A few years later the board ordered students in any department of the business college to pay a fee of $2 a term. A shop fee of $2 a session was also charged for "use of tools and materials." At any time the board had the right to waive the payment of special or out-of-state fees if the student's financial need was proved. A faculty committee usually made such recommendations to the board. Student fees yielded $1,651 in 1894, $3,250 in 1900, and $2,676 in 1903. Beginning with the fall semester in 1903, all fees were abolished by order of the board.

President Sledd correctly described the institution as "a free school." In his first annual report in 1904, he wrote: "It does not charge any tuition and it does not make up for this liberality by levying sufficient special fees and charges to cover the amount thus seemingly remitted. A Florida student who attends his State University, if he chooses to board and room in town and does not break any of the College property, does not pay to the University treasury one single cent in tuition or in any special fees or levies whatever. If he prefers to live in the dormitory and to take his meals at the Dining-Hall, he pays one dollar a month for a heated and lighted and furnished
room, and $10 a month for his table board. In either case the University does not make one cent out of the student." 17

Whenever possible, work was provided on the campus for students who needed or wanted employment. In the carpentry shop students made and repaired furniture used in class and dormitory rooms. They worked during the afternoons and on Saturday and were paid 8 cents an hour. Farm work was available at the Experiment Station where students cleared stumps, roots, and logs from hammock land, cut down trees, sawed and piled logs, repaired fences, set out fruit trees, and cared for livestock. These students received 8 to 10 cents an hour. A similar wage was paid those employed in the printing office or who did clerical work. The College announced in 1892 that fair wages would be paid for student labor, "notwithstanding the work is always made educational. By this means expenses may be greatly reduced, and if one is ambitious, he may pay his entire expenses, as several have done during the past year." 18 The catalogue in 1902 stated that manual laborers received from "six to ten cents per hour according to proficiency."

Applicants were informed that the College could not guarantee everyone a job, nor could such work "interfere with the regular university duties," but that an attempt would be made to employ as many students as possible. 19 The most remunerative student job on the campus was that of librarian, which paid $10 a month in 1889, and $15 a month after 1891.

18 FAC Cat., 1891-92, 16.
19 Ibid., 1902-03, 26-27.
The trustees in 1894 established the first scholarship program. They announced that three scholarships, covering board and college fees for a year, would be awarded to students with the highest scholastic records in the freshman, sophomore, and junior classes. This practice continued until 1902, when the faculty adopted a resolution abolishing class scholarships and substituting assistant postgraduate fellowships. The latter were to be awarded on a departmental basis and could require part-time student teaching.

It was the responsibility of the administration and faculty to attract as many students as possible to the College. As early as the summer of 1884, even before the institution began its formal operations, President Hurt traveled throughout the state, talking to prospective students and their families, and outlining to them the advantages of attending the Florida Agricultural College. He spoke before representative civic groups in the larger communities, and deplored the large numbers of Florida citizens who had gone outside the state for their education. "Now," he told one audience, "we are inviting our youth to remain at home, either to study the capabilities of their own State and the best means of enlarging and utilizing the material resources, or else to pursue courses in literature or philosophy by which latent talent might be evoked in statesmanship and public economy, in ability to make and interpret the laws of the land, or in the power to impart to others the light received by themselves."}

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21FAC Faculty Minutes, June 9, 1902.
22Weekly Floridian (Tallahassee), August 12, 1884.
The lack of interest that many citizens in the state displayed towards the College continued to be a vexing problem for many years. The superintendent of public instruction, calling attention to this situation in his annual report of 1887, wrote somewhat inaccurately: "It is astonishing why parents do not use this excellent opportunity for the complete education of their sons instead of at great cost sending them out of the State for that purpose, thus making the State tributary to the coffers of other States, when the opportunities enjoyed are no better and in many cases by no means equal."²³

The curriculum, as described in the first college catalogue, consisted of six undergraduate courses of study: classical, scientific, engineering, agriculture, and philosophy. Students who successfully completed either the classical or literary course received the bachelor of arts degree. A bachelor of science degree was given scientific, engineering, and agriculture graduates, and a bachelor of philosophy degree was awarded students who completed work in the philosophical courses. In the literary course, the board of trustees announced that the College would follow the liberal arts curriculum organized at Harvard University, which substituted "proficiency in French or German for the Greek of the Classical Course."²⁴ There was no substitute allowed for Latin. The purpose of the Harvard elective system was to encourage "the growing interest in modern subjects, and especially in the sciences."²⁵

²⁴FAC Cat., 1884, 2.
This was, in fact, the concept of the liberal arts college according to the writings of such men as Herbert Spencer, Thomas Huxley, and President Charles Eliot of Harvard. There is no doubt that the members of the board of the Florida Agricultural College hoped to develop a liberal arts program on their campus, and it is obvious that they hoped to stimulate interest in the sciences. They were, however, tied too strongly to the traditional ideals of education to institute a wide-open system of electives. Moreover, Eliot's conception of the elective system assumed a wide preparation on the part of the student coming to college from the preparatory school. It is safe to assume that there was neither a public high school nor a private academy in Florida at the time which was equipped to prepare students properly for the kind of college curriculum envisioned by President Eliot.

To enter the freshman class, students had to be at least fifteen years old, furnish satisfactory testimonials of good moral character, and pass an examination. For younger students and for those who lacked the "elementary work in the physical sciences and in the modern languages," a sub-collegiate or preparatory department was instituted. The minimum entrance age for this department was twelve, but by the fall term of 1889 the age limit was raised to fourteen years. It was planned that the preparatory department would "be discontinued as soon as private enterprise, under the direction of the college, or the

27Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., 49.
increased efficiency of the public school system shall furnish the preparation demanded for entrance upon collegiate work." Actually the department continued throughout the history of the College, which indicates that neither of the conditions set forth in the catalogue was met.

The major emphasis of the college program was on the scientific, engineering, and agricultural courses. In addition to classroom recitation, students were expected to spend many hours in the laboratory and in the field in order to secure "the practical application of the theories taught." According to the catalogue, horticultural students under Professor Whitner's direction, would concentrate on "the principles governing the cultivation, propagation, preparation, and shipment of early supplies to more northern markets." Arboriculture, forestry, practical floriculture, and landscape gardening courses were offered.

The problem of liberalizing the curriculum, which had created so much controversy at other institutions of higher learning during the latter part of the nineteenth century, did not reach large proportions at the Florida Agricultural College. The provincial nature of the institution prevented it from playing an important role in the revolution in American higher education which took place after the Civil War. Controversy over the elective system, graduate instruction, scientific courses, and similar problems were being resolved on other campuses, most of them in the North and Middle West. In adopting its academic

29 FAC Cat., 1888, 8.
30 Ibid., 1884, 2.
goals, Florida followed the lead established by the larger and older universities. The leaders of the Florida Agricultural College realized that it was as important to criticize and augment as it was to disseminate the tradition-at-hand, and that "cultural conservation" should not be the institution's only function. "To serve the whole community in its vast variety of needs," rather than to limit service only to the learned professions, was a creditable aspiration, as apparent to those on the Lake City campus as it was to educational reformers throughout the country. However, the ability to put educational ideals into operation is sometimes very difficult. Inadequate finances and a small staff were factors deterring the growth and development of the Florida Agricultural College. More important, though, was the fact that the College, like so many others in the South, was anchored to tradition, and, as such, "it looked to antiquity for the tools of thought, [and] to Christianity for the by-laws of living." The College was too paternalistic and authoritarian, too often it constrained intellectual adventure. Students were told what courses to take and what hours to study. Professors played too much the role of school and drill masters. Emphasis was on consistency and conformity and students were not given enough freedom.

In their reports, the trustees of the College described a "school in which liberal culture and practical education shall proceed together—a school in which the Arts and Sciences shall be thoroughly taught and diligently studied in their theoretical, as well as in their


32Ibid., 278.
applied forms." Students were told that they would have to pursue certain clearly defined fields of knowledge, and that they could not choose courses at random and as it suited their fancy. Some effort was made to recognize individual differences, but generally students were considered too immature to be completely free in making up their own courses of study. For the most part they took prescribed courses, and during the freshmen year all students were compelled to take the same courses. Even though it was admitted that perhaps the study of the classics and mathematics did not provide the mental discipline that had once been supposed, they were still considered to be important. All preparatory students studied Latin two years, and those taking a literary course took three years of Latin. The catalogue acknowledged "the advanced position in Academic work now held by the modern languages, including our own English," yet the study of French or German was prescribed for only two terms. Because of the conservatism of the board and faculty, as has been pointed out, the free elective system never gained as much favor at the Florida Agricultural College as it did in the institutions of higher learning in the North and Midwest.

In 1888 the college curriculum was changed and the degree of bachelor of philosophy abolished. Courses were consolidated into two areas of study: a literary-classical curriculum and an agricultural curriculum. The four year literary-classical course, leading to a bachelor of arts degree, consisted of twenty-two subjects which each student was supposed to take: English, Latin, physics, geometry, English history, botany, chemistry, trigonometry, surveying, English literature, anatomy, physiology, conics, general history, mechanics,
political economy, zoology, logic, geology, moral science, general literature, and either German or French. The agriculture course, leading to the bachelor of science degree, was modeled upon the curriculum which President Kern had observed at several agricultural and mechanical colleges in Mississippi and Michigan. Each agricultural student studied twenty-eight subjects: geometry, English, physics, freehand drawing, manual training, chemistry, algebra, rhetoric, industrial drawing, botany, trigonometry, surveying, agriculture, descriptive geometry, English literature, physiology, drafting, conics, veterinary science, agricultural chemistry, analytical chemistry, entomology, zoology, astronomy, meteorology, political economy, moral science, and a foreign language. It is apparent that neither the literary-classical curriculum nor the agricultural course sought to produce specialists.

In 1893 a course in mechanic arts, leading to the bachelor of science degree, was offered for the first time, and a commercial department was organized. During the summer of 1894 a faculty committee reorganized the curriculum into five separate courses of study: agricultural, mechanical, women's, Latin-scientific, and business. The women's course had been set up by President Clute when the College was made coeducational in 1893. Its purpose, according to Clute was to educate women for their duties as "wives, mothers, and workers in education, in society, and in the church."33 Girls were instructed in English, mathematics, science, modern languages, manual training, psychology, ethics, and logic. Clute hoped that when funds became

33Report of the President, O. Clute, 1896-97, 10
available a home economics department could be established for training in "housekeeping, cooking, the making of garments, sewing, embroidery, lace-making, the care of the sick, home-making, and all the duties that devolve upon the mistress of the home and the Christian woman in society." Special courses for women were not popular and were dropped from the curriculum in 1897. The business course, which included penmanship, commercial arithmetic, commercial law, and bookkeeping, was not considered academic and no college degree was awarded. Instead, a certificate of proficiency was presented to those who successfully completed the course.

In 1898 a classical course was introduced for those students who planned to study medicine, law, or theology at a college which required a sound knowledge of Latin, Greek, mathematics, and philosophy. The classical course devoted four years to Latin, two years to Greek, and four years to elocution. It also stressed mathematics, history, chemistry, physics, philosophy, and modern languages. A bachelor of arts degree was awarded upon graduation from this course.

Through the joint action of the faculty and the board of trustees in 1899, all instructional courses were consolidated into three separate schools: the College proper, the academy or preparatory school, and the business college. In the College four degrees were offered: the bachelor of science in engineering, the bachelor of science in literature for those completing the Latin-scientific course, and the bachelor of arts. Specialization for students, except those taking the classical

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34 Ibid., 11.
35 FAC Cat., 1898-99, 17.
course, was deferred until the junior year. In order "to give the student some general education and to allow opportunity for the discovery of his mental trend and for a more deliberate choice in the light of his new experience," all students were required to take the same subjects during the freshman and sophomore years. The only option came in the languages department, where a student could choose between Latin and Spanish, although it was recommended that Latin be chosen since it was thought to be "a better disciplinary study than a modern language." The catalogue explained that the option was made "in deference to the opinion of those who feel that modern languages have stronger claims on the time of the student than do the classics." 36 The board had encouraged the study of Spanish because of the "close business and social relations with the Spanish-speaking people of Mexico, Central America, the West Indies and South America," and because the trustees felt that "a knowledge of the Spanish tongue may be of great practical value to the students ... who will, in a few years, be leaders in business, in politics and in society." 37

The academy or preparatory school offered two years' work, and was designed to prepare students for college. Entering students had to pass an examination in geography, elementary grammar, and arithmetic, and be at least fourteen years of age. During the first year, preparatory students studied English, algebra, reading, spelling, history, geography, and arithmetic. Shop, civics, concrete geometry,

36 Ibid., 1899-1900, 18-20.
37 FAC Cat., 1900-1901, 53.
and physics were added during the second year.

The objective of the business college was "to train young men and women to do business rather than simply to record business... to fit them to meet the exacting demands of commercial life." The college faculty administered an entrance examination in grammar and sentence structure. Students studied bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, penmanship, commercial law, English, and civics. The Pitman system was used in shorthand classes. Typewriting and telegraphy were also taught.

In 1902 the curriculum was again reorganized and the schools and departments were merged into three colleges: agriculture-chemistry, engineering, and liberal arts. A non-collegiate division was also established which included a two-year course in mechanic arts, a ten-week course in agriculture, a ten-week course in horticulture, a one-year course in stenography and typewriting, and a two-year preparatory course. Students were required to take a general course during their freshman year. Specialization began during the sophomore year and continued through the senior year. It was hoped that by following this system, the student upon graduation would achieve "not only a clear conception of his specialty, but from his general education a broader and more penetrating vision, and a more facile use of all his powers and acquirements."39

Work in the liberal arts college was divided into three courses: general scientific, Latin scientific, and classical. The

38Ibid., 55.

39University of Florida Catalogue, 1902-1903, 33. Henceforth to be referred to as UF Cat.
general scientific course combined a study of modern languages and the physical and social sciences. Its avowed purpose was to prepare the student "to look out upon the world with an enlightened understanding and sympathy and to feel in touch with the most striking characteristics of our age, its cosmopolitanism and its scientific spirit."\footnote{40} This course was strongly recommended "for prospective teachers, journalists, and cultured men of business," and for those who sought in their college work to lay broad foundations in modern thought and culture. Students in the liberal arts college were supposed to attend classes approximately twenty hours a week, plus ten additional hours in the laboratory. The course required two years each of French and German, four years of English, two years of mathematics, one year of history, and a choice of electives in economics, psychology, American politics, logic, chemistry, physics, geology, horticulture, astronomy, and philosophy. The Latin scientific course required three years of Latin, two years of either French or German, and two years of English. It stipulated that students must acquire an elementary knowledge of history, economics, psychology, and logic, and a more detailed knowledge of mathematics and the sciences, particularly chemistry, physics, zoology, and geology. The classical course prescribed three years of Latin and Greek, in addition to English literature, mathematics, physics, philosophy, history, and political science.\footnote{41}

\footnote{40}{Ibid., 100.}

\footnote{41}{The history and political economy department had three divisions: general history, political economy, and political history and civics. The latter was generally referred to in the catalogues as political science, and it was concerned with a study of the history and machinery of political parties, the rise of constitutional government, the mechanics of federal and Florida government and federal-state relations. Students in the literary and classical courses took political science, while science students took political economy.}
The agricultural department within the college of agriculture-chemistry required mathematics, English, physiology, agriculture, plane surveying, and botany in the freshman year. Two years of German and English were necessary for graduation, in addition to work during the sophomore and junior years in chemistry, zoology, anatomy, farm machinery, soils, farm crops, and plant production and culture. In the senior year, students studied veterinary science, bacteriology, farm bookkeeping, economic entomology, history, and political economy. During the second semester of the junior year students in this course were divided into agricultural or horticultural classes and took specialized courses in these areas. The chemistry department required German for entrance, and a knowledge of the various physical sciences, English, history, astronomy, political economy, bacteriology, and animal ecology. The junior year was devoted almost entirely to laboratory practice, and the senior year to the study of chemistry and the assaying of ores and metals.

The college of engineering offered courses in civil and mechanical engineering. Two years of either German or French, three years of mathematics, and one year each of chemistry and physics were required for the civil engineering course, as well as botany, geology, physiology, history, and political economy. Three semesters of surveying, one of mechanics, and three of engineering were necessary for graduation, and it was stipulated that the student must become proficient in freehand and mechanical drawing. A reading knowledge of either French or German, a thorough knowledge of advanced algebra, plane and solid geometry, plane trigonometry, analytic geometry, calculus, and one year of electricity were required in the mechanical engineering courses.
Courses in plane surveying, English, the sciences, history, and political economy were also required.

Such were the formal catalogue requirements. In actual practice students frequently dodged these requirements through the simple expedient of petitioning the faculty to relieve them of a "required" course in favor of one more suited to their personal preferences. Thus, while the College never adopted the free elective system completely, it moved away from the traditional course with its many requirements in different fields and inadequate concentration in any one area. Although it did not always work out in actual practice, the aim was to broaden the student's information and interest in his own specialty, as well as in the basic subjects. In certain respects, this attempt to provide, during the freshman and sophomore years of college, the foundation for concentration in the later years anticipated the so-called general education program of our own time.

A graduate program was introduced for the first time in the academic year 1895-1896. It was specified that any person with a bachelor's degree could enroll for advanced study. A master of arts or master of science degree would be awarded upon completion of two years' graduate work, one year of which could be non-resident. Courses had to embrace three allied fields. A majority of the courses had to be taken in the major field, and the additional hours were divided among two minors. J. P. Davies, Edward O. Powers, and W. S. Rogers, Jr. enrolled as the first graduate students in the fall term of 1895. 42

42 FAC Cat., 1895-96, 7.
Powers received a master of science in electrical engineering at the June 1897 commencement. It was at this same commencement that Professor Waugh, who had taken courses in philosophy and ancient languages, received his master of arts degree.\footnote{Ibid., 1896-97, 20.} To encourage graduate study, the board in 1902 set up three graduate student fellowships, each paying $150 a year.\footnote{FAC Trustee Minutes, June 10, 1902.}

As has already been noted, President Yocum was mainly responsible for the organization of a normal course in 1897, and it was under his direct supervision. The pedagogical department, as it came to be called, was not recognized as an official department of the College. Individuals who had completed the tenth grade in the public schools and who wanted a county or state teaching certificate were eligible to register for "Common School Teacher's Course." After one year's work, which approximated the course of study offered at that time in the eleventh grade of the Florida public school system, normal students were eligible to take the examination for a first grade county certificate. Three years' work earned the normal graduate a state teaching certificate. The course work was similar to that offered in the Latin-scientific course, although it required twelve hours of instruction in pedagogy. There were eighteen students in the first normal course, thirteen of them women. As part of the reorganization program in 1902, the normal course was dropped. It was reinstituted in 1905, and, according to the catalogue, it aimed at training "young men of ability, good character, pure lives and unselfish ambitions," who could
"reasonably be expected to fill the important public school positions of the State."\(^{45}\)

As the College had tried to raise the entrance age requirements so steps were taken over the years to improve academic standards. In order to equalize the preparation for all courses, the requirements for admission into the mathematics, natural sciences, physical sciences, agricultural, languages, and literature courses were increased. Nevertheless, graduates of the sub-collegiate department were admitted to the freshman class without examination. The higher standards of admission were not always rigidly enforced, and the category of "special student" was often used by those who were incompetent to carry on college work. Of the one hundred ninety-nine students attending the session of 1897-1898, twenty-five were listed as "special students." Two years later there were thirty-one "special students" out of a student body of two hundred thirty-five. In order to limit the number of such students, the faculty in 1905 voted that a student could be admitted to a special course only with the approval of the president and the committee on courses and degrees.\(^{46}\)

On the insistence of Thomas H. Talieferro, who succeeded Yocum to the presidency in 1901, and the board of trustees, legislation was approved in 1902 tightening entrance requirements for all students. Freshmen had to prove their proficiency in mathematics, English, physics, and Latin. They were expected to have a basic knowledge of arithmetic and algebra, including fractions, percentage, simple

\(^{45}\)UF Cat., 1905-06, 90.

\(^{46}\)UF Faculty Minutes, February 27, 1905.
equations, and numerical quadratics; a thorough knowledge of English Grammar, both in its technical aspects and in its practical bearings upon speech and writing; an understanding of the simpler principles of physics, the reasons upon which they are based, and "their application to the phenomena of everyday life;" and a full year's study of Latin, including two volumes of Caesar's *Gallic War* or an equivalent Latin classic.\(^47\) Students entering the classical course were expected to have had two years' preparation in Latin, including the reading of one thousand lines of *Ovid* and a year's study of Greek, with emphasis upon Xenophon's *Anabasis*.\(^48\) Entrance requirements were raised also for students taking the preparatory, mechanic arts, business, and stenography and typewriting courses.

In 1905 the faculty adopted a report of the committee on entrance requirements, raising the standard of the entrance examination in Latin for all students in the liberal arts college. At the same time, the University relaxed its rules so that a student who was deficient in not more than one subject required for entrance could be admitted with his regular class, provided he made up the deficiency sometime during his first two years. The faculty, insisted, however, that no student could be advanced to full standing in the next higher class until he had satisfactorily passed examinations for all courses for which he was currently enrolled. Where feasible, examinations were conducted in writing, "partly as a means of testing the student's knowledge, but largely as an important method of training in the habit of

\(^{47}\text{UF Cat.}, 1902-03, 22-23.\)

\(^{48}\text{Ibid.}, 23-24.\)
careful, accurate, rapid and condensed statement. 49

One of the most important efforts made by President Taliaferro to improve standards was the requirement that any candidate for the bachelor's degree must present a thesis on some phase of his major work. As early as 1897, seniors working for a bachelor of mechanical engineering degree were required to submit a thesis. The subject had to be submitted by the first day of January of the student's senior year, and a bound copy, approved by the faculty, had to be turned over to the library at least two weeks prior to graduation. The theses of the graduating class of 1903 included the following topics: "The Seminoles of Florida" by Lillie M. Bates, "The Louisiana Purchase" by Julia E. Futch, "Prospects of Sugar Cane in Florida" by H. A. Ives, "A Lockout Telephone System" by G. C. Kirkland, "The Growth of Federation in the United States" by D. F. Pattishall, and "Structural Types in Fiction" by Virginia N. Wigfield. In 1904, the following senior theses were presented: "The University Water Supply, Based upon the Natural Advantage of the Campus, with Respect to the Lakes of the City" by Talmade C. Young, "The Relation of Chemistry to the Progress of Agriculture" by Charles C. Quaintance, "The Development of Chemical Science" by James F. Pixton, "Indebtedness of Modern Law to the Roman Constitution" by A. M. Jackson, and "Historical Precedents for the Recognition of the Republic of Panama" by William K. Jackson, Jr. 50

Although the plan was not completely successful, an attempt was made to raise the standard of teaching and to require students

49Tbid., 20.

50Thesis topics were listed in the annual catalogues.
to do better work in the classroom. Professor Farr reorganized the English department in 1901, so as to make its courses, according to his own statement, "among the most exacting and difficult in the college." He insisted that every class theme or paper "be carefully read, criticized, graded and returned," and he required "the student to correct them before submitting the paper a second time." Other instructors followed Farr's example, and many of the courses in the college of liberal arts were reorganized. President Taliaferro encouraged this development, and he insisted that the value of any academic course had to be determined by three conditioning factors: the nature of the subject-matter, the training and ability of the instructor, and the preparation and capacity of the student. Farr arranged the curriculum of German studies, and Professor Zebulon V. Judd the romance languages courses, so that the department of modern languages at the University of Florida after 1903 compared favorably with work being offered in the larger universities of the South.

During its history the College awarded ninety-nine bachelor of arts and bachelor of science degrees, including seventeen to women graduates. Daisy Rogers of Haskess, Texas, the first woman to graduate, received her bachelor of science degree in 1895. At the first commencement of the College, held June 12, 1889, there were three graduates: Hutchinson I. Cone, later an admiral in the United States Navy, J. Addison Townsend, and James C. Getzen.

52 Ibid., 25.
CHAPTER XII

THE MILITARY PROGRAM AND PERSONNEL

The military program was a fundamental part of the educational curriculum of the Florida Agricultural College, as it was with every land-grant school in the nation. The Morrill Act had stipulated that all collegiate institutions receiving federal aid would include military tactics as part of the course of study. Thus, while the rest of the country, with the possible exception of the South, opposed the concept of military training at the time, the land-grant schools began their military programs at the time of their founding. Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama said that he did not "know one of these agricultural colleges which is not a regular barrack, a camp of soldiery, where the youths of the country are made to step about and strut about in uniforms, wearing swords and carrying guns." Military drill was compulsory for all able-bodied male students on the Lake City campus. It was mandatory to wear a prescribed uniform off campus, at all formal occasions such as church services, and from one o'clock in the afternoon until seven in the evening. The board of

1See Willard L. Nash, A Study of the Stated Aims and Purposes of the Departments of Military Science and Tactics and Physical Education in the Land-Grant Colleges of the United States (New York, 1934), Chap. 3.

2Quoted in Ekirch, The Civilian and the Military, 122.
trustees ordered the regulations of the United States Military Academy to serve as a basis for discipline at the College. Military decorum was used, and army terms were applied wherever possible. For instance, the dormitories were always referred to as barracks, the dining room was called the mess hall, and the male students were known as cadets. Students marched in military formation to classes, and were awakened each morning at 5:15 by a bugle call. There were two morning formations, one at 5:30 for roll call, and late and absent cadets were punished with demerits. The other formation was at 7:40 when classes began. A one-hour drill period was scheduled every afternoon except Saturday and Sunday, beginning at four o'clock. Formal dress was held on Friday afternoon, and a retreat parade was called at five o'clock on the other drill days. Two daily inspections of the barracks and a meticulous Saturday morning inspection of the rooms were ordered. Students who failed to shine their shoes, make their beds properly, and arrange their clothes and equipment neatly were punished with extra tours of duty, which consisted "of walking as prescribed for a sentinel for one hour." Extra duty was walked on Saturday afternoons between one and five o'clock.

The trustees provided office and armory space in the main college building, and through the efforts of Senators Wilkinson Call and Charles W. Jones the war department supplied the necessary equipment, consisting of one hundred thirty rifles and two pieces of field artillery. The two latter guns were never used on the campus and were eventually returned to the War Department.

The cadets purchased their own uniforms, which cost $15.85 and consisted of a coat, trousers, and cap. The chevrons and cap cord for
officers cost $2.15. The grey uniforms, if properly cared for, were supposed to last at least a year, although many cadets found it necessary to procure extra trousers and coats before the school term was over. The women students, after they were admitted to the college in 1893, elected military drill as a regular duty and received their training in a special company. They chose a plain uniform of blue, trimmed with brass buttons and worn with a small Confederate cap. Wearing this uniform was not compulsory, although the catalogue pointed out that such dress was "convenient, attractive, comfortable, and more economical than an ordinary suit," and would "add greatly to the esprit de corps of the women."

As was true on almost every land-grant college campus, the first commandants of troops were professors who already were carrying full teaching loads. At Lake City it was Professor Davis of the mathematics department, who had taken the required military program as a student at the University of Wisconsin. He supervised drill for one year, and then, in 1885, Samuel R. Crumbaugh, an Annapolis graduate and former president of the Southern Kentucky Military School, was named commandant of cadets and professor of military science, mechanics, astronomy, and engineering. Although a teacher by profession, Crumbaugh had served as a midshipman in the United States Navy during the Civil War, and he received his assignment to the Florida campus because of his military experience.

Crumbaugh was succeeded in 1887 by First Lieutenant Louis H. Orleman, a native of Germany who had migrated to the United States as a child. Orleman enlisted for service with the 103rd New York Infantry
in 1862, and he was cited for gallantry and bravery a number of times during the war. He once led a forced march from Sweetwater Creek to Fort Sill, Indian territory, a distance of a hundred fifty miles, in a heavy snow and sleet storm. After the war he fought in the campaigns against hostile Indians in Texas, and he was in command of a company at Fort Stockton, Texas in 1879, just before he retired from active service. He had returned to military duty when he accepted the Florida appointment, and he served at the College until July 1, 1889.3

Orleman was replaced on October 1, 1889 by Second Lieutenant Charles G. Morton of the 6th United States Infantry, who had been on duty at the East Florida Seminary. Born in Maine, Morton had received an appointment to West Point, graduating in 1883.4 Shortly after he arrived at the Florida Agricultural College, Morton ran into difficulties with President Kern over matters of discipline. The situation became so serious that an inspecting officer from Washington reported that he had prevented Morton and Kern from coming to blows in the president's office. Morton asked for a transfer, which was granted, effective March 1, 1890.5


4Biographical data on Lieutenant Morton and his successors, Lieutenants Ballou, Thurston, Smoke, Sayre and Taylor, and Captain Clark from the annual Official Army Register, 1883-1908.

For the next year the College was without an official military detail, and H. P. Baya, professor of mathematics and engineering and a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, was in charge of drill activities. Patrick Houstoun of Tallahassee, then a member of the board of trustees and adjutant general of the state, conferred with the war department and as a result Second Lieutenant Charles C. Ballou of the 16th United States Infantry was detailed to the campus as professor of military science, tactics, and civil engineering. A native of New York, he had spent his childhood in Illinois, and from there he had gone to West Point, graduating in 1886. At Florida, Ballou was openly critical of the administrators and faculty for not enforcing military regulations. In May, 1893, he informed a legislative investigating committee that President Yocum was responsible for the lack of discipline which had helped to undermine student morale. The lieutenant’s high-handed methods were resented by the other professors, who gave serious consideration to pressing charges against him before the board of trustees. Ballou was supposed to remain at the College until March, 1894, but in July, 1893, he notified the board that he was requesting a transfer. "No considerations," he wrote, "could make me desire to retain a position in which I would be the object of distrust and suspicion."

Ballou was succeeded by First Lieutenant Walter A. Thurston of the 16th United States Infantry, a native of Alabama, and a West Point graduate. 

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7Ballou to board of trustees, July 5, 1893, in *FAC Trustee Minutes*, July 11, 1893.
cadet who had graduated in 1879. Thurston remained at the College one year and was transferred in January, 1895 to the University of Missouri.

Thurston was replaced by Second Lieutenant Samuel A. Smoke of the 18th United States Infantry regiment, the most popular military commandant in the history of the college. Smoke was born in Florida in 1863 and received his military training at West Point, graduating in 1887. He was military commandant at the University of Missouri when he received the Florida appointment. Smoke's congenial personality, his patience and industry, and his skill as a teacher endeared him to colleagues and students. The records of the board indicate the high regard which the board had for him. At the beginning of the fall term of 1895, Smoke, with the approval of the United States attorney general, accepted the board's invitation to become vice-president of the College, in addition to his military office. As an administrator the board found Smoke's work "eminently successful and gratifying." It was usually the practice of the war department to allow an officer to remain at a college so long as he satisfied the college administrators. Thus, it was with a great deal of surprise and disbelief that Smoke's orders, transferring him away from Lake City, were received from Washington in May, 1895. Faculty, students, and trustees did all within their power to persuade the war department to let him remain at Lake City. Petitions were signed and dispatched to the

8Attorney-General to Smoke, November 12, 1895, in FAC Military Papers.

9Board of trustees to Secretary of War, May 24, 1896. Ibid.
secretary of war, and efforts were made by the Florida congressional delegation to have Smoke retained. Smoke's transfer had already been processed, however, and the secretary of war refused to comply with the requests from Florida.

The contrast between Lieutenant Smoke and his successor, First Lieutenant Farrand Sayre of the 8th United States Cavalry, was soon apparent. A native of Missouri and a West Point graduate in the class of 1884, Sayre's forceful, detached manner caused many people to think him unfriendly and arrogant. On several occasions he argued with President Clute and with A. B. Hagen, secretary of the board of trustees, about his authority in disciplining students. Sayre particularly resented the action of the board in appointing W. W. Flournoy, the College bursar and a non-military man, as commandant of cadets over Lieutenant Sayre. This meant that, in effect, Sayre would have to take orders from Flournoy. In a harsh letter to the adjutant general's office in Washington, he described Flournoy as "a lazy, stupid, deceitful, treacherous scoundrel, utterly unfit, both mentally and morally, to be entrusted with the appointment of cadet officers." Sayre further stated that Clute was "an utterly unprincipled man" who had used Flournoy "as a spy and as a tool to carry out numerous dirty tricks." Sayre requested and received a transfer in September, 1897. The war department did not immediately assign a new military detail to the Lake City campus. Whether the failure to send in a replacement for Sayre was due to a shortage of military personnel or to other causes is not revealed by the records.

Signed petitions from students and faculty, ibid.
During the next four years there was no military officer at the College. Flournoy remained in charge for two years, and in 1899 the board appointed Professor Cox, of the engineering department, as military commandant.

After two years, the war department in 1901 dispatched Captain Dillard H. Clark from Pennsylvania State College to Lake City. Born in Kentucky, Clark had fought with the Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry during the Civil War, and had later received an appointment to West Point, graduating in 1873. Like some of his predecessors, Clark did not get along with the administrative officials of the College, and in the summer of 1903, after an inspecting officer reported that the "condition of the military department is far from satisfactory," he requested a transfer.\(^\text{12}\)

Clark was replaced by a well-known military figure, Lieutenant James D. Taylor. A native Floridian, Taylor was graduated from the Virginia Military Institute as a second lieutenant in 1898, and he was immediately assigned to the 24th United States Infantry, then preparing to sail for the Philippine Islands. Taylor was commanding the garrison at the town of Pantabangan when, on the morning of February 8, 1901, a small band of native insurgents were brought in for questioning. One of the Filipino soldiers showed Taylor the dispatches that he was carrying from the rebel leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, to certain of his subordinates in Luzon. Realizing that this might be the key to the whereabouts of Aguinaldo, Taylor immediately transmitted the information to General Frederick Funston. This telegram, according to Funston "was

\(^{12}\)Captain C.C. Hearne to Adjutant General, June 3, 1903, ibid.
to have no small part in the making of the history of the Philippine insurrection," and Taylor was officially commended for the alert and excellent judgment that he had shown in the matter. Taylor was a first lieutenant when he was detailed to the Florida Agricultural College, and while on duty at Lake City he was made captain. He remained professor of military science and tactics until the University moved to Gainesville in 1906.

The military program was never very popular with the student body, even though one College catalogue incorrectly insisted that "the spirit, zeal and energy displayed by the students . . . amply proves that the military feature will be as popular as it is conducive to a sound physical and mental development." On several occasions students petitioned to be exempted from drill, and several were disciplined for being absent without excuses. Antagonism between College officials and military commandants did not help the situation. In 1890 there were several incidents of mutiny and insubordination which were finally brought to the attention of the adjutant general's office. Once in 1897, when Sayre was commandant, a battalion refused to obey an order, and the entire group was punished. Attendance at drill was enforced after 1893 by making proficiency in military science a requisite for promotion and a condition for graduation.

A spirit of competition was stimulated among the cadets, and prizes were offered the outstanding students and military companies. The citizens of Lake City annually awarded a silver cup during commencement week to the best drilled company. The names of two outstanding cadets were published each year in the Official Army Register.
and gold medals were awarded annually to target sharpshooters.

Upon the recommendation of Lieutenant Smoke in 1894, the College began the practice of sending cadets to a one-week camp away from the campus. The site was usually somewhere on the banks of the Suwannee River, not far from Lake City. "Camping" rapidly became the most popular feature of the military program.

Antagonism to the compulsory military program never wholly died. Although the College frequently boasted that the students were acquiescing cheerfully in drill, the fact was that, while the program was disliked and grumbling continued, the cadets conformed to the regulations governing drill as did those at other institutions.13

13A sketch of the early military program at the College is included in Captain Frank Simmons', "A Brief History: The University of Florida and the Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps of the University of Florida (unpublished MS in files of Army R. O. T. C. University of Florida, 1957), 2-3.
Certainly one of the serious handicaps suffered by the Florida College throughout its history was inadequate financial support. The Morrill Act had forbidden land-grant funds to be used for the purchase or repair of buildings, and, while there seemed to be no legal way to bind the state to these conditions, the $8,947 income which the College received each year from that source was used entirely for salaries.\(^1\) A legislative committee in 1885 had recommended that the state appropriate $30,000 for the next biennium, but the other legislators were not so generous, and only one-third of the amount recommended was finally voted.\(^2\) A report issued in 1889 revealed that $17,500 had been appropriated during the previous four years for "land, buildings and appliances."\(^3\) Of this amount, the legislature, on February 12, 1885, had designated $6,000 for the construction of a dormitory and dining hall, and $4,000 for the "ornamentation of the campus" and other needed improvements. On June 3, 1887, $7,500 had been appropriated to help finance the construction of a chemical laboratory building, to build and equip a manual training building,

\(^1\)"Legislative Committee Report" in Florida House Journal, 1889, 812.

\(^2\)Florida House Journal, 1885, 158.

\(^3\)Ibid., 1889, 812.
and to purchase a reference library and farm implements.\textsuperscript{4}

In 1888 the receipts of the College from all sources amounted to $12,827.94, including $3,500 appropriated by the legislature and $210.25 realized from the sale of vegetables raised on the College farm. In succeeding years the College income showed a gradual increase, but its expenditures always seemed to outstrip its receipts. In 1893 the College spent $22,990.17 and received $20,258.11. In 1895 a deficit of $3,612.24 was reported, and in the following year the deficit amounted to $3,571.41. By 1902 both the Agricultural Land Fund (as authorized by the Morrill Act of 1862) and the Morrill Fund (as authorized by the Morrill Act of 1890) were in arrears, and the president of the College explained that this financial dilemma had "arisen because of the fact that it is impossible to run a modern institution on the limited funds at our disposal."\textsuperscript{5}

The College obtained its finances from five sources: income from the agricultural fund, direct contributions from the federal government, state appropriations, gifts and bequests, and income from student fees, tuition, board, and the sale of products from the farm. Federal grants made up approximately one-half of the College's income.

The income from the Agricultural Land Fund declined during this period, both relatively and absolutely. Income from the fund had increased at first, from approximately $9,000 in 1890 to a high of $9,523.04 in 1899. There was then a decrease in each of the following years, and by 1903 the College was realizing only $7,700 from the fund.

\textsuperscript{4}President's Annual Report, 1891-1892, 12.
This decrease reflected the abrupt action taken by the legislature on May 31, 1901, when it sharply reduced the interest on the state bonds which secured the fund. 6

The bonds held by the common school, seminary, and agricultural college funds reached maturity in 1901 and 1903. The issuance of new bonds, bearing three per cent interest, and scheduled to reach maturity in 1951 and 1953 respectively, caused friends of the College to argue that the legislature had impaired the obligations of the contract entered into when Florida accepted the terms of the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862. This act required an interest of at least six per cent on the bonds. Consequently, the legislature in 1903 authorized an annual appropriation of $2,716 to the College, the amount lost when the interest fell below the stipulated rate. 7

The first direct contribution of the federal government was made under the terms of the Hatch Act of 1887. Influenced by the valuable research work of some state experimental stations, Congress had allotted $15,000 annually to each state for the support or establishment of experimental stations in connection with the land-grant colleges or universities. The first funds received by Florida under this act were accepted in 1888. Two years later, on August 30, 1890, Congress passed a second Morrill Act to provide additional aid to the land-grant institutions. Under its provisions a sum of $15,000 was to be allocated to each state the first year, and there was to be an

6Ibid., Laws of Florida, 1901, 80-83.
annual increase of $1,000 until the yearly contribution reached a total of $25,000. The money received under this second Morrill Act was divided by legislative action between the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City and the normal school for Negro students in Tallahassee.

State appropriations during the 1890's averaged $2,500 a year. In 1898 the board of trustees reported that since 1884 the state had contributed $28,300 for buildings, and another $20,000 "for general purposes." In 1901 the legislature loosened its pursestrings and appropriated $80,000 for the new biennium. Of this amount $5,000 was to pay outstanding indebtedness, $5,000 was for repairs and improvements, $50,000 for new buildings, $5,000 to establish a veterinary department, $10,000 for a model farm, and $5,000 for the work of the farmers' institutes. The lawmakers were reluctant to appropriate anything for salaries or ordinary operating expenses. In his report to the state superintendent of public instruction in 1904, newly elected President Andrew Sledd pointed out that "an increasing student body puts the University to increasing expense without any increase of income; consequently, as the University grows in numbers, if its efficiency is to be maintained and increased, the State appropriations for current expenses must increase from year to year."

8United States Statutes at Large, 24:440-42; 26:714h.
9FAC Cat., 1891-92, 10.
10Figures taken from the annual reports of the state comptroller and state treasurer, 1885-1900 inclusive.
12Ibid., 1900-02, 164.
13Ibid., 1903-04, 188.
After the initial land and money donation by the citizens of Lake City in 1884, gifts and bequests became only a minor source of income for the College. The largest private gift, $20,000, was made by Henry M. Flagler, the Standard Oil and Florida East Coast Railroad magnate. In the spring of 1901, he wrote George W. Wilson, president of the College's board of trustees and editor of the Florida Times-Union (a newspaper then owned by Flagler), the following letter:

"My information is that you are badly in want of a gymnasium at this college, and I shall be happy to contribute the sum of ten thousand dollars to a building for such a purpose, provided the State of Florida will contribute an amount to properly equip such an institution." 14

The Florida legislature responded to this offer, and, by resolution, appropriated $2,500. When the state supreme court ruled that public funds could not be voted by resolution, the legislature hastened to enact a law appropriating the money. Frank Harris, editor of the Ocala Banner and also a trustee, accepted, on behalf of the College, Flagler's offer. This action was taken June 6, 1901. 15

Plans were immediately drawn and contract bids advertised. When it was found that the lowest construction bid was $18,429, 16 Flagler consented to contribute another $10,000 to ensure the completion of the building. 17

Although the railroad tycoon was lauded for his "public spirit and generosity," and for his "increasing interest in educational

14Crow, "Florida Agricultural College," loc. cit., 34.
15FAC Trustee Minutes, June 6, 1901.
16Ibid., June 4, 1902.
17Ibid., June 11, 1902.
affairs of the state of his adoption," there were some people in Florida who believed that the gift had been Flagler's generous way of thanking the state legislature for enacting the "insanity divorce bill," which enabled him to secure a divorce from his wife who had been adjudged insane by the courts of New York in 1899. Whatever the cause or effect of Flagler's interest in the Florida Agricultural College, it was rumored that he would remember the school in his will. Later, however, resenting the removal of the institution from Lake City to Gainesville, perhaps because the Flagler gymnasium could not be transferred to the new site, he revoked his bequest in a codicil added to his will.\textsuperscript{19}

The first library of the College was started with gifts of books, most of which were practically worthless. There were no bequests for scholarships or fellowships, and no gifts for a student loan fund. A paragraph in the 1904-1905 catalogue notified "the broad-minded citizens of Florida" that "all gifts to the University, of whatever nature or size, will be gratefully received and acknowledged as contributions to the upbuilding of education and culture in the State."\textsuperscript{20} In speeches and in public announcements, members of the board and the College administrators and faculty made similar requests, but there was no response.

\textsuperscript{18}Sidney Walter Martin, \textit{Florida's Flagler} (Athens, 1949), 185, 187-38.

\textsuperscript{19}Crow, "Florida Agricultural College," \textit{loc. cit.}, 35. There was some indication that the planned gift might be as much as $50,000.

\textsuperscript{20}UF Cat., 1904-1905, 28.
Student fees and tuition provided only a trickle of revenue. The dining room was hardly self-sustaining, and the sale of farm products brought in only a small amount each year.

From the annual reports submitted to the state superintendent of public instruction a fairly reliable picture of the expenditures of the College during this period can be formed. There was no attempt to divide funds among the various departments. A large portion of the expenditures naturally was for salaries. For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1893, salaries amounted to $15,165.33, out of a total budget of $21,762.20. In 1896 salaries accounted for approximately $16,500, and in 1903 they amounted to $32,000 out of a budget of $67,000. The total cost of janitorial and gardening service, cooks, dining-hall attendants, and other labor averaged from $500 to $1,500 a year. Janitors were paid $25 a month, and cooks received approximately $20. Postage, stationery, and printing costs rose to a peak of $2,837.82 in the budget of 1904. The College in 1889 printed 1,000 copies of the catalogue at a cost of $31.85. Approximately $600 a year was spent for water, and electricity and gas cost another $150 a year during the 1890's. By 1904 the cost of these utilities had increased to $3,606. President Clute, in a report to the board of trustees in 1894, complained that the water charges were "too large for the service rendered. The main from here to town is so small, and the pressure is so low, that we get slight protection against fire. The ordinary pressure is 40 pounds."21

The reports of the Experiment Station show the expenditures for the Lake City station, and, after they were established, for the DeFuniak Springs and Fort Myers sub-stations. Professional salaries and labor accounted for more than fifty per cent of the budget, and the remainder was for utilities, supplies, feed, apparatus and tools, repairs, library, and live stock. The reports show that in 1889 a wagon and harness cost $44.75 and that two Jersey cows cost $150. In 1896 the Station paid $150 for a horse and another $100 for a buggy. The Station library received approximately $100 a year to purchase books and pamphlets. A large percentage of the budget for the two sub-stations was allocated for farm labor.

An extensive building program called for heavy expenditures during this period. When the first session of the College began on Wednesday, October 1, 1884, only the first wing of the three-story brick classroom-administration building had been finished. Furniture had been arriving over a period of time, but it was still inadequate to the need, and little of it was in place. Although blackboards were up, and curtains had been hung at the windows, the floors were largely bare of covering. On the first floor were four classrooms, a library, a reading room, and two offices. The chapel-auditorium, with a stage at one end and a gallery at the other, and two small military store-rooms were on the second floor. The third story was divided into sixteen dormitory rooms, each nine by fifteen feet, occupied by the cadets and the professors. Two persons lived in each room. The first legislative investigating committee pointed out that the absence of an elevator in the building would make the use of the third floor as a
The whole building was valued at about $15,000.

After the state had voted to accept the Hatch Act appropriation, the College trustees had designated a section of the laboratory to be partitioned into two small rooms for the work of the Experiment Station. According to James Pickell, Station chemist, the laboratory had no running water and water buckets had to be filled from an outside wall. In June, 1888, Professor Pickell was directed by the trustees to submit plans for a building, "which would serve as headquarters for the Director and Staff of the Experiment Station, as well as Chemical Laboratory for the Station, and for Students' practice."

Bids were advertised and a contract was let in July 1888, but because of the yellow fever epidemic which occurred in Florida that summer, and an excessive amount of rain, the building was not finished until December. The building, a three-story structure, containing fifteen rooms of various sizes, cost $5,000. The College was proud of this handsome new addition to the campus, and boasted, somewhat excessively, that its chemical laboratory was "by far the best in the State," and that the building contained electricity, heat, and running water.

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22Florida House Journal, 1885, 137.

23Bulletin No. 4 and Annual Report of Experiment Station of Florida, January 1889, 19.

24The yellow fever epidemic started in Jacksonville during the last week of July, 1888, and spread rapidly throughout North Florida. There was a heavy loss of life.


26Floor plan of building reproduced in FAC Cat., 1889-1900, 18-19.
The third floor of the structure was finished in 1890, adding a chemistry lecture hall, "a good-sized room for society purposes for cadets," and working space for the entomology department.\(^{27}\)

A one-story, wooden manual-training building, which resembled a large army barracks, was completed during the late summer of 1888. The Mechanic Art Hall, as it was called, was cheaply constructed, costing approximately $1,000, but it proved adequate for the first engineering and mechanical courses at the College. The building was furnished with "work benches, sets of wood working tools, lathes, jigsaws, and many other mechanical appliances," and, according to one visitor, it was "a pleasant scene to see this large work-shop, 50 x 90 feet, with from forty to sixty stalwart boys with their long aprons on, sawing, turning, chiseling, nailing, mortising and fitting various constructive joints, developing and equipping both brain and brawn, resulting in an intensely practical education."\(^{28}\) A small room was added to the building in 1891 for storage.\(^{29}\) In 1898, when the work of the mechanic arts department was expanded, this building was moved to the southeast corner of the campus. At that time a two-story wing was added, and it was renamed the Mechanical Engineering Building.\(^{30}\)

The appearance of the campus was greatly improved in 1888 when the old, unpainted, wooden fence enclosing the grounds was replaced.

\(^{27}\)Bulletin No. 10 and Annual Report of Experiment Station of Florida, July 1890, 3.


\(^{29}\)President's Annual Report, 1891-1892, 14.

\(^{30}\)Trustee Minutes, August 10, 1898; Rpt., Supt. Pub. Instr., 1900, 175.
with an ornamental iron fence. Trees and shrubs were planted, and flower beds outlined the grassed area around the buildings. A model farmhouse and barn were constructed, and the Experiment Station farm was enclosed by "a neat and substantial board and wire fence."

Concern was shown over the problem of providing dormitory space for the students. The group of legislators who visited the campus in 1885 reported that "a students' hall for the purpose of boarding the students and furnishing sleeping accommodation" was "absolutely indispensable to the success of the school." Consequently, the board authorized the construction of a two-story wooden dormitory, to be located north of the main classroom-administration building. It contained twenty-four student bedrooms, eight faculty bedrooms, a dining room, and a kitchen. It was large enough to house sixty students. The building, like so many others on campus, was poorly constructed and meagerly equipped, and, according to a legislative report, "it is wholly incapacitated to meet the present demands of the college." The legislators found the rooms too small and the building to be a fire hazard. Partly because of this criticism, and in order to meet the needs of a growing enrollment, Governor Francis P. Fleming in 1889 asked the legislature for an appropriation to build a brick dormitory. The legislature responded with an appropriation of $10,800, and a contract was subsequently let for a "handsome and commodious brick Barracks building, fully equipped for rooming and

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32 "Legislative Committee Report" in Florida House Journal, 1889, 812.
33 Message of Francis P. Fleming to the Legislature, 1889, 13.
boarding cadets." The building, never formally named, was used for the first time in February, 1890.

When women were admitted to the College, President Clute pointed out the need for constructing a dormitory, "where young women could have accommodations at cost, and where they would be saved from the long walks to the distant parts of the town." He estimated that such a building would cost about $10,000. The legislature was reluctant to appropriate money for such purposes at a time when the state was suffering from the economic effects of the panic of 1893 and the freeze of 1894-1895. No action was taken on Clute's request at the time. In November, 1899, the trustees finally let a contract to the Hensley and House Constructing Company for a women's dormitory which would include living quarters for the president and his family. A few weeks before the building was completed, Judge E. K. Foster, chairman of the board of trustees, died, and it was considered fitting to name the dormitory Foster Hall in his honor. The new structure was dedicated April 10, 1900.

In addition to the president's apartment, Foster Hall contained bedrooms for approximately thirty girls, two sitting rooms, a dining room, and kitchen. It was furnished at a cost of $1,684.41. The building was heated by fifteen wood-burning stoves, each costing $7. Silverware was ordered from John Wanamaker's in Philadelphia, and the

34 FAC Cat., 1890-1891, 16.
35 "President's Annual Report," 1894, in FAC Trustee Minutes, December 11, 1894.
36 FAC Trustee Minutes, November 24, 1899.
37 Ibid., January 23, April 10, 1900.
remainder of the equipment was purchased from Florida firms. A Jacksonville supply house furnished the bureaus, wash stands, iron bedsteads, rockers, bedroom chairs, pillows, dining room furniture, dishes, including "sugar bowls, finger bowls, spoon holders, and fruit stands," umbrella stands, and "historical engravings for parlors and walls."

In order to make the building as modern as possible, the board authorized the installation of three bath tubs, costing $25 each.38

On the evening of December 18, 1903, Foster Hall, which, upon the abandonment of coeducation, had been converted into a men's dormitory, was completely destroyed by fire. "In twenty minutes," the president later reported, "the building had met its doom and was a mass of smoking ruins."39 All the students, except a few Cuban boys, had left earlier in the day for the Christmas recess.40 The president's family was in Baltimore, and Taliaferro himself was visiting friends in the nearby community of Watertown.41 No lives were lost, but the building and all its furniture and equipment, "with the exception of two or three odd pieces of furniture," were burned. Although it was officially reported that a defective flue in the attic had started the fire.42

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38 Ibid., August 21, 1900.

39 Taliaferro to W. S. Jennings, December 19, 1903, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.

40 Taliaferro to G. W. Wilson, December 19, 1903, ibid. An eyewitness description of the fire was given to the author in an interview with Mrs. Julia C. Tyler, Jacksonville, December 27, 1952. Mrs. Tyler was living in a house adjacent to the campus at the time of the fire.

41 Mrs. T. W. Taliaferro to author in an interview, Washington, D. C., February 6, 1951. Mrs. Taliaferro owns several personal items, including a clock and some books, that were saved from the fire.
fire, some students believed that one of their pranks could have been the cause of the conflagration. A few days earlier a small keg of gunpowder had been filched from the military storeroom and hidden in the dormitory. The culprits planned to manufacture their own fireworks to shoot the night before the school holiday began. The last days of school before vacation were always exciting. Pre-Christmas pranks had become part of the tradition on the campus. Thus, when the students who had taken the gunpowder decided to burn a powder chain in the corridors of the dormitory, no other students attempted to restrain them. The powder chain began on the first floor, moved rapidly up the stairs to the second, weaving in and out of rooms, and on up to the attic. The fire chain was spectacular but small, and, when the fun was over, the boys stamped out all the live embers. Apparently, a few sparks had flown unnoticed into a corner of the dusty attic where they smouldered for several hours, and then burst into flame. Whether there was any basis for the belief that the prank caused the fire was never revealed, and there is nothing in the records to authenticate the story. Insurance was collected on the structure, and, apparently, the insurance inspectors thought it was the flue which had been responsible for the conflagration.

The board held an emergency meeting on the campus, December 29, 1903, to consider the problem of student housing. As a result of this meeting, it was decided to rebuild the dormitory as soon as funds were available. Meanwhile, temporary housing would have to be provided in

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42 Arthur M. Henry to author in an interview, Atlanta, December 28, 1951. Henry was a student at the College at the time.

43 FAC Trustee Minutes, December 29, 1903.
the other buildings. The legislature appropriated part of the estimated cost, and the trustees decided to go ahead with the letting of a contract, believing that the rest of the money would soon be available. In July, 1904 plans were approved and construction began on a three-story brick building, designed to house seventy-five men. According to the editor of the Lake City Citizen-Reporter, it was to be "the best appointed barracks building in the State." He felt that there would be "none ahead of it in point of architecture or facilities for good service in the South." Completed in 1905, the dormitory, like its predecessor, was named Foster Hall. The legislature failed to appropriate the additional funds necessary to pay the total cost, and the trustees were liable for the unpaid bill. That the trustees paid the bill is substantiated by the fact that the legislature in 1909 appropriated $6,228.90 to reimburse the board.

The need for classroom space and laboratories continued to be a pressing problem. When the commercial department was established in July, 1893, bookkeeping and penmanship classes met in the chapel. The rooms assigned to the telegraphy, shorthand, and typewriting classes were former storerooms in the classroom-administration building. Preparatory classes also used this building until a one-story frame structure was erected early in 1897. From the beginning, the

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44The Citizen-Reporter (Lake City), July 15, 1904.
45This building is presently (1957) used for offices and the library of the United States Veterans Hospital.
preparatory building was too small, and the trustees in 1898 recommended that funds be provided so that it could be "doubled in size and remodeled to adapt it to modern and improved methods of instruction." Since there was no money no improvements were made until 1900 when a new room was added. Five years later this building became the general library and reading room, and the preparatory classes were moved back into the main classroom building.

Shortly after his inauguration as governor in 1901, William S. Jennings met with the board of trustees in Tallahassee to discuss the needs of the Florida Agricultural College. It was agreed that crowded conditions and the inferior buildings on the campus showed the need for constructing a modern, well-equipped building, which would provide space for classrooms and offices. The legislature in 1901 appropriated $50,000 for such a building, to be known as the Science Building, and in September construction began. The architecture of the new structure was very different from the other campus buildings. It was Spanish in style, with an inside patio upon which the individual rooms opened. It was a large building, four stories high, one hundred thirty feet long, and one hundred feet deep. According to a contemporary description, it was "thoroughly equipped in its Laboratories and Lecture rooms for instruction and experiment in Science, and compares favorably with any similar building in the country." Governor

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49 Ibid., 1900, 176.
50 FAC Trustee Minutes, February 14, 1901.
51 UF Cat., 1902-03, 17-18. This building is presently (1957) used for the department of physiotherapy at the United States Veterans Hospital. The original blueprints of this building are in the UF Archives.
Jennings delivered the dedicatory address on June 10, 1902, at which time he promised to dedicate "to the youth of Florida" an engineering building after the next meeting of the legislature.\(^52\)

In the biennial report of 1896, submitted to the state superintendent of public instruction, the trustees announced that a gymnasium was badly needed.\(^53\) Funds were not forthcoming from Tallahassee, and the building became possible only after Flagler's gift. It was completed and dedicated in 1903.\(^54\) It was a large, two-story structure of white marble, containing the main gymnasium with a suspended running track, dressing rooms, lavatories, bathrooms, and a swimming pool in the basement.\(^55\) Gymnasium equipment cost $1,123.31, including shipping and installation charges.

Throughout the period there were many small additions to the physical plant of the College. In 1895 a small barn costing $300 was built for the College horse, and a bathhouse costing $1,000 was constructed for the students. The latter contained "eleven tubs, supplied with cold and hot water, where all students get free baths." It was reported that the bathhouse added to the convenience, comfort, and health of the students, and, presumably, it was a major improvement over the portable wooden tubs which had been used formerly.\(^56\) In 1896

\(^{52}\)Florida Times-Union and Citizen (Jacksonville), July 11, 1902.


\(^{54}\)This building is presently (1957) used as a recreation hall for the patients at the United States Veterans Hospital.

\(^{55}\)UF Cat., 1904-05, 18.

a small laundry building was erected. In June 1901 the trustees approved the installation of inside toilet facilities in all College buildings. The following month they authorized construction of a greenhouse. The legislature in 1901 appropriated $5,000 for repairs and improvements, which was to include plastering and painting the walls of the classroom-administration building.

As early as 1896 the board had authorized the president to obtain estimates on the cost of installing electricity in the dormitories and classrooms, but it was not until three years later that the wiring was finally completed. When the original Foster Hall was built, the College boasted that the building contained both electric lights and bathrooms.

In 1889 federal funds had been used to erect a small frame house where the director of the Experiment Station and his family lived. After 1893 this house was occupied by the president of the College, who was then also serving as director of the Station. The "President's House," as it was called, burned on the evening of January 29, 1897. It was suspected that vandals had started the fire, and the board offered a reward of $250 for their apprehension. The state officials also announced a reward of "$1,000 for the detection of the criminal," but there is nothing to prove that vandalism had occurred or whether the responsible party was apprehended. In lieu of quarters, the president's salary was increased $25 to pay the rent on a large house

57 FAC Trustee Minutes, June 18, 1901.
58 Ibid., July 9, 1901.
59 Ibid., September 9, 1896, June 27, 1899.
near the campus. 60

In 1901 Professor Farr, viewing the campus for the first time, described it as "unsightly and small," and said the buildings "conveyed a picture of poverty and neglect that was disheartening . . . a few small non-descript buildings, all badly in need of repair and paint." 51

After closer scrutiny, Farr's first impression was modified somewhat, but it was not to be denied that the College experienced many difficulties because of its meager building endowment. In almost every report that came from the College, its administrators pointed out the critical need of securing furniture and equipment for the classrooms, apparatus for the laboratories, and books for the library.

The need for a reference and reading library had been recognized by a legislative committee as early as 1885, 62 but it was two years before the legislature made the first appropriation for books. According to a survey made in 1889, the library consisted of "about one thousand old books of but little value as reference books, which were donated to the institution, and a large number of reports from the government, Congressional Records, pamphlets, etc., and a choice library of new books, consisting of about 500 volumes just purchased with the $500 appropriated at the last session of the legislature. The whole number about 2,500 volumes, with pamphlets, valued at about $1,000." 63

In 1892 there were 3,600 bound volumes, most of which were old and

60 Ibid., February 8, 1897.


comparatively worthless, and 3,000 pamphlets in the library.\textsuperscript{64}

The deplorable state of the library failed to provide a stimulus for its improvement. President Clute in 1894 emphasized the importance of "a well conducted and well selected library," and asked for an appropriation of "not less than $1,000 per year for the purpose of buying books." He received only $150 and the sympathies of the trustees. The latter did authorize the expenditure of $50 from the incidental fund for magazines and newspapers.\textsuperscript{65} Clute tried to raise funds for the library by sponsoring a lecture and concert series during the winter of 1895, and he reported that "the lectures were most excellent, able instructive, witty, interesting. The concert by the Schuman Quartet was surprisingly good. The lectures and concerts were fully advertised in Lake City, but almost no people of the city attended.\ldots At the end of the three entertainments there was a loss of about $6.00 which I paid from my own pocket, and then gave up the effort."\textsuperscript{66} That year the College budget allotted $49.27 for the library; the following year it was $81.73. As late as 1900 the library received only $232.33.

Many of the book accessions came as gifts when people were cleaning overcrowded shelves in their homes and offices. Before 1900 fewer than a hundred new books a year were added to the library shelves, although an effort was made after 1896 to purchase some of the more recent publications in the fields of agriculture, history, and English. Farr, in his memoirs, described the library as he remembered

\textsuperscript{64}President's Annual Report, 1891-92, 42.
\textsuperscript{65}FAC Trustee Minutes, December 11, 1894, October 10, 1895.
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., June 12, 1895.
it in 1901: "A few wooden shelves in the outer office of the presi-
dent ... on which were less than two hundred volumes, a few out-of-
date works of reference and a non-descript collection of novels donated
by friends." 67 According to earlier surveys, Farr's account is not
completely accurate. While the library was very inadequate, it
included more than 2,000 books and a sizeable collection of pamphlets
and government publications.

The library committee, under the chairmanship of Farr, did more
to build up the holdings and prestige of the library than any other
group. By 1904, as a result of increased expenditures, the library
contained "about four thousand volumes." "The purchases," according to
an explanation in the catalogue, "have been made solely with a view to
acquiring books of practical use to the students as a means of cultural
improvement and of wider reading on special lines of study." Although
an attempt was made to enlarge its "collections of Americana, of
authoritative works on Science, and of belles-lettres," the inadequacy
of the library was still obvious. It had been designated a depository
of federal publications, but the lack of proper method of cataloguing
made most of these documents unusable.

J. E. Futch, a student, became the first librarian in 1889,
and when he was graduated, W. W. Flourney, a sophomore, was placed in
charge. In 1894 E. E. Keller, mathematics instructor, became librar-
ian, and shortly afterwards Harry C. Croom, assistant in the wood-
working shop, was given the added responsibility of the library at a

68UF Cat., 1904-05, 26.
total salary of $600 a year. In 1898 Miss Lucia McCulloch, a biology student, became the College and Experiment Station librarian and Station mail clerk at a salary of $240 a year. After he arrived at the College, Professor Farr showed a strong interest in the library, and he was put in charge. In 1904 C. A. Finley, former superintendent of grounds and former director of the dining room, became assistant librarian. This was the first time the College had appointed more than one person to supervise the library. At no time during its history did the College employ a trained librarian or anyone who had even taken a course in library science. Since books were ordered by the president's office and the cataloguing system amounted to merely noting that the book had arrived, there was little for a librarian to do except check books in and out and to see that the students kept the reading room neat and orderly.

An acquisitions record book was started in 1901, and the initial entry was Webster's *International Dictionary* (1899 edition), bound in sheep skin, which cost $9.25. Additional American and foreign language dictionaries and encyclopaedias were the next items acquired. During this period books were shelved according to the fixed location method, and on the flyleaf of each volume the number of the book case and shelf was indicated. At a faculty meeting, on October 3, 1905, Professor Charles L. Crow, chairman of the special committee on the library, reported that a new system of shelving books had been effected, and that henceforth they would be arranged according to subject.

That the library was starved for money was a serious handicap, but the situation was made more difficult by its wretched physical
condition. Not until 1904 was a separate building set aside for the library. Until then it had been located in the classroom-administration building, where its patrons were disturbed by noises from surrounding offices and classrooms. The reading room, where the magazines and newspapers were kept, was overcrowded, and it was not unusual to find a student standing up to read. President Sledd, when he arrived on the campus, described the library as "a mess." Students were restricted in their use of the library by poor facilities and by the many rules of the College. Books could be withdrawn only at certain hours and could not be out longer than a week. Furthermore, no student was "allowed to have more than one book in his possession at one time," and he could not lend the book to anyone else. These stringent regulations were changed after 1902, and it was announced that "the library is administered in the belief that it exists for the students. Consequently, every means is employed to facilitate and encourage their constant use of its resources with as little restriction as is compatible with the proper handling and preservation of the books." 69

The problem of providing necessary apparatus for the science laboratories and the classrooms was no less serious than that of building up the library. The optimistic statements that appeared frequently in the College catalogues and in the annual reports of the president as to the amount and kind of equipment available were belied by the facts. While the catalogue in 1888 announced that the chemical laboratories and the classrooms were complete and the equipment was up-to-date, the president described the condition of the laboratory as "a mess." It was not until 1904 that a separate building was set aside for the library. Until then it had been located in the classroom-administration building, where its patrons were disturbed by noises from surrounding offices and classrooms. The reading room, where the magazines and newspapers were kept, was overcrowded, and it was not unusual to find a student standing up to read. President Sledd, when he arrived on the campus, described the library as "a mess." Students were restricted in their use of the library by poor facilities and by the many rules of the College. Books could be withdrawn only at certain hours and could not be out longer than a week. Furthermore, no student was "allowed to have more than one book in his possession at one time," and he could not lend the book to anyone else. These stringent regulations were changed after 1902, and it was announced that "the library is administered in the belief that it exists for the students. Consequently, every means is employed to facilitate and encourage their constant use of its resources with as little restriction as is compatible with the proper handling and preservation of the books." 69

69 Ibid., 1902-03, 29. Historical data on the library has been collected by Vivian C. Prince, Gainesville, for "The History of the University of Florida Library." Miss Prince made her notes available to author.
laboratory was "by far the best in the State," Professor James Pickell, in a report to the director of the Experiment Station the following year, said that the laboratory "consisted of two small rooms, and a very meager outfit of apparatus, the amount of which may be inferred when I state that the entire cost of chemicals, apparatus, gasoline machine and fittings, and gasoline, from November, 1884, to April, 1888, was $1,099.40." 70

A visiting committee of legislators in 1889 valued the chemical and physical apparatus in the laboratory at $1,200 and the manual training equipment at $1,000. It reported that the College had no mathematical instruments and recommended an appropriation of $950 for engineering and surveying equipment, in addition to "maps, tellurian globe, horse and wagon, and other incidental expenses." 71 Approximately $1,500 a year was expended during the 1890's for equipment and apparatus in the departments of chemistry, physics, and biology. In 1901 the legislature voted $5,000 to establish a veterinary department, and a large part of this appropriation went for laboratory equipment. In the biennial report of 1902 the College officials stated that new equipment was very much needed for the laboratories and that educational equipment was "needed in every department." 72 During 1903-1904, $15,854.88 was spent on equipment. This figure is misleading unless one notes that it included all library expenditures and the cost of


equipping the new gymnasium. During 1905-1906, the last academic year of the school on the Lake City campus, $2,060.95 was used to purchase equipment.  

The biology department, according to a legislative committee report in 1889, was the best equipped of any department. The report estimated that the biology museum and equipment was worth $8,400, "on which there exists a debt of $2,800 and interest for two years."  

The biology museum, purchased in 1887 from Ward's Natural Science Establishment, Rochester, New York, and from A. E. Foote, Philadelphia, was described in the College catalogue as a large and costly collection of "minerals, fossils, animals, woods and plants," and "specimens of Florida woods, marls, soils, phosphates, sponges . . . the most complete collection known of the botany of our own State." The museum was arranged on the third floor of the classroom-administration building, in the rooms which had formerly been a dormitory. The exhibit cases displayed "a spider monkey, a ruffled lemur, a panther, a seal, a Java deer, a coney, a vampire bat, a tenrec, a beaver, a sloth, an armadillo, a kangaroo, a duck-billed platypus, and an apteryx."  

John J. Kost, one of the most colorful figures in the history of the College and one of the most controversial in the educational history of Florida, was the first museum curator. Born in Carlisle,  

73 Ibid., 1906, 223.  


Pennsylvania, in 1819, he received his early academic training in Cincinnati. Kost, who came to be regarded by some as a genius and by others as a charlatan, began the study of medicine at sixteen in Coshocton, Ohio, and eventually he was licensed to practice. He strongly endorsed the eclectic school of medicine, and, as a result, he became a controversial figure in medical circles in Ohio and Michigan when he organized a program of medical reform, based upon eclecticism. A few years later he was professor of materia medica and therapeutics in the Eclectic College in Cincinnati, and in 1848 he became a lecturer at the Eclectic Medical College in Worcester, Massachusetts. Through his research Kost discovered several alkaloids and resinoids, including the extraction of pedephyllin from the mandrake root. He won renown as a world traveler, as a collector of scientific artifacts, and as a writer of medical books. His *Elements of Materia Medica and Therapeutics*, published in 1858, went through nineteen editions and made over $105,000 for its author. Domestic Medicine, published in 1868, and Diseases of Women and Children were translated into German and enjoyed a brisk sale in both the United States and Europe. In 1885, while in Tallahassee, Kost published a textbook on Medical Jurisprudence for Medical and Law Colleges. It

76 Eclectic medicine is a system in which a group of physicians select from various schools of medical theory what they consider to be the best doctrines or methods of treatment. Special importance is attached to the development of indigenous plant remedies.


was a clear and concisely written book, although too brief to treat its subject adequately.\textsuperscript{79} Two later volumes, \emph{Death: A Necessary and Beneficent Factor in the Economy of Nature} and \emph{Human Destiny}, were popular only with specialized groups of readers.

In 1862 Kost began teaching chemistry and geology at Adrian College (Adrian, Michigan).\textsuperscript{80} In 1867 he became president of Marshall College in Illinois, and was later associated with eclectic medical institutions in Macon and Atlanta, Georgia. He arrived in Tallahassee in June, 1883, with letters of recommendation from Alexander Stephens, former vice-president of the Confederate government, and from Governor Colquitt of Georgia. In an interview with Governor Bloxham in Tallahassee, Kost offered to give Florida a museum of natural history, which he personally valued at $50,000. The state, in turn, was supposed to establish a six-college university, supported by a strong endowment, and appoint Kost chancellor.\textsuperscript{81} Such an institution was actually organized in 1883 under the name of Florida University. It included a medical college and the West Florida Seminary was supposed to be its literary college. There was never enough financial or popular support for the institution, and the life of the Florida University was brief. The medical college was moved to Jacksonville but it soon went out of existence.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{79}This analysis of Kost's book is based on a conversation with Mrs. Ila R. Pridgen, former librarian, University of Florida Law Library, March 10, 1953.

\textsuperscript{80}Information furnished author by President Emeritus Harlan L. Feeman, Adrian College, in letter, March 9, 1953, and by Coley S. Ritchie, business manager, Adrian College, in letter, February 27, 1953.

\textsuperscript{81}Floridian (Tallahassee), February 14, 1883.

\textsuperscript{82}Webster Merritt, \emph{A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County} (Gainesville, 1949), 143.
Kost was now able to get himself appointed supervisor of the state geological survey, and in 1887 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy and geology at the Florida Agricultural College. When he turned over to the College his collection of natural history specimens he was named curator of the natural history and botany museum. In the spring of 1888 Kost relinquished his connection with the museum to become director of the Experiment Station. Shortly afterwards, he became involved in a dispute with a member of the Station staff. When the board requested his resignation, Kost became miffed and withdrew his museum gifts. A few months later he presented his "museum of curiosities" to Heidelberg College (Tiffin, Ohio), and was appointed chancellor of that institution.

Until 1891 the post of museum director and curator was left vacant. Then, Frank W. Pickel, newly appointed professor of biology and the natural sciences, showed an interest in the museum, and he agreed to take over its supervision in addition to his other duties. He received no additional compensation for this work. Several times during the 1890's the salary budget showed payments to a taxidermist, but after Professor Pickel's resignation, the direction of the museum was left to the science faculty. Most of these men were already overburdened with full teaching schedules and had little time to devote to the museum. There were no funds to improve or enlarge the collections,

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or even to take care of what they had. As a result, the museum deteriorated, and when it was moved to Gainesville in 1906 all that remained were "1 mounted bird; 6 prepared bird skins, 127 minerals, 9 stone implements, 1 star fish, 2 sea urchins, 12 corals, 12 species shells, 90 fossil casts, 116 potsherds, 343 sets of fossils, 4 alcoholic specimens." \(^85\)

From the beginning, the one hundred-acre tract, which Joseph F. Baya had donated for the campus and experimental farm in 1884, had proved inadequate. Professor Whitner of the agricultural department sold three acres of land to the College in 1885, and eleven additional acres were purchased from Baya in March 1884 for $616.66. By 1890 it was obvious that the campus was too small. The board in 1895 called attention to "the inadequate character of the College campus and adjacent grounds," and stated that it was "a serious mistake that in our noble State, where the area of excellent land is so immense, that we should begin a College ... upon a campus of only a few acres in extent, where buildings must necessarily be crowded, where there will be inadequate convenience for sports and athletic exercises of the students, and where lawns, drives, walks, and groves, and all of the attractions which the art of a landscape gardener can evolve are, and must forever be, almost nothing." The trustees strongly recommended purchasing "lands in the immediate vicinity of our present property." \(^86\)

\(^{85}\)Inventoried by H. S. Davis and later catalogued by T. Van Hyning, May 20, 1911. See Museum Catalogue Files, No. 2128-2817, 71760, 71904, in the Florida State Museum.

In 1896 the board criticized the legislature for not providing funds to purchase land and argued that it was an unwise policy for Florida "to maintain its principal State school for higher instruction on a contracted and inferior piece of land." "The campus should be roomy," the trustees emphasized, "we should have land sufficient to give every department of the college room and verge enough." In its 1896 report the board listed the following as immediate campus needs: athletic grounds where "the sports and games in which all youth delight must take place; a military drill area, and suitable target and artillery ranges; a generous area for general farm crops, for pasturage and for forage crops, for gardens, orchards, groves of fruit and nut trees; a botanic garden; and an arboretum into which may gradually be gathered all the trees, shrubs and plants which will endure the climate." 87

About twenty-five acres of land, immediately adjacent to the campus, were purchased during the next two years. A survey made in 1898 showed that the main campus was then located on a small four-acre plot, that the experimental garden was limited to three acres, and that the Experiment Station used the remaining property for its purposes. 88

Nothing more was done to increase the size of the campus until 1901 when the board of trustees met with Governor Jennings "for the purpose of canvassing the needs of the College and for devising means for bringing these needs more prominently before the coming legislature." Holding a top priority was "the purchase of land for the purpose of

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87Ibid., 1896, 100-101.
88Ibid., 1898, 272.
enlarging the college campus and providing land for a model farm from which the students could be taught practical farming, gardening, stock raising, and dairying," and the products of which "could be used for cheapening table board." The legislature of 1901 proved to be one of the most generous in the history of the Florida Agricultural College. In the biennial budget voted for the institution, the lawmakers included an item of $10,000 for the purchase of land. Approximately $5,000 bought two hundred thirty-eight acres, including one hundred acres which cost $1,500. These properties were used to expand the College farm and Experiment Station grounds.

By 1905 the condition of the College had greatly improved, and its worst difficulties appeared past. It had substantial buildings, various apparatus and a growing library, a faculty of twenty-two, and a student body of more than two hundred fifty. The total value of the College property had increased from $64,125 in 1892 to approximately $400,000 in 1904. Federal appropriations had bolstered the financial structure of the College and had made it the best maintained educational institution in the state. There was reason to believe that adequate appropriations would continue to be voted by the legislature. However, George W. Wilson cautioned his fellow board members in 1905 that the budget requests would have to be cut, since the "amount asked for far exceeded the sum of money the legislature had available for this purpose."
It was agreed that an appropriation of $43,500 would meet current needs without hindering the expansion and growth of the institution.
CHAPTER XIV

THE FLORIDA EXPERIMENT STATION

In the first bulletin issued by the College in 1884 it was announced that the agricultural department would devote special attention to teaching "the principles governing the cultivation, propagation, and marketing of those fruits which are making Florida celebrated throughout the world." It also promised that in vegetable culture "constant effort will be made to develop by experiment, and to make known by regular bulletins the best methods of propagation, preparation, and shipment of early supplies to more northern markets." Thus the state, through the medium of the Florida Agricultural College, was in fact committing itself to the task of not only improving the quality and quantity of the agricultural yield of Florida but of helping to enhance and develop new markets for such produce.

Florida's population was, throughout the nineteenth century, predominantly rural, and most of the state's income came from her farms, groves, and forests. Widespread settlement and the introduction of mechanized farm equipment after the Civil War had expanded farm acreage in Florida and had increased the value of her agricultural produce. There were some 23,000 farms in Florida in 1880 valued at more than $27,000,000. Cotton, corn, tobacco, and citrus production prospered,

1FAC. Cat., 1884, 4.
but little was known about the composition of soils or the means of enriching them. Prior to 1882 almost nothing had been done towards reclaiming any of the vast muck area of Central and South Florida, which was generally regarded as having little agricultural value. Florida produced 400,000 boxes of citrus in 1884, but very little was known of the latest grafting methods, the elimination of citrus pests, or the best procedure for packing and shipping fruit. Almost no grazing lands were in production during the early part of the 1880's, and sugar cane, which had been a valuable crop before the Civil War, was hardly planted. Almost all the sugar consumed in the country came from Louisiana, Cuba, and Central America. Few agriculturists seemed to realize that the heavy water content of Florida's soil and its equable climate made it an ideal place for truck farming. Florida cattle were lean and bony, and milk and egg production hardly met the needs of the population. The commercial growing of peanuts and pecans was just beginning, and little interest had been shown in the need for producing flowers, shrubs, or other ornamentals for home gardens.

It was obvious that there was a real need in Florida for the agricultural and horticultural experiments and research that would be carried on by the staff and students of the Florida Agricultural College. When the institution opened in 1884, a sizeable tract of land adjoining the main campus was designated as the College farm. Professor Whitner of the department of agriculture was placed in charge.

3A. A. Persons, "A Chemical Study of Some Typical Soils of the Florida Peninsula," Florida Experiment Station Bulletin No. 43 (Sept., 1897), 681. Station bulletins to be henceforth referred to as FSB.
Although it was past the main planting season, forty orange trees and about a dozen pecan trees were set out. In December and early January the first potatoes were planted, and by the spring of 1885 a garden was under cultivation. The rest of the farm needed clearing, and the entire area had to be fenced, but there were no available funds. In an effort to beautify the campus and at the same time to experiment with the adaptability of trees and shrubs removed from their native habitat, a number of successful transplantings were made in 1885 and 1886.

In 1886 an experimental asparagus bed was set out, and experimentations with pasture grass were started. Professor Whitner became interested in Texas Bluegrass when he learned that the cattle industry of Florida was in need of a winter grass to supplement the Bermuda which was being used for grazing purposes during the summer months. After some two years of experiments, Whitner in 1888 announced the results to be "most promising and encouraging," and predicted a "year round pasture" which would add to the agriculture income of the state.4

The work of the experimental farm was handicapped by its lack of equipment and the scarcity of money to purchase tools, seed, and fertilizer, and to construct adequate buildings. A legislative committee visited the campus and farm in 1887, and warmly commended the work being done at the College and on the farm. In pointing out the economic value that it would have for the state, the committee asked that still "more attention and encouragement" be given the agricultural research. However, it only recommended an appropriation of $3,000 for

buildings, horses, wagons, and farm implements. The meager amount was finally voted by the legislature; and, according to Whitner, the appropriation was used to construct "a plain but substantial barn, a four-room laborers' cottage, a good plank (boundary) fence and horse lot." In addition, the board purchased a farm wagon, two mules, harness, a variety of farm implements and plow gear, seed, fertilizer, some carpenter's tools, corn, oats, and fodder for the work animals, and hired laborers to clear and cultivate forty additional acres of land. Apparently there was little left after these expenditures to subsidize the research and experimentation which the legislative committee had commended. When a reader of the Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower pointed out that Mississippi and South Carolina were doing more in the way of agriculture research than Florida, Professor Whitner explained that the "paltry sum" voted by the legislature was hardly adequate to carry on even minimum operations. Whitner reminded the critic that the Florida Agricultural College had "no other means for practical work than State appropriations, so, when they are exhausted, there is no alternative but to wait for more." The need for financial help from other than state resources had become apparent in Florida, as it had elsewhere in the nation, and the feeling grew that the federal government would be the proper agent to render such aid.

The South, although predominantly agricultural since earliest colonial days, had lagged behind other sections of the country in the

5"Legislative Committee Report" in Florida House Journal, 1887, 380.
6Whitner to Editor, Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower, August 1, 1888.
7Whitner letter, March 29, 1888.
interest shown toward experimental programs. This was not true, of course, for the whole region. The University of Georgia in 1854 established the Terrell professorship of agriculture, and appointed Dr. Daniel Lee, editor of the Southern Cultivator, to that chair.8 By 1858 Maryland had organized an agricultural college, the first in the South, and its experimental farm had begun testing the effect of different manures on corn, oats, and potatoes.9 Within a decade after the passage of the Morrill Act, agricultural colleges had been organized in Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia, and agricultural courses were part of the regular curriculum in the Universities of Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia.10 At the same time, however, the number of agricultural colleges, the size of student enrollment, and the variety of experimental programs was much larger in the North and West than it was in the South.

The first state agricultural experiment station in the country was established at Wesleyan University, (Middletown, Connecticut) in 1875. California organized a station shortly afterwards, and two years later, in 1877, the North Carolina station was established. By 1885, eighteen state-supported stations, were in operation in the United States. Five of these—North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee—were in the South, and, with the exception

9Ibid., 66.
10Ibid., 116-17.
of North Carolina, they had been established at or near the land-grant colleges.\textsuperscript{11}

Florida seems to have shown relatively little interest in the need for an experiment station until after the Hatch Experiment Station Act became federal law on March 2, 1887. Apparently this disinterest was due more to the feeling that the state could not afford to subsidize such an installation than to the belief that agricultural experimentation and research were not needed by farmers, growers, and stockmen. The legislative committee which investigated and made the conservative appropriations recommendations for the College in 1887 further recommended that an agricultural experiment station, subsidized by federal funds, be established at the College.\textsuperscript{12} The editor of \textit{The Florida Dispatch}, one of the state's best-known agricultural journals, had advised establishing an experiment station, and pointed out that it would become the "center of an extended system of experiments and the means of practically and rapidly advancing the pomological interests of the State."\textsuperscript{13} He later urged farmers and fruitgrowers "to bring pressure to bear" upon the legislature "to induce them to take action in this matter at once," and suggested that, if no direct appropriation was forthcoming from the lawmakers, a special fertilizer tax might be voted.\textsuperscript{14} Other than this, however, almost no public

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., 200-201.
\textsuperscript{12}"Legislative Committee Report" in Florida House Journal, 1887, 380.
\textsuperscript{13}\textit{The Florida Dispatch} (Switzerland, Fl.), February 21, 1887.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., May 9, 1887.
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interest was shown in the project, and when the Florida legislature, on May 31, 1887, adopted Joint Resolution No. 14, which authorized acceptance of an annual federal grant for a station, it almost appeared that the state was being forced to accept federal funds against her will.

The Hatch Act, named for Congressman William H. Hatch of Missouri, made the experiment stations completely state institutions, each to be supervised by its own governing board. They were to be part of the land-grant colleges set up under the Morrill Act. According to the law, stations were to conduct original research in plant and animal physiology; investigate animal and plant diseases, crop rotation, the capacity of new plants or trees for acclimation, the composition of manures, and the adaptability and value of grasses and forage plants; analyze soils, water, and the composition and digestibility of animal food; and study the scientific and economic questions involved in butter and cheese production. Stations were directed to conduct experiments and research aimed at improving the agricultural conditions of their own states and regions. For this work Congress voted an annual appropriation of $15,000 to each state. The first quarterly payment was to be made on October 1, 1888. The law provided that only one-fifth of the original appropriation could be used for

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15 No editorial comment on the proposed experiment station bill or the need for an agricultural research program appeared in the following papers for the period of January-June, 1887: The Florida Agriculturist, The Weekly Tallahasseean, The Weekly Floridan.

16 Laws of Florida, 1887, 133.

17 Hatch, as chairman of the House committee on agriculture, introduced the experiment station bill on January 6, 1886, and it was reported back favorably by his committee.
the erection or expansion of a station building, and that only five per cent of future funds could be used for that purpose. Each station was to publish a bulletin once every three months reporting the progress and results of its experiments. Copies of bulletins were to be furnished free to any farmer requesting them and to every newspaper in the state. Detailed financial and operational reports were to be submitted annually to the governor of the state, the state commissioner of agriculture, and the secretary of the treasury of the United States.18

In Florida it was agreed that the trustees of the Florida Agricultural College would also serve as the supervisory board for the Experiment Station. At first the Station conducted its work in two small rooms at the rear of the science laboratory in the classroom-administration building. In 1888 a contract was let for the Experiment Station building, which was ready for occupancy before the end of that year.19 The trustees also had the responsibility of choosing a director for the Station. Dr. John J. Kost, then teaching moral philosophy and geology and serving as curator of the museum, asked for and received the appointment at a salary of $1500 a year. In addition, the board appointed William H. Ashmead as entomologist and A. H. Curtiss as botanist. Dr. George Troup Maxwell was placed in charge of the veterinary and physiological section, and Dr. J. Franklin Appell, a Lake City physician, was to be in charge of the floral and garden

18U.S. Statutes at Large (49th Cong., 2nd Sess.), XXIV, 440-42.

19"Annual Report of Experiment Station," in FSB 3 (September, 1888), 19.
experiments. Each of these men received a salary of $600 a year. Dr. J. M. Pickell, already professor of physics and chemistry and teacher of two classes in English Grammar and one in Latin, was given the added responsibility of being the Station chemist. Although the board gave him no additional compensation for this work, it relieved him of some of his teaching duties.

Florida is unique in the wide range of her soil and climatic conditions and the resultant diversity of her production. The Florida Experiment Station staff realized from the very beginning that they would be faced with problems unlike those presented in other sections of the country. It was emphasized in the first bulletin, issued by the Station in April, 1888, that other stations had helps from "correspondent and analogous surroundings that afford mutual advantages in station work." The Florida Station, however, located as it was on a peninsula between ocean and sea, had to work out its own problems. That the Station was successful during these early years with its plant cultures, soil analyses, vegetable and animal physiology research, and its study of approved methods of husbandry and farm appliances was due largely to the efforts and ability of young scientists like Peter Henry Rolfs, Oscar Clute, H. Harold Hume, A. A. Persons, Charles F. Dawson, H. A. Gossard, and others who were on the Station staff.

The Florida Experiment Station was formally organized in March, 1888, when it received, some months after other stations, its

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22 "Introduction," _FSB_ 1, 3; _The Florida Dispatch_, May 9, 1887.
first installment of $7,500 from the federal government. A second payment of $3,750 arrived in April, and the remainder of the $15,000 annual appropriation was paid in July. Although salaries did not start until the first of March, 1888, the Station's experimental work began on October 27, 1887, when a plot of ground on the Lake City campus was sown with timothy seed brought from Michigan. The object was to ascertain the plant's adaptability to Florida soil and to determine whether it had any possibility as a grazing and forage crop for the region. A few days later, an adjacent plot was sown with Kentucky bluegrass seed, and, on November 16, in cooperation with the superintendent of the College's experimental farm, some 4,000 Texas bluegrass plants were set out. The results of these experiments were set forth in the first Station bulletin.23

In the Station's several bulletins, Dr. Appell reported on his experiments with vegetables and flowers. He had successfully tested ten different varieties of strawberries, twenty varieties of onions, eight kinds of cantaloupes, and three varieties of sweet corn.24 Ashmead, the entomologist, had become interested in the problem of the peach curculio and the peach borer which were causing considerable damage to the fruit orchards of Florida. His investigations revealed that particular types of poison sprays and trunk washes were effective against these plant pests.25 Experiments in the cause and cure of citrus tree diseases—"root-rot," "soab," and orange "rust,"—

\[\text{23FSB 1, 5-10.}\]
\[\text{24FSB 2, 5-8.}\]
\[\text{25Ibid., 14-19.}\]
which had so long plagued the grove people—were among the important work of the Station.\textsuperscript{26}

There was every indication from these published Station bulletins that things were running smoothly, that an organization had been effected without too much delay, and that the experimental work which was to be of such great importance to the agricultural advancement of Florida was developing satisfactorily. Actually, however, there had been conflict and controversy among members of the staff almost from the beginning, particularly between Professor Kost and Dr. Maxwell, the veterinarian. According to Kost, Maxwell had been appointed on a half-time basis, but later contended that he had been promised "work and compensation for full time," and threatened violence if he did not receive full pay. Kost disregarded these threats until late June or early July, 1888, when Maxwell brought formal charges against him before the trustees, accusing him of "mendacity, misappropriation of station money, and mischief-making in the faculty of the College." Up until then, Kost later explained, he felt that the board was supporting him, and, in fact, had just reelected him Station director against his wishes.\textsuperscript{27}

The trustees called an emergency session in Tallahassee on July 25, 1888, to consider the charges brought against Kost. The board found that while Kost had not been guilty "of any wrongful intent in law or morals," his "conduct had been characterized by a great lack of discretion, both in composition and in manner." In calling for his

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 27-42.

\textsuperscript{27}Kost's letter of July 31, 1888 was printed in The Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower, August 8, 1888.
resignation, the board stated that Kost had shown "a want of dignity and self-control wholly unbecoming one occupying his position." Kost refused to leave "under censure," and, in a letter published in the Tallahassee Floridian, he defended his decision and emphatically denied that he had been guilty of neglecting or mismanaging the work of the Experiment Station. In December Kost changed his mind, and submitted his resignation to the board of trustees. Shortly afterwards he left Florida.

For some months the board delayed selecting a successor to Kost, although the Florida agricultural press urged an immediate reorganization and the appointment of A. H. Manville, who, until August, 1888, had been editor of The Florida Agriculturist. Finally, on January 22, 1889, the board announced that James P. DePass was to be professor of pomology at the College and director of the Experiment Station. DePass was an ordained Methodist minister with almost no agricultural training, who continued to preach throughout the period of his connection with the College. Among the several stories told of how DePass received his appointment is one related by Peter H. Rolfs. According to Rolfs, DePass received his appointment through the influence of Albert J. Russell, state superintendent of public instruction and ex-officio chairman of the board of trustees of the College.

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28The Floridian, August 2, 1888.
29Ibid., November 6, 1888.
30Ibid., September 3, 1889.
31The Florida Agriculturist, August 29, 1888; The Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower, November 11, 1888. The feeling of the agricultural press on this matter was commented upon in The Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville), October 21, 1888.
DePass, who had a large number of supporters throughout the state, had announced himself as a candidate for the office of superintendent, much to the chagrin of Russell, who wanted to succeed himself. When it was intimated that a bitter political campaign could be avoided, and that "the matter could be smoothed out by making the Rev. [Mr] DePass Director of the Experiment Station with an equal salary," Russell accepted the suggestion.32

Whatever the circumstances of his appointment, DePass revealed an aggressive interest in the experimental research of the Station. During his administration the first sub-stations were located at Fort Myers and DeFuniak Springs. A small station also operated in Ocala for a few months. The need for sub-stations had been recognized from the start. In May, 1887, while the Florida legislature was still considering the experiment station bill, the editor of the Florida Dispatch pointed out that the diversity of Florida's agricultural production, occasioned by the wide range of soil and climatic conditions, necessitated the establishment of three stations: one in the tropical region, one in the orange belt, and another in the farming district.33 Professor Pickell had also recommended the establishment of two sub-stations in South Florida, in addition to the main station in Lake City.34 Under DePass, the sub-stations carried on experiments in the cultivation of fruit trees, berries, grapes, forage plants, oats, corn, rice, cotton, peas, potatoes, and sugar cane. DePass

33 The Florida Dispatch, May 9, 1887.
34 Ibid.
showed particular interest in peach culture, fertilizers, and the growing of blackseed cotton. He was commended by the newspapers for the stimulus he had given to tobacco growing in Florida.\textsuperscript{35} His main devotion, however, was to his church, and he was severely criticized for neglecting his duties at the Station.

The Reverend Mr. DePass always insisted that the Station should be independent of College control. He regarded the presence of the Station on the campus as necessary because the work of the two agencies was so closely related, but he refused to consider himself a member of the faculty. Hard feeling resulted, and many unpleasant situations developed, particularly after Yocum began his first administration. DePass and the president were antagonistic, and this situation eventually embroiled the College and Station in a controversy which necessitated a complete reorganization of the faculty and administrative personnel, including the president. The incident which finally brought the situation to a head came over a piece of land in the south corner of the campus, where Flagler gymnasium was later located. The strip had been considered part of the Experiment Station grounds, but Yocum wanted it turned over to the agricultural department for horticultural experiments. DePass refused to relinquish the property, and a series of curt letters were exchanged between him and the president. One afternoon, late in January, 1893, Yocum ordered a gang of laborers to take possession of the disputed property, and when DePass' men tried to prevent the seizure, a fracas started.\textsuperscript{36} The two principals,

\textsuperscript{35}Weekly Floridian, April 23, 1892.

\textsuperscript{36}Farr, "The Making of a University," loc. cit., 16.
according to a story circulated in Lake City, arrived to quell the riot, but got into a tussle themselves. To add to the trouble, A. W. Bitting, veterinarian for the Experiment Station and DePass' secretary, had turned over to Yocum some of the director's personal correspondence with board members. The president had used this information in his attacks on DePass.

The controversy was serious enough to be referred to the board of trustees, and, on February 1, 1893, after a lengthy discussion, the board reached a decision. The trustees agreed that the president had acted in good faith and that he had jurisdiction over the disputed property. It was thought, however, not judicious to force a transfer at the moment and "that it would not be advisable to use the land in question for the uses indicated by President Yocum." When Yocum was informed of the board's decision he was much incensed and submitted his resignation, but he was persuaded to reconsider his action, and he agreed to "withdraw his resignation for the present and make no further allusion to it." Bitting resigned as secretary, but retained his position on the faculty as professor of veterinary science at a salary of $800 a year. The director was authorized to employ a new secretary at $200 a year.37

After the meeting, one trustee in a statement to the press, termed the controversy "a disgrace to the state," and he warned the College faculty and the Station staff that they had "better get together and go to work in harmony" if they wished to retain their positions. He said that all "discordant elements" would shortly be

37FAC Trustee Minutes, February 1, 1893.
removed from the institution.\textsuperscript{38}

When the legislature convened a few weeks later a reorganization of the College and Station was ordered. A law, enacted May 17, 1894, authorized the appointment of a seven-man board of trustees, to be appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate. The state treasurer was to serve as treasurer of the board.\textsuperscript{39} The trustees were to supervise the reorganizational program.

Meanwhile, on May 26, a legislative investigating committee criticized the conditions at the DeFuniak Springs sub-station. Crops, according to the committee report, had been planted "on poor, sand land which impressed us by its sickly appearance. . . . [There were] a few small tobacco plants, which could not be identified . . . a plot of nameless, worm-eaten cabbage, which never can head . . . eight small Satsuma orange trees, all badly insected," and an acre of "grassy, miserable common shipped corn . . . not more than six inches high." The committee reported "the sub-station a farce and a failure and the cause is wholly chargeable to the Director . . . ; we recommend its emancipation from his authority."\textsuperscript{40} Another committee, inspecting the Experiment Station in Lake City, noted that the tobacco experiments had been successful and that the cattle appeared healthy. Other conditions were unsatisfactory, however, and the committee decided that "upon the whole . . . the management of the station had been bad."\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38}The Weekly Sun (Gainesville), February 9, 1893.

\textsuperscript{39}Laws of Florida, 1893, 167-68.

\textsuperscript{40}"Legislative Committee Report" in Florida House Journal, 1893, 942-45.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., 1055-58.
As chairman of the newly reorganized board, Governor Mitchell appointed Walter Gwynn of Sanford, whose experience as a farmer, businessman, and politician would be of value in directing the activities of the Station and College. He had already served the state in many official capacities when he agreed to take on these new responsibilities. Born in Kentucky, Gwynn had moved to Florida at an early age and settled on a plantation in Tallahassee, near the present site of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. Later he moved to Orange County where he owned and operated a large orange grove and where he became interested in the value of citrus research. He had served as comptroller in Governor John Milton's Civil War cabinet, as state treasurer during Governor Drew's administration, and for many years he had been a state land agent, responsible for choosing the Seminary lands. To serve with Gwynn, the governor named William D. Chipley of Pensacola, C. F. B. Bielby of DeLand, S. J. Turnbull of Monticello, Dr. S. Stringer of Brooksville, A. B. Hagen of Lake City, and Frank E. Harris of Ocala. Chipley, whose large railroad interests in West Florida had earned for him the title "Mr. Railroad," became vice-president of the board, and Hagen was elected secretary.

At its first meeting in Lake City on June 22, 1893, the board requested all officials, faculty, and employees of the College and the

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42Biographical data on Gwynn furnished author by his great grandson, M. N. Dunn, West Palm Beach, in letter, August 4, 1952; his great niece, Mary Simpson, Tallahassee, in letter, August 30, 1952; his granddaughter, Martha Gwynn Fox, Sanford, in letters, November 2, 1952, January 9, 1953 and interviews, October 10, 1952, March 20, 1953; and his grandson, Walter Gwynn Fox, Sr., Sarasota, in interview, March 20, 1953.
Experiment Station to submit their resignations. At ten o'clock on the morning of July 11, the board reassembled for the purpose of selecting new personnel. The first order of business was to accept the resignations of President Yocum and the ten members of the faculty. The Reverend Mr. DePass had already informed the board that he would not resign as long as there were in circulation "untrue reports reflecting on his character." When he also called attention to his contract which did not expire until October 1, 1893, the board decided that it would be judicious to allow him to finish out his term.

Yocum's future role at the College was a major problem that had to be solved. Recognizing his worth as a scholar and teacher, most of the trustees wanted to retain him on the faculty, but felt that someone else should serve as president. Yocum accepted the position of vice-president of the College, and he was also named professor of mental and moral science, political economy, and logic. Without further controversy, other College and Station faculty and administrative personnel were rehired. It was also decided to merge the offices of president of the College and director of the Experiment Station, a policy which continued throughout the rest of the history of the institution in Lake City.

The board next turned its attention to finding a trained agriculturist and an experienced administrator who could properly direct the activities and program of the College and Station. As we

43 FAC Trustee Minutes, June 22, 1893.
44 Ibid.
have seen, the board offered the position to Oscar Clute, and he accepted. In an interview with a newspaper reporter, after he arrived in Florida, Clute revealed that he would teach a course in practical agriculture at the College, but that he would devote most of his time to the work of organizing and managing the Experiment Station. Admitting his limited knowledge of southern agriculture, he planned to get advice "from the best sources—that is by personal contact and correspondence." 46

Clute noted in his first annual report that Florida was not producing enough forage and grain for home consumption, and that large sums of money were being expended annually outside the state for these items. Hoping to learn whether it was profitable to grow forage crops during the winter season, the Station, under Clute's direction, had sown experimental plots with oats, rye, barley, wheat, rape, turnips, rutabagas, kale, and collards. "If this forage and this grain, especially the grain for feeding stock, can be grown in Florida," he explained, "these large sums will be saved, it will be made possible to produce the meats consumed in the State, and a large production of valuable fertilizers will result as a by-product." 47

Clute turned his attention to experiments in growing tobacco, sugar cane, and rice. He imported promising varieties of up-land rice from Japan, China, and India for experimental purposes, and encouraged olive culture. He saw the potential value of fig-growing, and, in the spring of 1894, he had trees set out, and he personally directed the experiments. 48

46 The Florida Farmer and Fruit Grower, September 16, 1893.
47 Florida Agricultural Experiment Station Annual Report, 1893, 7. Cited henceforth as FES Rpt.
work of cultivating and curing the fruit. He gave support to Peter Rolfs' experiments with tomato blight and with the San Jose scale which had proved disastrous to fruit orchards in West Florida. Largely because of the Station's interest, the United States Department of Agriculture had located in Florida an expert on citrus fruit pests, and in the sub-tropical laboratory at Eustis important tests were carried on, aimed at solving for a rapidly growing industry one of its serious problems. Florida's scientists were acquainted with the work which the entomologists in Washington were doing with arsenic and other poisonous sprays to destroy fruit insects, and the station staff encouraged similar research in their own laboratories. Of particular concern to the citrus interests of the state at the time was the fluted scale which had already wrought havoc in the California citrus industry. To arrest this invasion Clute authorized the importation of Vedalia beetles when the scale proved practically impervious to insecticides. The beetle experiment was successful.48

Clute had been a pomologist of some note before coming to Florida, and he became interested in pineapple culture at Lake City. Under his direction approximately eight hundred pineapple plants were set out at the Fort Myers sub-station in the fall of 1894. In a Station bulletin, published two years later, Clute outlined the details of his experiment and revealed the potential value of pineapples as a fruit crop. He not only found that pineapples could be grown successfully along the Florida Gulf coast if the soil was properly fertilized, but

48This analysis of Clute's research activities and interests rests upon information available in the FES Rpts., 1893-97 inclusive, and FSB's 20-43, 1893-97 inclusive.
that the plants could be easily protected from inclement weather by native pine growth. It was also shown that certain varieties of the fruit, if properly packed, could be shipped long distances. In a pamphlet, published in April, 1896, Clute revealed his interest in the cultivation of cassava and the velvet bean. His experiments transformed the bean from an ornamental into a forage plant and an important cover crop. 49 The only other publication of Clute's was one called The Blessed Bees, a fictionalized agricultural study, which appeared in 1878 (under the pseudonym of John Allen), and which went through four editions.

The circumstances leading up to President Clute's resignation on August 17, 1897, have already been explained. The fact was that again the board had the responsibility of selecting a person to head the College and Experiment Station. The qualification of eighteen candidates were carefully examined, and several aspirants were invited to appear for a personal interview. Many of these men were agriculturists by profession, and some had had experience in the agricultural experiment stations of their own states. In 1893 the trustees would not have seriously considered a candidate unless he possessed these qualifications, but, by 1897, their attitude had changed considerably. Now it seemed as if the board was more interested in securing a scholar for the College than a scientist for the Station, and as has already been noted, the position was offered to former President Wilbur F. Yocum. 50


50 FAC Trustee Minutes, September 8, 1897.
Although he was not a trained agriculturist, Yocum knew the work being done by the Experiment Station, and he supported its research activities. The success of the farmers’ institutes under the leadership of Professor Stockbridge encouraged Yocum to request additional funds from the legislature to expand this work in research and agricultural education. The large appropriation for farmers’ institutes, voted in 1901, enabled the Station to enlarge its staff, and increased its means of publicizing its experimental work. Largely through Yocum's efforts, the horticultural department secured, on a long term lease from the Florida East Coast Railway Company, twenty acres of land at Boca Raton for citrus experiments. About three hundred orange, tangerine, pomelo, lemon, lime, and kumquat trees were cultivated so that the value of different fertilizers and growing methods could be determined. In addition, in 1900, eighty acres were added to the Station's grounds in Lake City so that a pasture could be laid out for experimental work in grasses and field crops.

The Station’s research activities had begun to be translated into practical farming and were having an important effect on the economic development of the state. Stockbridge’s work with the cassava plant, proving it an invaluable starch and useful as cattle feed, Hume’s research in citrus and pecan culture, and Miller’s successful experiments with velvet bean hay for feeding livestock were major accomplishments of Yocum’s administration.51

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51This analysis of Yocum’s work as director of the Experiment Station rests upon information available in the FES Rpts., 1897-1901 inclusive, and FSB’s 44-59, 1898-1901 inclusive.
The cattle industry, one of Florida's oldest agricultural enterprises, had grown increasingly prosperous. There were, however, vexing problems associated with the industry, and Yocum recognized the Station's responsibility in this field. Milk production, mainly because of the inadequacy of local feed crops, had been limited, and milk had to be imported into Florida from other areas. The cattle feed experiments carried on by the Station were aimed at increasing dairy production. The production of beef cattle had been hampered by the "salt-sick" disease, which first came under the scrutiny of the agricultural faculty at a farmers' institute held in Putnam County in 1899. With the persuasion of Yocum and Stockbridge, the board of trustees employed a competent veterinarian to study the disease. A temporary sub-station was opened in Osceola County, and fifteen animals were placed under observation. These experiments resulted in important savings for the cattle industry.\[^{52}\]

When Yocum resigned his administrative posts in 1901 to return to a full schedule of teaching, the board of trustees appointed T. H. Taliaferro as president of the College and director of the Station. Although he was no more a trained agriculturist than was his predecessor, the work of the Experiment Station flourished during Taliaferro's administration. This was due largely to the fact that the Station had an excellent staff, including H. E. Stockbridge as agriculturist, H. K. Miller as chemist, H. A. Gossard as entomologist, H. Harold Hume as botanist and horticulturist, and Charles F. Dawson as veterinarian. Taliaferro, realizing his own lack of agricultural training, recommend-
ed, in his annual report of 1902, that the offices of president and director be separated. He pointed out that this would not sever "the Station from the College, but will simply give it a recognized head such as exists in any other department of the College." The validity of Taliaferro's suggestion was obvious, but a lack of funds prevented its being put into effect. The board approved his recommendation that a vice-director be appointed, and, on September 18, 1903, H. K. Miller was named to this post.54

Whenever possible, Taliaferro tried to strengthen the Station staff by appointment of highly trained personnel, but the fact that Florida could not match the salaries paid by other institutions caused a rapid turnover. He frequently pointed out "the menace of losing staff, trained in Florida. Whenever one leaves to accept a more lucrative position elsewhere, the State loses far more than the amount necessary to retain his services."55

Encouraged by the success of the farmers' institutes, Taliaferro urged their extension, although the legislature in 1903 failed to make an appropriation for this phase of the Station's work.56 Taliaferro estimated that an average of 2,000 farmers a year received information and help from the institutes. He encouraged the continuance of the cattle-feeding and digestion experiments started during Yocum's administration, and he brought the dairy herd to full strength. He was

53 FES Rpt., 1902, 5.
54 Ibid., 1903, 6.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., 7-8.
instrumental in securing legislative approval in 1903 for the veterinary department "to investigate, segregate, or destroy domesticated animals afflicted with certain communicable diseases." This law had been necessitated by the severe outbreak of Texas fever in Florida cattle, particularly in the Kissimmee area, an epidemic of glanders among the horses in DeSoto county, and a growing prevalence of disease in cattle, horses, and swine in other areas of the state. Cases of "salt-sickness," anthrax, and verminous bronchitis in stock were investigated by the Station staff, and efforts were made to rid the cattle industry of these costly diseases. Hoping to broaden the research base in entomology, the Station staff began collecting and cataloguing Florida insects, and by 1904 the collection contained about 1,000 specimens. The Station was interested in experiments for growing celery and arranged for a cooperative testing program with the United States Department of Agriculture. In his last report as Station director, Taliaferro detailed the successful experiments that had been carried on in citrus, pineapples, truck farming, tobacco, forage grasses, and cattle raising, and urged the continued support of the legislature. "It will be infinitely better to expend the State's money for experimental work," he declared, "than to appropriate it elsewhere. The results will be much more satisfactory and the moneys thus invested will return a large interest in valuable data, etc."

To succeed Taliaferro, who resigned in June, 1904, the board elected Dr. Andrew Sledd, and he became the last official to hold the

58Florida Times-Union, September 9, 1903.
59FES Rpt., 1904, 4.
dual position of president of the University and director of the Experiment Station.60 Besides Taliaferro there were other important personnel changes at the Station during the summer of 1904. H. K. Miller, vice-director, was succeeded by C. M. Conner, who had been superintendent of the popular farmers' institutes. Professor Gossard resigned, and his position as entomologist was filled by E. H. Sellards, who had done his graduate work at Yale University. C. F. Dawson resigned as Station veterinarian in order to enter private practice in Lake City, but agreed to make himself available as consulting veterinarian. A. W. Blair had resigned but received permission to change his mind and in August he was reappointed assistant chemist.

These personnel changes did not seriously interrupt or impair the Station's work, and experimental projects which had begun under the old staff were continued by the new. For instance, the pineapple experiments at the Jensen sub-station, which Professor Miller had directed for a number of years, now became Professor Blair's responsibility. Professor Hume had resigned April 30, 1904, to accept a position in North Carolina, and in June the board announced the appointment of F. M. Rolfs to the position. Professor Hume agreed to bring to an orderly conclusion his investigation on pomelo anthracnose, potato diseases, and pecan culture. Hume and Gossard, who had been testing insecticides and fungicides, published their important findings in a Station bulletin in which they suggested the need for continued investigation.61

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60 bid., 1905, 5.
61 bid., 6
Dr. Sledd, like earlier directors, had to work with an inadequate budget and a lack of financial reserves. When he took over in 1904, Station funds showed a balance of only $289.20, and almost two-thirds of the forthcoming $15,000 government appropriation was already committed to salaries and labor.62 Taliaferro, in his final report, had stated: "In order to impress upon the public the great resources of the State, it is absolutely necessary that the experiments at the Station, and the co-operative experiments already entered upon elsewhere, should be carried out and extended without the difficulties that have arisen in the past from inadequate means."63

When the Florida legislature authorized the establishment of a state experiment station in 1887 no mention was made of financial assistance, and it was not until 1901 that the state voted any funds. Until then the Station depended entirely upon the annual appropriation from the federal government, the sale of agricultural produce, and occasional gifts of tools, machinery, plants, seed, and fertilizer that came from private companies. Even in 1901, the legislature did not vote a direct appropriation to the Station, but, by providing funds for the biology and horticulture departments and by setting up a veterinary department at the College, the Station was supported indirectly. This legislature, moreover, upon the recommendation of Governor Jennings and a joint legislative investigating committee, appropriated $50,000 for a science building which provided office, laboratory, and

62 Ibid., 10-11.
63 Ibid., 1904, 4.
storage space for the Station. 64

From 1901 to 1906, the Experiment Station received no additional state funds, even though President Sledd had noted in 1905 that, if the government appropriation could be supplemented by an annual State appropriation of $10,000, "the influence and efficiency of the Station would certainly be doubled." Among other things, Sledd said, "letters and literature could be multiplied and more widely distributed. More costly experiments with stock, and with rare and unusual plants and vegetables could be conducted. Station equipment could be improved; and in many ways the State would receive a very large return for the additional aid which it might furnish the Experiment Station." 65

The Station library had always been an important part of its research facilities, although the books, government pamphlets, and bulletins which it contained were not always accessible. During the early years the library was located in the basement of the chemistry laboratory, where there was danger that water seepage, dampness, and insects would destroy the books. 66 During the winter of 1904, under the supervision of Dr. Flint, the library was finally catalogued and moved into a small room in the rear of the general library. 67 There it remained until it was moved to the Gainesville campus in 1906. The limited budget of the Station never allowed for a generous allotment

64 Ibid., 1902, 7.
65 Ibid., 1905, 9-10.
66 Interview with Lucia McCulloch, February 6, 1951, Washington, D. C. Miss McCulloch was Station Librarian from 1898 to 1900.
67 FES Rpt., 1905, 8.
for the library, and only $2,890.39 was expended between 1888 and
1906. Of that amount, the largest expenditure, $687.16, came during
the last year in Lake City.68

A most important function and service was the publication and
distribution of Station bulletins, reporting the findings of Station
experiments. In the eighteen-year period that the Station was in Lake
City, eighty-seven bulletins, a total of 2,747 pages, were printed.
The subject matter of these publications reveals the varied experimen-
tal interests of the Station's staff. Fertilizers, tobacco, tomato
diseases, cotton, strawberry insects, packing citrus fruit, kumquats,
Texas cattle fever, baking powders, cassava, feeding horses and mules
on home grown feed-stuff, forage crops, pineapple culture, pecan
culture, peach scales, cauliflower, velvet beans, and soil studies were
among the numerous subjects that had been investigated and reported
on. During this period, Professor Hume was the most prolific bulletin
writer on the staff. He published fourteen bulletins and assisted in
writing five more. In 1901 the Station, for the first time, began
issuing short press bulletins to newspaper editors throughout the
state, with the recommendation that they be reprinted for a wider
circulation. Sixty-one of these bulletins had been distributed by the
close of 1906.69

68 Information from annual financial reports which were a part
of the annual reports of the Experiment Station, 1888-1905 inclusive.

69 This data was compiled by Ida K. Cresap, Catalog of the
Official Publications of the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station
and Florida Agricultural Extension Service, 1888-1937 (Gainesville,
1938), 3-18.
By legislative action in 1901, the organization and supervision of farm institutes became another station responsibility. As early as 1888, the Federal Office of Experiment Stations had recognized the importance of state farmers' institutes as agencies for the dissemination of the practical results of agricultural experimentation. Some states, particularly in the Midwest, were already holding such institutes, but it was the Office of Experiment Stations which encouraged the expansion into a national movement. At the Florida Experiment Station, Professor Stockbridge had become interested in the project and organized the first institute in 1899.

The success of this work was limited more by the inadequacy of the Station's budget than by any lack of interest shown in the lectures that were offered. President Yocum, just prior to his retirement as president in 1901, had noted: "The demand for institutes has regularly increased and the results of the same are not only acknowledged as noticeable in the localities where held, but it is believed that the results of the institutes are becoming manifest in a more intelligent, systematic and successful agriculture in the State as a whole."

In 1901 the Florida legislature appropriated $5,000 for this work, and the number of institutes increased proportionately during

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the next two years. 72 "The results," according to Taliaferro, "were gratifying and fully justify the appropriation." 73 The Experiment Stations' office in Washington prepared outlines of courses which were distributed on the state level, helped train institute speakers, and supplied lists of expert lecturers. Florida did not avail itself of these services to any great extent, since its agricultural problems were so different from those in other parts of the country. Moreover, Florida, according to Taliaferro, seems to have secured many prominent Agriculturists, Horticulturists . . . [and] many specialists in the different branches of agriculture. 74

The Florida legislature did not include in the budget for the College any funds to continue the institutes; instead, it voted to establish the Florida Agricultural Institute in Osceola County, which was supposed to disseminate "useful practical information among the farmers and fruit growers of the State," and improve "the condition of agricultural pursuits, and the productiveness of Florida lands." 75 A $5,000 appropriation was also voted, but the Institute was never set up, although some land was acquired to establish a model farm near Kissimmee. 76

In the twelve month period from July, 1902, through June, 1903, twenty-one institutes were held with a total estimated attendance of

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72 FES Rpt., 1901, 10.
73 Ibid., 1902, 8.
74 Ibid.
75 Laws of Florida, 1903, 268-70.
76 Charles L. Crew, "Florida Agricultural Institute in Osceola" (unpublished MS, UF Archives), 1-5.
2,000. The cost of these meetings was $1,600. The Experiment Station held twenty institutes in 1903-1904 for more than 2,000 people, but after 1904 it was forced to cancel the program because of a lack of funds. The program was not revived until after the Station moved to Gainesville.

It had been apparent for some time that the position of president and director would have to be divided since it seemed improbable that one man would have either the time or the talent to administer both agencies. As we have seen, Taliaferro pointed this out as early as 1902. Sledd made a similar recommendation in 1905, and he asked that a director be appointed who would not only be responsible to the president, but who would "have under his immediate control the Station staff, the Station programme, and the Station finances." Moreover, Sledd wanted a separation of the staff of the Station from the regular faculty of the College, since, in his judgement, "the best work cannot be done either for the Station or for the University by men, however competent, whose time and attention is divided between giving instruction to college classes and conducting elaborate experimental work." The Buckman Act, passed by the legislature in 1905, accomplished this goal. The Station was to be made a part of the University of Florida and have its own staff, and a separate director was to be appointed who was to be responsible to the president. The staff, other than clerical and farm help, was to be accorded faculty status. Professor P. H. Rolfs became the new director, and Professor C. M. Conner was named vice-director and superintendent of the farmers' institutes.

77 FSB, 1905, 8-9.
Other members of the reorganized staff were Edward R. Flint, chemist; F. H. Sellards, entomologist; F. M. Rolfs, horticulturist; A. W. Blair, assistant chemist; Charles F. Dawson, consulting veterinarian; E. W. Berger, assistant entomologist; A. H. Chapman, assistant in field experiments; H. S. Fawcett, assistant botanist and horticulturist; and L. Haseman, assistant entomologist.

Along with the rest of the University, the Station moved to Gainesville in 1906. The south end of Thomas Hall, one of the first two buildings on the new campus, had been assigned for Station offices and a laboratory. The Station library was in the rear of the main library, which was also in Thomas Hall. A farm building for stock, wagons, and tools, a small greenhouse, and a dwelling house had been constructed along the southern edge of the campus. A tract of forty acres had been reserved for an experimental farm, in addition to the fields for growing forage for the animals.78

Writing in 1906, Director Rolfs announced that "on the whole the outlook for the Florida Station in its new location is encouraging. A period of adjustment to its new environment is inevitable, but the ultimate effect should be the rapid development and strengthening of its work."79

78Ibid., 1907, 12-16.
CHAPTER XV

STUDENT ACTIVITIES AT THE COLLEGE

Throughout the history of the Florida Agricultural College, administrators and faculty emphasized the idea that the institution had a positive obligation to inculcate in the students good morals, obedience to law, and distaste for such sundry evils as were apt to lead young people astray. The students were young, the student body small, and the faculty felt that it should supervise all social and recreational activities. Only activities considered respectable, educational, or spiritually uplifting were condoned.

Literary and debating societies, which reached their greatest popularity on American campuses during the latter half of the nineteenth century, were encouraged as an important phase of education. In helping organize such societies, college administrators had two purposes: to channel the interests and energies of the students into worthwhile activities and to restrict their opportunities to become involved in situations which could prove embarrassing to themselves and the institution. For the students, the societies provided a means whereby the skill of debate and extemporaneous speaking could be developed and a forum in which the issues of the day could be discussed, somewhat more freely than in the classroom.

On the Lake City campus, the administration had early decreed that "the power of saying clearly and calmly just what is desired at
all times should be possessed by every American."¹ Debating was compulsory for all students, and declamation was added to the curriculum in 1890 so that they could learn "to speak fluently in public, and to preside gracefully over public assemblies."² Elocution drills were a regular part of the English curriculum, and original speeches were required of advanced classes. A major aim of the College, according to one catalogue, was to "establish independent debating societies," and "to develop declamation and forensic talent."³

The first debating society on the Florida campus was organized in 1889 by Professor W. W. Seals of the English department. The constitution, drawn up by a student committee, decreed that the society would be secret, "admitting and retaining only such cadets as shall be invited . . . and who shall conduct themselves as Gentlemen." Faculty could be invited to join also. Members swore a solemn oath not to "divulge in any way any of the workings of this society." Payment of $1 initiation fee permitted the cadet to wear gold insignia. Regulations imposed a discipline fully as rigorous as that of the classroom. Members could be fined or expelled when their fines exceeded $2, boisterousness was not permitted, tobacco and intoxicating drinks were barred, and ungentlemanly language was prohibited.⁴

Activities were closely supervised by the faculty, and meetings were conducted much the same as regular classes. Failure of a student

¹FAC Cat., 1889, 15.
²Ibid., 1890, 17.
³Ibid., 1892, 27.
⁴Original copy of constitution is in the Getzen Family Papers (private library), Jacksonville.
to respond when placed on the program incurred a punishment of extra
duty or confinement to the campus. By 1890 it was obvious that such
artificial stimulation would not produce the desired results. Only
those cadets who were particularly anxious to learn public speaking
made progress. In an attempt to revive interest in debating, Profes-
sor Seals disbanded the old society and organized two new groups in
1890. The Russel Club became the debating society for freshmen and
sophomores, the Zealots for juniors and seniors. Although the clubs
were no longer exclusive, their activities were too severely restricted,
and within a year both organizations had gone out of existence. In
1892 another small debating club was organized with membership open
only to upperclassmen.

One Saturday morning, early in October, 1892, a dozen students
met in the preparatory building and formed two new societies, the
Bema and the Forum. Membership was open to the entire student body.
After long deliberation, it was agreed that the elected chairman would
"choose sides" and then "pick the members." Pennies were tossed to a
line to determine who got first choice. The process continued "until
all available material was absorbed," and then "the two bodies retired
separately and formulated their constitutions and by-laws." The first
public debate, held in January, 1893, argued the question: "Resolved,
that the battle-field has caused more sorrow than the barroom." The
Forum men who had the affirmative backed up their arguments by reciting
"The Chariot Race," "The Charge of the Light Brigade," "Webster's
Reply to Hayne," "Cicero's Orations Against Cataline," and "The Death
of Absalom." The Bema members fervidly "reeled off sections of the
Prohibitionists platform, portraying all the horrors of the drunkard's
death." The audience, according to a contemporary report, "was carried away by the overwhelming oratory." The judges, who, according to the Bema adherents, "had fixed their minds and decided that the barrooms must not be slandered," awarded the decision to the Forum. A day of triumph came to the Bemas two months later at the second public debate. To celebrate this victory, the ladies of Lake City presented the winning society with a white and gold banner.

These public debates, which nearly always drew an enthusiastic audience, were continued for years. Rivalry and competition punctuated the activities of the two clubs during their first years of operation. In fact, an early account reveals, "there were a good many broken heads and a large number of black eyes as a result of the discussions." 5

In the beginning, meetings were held on Saturday afternoon, but since this was the time when cadets were supposed to walk punishment tours, "debates were not entirely satisfactory or very largely attended by students." In 1894 President Clute permitted meetings on Saturday evenings, stipulating that they must adjourn before nine-thirty when taps were blown.

The principal interest of the societies was debating, although programs often included orations, declamations, original essays, and musical selections. On one occasion a mock trial was held. Great emphasis was placed on training in parliamentary practice. Some debate subjects permitted little more than formal discussion, but many debates dealt with political and social problems of great current interest.

The societies debated such issues as government ownership of railroads

5Pinakidia, 1900, 56-62.
and public utilities, American imperialism in the Caribbean, the partition of China, the Boer War, the possibility of admitting Cuba into the Union as a state, the annexation of West Florida to Alabama, the whiskey tax, female suffrage, coeducation in American universities, and popular election of United States senators. The clubs even interested themselves in such questions as whether "Negro camp-meetings are of more benefit than nuisance," and whether "man's capability for enjoying life increases with the advance of civilization." It was obvious from these debate topics that contemporary problems were followed with interest by many students, who enlivened their arguments with an enthusiasm and an independence of spirit that was often absent from the classroom.

In 1900 an unsuccessful attempt was made to arrange an intercollegiate debate with the West Florida Seminary. The following year the Florida Agricultural College cooperated in the organization of the Florida Intercollegiate Oratorical Association, and in 1902 reorganized its own debate team. Professor Farr says that he helped arrange a debate with Stetson University in DeLand but that the Lake City group lost this first contest.

Clutonian, the first literary society for women, was organized in 1894. Meetings were held on Friday afternoon, and the programs, open to the public, frequently consisted of a debate, but more often of recitations, declamations, and vocal and instrumental music. Clutonian was also a social club, and its members showed keener

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6Debate topics listed in "Minutes of Forum Society, 1900-1903," in the UF Archives.

interest in the annual banquet, given jointly by the Bema and Forum, the reception honoring the ladies of the faculty, or the Washington Party to which the guests came in fancy dress, than to dramatic recitations and debates. In 1902 Clutonian's name was changed to Delta Sigma Tau, the only sorority in the history of the Lake City institution. Sororities were not a part of University of Florida campus life again until after 1947. Philosthia, another literary society for women, was organized in 1902. Both went out of existence the following year when coeducation was abolished by the board of trustees. In the general reorganization of student activities in 1903 the names of the Bema and Forum were changed to Phrenoteehnic and Capitolian.

Despite state law which required the College to eschew sectarianism, a religious atmosphere pervaded the institution throughout most of its history. Several faculty members and officials were ministers. Many books in the library dealt with theological matters, and the president's report of 1889 noted that religious periodicals were in the library reading room. Students were required to attend church services on Sunday, unless excused by the commandant or president or by specific wish of parents. Cadets marched to and from the church of their choice and sat together during services. They were encouraged to join a Sunday school and to attend, if possible, Sunday evening prayer services.

President Kern informed the state superintendent of public instruction in 1889 that, in order to "lead the mind of the students toward God," he had ordered "unsectarian devotional exercises" to be held each morning. "While the mind is being developed," he observed,
"the morals of the student are also looked after and guarded." Conducted by members of the faculty, these daily services consisted of Bible selections, prayer, and hymns.

In 1890 Mrs. Kern, wife of the president, organized the first Students' Christian Association, whose object was to advise "Christian students in their spiritual life, and to train them for active service in the church militant, where consecrated, educated men and women are so much needed." Meetings were held each Sunday evening from six until seven o'clock, and it became the practice to invite members of the faculty, ministers from the city, or prominent laymen to lead discussion. Students were encouraged to ask questions freely and candidly about the "practical rather than the theoretical phases of Christianity." A branch of the Young Women's Christian Association was established after the girls were enrolled in 1893.

There was relatively little interest or activity in literary publications either by students or administrators. In September, 1889 the first monthly issue of the F.A.C. Cadet Herald appeared. Largely a school newspaper, it subsisted on a few advertisements and a 50 cents a year subscription fee. It was published by the College printing department under the supervision of President Kern, who appointed the editor-in-chief and the three associate editors. A new staff was chosen each school term, and other colleges in the state were asked to appoint an associate editor who was supposed to send in news items relating to his own institution. In its first issue the Cadet Herald

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9 Pinakidia, 63.
justified its existence with this assertion: "We have a printing outfit and sense enough to get out a paper each month. We will be benefited in many ways and so will the people who read our smart talk. The college will be aided by this indirect method of advertising for if the paper proves a success it will give character to the school. Some of us may wish to enter the great field of journalism and this initial work will make the way easy." The success and duration of the paper are unknown; apparently only a single issue of the Cadet Herald survives.10

The Cadet Bugle appeared in 1893, published by members of the Forum and Bema societies. F. D. Jackson of Bartow and George R. McKen of Auburndale were its first editors. The paper received almost no financial help from the College, depending on advertisements and subscriptions to pay its costs. During two years of publication the Bugle was mainly a literary magazine, but it also carried news items.

A yearbook publication was begun for the first time by the junior class in 1900. The editors, seeking a title neither common nor trite, decided that Pinakidia, the Greek word for tablets or memoranda, would be appropriate. It took five weeks to bring out the book, or "to hatch the egg," as the students described this literary accouche-ment. According to the editors, this phenomenon caused a great deal of comment and excitement. A few pessimists pronounced the "egg" spoiled, others prophesied that the new "chick" would be frizzled or featherless; but the optimists were certain it would "burst forth from its shell as a Bird of Paradise."

Financed by the sale of advertising, including full pages sold to the Florida Times-Union and Citizen and the Woman's College of Baltimore (now Goucher College), Pinakidia was a risky financial venture and only one issue appeared. Of the three publications described, however, it is the best available mirror of student interests and activities. The volume was dedicated to Mary Law McClintock, professor of history and English. It included pictures of the faculty, the president, and the chairman of the board of trustees, and several pages of advertisements. Class histories, anecdotes about students and professors, news stories about literary societies and athletics, interspersed with original verse, cartoons, and pictures of campus scenes, filled the rest of the book.

Interest in intercollegiate athletics was not widely developed in Florida before 1905. The students had always had their games—baseball, football, swimming, tennis, hiking—but they were entirely interclass contests, and no athletic events took place off the campus. A formal athletic organization did not come into existence until 1904, although a baseball club was organized as early as 1897, and the first Florida intercollegiate football game was played in 1901. At first the trustees had opposed all college athletics, fearing that not only would they distract from the academic life, but might breed immorality, drunkenness, and gambling.11 By 1899 the board had begun to change its attitude, and Pinakidia reported that "many trees of the campus are adorned with trapezes and rings, and, under the shade of the larger

11FAC Trustee Minutes, November 16, 1898.
trees, horizontal and parallel bars have become prominent.

In 1900, the first tennis court was built on the campus, and a course of instruction with dumb-bells and Indian clubs was started.

Student enthusiasm for athletics impelled the College to devise a general physical education program. The editor of *Pinakidia* in 1900 commented on the development of gymnasium programs at many military schools. A touchstone for success after graduation, he felt, was a robust constitution, the result of "careful and systematic scientific training of the various muscles of the body while at school." Flagler had made his gift to the College in 1901 because he felt that exercise facilities were "so essential to a proper development of the physical system of its students," and the organization of a physical education department was one of its immediate effects. A schedule of regulative and corrective gymnastics was inaugurated, and plans were announced for an expanding program of football, baseball, tennis, and track. In 1905 the faculty, following the lead of many other American colleges, voted to make "gym" a required subject for freshmen and sophomores.

In 1897 the College took the first steps to build up a baseball team. Lacking sufficient student talent, and unrestricted by

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12 *Pinakidia*, 64.
13 ibid.
14 FAC Trustee Minutes, June 6, 1901.
15 UF Cat., 1902-03, 133.
16 FAC-UF Faculty Minutes, Book 1, October 10, 1905. Minutes in UF Archives.
regulations, players were hired without compunction. The regular practice was to pay each non-student player approximately $5 and expenses for each game played away from the campus. In the fall of 1897 a Tobacco Fair was held in Jacksonville, and the college team played a three-game series against a local champion contingent, the "Roselands." The College won the series, taking every game, to the delight of the campus athletic enthusiasts.

Many campus activities, including athletics, were affected by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Although not many students were old enough to join the militia, the board insisted that greater emphasis be placed on military science and expressed hope that cadets would show a warmer enthusiasm for daily drill. The strength of the baseball team was seriously diminished when several non-student players enlisted. Only one game, with the East Florida Seminary, was played in 1898. As far as the records reveal, this was the first intercollegiate athletic contest played by a team representing the Agricultural College. In 1899 the West Florida Seminary was added to the schedule, and eventually the College competed with Stetson University. The team participated in games with neighboring cities, traveling to Live Oak, Tallahassee, Tampa, Gainesville, and Jacksonville. Baseball was played both spring and fall, a practice common at most southern colleges at that time.

Another college sport, football, was delayed during the 1890's by a public outcry heard even on the small and out-of-the-way campus of the Florida Agricultural College. The roughness and brutality of

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17Pinakidia, 73.
the game, lack of eligibility requirements, and charges of professionalism caused many parents to look with disfavor on a college football team. This feeling was reflected on the Lake City campus by the board of trustees, which refused to approve formation of a team until 1899. By that time, the editor of *Pinakidia* later recalled, a player was "so well protected by the modern rules of the game, as well as by his equipment, that his chances of being hurt are no greater than those of the average bicyclist or horseback rider."18

Professor Cox, of the engineering department, was also head of the first coaching staff. His assistants were professors H. K. Miller and A. W. Blair of the chemistry department and the Reverend Mr. Tims, pastor of the Lake City Presbyterian Church. Football had an enthusiastic supporter in President Taliaferro, who had attended many of the Ivy League games and had observed the rapidly growing interest in college athletics throughout the North. Shortly after he arrived in 1901, he revealed his zeal for the game, with the announcement that he would personally coach the football team. Thereafter, it was not an unusual sight to see the president, "covered with sand and sandburrs," being tackled by a couple of hefty cadets in a practice game, or running the ball to a touchdown on the sandlot at the south end of the campus.19 Professor Farr was the assistant coach.20 Players purchased their own uniforms, which consisted of a pair of quilted pants and a light, unpadded jersey shirt. Regulation shoes were expensive.

18Ibid.


20Farr, "Making of a University," _loc. cit._, 22.
and most of the boys merely nailed leather cleats to their walking shoes. Nose guards and shinguards were frequently worn, although players entered the game without a helmet, depending on padded cross straps for their protection.

The Florida Agricultural College played Stetson University on the afternoon of November 22, 1901, in the first intercollegiate football match ever scheduled in the state. The game, widely advertised for weeks, was played in Jacksonville at the Fairground's race track on North Main Street. Interest was generated by people and newspapers throughout the state. The Florida Times-Union promoted the contest in news stories and editorials and asked merchants to "close their stores during the game and let thousands of Jacksonville people see the greatest contest, perhaps, ever witnessed on the gridiron of Florida." A news story appearing in the paper on game day predicted that "as the twenty-two stalwart Florida boys struggle for the honors on the gridiron, there will be such a mingling of color and sound, college yell answering yell, as to make a scene the like of which has never been seen in Jacksonville before." 21

Game time had been announced for two-thirty, but a full hour before saw the racing enclosure jammed with excited people, and by the time the teams drove up in gaily-decorated horse-drawn vans, bringing with them their own beribboned goal posts, the crowd had swelled to over 2,000. It took only a few moments to chalk out the playing area, to set up the goal posts, and to decide that the halves should be twenty minutes each, since "the course of training for the players

21Florida Times-Union and Citizen, November 22, 1901.
had not been long enough to warrant a more severe test." Stetson kicked off, a long boot that sailed sixty-eight yards, and Lake City, on the first play, returned it nearly to the center stripe. Successive gains indicated a touchdown march. However, a tree stump on the edge of the playing field interfered with the play and the ball was forced back for a loss of several yards. The ball went over to Stetson, who moved it rapidly down the field, through a series of short runs and passes, to Lake City's twenty-five yard line. On the next play, Stetson's center snapped the ball to right tackle, who carried it for a touchdown. Stetson's supporters yelled and her cheerleaders screamed through their paper megaphones as a five point score was chalked on the large wooden scoreboard. Stetson kicked a goal and added another point to her score as the first half ended. The 6-0 score did not change throughout the rest of the game, and Stetson won the first state football championship.22

In 1902 the board, encouraged by the president of the College, employed J. D. Jeffery as coach, and interest in competitive sports quickly spread. Sporadic spring and fall baseball games were replaced by a regular schedule, and an effort was made to organize a state football league.

The East Florida Seminary was added to the College's inter-collegiate schedule, but the big game of the year was always with Stetson. The Florida Times-Union in 1903 offered a silver trophy to the winning team, and a widely-advertised game was played in Jacksonville on November 6 at the Driving Park gridiron. Stetson won 6 to 5.

22Ibid., November 23, 1901. At the time, a touchdown counted five points.
Florida made one touchdown on a long fifty-five yard run. Stetson recovered a Florida fumble, carried the ball to a touchdown, and kicked the extra point. Florida's supporters were downcast but predicted a better season next year. Notwithstanding the admission charge of 50 cents, an overflow crowd watched the game. At one point the referee had to call time out in order to clear the field of spectators, and Stetson was penalized when an over-enthusiastic supporter dashed on to the field, caught the ball on a pass, and ran it for a touchdown.23

As a special treat, the following evening both teams, properly chaperoned, witnessed the wrestling match for the championship of the world between Tom Sharkey and Tom Jenkins.

The University of Florida Athletic Association was organized early in 1904, and it contracted with Marvin Orestus Bridges, a native of Tennessee and a graduate of Cumberland University, to coach and instruct football, baseball, basketball, and track. The new coach's annual salary was $650 in addition to board and lodging. Bridges agreed to use "all his skill and efforts to promote the interest and success of the teams."24 Because athletic expenses were "heavier than the University of Athletic Association thought they were able to bear," Bridges, after two months, agreed to cancel his contract in consideration of $220.75.25 For the next two years there was no physical director, and the supervision and playing of intercollegiate athletics was in students' hands.

23Florida Times-Union, November 7, 1903.

24Contract with Bridges, dated August 24, 1904, in UF Archives. See also letter from Bridges to Professor Freeman H. Hart, University of Florida, March 24, 1954 (typed copy in UF Archives).

25Severence agreement, dated November 11, 1904, in UF Archives.
A special athletic committee had been created in 1901, consisting of two members of the faculty and the commandant of cadets.26 Its job was to help work out a physical education program aimed at benefiting all students and to supervise the competitive sports program. Steps were initiated to bring athletics more completely under faculty control. It was ruled that all policies of the coaches were subject to the president's approval and that all schedules would have to be approved by the athletic committee. Lack of eligibility rules at that time caused many athletic abuses. Many schools like the Florida Agricultural College allowed men to play on their teams who were not bona fide students, and there were almost no restrictions on how many years a man could play.

The faculty committee in 1905 set forth rules intended to govern all University of Florida teams. No person could compete if he were not a regularly registered student; if he were on probation; if he had already played on a college team four years; if a full academic year had not elapsed since he had played at some other institution; if he had received remuneration "of any sort for his services in any branch as performer, player, coach or otherwise, apart from such necessary expenses in excess of ordinary expenses as a member of a college team;" or if he was a member of the faculty. Players were required to present evidence of satisfactory physical condition, minors were prohibited from playing on any team if their parents objected, and students had to do creditable work in at least two thirds of their classes to qualify for the team.27

26FAC-UF Faculty Minutes, Book 1, October 1, 1901.
27Ibid., April 4, 1905.
President Sledd was not enthusiastic about intercollegiate athletics. He felt that it was important to have on campus adequate physical education facilities and that gym should be part of the regular curriculum, but he opposed extravagant expenditures for athletics. Moreover, he felt that intercollegiate football and baseball games were diversions that distracted students from "their proper academic pursuits." As a result, he did not feel that the University should carry the burden of Coach Bridges' salary when the athletic association decided that it lacked funds to meet his contract in 1904.

Sledd deplored any form of athletic professionalism. He opposed "scouting" other school teams and he fought athletic scholarships. Writing to a student in 1904, Sledd said: "The University of Florida will never, so long as I am at its head, give any form of compensation or special inducement to any man to play on its athletic teams." 28 Notwithstanding his own personal feelings, Sledd considered the possibility of adopting a statewide "athletic constitution" to organize intercollegiate football and baseball. Representatives of five state schools accepted Sledd's invitation to meet in Jacksonville on December 30, 1904, for the purpose of writing a "high standard of regulations and developing a strict interpretation of amateurism."

Little was accomplished at this meeting except agreement that students who played summer baseball and received expenses only retained amateur standing.

Together with Edwin G. Baldwin, athletic director at Stetson University, Sledd helped work out plans for the State Intercollegiate

28 Sledd to Fred Gray, August 29, 1904, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
Athletic Association. Under its projected rules, similar to those adopted by the mid-western universities and colleges, only bona fide students could participate in varsity games, players had to meet residence requirements and do satisfactory academic work, coaches were not allowed to play, and all games had to be played under college supervision. Lists of eligible players, duly certified, were to be exchanged before games. While many of these rules were eventually adopted, the State Association as such was not finally organized until years later. President Murphree in 1910 blamed the delay on dissension between the athletic departments of Stetson University and Rollins College.

About the same time sports were establishing themselves on the campus, social fraternities became accepted. Alpha Tau Omega was the first Greek-letter society to install a chapter at the Florida Agricultural College. Organized in Tallahassee on February 26, 1884, it was moved to the Lake City campus three years later. S. Boteler Thompson, owner of a local book and stationery shop and founder of the fraternity chapter, was largely responsible for this move, and it was in his home across from the College gates that chapter meetings were held. President Holladay, himself a fraternity man, had not opposed the installation of Alpha Tau Omega. Likewise, President Kern had no objection to the establishment of fraternities so long as they were exclusively social organizations. In fact, Kern saw the value that such a group might have in helping to maintain discipline and in raising academic standards. Two of the three members of the first graduating class in 1889—Joseph A. Townsend and James C. Getzen—had been

29Baldwin to Sledd, November 27, 1904, January 30, 1905, ibid.
fraternity men and outstanding students. Nevertheless, the mere existence of the fraternity provoked criticism. It was claimed that secret societies bred exclusiveness, that they created artificial social barriers, and that their undemocratic character operated against the best interest of the institution. Most of the faculty vigorously opposed fraternities, notwithstanding President Kern's attitude, and in 1890 the charter of this first Florida chapter was withdrawn.30

There were several attempts during the next few years to install new fraternity chapters, but the trustees at first voiced their opposition to "the establishment of any secret societies."31 President Taliaferro favored fraternities, however, and when a group of students in 1904 sought recognition as a chapter of the Kappa Alpha Order, he endorsed their petition, and with the approval of the trustees wrote their national headquarters asking that a charter be granted so that the society could become "the fraternity cornerstone of the University."32 The installation of Kappa Alpha was delayed, and meanwhile, the Alpha Tau Omega chapter had received approval from its national office to reactivate itself. On June 15, 1904, this society was again installed on the campus. A few months later, on October 4, 1904, Kappa Alpha was installed.33 Fraternity fever was catching, and

30History of the Florida Alpha Omega chapter from The Palm of Alpha Tau Omega, March, 1884, September, 1885, April, 1890, October, 1927, May, 1953. Additional information furnished by A. T. O. national office, Champaign, Illinois, and Samuel Wyche Getzen, Gainesville. The minute books of the Florida Alpha Omega chapter were examined by the author.

31FAC Trustee Minutes, January 23, 1900.

32Taliaferro to E. Chambers Smith, March 25, 1904, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.

33Original charter in the Kappa Alpha house on the University of Florida campus.
another group of students, led by Coach Bridges, sought recognition as a chapter of Pi Kappa Alpha. A formal ceremony, on November 19, 1904, added this third fraternity to the Greek-letter societies at the University. Dr. Crow of the languages department was initiated as a member and named faculty adviser.

Fraternity chapter meetings were held either in private homes or in a rented room over the State Exchange Bank building near the courthouse square. Few attempts were made to regulate fraternity social and financial activities, although each group had a faculty adviser responsible for discipline and decorum. Occasional fraternity parties or smokers were held on the campus in the auditorium of the classroom-administration building. Dances were held in the gymnasium. Such affairs were well chaperoned, since it was customary to invite faculty members and wives. There were no established rules for rushing prospective members, and no particular demands made by the University on the Greek-letter societies. There was no evidence that fraternities were trying to dominate campus life, and their members did not create any unusual disciplinary problems. Answering social and individual needs, the fraternities continued to thrive.

Student discipline was managed by the president and faculty. On occasion, the president reported to the board that "there has been

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34 Data on Florida Alpha Eta chapter of Pi Kappa Alpha from "Annual Histories of Alpha Eta" (unpublished records in chapter files). Additional information furnished author by Arthur M. Henry, Atlanta, Ga., in interview, December 22, 1951, and by Jack T. Estabrook, Gainesville, in interview, February, 1952, both of whom are members of the fraternity. Henry was a member when the chapter was at Lake City. Data also supplied by national office of fraternity, in letter, August 17, 1953.

35 Arthur M. Henry to author, January 12, 1953.
no need of expelling any students for misconduct, "36 or "we have been
compelled to dismiss a few for positive disobedience." 37 The records
reveal no instance of board interference with any decision on discip-
line, and the trustees ruled that "the right to expell a student from
the college belongs only to the president and a committee of the
faculty named by the president." 38 In 1899 President Yocum informed
the board that he had appointed a six-man faculty committee on discip-
line. It was the committee's responsibility to see that the students
maintained good order and made diligent use of their time. A faculty
monitor was in the mess-hall at mealtime, and two faculty members
lived in the dormitory in order to enforce decorum.

There was little question about the official attitude on the
government of the College. President Clute in the 1893 catalogue
wrote: "Individual students who do not readily understand the position
which they occupy, and thus fail to comply with the reasonable regu-
lations of the school, will be subject to such reformatory measures
as in the judgement of the President may be best suited to the case." 39
This warning changed little during the next few years. "This institu-
tion," ran the wording in the 1899 catalogue, "was founded to assist
well-disposed, ambitious young men and young women, in obtaining a good
education. Idlers, triflers, unruly boys, and refractory girls are not
sought. Should such come to us, we will use all reasonable effort to

36 FAC Trustee Minutes, December 11, 1894.
37 Ibid., June 12, 1895.
38 Ibid., July 13, 1899.
39 FAC Cat., 1893, 17.
correct their evil ways but unless rapid improvement is manifested, we shall request the removal of the offender. 40 When students accumulated an excessive number of demerits and were in danger of expulsion their parents were given timely notice that "the pupil could be withdrawn from the institution without public disgrace." In the case of women students, the College declined responsibility for those living off-campus, although if coeds were discovered wasting their time or under "improper influences" their parents were asked to take them out of school. The institution, according to President Sledd, was "neither a reformatory for refractory students nor a suitable place for idlers and triflers." "The atmosphere of morality and studiousness," he insisted, "will be maintained." 41

Faculty records reveal that students, singly and in groups, were called before the discipline committee on various charges of misconduct. Cases were considered carefully but records show that justice was often tempered with mercy. In 1902 three students were found guilty of being drunk and disorderly on a passenger train enroute to Lake City and were suspended. According to the testimony, the cadets, after consuming a half pint of whiskey and a bottle of brandied cherries, had smashed a glass door in the railroad car. The case went to the whole faculty for review, and they voted to reinstate the students after the culprits "agreed to sign a sacred pledge that they would not ever touch a drop of whiskey." 42

40Ibid., 1899, 15-16.
41UF Cat., 1904, 25.
42FAC-UF Faculty Minutes, Book I, December 5, 1902.
discipline committee's decision was reversed when it was learned that the mother of an expelled cadet was "critically ill and that the disgrace of her son's dismissal may be followed by serious consequences." Punishment was changed to "suspended for two weeks, during which period he will be considered on trial." In 1901 six students were found guilty of hazing and "were dismissed from the college with the instruction to leave town by six o'clock." In 1902 a cadet was expelled for "shooting out the lights in the barracks . . . bayoneting a deer . . . and using the upper hall of the barracks for purposes of nature."

Among the criticisms levelled at President Taliaferro was the statement that problems of student discipline had become more serious after 1904. Students had allegedly visited saloons in Lake City, been frequently drunk and disorderly, and had cheated on examinations. Theft of ordnance stores was charged as well as heavy damage to school property. There were some people who felt that the Foster Hall fire in 1903 had been started by students. Newspapers and the reports of the discipline committee for this period do not substantiate the charges, although Professor Farr, who lived in one of the barracks, said that "the boys were a somewhat wild and rough lot . . . given to occasional outbursts of animal spirits."

43Ibid., January 15, 1900.
44Ibid., March 25, 1901.
45Unsigned memorandum, dated March, 1902, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.
Of great concern to the faculty were occasional instances of cheating on examinations. Each test was proctored by a professor, and harsh penalties were threatened against any student found guilty of copying from another student's paper. The discipline committee usually ordered expulsion or dismissal for such students, and in nearly every instance the committee's action was approved by faculty vote.

Professor Farr, a graduate of Davidson, one of the first American colleges to develop an honor system, was convinced that such a system could work at the Florida Agricultural College. According to his memoirs, he first broached the subject in a faculty meeting in 1902 but received little sympathetic response. Farr was convinced that the honor system would develop a heightened moral sensitivity among students, and he secured permission from the president to experiment in his own classes. The following day when the students arrived to take an examination, Farr explained the system in detail and asked for student cooperation. After posting the test on the board he left the room and did not return until the end of the period. That evening, on examining the papers, he found that "with no exception, the answers had been copied verbatim from the text-book." The following day when the class reassembled, Farr called the roll and launched into what he later called his "masterpiece of vituperation." He ended his lecture with the fierce announcement that he could not "teach or even associate with human beings so devoid of a sense of honor" and stamped out of the room. Shortly afterwards a delegation from the class called upon Farr in his office to apologize and to ask for another chance. This time the experiment met with more success, and Farr quickly introduced the
honor system into his other classes.\textsuperscript{47} Eventually, other professors followed, but there was no formal or systematic attempt to put honor system into operation at the Lake City institution.

In most of their activities, students were regulated by a lengthy set of rules. \textquotedblleft Social intercourse is by no means discountenanced," women students were informed by the wording in the catalogue, \textquotedblleft but is not suffered to invade the student's life to his or her injury. It is assumed that all who enter the college do so for the sake of society." Receiving social calls during study hours was \textquotedblleft positively forbidden," \textquotedblleft prompt attendance on chapel exercises and all recitations\textquotedblright was imperative, and \textquotedblleft attendance on, at least, one church service on Sabbath\textquotedblright required. Women students were not permitted to change \textquotedblleft from church to church," and they could not transfer their \textquotedblleft boarding places without the knowledge and consent of the President.\textsuperscript{48}

Recalcitrant coeds could be deprived of all social privileges and expelled if their offenses were serious enough. The faculty records, however, do not reveal any occasion where a girl was dismissed from the College.

Cadet regulations were published in the catalogues, and students were instructed to learn them thoroughly. The rules, for the most part, set up rigid standards of behavior to be followed by students at military drill, inspections, and while on guard duty. In addition, cadets were forbidden to talk loudly in any of the academic buildings, to

\textsuperscript{47}Information on early history of the honor system from Farr's \textquotedblleft Making of a University," loc. cit., 20-22, and an undated memorandum in the John J. Tigert Papers, UF Archives.

\textsuperscript{48}FAC Cat., 1896, 34.
congregate in the halls, or to indulge in conversation "any further than a passing friendly greeting." Members of the band were not allowed to practice before noon, and only stringed instruments could be played outside the band room. Visitors were not permitted in the barracks, and cadets were not allowed to keep a trunk in their rooms, or to bolt or lock their doors at any time. Cadets were required "to take at least one bath a week," to awaken at 5:15 a.m., to notify the janitor if any "horses, cows, dogs, hogs, or other animals" were loose on the campus, to keep their soiled clothing in a ticking cloth bag, to keep their rooms neat and clean, to go to church regularly, to pay for any school property they damaged, to ventilate their rooms before retiring, to wear the proper uniform away from the campus, and "to dump their slop buckets immediately after reveille was blown." Students were not permitted to keep library books out longer than one week, to lie on their beds at any time during the day, to wear their caps on the backs of their heads, to use tobacco at any other place than in their rooms, to use intoxicating drinks, to visit the barrooms or pool rooms in the city, to sit with their feet upon the wood work of their windows, to soil the table cloth in the mess hall, to play at cards or any other game of chance, or to visit "the young women's waiting room" without written permission. Each cadet had to provide his room with "a turkey red curtain," which was to be kept drawn over the lower half of the window. He was ordered not to "communicate with any person through the window," or to appear "before his window in his shirt sleeves, or otherwise improperly or partially dressed.""
Additional regulations were added from time to time. In 1897 cadets were warned not to "throw anything from the windows, doors, or piazza of the barracks." They were restricted to the campus after seven o'clock in the evening unless they had permission from the president to leave. In 1905 the faculty ruled that ball playing would not be allowed on the campus "during recitation hours, between 8:30 a.m. and 3:30 p.m."

Until 1897, cadets who broke these rules received a stipulated number of demerits for each offense. Daily delinquency lists were published on the bulletin board after morning chapel services. Punishments were enforced on Saturday afternoons and usually consisted of walking tours of extra duty or confinement to barracks. Any student receiving a hundred demerits in any one semester was liable to expulsion. The student body was dutifully warned that "the best time for a cadet to have his punishment and demerits removed is a moment's reflection just previous to committing an offense." With the beginning of President Yocum's second administration, the military nature of the College was de-emphasized and most of the detailed regulations were withdrawn. Thereafter students were told that they would be subject to "a military discipline, modified to suit the conditions of civil life," but the day of close and intimate supervision was gone, never to return. The students were older, the student body larger, and administrative officials felt justified in taking a more liberal approach.

50Ibid., 1896, 137.
51Sledd to J. J. Castello, August 16, 1904, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
52FAC-UF Faculty Minutes, Book 1, February 14, 1905.
53FAC Cat., 1896, 120.
In other matters, too, the College was growing up. The turn of the twentieth century was bringing important changes. The faculty boasted better training, the president had wider educational experience, academic standards were higher, and the physical plant was expanding. In many ways the institution had begun proving its value to the economic, political, and social life of the state.
CHAPTER XVI

PRESIDENT THOMAS H. TALIAFERRO, 1901-1904

When President Yocum resigned in 1901 the board was again faced with the problem of filling the vacancy. As a result, when the trustees met on the campus on June 6, 1901, the most important item on their agenda was the selection of a new president. It was Joseph R. Parrott, a business associate of Henry Flagler and later president of the Florida East Coast Railway and Hotel Company, who nominated Thomas Hardy Taliaferro, a professor at Pennsylvania State College. Taliaferro's uncle was James P. Taliaferro, United States senator from Florida, and it was later suggested that he owed his appointment to this family connection. The only other candidate for the presidency was J. S. Stewart of Dahlonega, Georgia, and Taliaferro was elected on the first ballot.\(^1\) The board received Taliaferro's letter of acceptance on June 18.\(^2\)

"Brash" and "arrogant" were adjectives often used by critics to describe Taliaferro. Some of his policies and certain of his personal habits seemed to supply his detractors with ample evidence. Having just celebrated his thirtieth birthday when he received the Florida appointment, Taliaferro was the youngest man ever to be president of

\(^{1}\) FAC Trustee Minutes, June 6, 1901.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., June 18, 1901.
the Florida Agricultural College, and he was one of the youngest college presidents in the country at the time. It is likely that Professor Farr exaggerated somewhat when he reported that the faculty disliked Taliaferro immediately, but it is true that there was antagonism and a growing hostility among some of the professors by the end of his first year. "There was something immaturity arrogant and patronizing in the attitude of Taliaferro which created an undertone of sullen resentment and hostility among the faculty," Farr later wrote.3

His critics to the contrary, the board believed that Taliaferro possessed many of the qualifications that it was seeking. Born in Florida and educated in the South, Taliaferro was young and ambitious, and he had both scientific training and professional experience. Actually Taliaferro lacked maturity of judgment, and he was to impulsive in making decisions affecting the College and the faculty. These shortcomings, however, were not immediately apparent, at least not to the board of trustees.

Taliaferro was born in Jacksonville on March 22, 1871. He belonged to one of the most prominent families in the state. The early Taliaferros had been pioneer Virginia settlers who prided themselves on their relationship to the families of Presidents Madison and Taylor. Arriving in Florida soon after the Civil War, members of the family built up a prosperous logging and lumber business, and by the turn of the century they held large investments in banks in Jacksonville and Tampa, in the wholesale grocery business in Jacksonville, and in timber lands throughout the state. Thomas Taliaferro received

3Farr, "The Making of a University," loc. cit., 16
his early training at the Virginia Military Institute, and he was graduated in 1890 with a degree in civil engineering. He accepted an appointment as assistant professor of mathematics at the Institute, and the following year he taught at Missouri Military Academy. In 1892 he began his graduate work in mathematics at The Johns Hopkins University under Professor J. Williard Gibbs, and took his doctorate four years later. Taliaferro's dissertation, "The Focal Surfaces of the Congruence Formed by the Tangents to the Lines of Curvature of a Given Surface," published in 1901, was his major scholarly effort. He was appointed instructor in mathematics at Pennsylvania State College after he left Johns Hopkins, and he was teaching there when he received the appointment from Florida.

Taliaferro was a large man. He stood nearly six feet tall, had broad shoulders, reddish brown hair, a pointed beard, ruddy complexion, and pale blue eyes. Taliaferro affected the beard to give him the dignity of added years, but after a few months in Florida he shaved it off. Although he possessed a friendly smile, dignified manner, and abundant energy, he did not always favorably impress people who met him for the first time. While he met people easily, his lack of tact often caused resentment, and some people felt that he was too flippant. "That Taliaferro was a failure as the executive head of an institution of learning," wrote Professor Farr, "could be denied only by a fool blinded by partisanship. This failure was due

4Biographical data on Taliaferro furnished author by Mrs. Taliaferro, in interview, Washington, D. C., February 3, 1951, and in letters, May 29, June 19, 1951, June 2, June 6, 1952.

partly to inherent traits of character and early environment, partly to the situation in which he was placed. The character weaknesses were an inborn arrogant and domineering disposition, and a frivolous and flippant disregard for rigid standards of social decorum where his pleasures were involved—these fostered by his early life in the youthful circles of Virginia aristocracy. His precipitate elevation from an obscure instructorship in mathematics to the head of a college had upset his equilibrium and had given him an undue estimate of his abilities and authority. This was intensified by the fact that the position had come through political influence and was backed by the prestige of the family name."

If Taliaferro's personality disturbed his faculty and caused resentment, he was able to maintain harmonious relations with his board of trustees, and he handled state officials with skill. Taliaferro must be given credit for the sustained financial aid, inadequate though it was, rendered by the legislature, and for the friendly attitude which the newspapers of the state held toward the College. It was partly through his influence that Flagler gave the College an additional $10,000 in 1902.

Taliaferro revealed a sharp awareness of the need of adequate appropriations, and he suggested that, if necessary, the legislature should vote a special tax to raise revenue for institutions of higher learning. In his first annual report Taliaferro explained why funds were so badly needed: "(a) Modern education, with the immense amount of laboratory and research work involved, requires a larger outlay of

funds than the old-fashioned classical education. (b) It is impossible to retain the services of good instructors for more than a few years, at the meager salaries paid them, and they have to accept more lucrative positions, just when they are becoming most useful. (c) Some money is necessary for running expenses where so much is given to the student free as at the Florida Agricultural College. (d) In most of the states very little if any of the twenty five thousand ($25,000) dollars appropriated under the Morrill Act of 1890, is given toward the support of the Negro Industrial Schools in the respective states. Florida diverts one-half of the fund . . . to that purpose. (e) It should be remembered also that nearly one-half of our income is, by law, devoted to scientific work in connection with the station department for the benefit of the state at large, and is not used for the purpose of instruction."

Taliaferro asked that the long accumulated indebtedness of the College be paid, that the farmers' institutes be properly financed, and that funds be provided for hiring student labor. Moreover, he wanted the mens' barracks remodeled, a new engineering building constructed, gymnasium equipment purchased, a horticultural greenhouse erected, the College farm properly equipped and improved, and other progress made.7 Taliaferro's reach exceeded his grasp and the funds the state legislature was willing to spend. Except for the science building, for which appropriations had come before Taliaferro was named president, the Flagler gymnasium, which was built without state funds, and the rebuilding of Foster Hall in 1904, there was no major

construction on the campus during this period. Some buildings were repaired, the farm was enlarged, and the grounds improved, but not to the extent that Taliaferro planned.

In formulating educational policy, the new president showed strong leadership, and he received the support of the trustees. While the board felt it could not offer him the freedom to form his own faculty, it did give him a free hand in the matter of curriculum. Early in his administration Taliaferro stressed the necessity of adding new courses to strengthen the departments of professional studies. As we have seen, four-year programs in chemistry, agriculture, civil engineering, and general science, and a two-year course in mechanical arts became available. After the legislature changed the name of the College in 1903, Taliaferro offered a detailed plan whereby the various departments of study would be organized into colleges of agriculture-chemistry, engineering, and liberal arts. A non-collegiate division would offer work in the mechanic arts and business. The board and faculty endorsed the reorganization, and it became effective in the fall of 1903. Each department was placed under a department head, and the colleges were administered by the president. Naming deans as the executive heads of the colleges did not become University policy until 1909.

President Taliaferro outlined his major educational aims in a report to the superintendent of public instruction in 1902. He sought to develop in Florida an institution where "the student of large or small means may obtain an education of hand and brain commensurate with the requirements of the times," and where young people would be given

8 Ibid., 187.
the opportunity "to obtain an education that would prepare them to fight the battle of life to the best advantage." In pursuit of these "great aims," Taliaferro strongly supported research activities on all levels by both faculty and students. He stimulated the graduate program, and tried to establish scholarships for students who had proved their intellectual worth. Himself a product of the seminar at The Johns Hopkins University, the president sought to introduce the seminar method into certain parts of the undergraduate program. In history, political economy, and English the seminar system enjoyed a measure of success.

Notwithstanding the continued expansion of the University and the outstanding work done by the Experiment Station during Taliaferro's administration, feeling against the president grew steadily. This was particularly true of the faculty. As Farr explains, the situation had been steadily moving in a vicious circle, and "the opposition, disapproval and hostility of the faculty intensified the arrogance and domineering interference of the president: the president's arrogance and despotism intensified the enmity of the faculty." As executive head of the University, Taliaferro felt that he had the authority to observe and supervise instruction, and he often criticized an instructor before the students. This the faculty members found completely demoralizing. It was charged that he frequently used profanity, and

9 Ibid., 184-85.
that on occasion he lost his temper in the classroom.  

Taliaferro clashed with Professor Stockbridge over matters of Station policy, particularly after the president insisted that he would assume direct administrative control. As director of the Station, Taliaferro, of course, had this right, but it was resented because the Station staff had become used to supervising its own activities. Writing to Trustee C. A. Carson in 1902, the president warned that Stockbridge would make "all the trouble possible for the Board and myself and it would be well for you to be on the lookout for anything that may turn up. I do not think he can do more than stir up a little excitement through a few of his unthinking friends." Stockbridge was a leader of the anti-Taliaferro faction, and to the president this was damaging because of Stockbridge's influence in agricultural circles. Professor Cox of the college of engineering charged that the president lacked executive ability and that his treatment of his secretary had prompted her to resign. Professor Borger of the mathematics department called the president a hypocrite and a liar, and charged that he wanted low academic standards. Borger also said that Taliaferro "continually interfered with the discipline of the institution instead of aiding in promoting it," and that he "persistently defended the guilty."  

11 H. G. Dorsey to H. K. Miller, April 23, 1904, and the testimony of N. H. Cox, as presented to the board of trustees, June 4, 1904, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives. Testimony presented by members of faculty in Taliaferro controversy to be cited henceforth as "Testimony."  

12 Taliaferro to C. A. Carson, August 7, 1920, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.  

13 Testimony of N. H. Cox, June 4, 1904, ibid.  

14 Testimony of Robert L. Borger, June 4, 1904, ibid.
By 1904, the situation had become intolerable. The board frequently received letters from alumni throughout the state and from people in Lake City reporting incidents that involved the president. Often these letters were highly colored and repeated hearsay evidence. It was rumored that discipline was nonexistent on the campus and that the morale of the faculty and students had reached a low ebb. Stories were told of the students' disrespect for the president. Professor Cox said that "the worst epithet one boy could bestow upon another seemed to be to call him a 'Taliaferro'," and that cadets often referred to the president as "that hairy old ape." Cox claimed that special precaution had to be taken at one commencement "to prevent the boys rotten-egging the President." 

Several of the professors suggested that the breakdown in the discipline was largely Taliaferro's fault. Professor Hadley, director of the commercial courses and registrar, later reported that "on the 31st day of March, 1903, the president remarked in chapel that he didn't want any April fool tricks practiced the following day." His remarks, Hadley thought, were so much in the nature of banter that they would serve to remind the students that the next day was April 1. "That night," Hadley reported, "guns were fired and bricks were thrown into the windows where students were at their books. The electric lights were smashed in the hall. Captain Clark sailed forth with a lamp in his hand to quiet the disturbance. The lamp was broken by a piece of timber thrown down the hall. This continued throughout the night.

15 Testimony of N. H. Cox, June 4, 1904, ibid.

16 Ibid.
The next day nearly the entire student body was absent in the woods.\textsuperscript{17} Professor Gossard, of the zoology department, testified that guns were frequently fired "for successive days and nights, including Sundays, upon the schoolgrounds."\textsuperscript{18} Professor Miller, of the chemistry department, said that rifles and pistols had been fired in the dormitories, and that "stoves were thrown down the stairs, windows smashed out, doors shattered."\textsuperscript{19}

Resentment flared to new heights during the state election campaign in the spring of 1904. Election issues divided voters into liberal and conservative factions, and Taliaferro found himself at political odds with most of his faculty. He argued that if "anti-corporation" forces won "the University would suffer." Moreover, his uncle Senator Taliaferro, was running for re-election, and it was charged that the president had tried to coerce his staff's ballots.\textsuperscript{20}

Many of the rumors and stories were plainly ridiculous, such as the one which claimed that Taliaferro had been seen "drinking beer with a couple of . . . women late one night on the steps of the chemical laboratory."

Moreover, it seems that very few people were taking into consideration Taliaferro's contributions to the development of the University. His attitude toward fraternities, athletics, and other aspects of the University's program indicates that he was a liberal,

\textsuperscript{17}Testimony of R. N. Hadley, June 4, 1904, ibid.
\textsuperscript{18}Testimony of H. A. Gossard, June 4, 1904, ibid.
\textsuperscript{19}Testimony of H. K. Miller, June 4, 1904, ibid.
\textsuperscript{20}Testimony of H. Harold Hume, April 26, 1904, ibid.
\textsuperscript{21}Testimony of N. H. Cox, June 4, 1904, ibid.
possibly the most liberal person, from the point of view of education, on the campus at the time. Perhaps some of the criticism directed against Taliaferro came from the stuffy and pious members of the campus community who resented his urbanity and sophistication. The controversy between the president and his faculty was, at least to some degree, a clash between modernity and provinciality.

Taliaferro had long suspected that Professor Cox was a leader of the opposition and interviewed him in his office early in April 1904, securing from him a "promise of loyalty." A few days later, on April 9, the president charged that Cox had broken his pledge and summarily called for his resignation.22 Cox immediately circulated a letter, inviting the faculty to protest against the president to the board of trustees. On April 11, Taliaferro, having first conferred with George W. Wilson, chairman of the board, suspended Cox for insubordination on the basis of the "treasonable letter," and ordered him to turn over his "keys, papers and other matters pertaining to the department."23

Events now moved rapidly and dramatically. The day after Cox's suspension seven of the faculty held a secret protest meeting, and decided to write letters to the trustees. This action Taliaferro also defined as "insubordination," when he learned of it, since, according to University regulations, all faculty letters to the board were supposed to be transmitted through the executive office.24 Although facts do not

22 Taliaferro to Cox, April 9, 1904, ibid.
23 Ibid., April 11, 1904.
24 Taliaferro to F. L. Stringer, April 16, 1904, ibid.
bear out his contention, Taliaferro explained that the ruckus had been started by malcontents, "who, before my incumbency and during it, have most of the time been disloyal either to the Board or to myself and whom I have retained at the institution because I hoped to be able to follow out the desires of the Board and make them eventually loyal." He asked the board to call for resignations from the professors "who were causing trouble." "There is only one way which I can see to end the trouble now and for all time," he wrote, "and that is to dismiss the conspirators."

Without waiting for the board to act, Taliaferro informed Wilson that he would exercise his prerogative as president and ask for the resignations of Professors Cox, Miller, Borger, Hadley, Gossard, Blair, and Cooper, to take effect at the end of the term. Professor Hume had been identified with the anti-Taliaferro faction, but as he had already submitted his resignation and accepted a position with the North Carolina State Department of Agriculture his name was not included in the president's request. Although Farr had professed not to have liked Taliaferro, he had not aligned himself with the opposition forces, and, from all outward appearances, seemed to be trying to maintain a neutral position.

Taliaferro charged the professors with "conspiracy, insubordination, neglect of duty, disloyalty to their 'oath of office', and disloyalty to the President." He claimed that "not a single one of the

25Ibid.
26Taliaferro to C. A. Carson, April 15, 1904, ibid.
27Taliaferro to G. W. Wilson, April 25, 1904, ibid.
complainants" had any understanding of how a University should be run. Taliaferro said that none of them are "men of large experience for they are young and have spent the greater part of their life in small, therefore in general, narrow communities." While Taliaferro's criticisms against the faculty may have been justified, he was hardly the person, in view of his own youth and lack of administrative experience, to make them.

The board of trustees met in special session on April 26, and instructed the president and the faculty to take no further action until the end of the term. The board agreed to take the matter up at its meeting in June. Taliaferro submitted an undated resignation to the board about this time, but whether it was called for or a voluntary thing on his part is unknown. Professors Miller, Cox, and Hume appeared as a committee before the board, representing the dissident members of the faculty. Taliaferro was persuaded to reinstate Cox, and it appeared that an armistice had been effected.

The peace was short-lived. It is not known whether it was unfavorable newspaper publicity, new faculty activity, or some action of the president that caused the explosion. Whatever the cause, on the day following the board meeting, Taliaferro issued an edict which not only dismissed all of the offending professors but forbade them the campus and ordered students to ignore them. The faculty, denying the president's competence, attempted to hold classes. The campus was

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28 Ibid.
29 Resignation of Taliaferro, ibid.
30 FAC Trustee Minutes, April 26, 1904.
a welter of confusion. Some students attended classes, many stayed away, and rumors circulated everywhere. That evening Professor Farr assembled the students, explained the situation, and asked the student body to maintain a position of neutrality. The following day Taliaferro had the classroom windows nailed down and the doors padlocked. Only the laboratories and the library remained open. Some of the senior classes were held outside, but for the most part classes failed to meet, and many of the students were called home by their parents who had read about the disturbances in the newspapers.31

The board could not temporize longer. The faculty lodged formal charges against Taliaferro and demanded his removal. These charges, according to Farr, "ranged all the way from an indictment of general inefficiency and maladministration to the repeating of scurrilous and slanderous rumors against his moral conduct. . . . It was altogether an injudicious, undignified, and puerile document."32 Taliaferro was blamed for student drinking, the lack of discipline on the campus, the burning of Foster Hall, quarreling and arguing with cadets, and failing to punish a student who "cursed him and threatened to mash his face."33 If true, almost any of these accusations were serious enough to justify the president's removal. It was imperative that the charges be investigated, and the board authorized a hearing in Taliaferro's office on the morning of June 21.

32Ibid., 31-32.
33Testimony of R. N. Hadley, June 4, 1904, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.
Taliaferro, realizing that his reputation and future career were at stake, did not treat the charges lightly. He had already secured affidavits, including one from the rector of St. James Church in Lake City, affirming that he was "an honest, moral, upright Christian gentleman" and that he had been "perfectly courteous and upright in all his dealings."34 The president was represented at the hearing by two attorneys, Congressman-elect Frank Clark and Judge A. J. Henry. He had also asked two professors, M. C. Marion and C. F. Dawson, to appear as friendly witnesses.35 In a brief statement, Taliaferro denied the accusations that had been made against him. He claimed that they were the responsibility of the professors who had been causing him trouble. He explained why he had requested the resignations, charging his faculty with conspiracy, insubordination, neglect of duty, a general mutinous course of conduct, and disloyalty to the president, the board of trustees, and the University.36 Since the dissident faculty members had already been interviewed and their testimony made part of the record, none were called upon to testify at this time. A number of anti-Taliaferro statements were read and filed, together with a lengthy communication from Professor Cox, which reiterated the feeling against the president.37

34Letters to board of trustees from Walter T. Cavell, June 21, 1904; Sallie J. Sevanson, June 21, 1904; Mrs. C. F. Dawson, June 21, 1904; Mrs. L. D. Thompson, June 21, 1904; and Janie G. S. (Mrs. T. H.) Taliaferro, June 21, 1904, ibid.

35FAC Trustee Minutes, June 21, 1904.

36Taliaferro to trustees, June 21, 1904, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.

37N. H. Cox to trustees, June 21, 1904, ibid.
After nearly three hours the board went into executive session. The trustees agreed that while most of the charges against the president were ridiculous, the conflict was insoluble unless the parties resigned. For the good of the institution, both professors and president must go. During the supper recess the trustees conferred with Taliaferro and persuaded him to date his resignation. The board reconvened at eight o'clock and the president's letter was read. "I leave the Presidency," he wrote, "with the full consciousness that Mrs. Taliaferro and I have done our duty conscientiously and that we have exerted every effort toward the upbuilding of the University and have in many cases gone to lengths which we should not have done for ourselves, and which certainly were not within the usual province of a position such as ours."38

The resignation was accepted, and the board agreed unanimously to express its full confidence in "Dr. Taliaferro's personal integrity and honor."39 Professors Farr and Yocum, who had apparently not taken sides openly during the conflict, also submitted their resignations, but these were refused by the board. There is nothing in the records to indicate Yocum's feelings in the matter. Apparently, Farr was able to straddle the controversy successfully, and he remained friendly with both the president and the faculty. The board, after accepting Taliaferro's resignation, called for the resignations of Cox, Miller, Gossard, Borger, Hadley, Blair, and Cooper. They complied immediately,

38 Taliaferro to trustees, n.d., ibid.
39 FAC Trustee Minutes, June 21, 1904.
and the board accepted. In the case of Cox and Blair, the board relented and both of these men were eventually reinstated to the faculty.

Dr. and Mrs. Taliaferro left Florida shortly afterwards for the North. He took a year of post-graduate work at Johns Hopkins, and in 1905 accepted a position in Washington as assistant statistical editor in the Bureau of the Census. Two years later he was named professor of civil engineering at the University of Maryland.

Taliaferro's career as a professor and administrator at Maryland was successful, although he retained many of his autocratic ways. The years mellowed him though, and he came to be regarded as one of that University's better known figures. In 1906 he was appointed dean of the college of engineering, in 1920 he accepted a professorship in mathematics, in 1927 he was named dean of the college of arts and sciences, and in 1937 dean of the faculty. Hundreds of Maryland students knew him as "Doc. Telly." At the time of his retirement in April 1941, President H. O. Byrd of the University of Maryland paid him a glowing tribute. Taliaferro carried no grudges. Once, during the 1930's, when Maryland's football team came to Gainesville to play the University of Florida, Taliaferro accompanied the team. He called on Professor Hume, who was then dean of the University's college of

Letters of resignation from faculty, dated June 21, 1904, and notation of acceptance by board, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.

Information furnished author by Mrs. Taliaferro, in interview, February 3, 1951. See also Who's Who in America, 1938-1939, XX, 2431.

The Diamondback (College Park, Maryland), May, 1941.

Ibid., September 30, 1941.
agriculture, and the two men spent a pleasant hour chatting about the 1904 Lake City "faculty rebellion." 

The Taliaferro affair evoked the most serious crisis in the history of the young University. Many people felt that the institution had been dealt a mortal blow. Adverse newspaper publicity, low morale, a depleted faculty and student body, and a vacant presidency were among the critical problems which had to be solved.

The board of trustees was particularly concerned with the task of securing a new president. Early in June 1904, when it was apparent that Taliaferro's resignation would be required, Andrew Sledd, professor of Greek at Southern University (Greensboro, Alabama), was asked whether he would consider accepting the presidency of the University of Florida. Sledd was interested. He wrote to a family connection in Florida, seeking information "touching the state of the institution, its finances, and its prospects." He was informed that the school's career had been "a somewhat checkered one. During its years of existence it has had its ups and downs, its seasons of prosperity and adversity. The trouble had been, it seems, to get a proper man at the head of the faculty, and that is the trouble at this time." 

Sledd, by training and experience, was eminently qualified. At the board meeting in Jacksonville on July 6, 1904, he was the

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Statement of H. Harold Hume to author, March 7, 1953.

L. E. Robinson to Sledd, June 6, 1904, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.

Raymond H. Firth, "The Life of Andrew Sledd" (Unpublished thesis for bachelor of divinity degree, Emory University, 1940); Charles Foster Smith, "Professor Sledd and Emory College," The Nation, LXXV (September 25, 1902); The Emory Alumnus, VIII (November-December, 1932).
strongest candidate. The names of two other educators were considered, but a personal interview with Sledd convinced the trustees that the presidency should go to him. Sledd agreed to accept the position of president of the University and director of the Experiment Station at an annual salary of $2,250 and an apartment in Foster Hall, provided he was given full authority to choose his faculty and to reorganize the curriculum. This was agreeable to the board.\(^{47}\) Sledd went to Alabama to settle his affairs and then returned to Florida to begin his administration.\(^{48}\)

Lake City was rife with rumor, and Sledd was immediately subjected to pressure of one kind or another. One faction implored him to reemploy all the resigned professors. Another group wanted him to fire the rest of the faculty. Still other people begged him to seek advice from Taliaferro. Sledd wisely resisted these pressures, considered each individual case on its merits, and refused to listen to rumors or gossip. In explaining his position to Taliaferro, Sledd wrote: "As to the diverse 'wars' and 'rumors of wars', you know that if you listen long enough you can hear almost anything and if you believe all you hear you will end either in a penitentiary or the insane asylum."\(^{49}\)

With a steady hand Sledd began the task of rebuilding. His first goal was to strengthen the faculty. As had always been true, the University's budget prevented the appointment of outstanding established

\(^{47}\)FAC Trustee Minutes, July 6, 1904.

\(^{48}\)Florence Candler Sledd to Sledd, July 30, 1904, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.

\(^{49}\)Sledd to Taliaferro, July 13, in Taliaferro Papers, UF Archives.
scholars, but Sledd sought to surmount this obstacle by naming to the faculty and staff men who were well-trained and whose potentialities for scholarship and leadership were large. His next step was to formulate the educational goals of the University, determine its objectives, and define the "great aims" of the institution. In one letter he deplored the fact that the literary work of the University had been "sacrificed to the scientific and practical" and stated that he was determined to advance the cause of the humanities. Higher education, he insisted, had to give great attention to literature and the arts. Sledd worked quickly and effectively, and when the term began in September, 1904, most of the new faculty had arrived, and it appeared that student enrollment would be normal. The expected drop did not materialize. The routine of teaching went on as usual. Completion of the new science building and the Flagler gymnasium added to the appearance of the campus and greatly relieved the crowded condition.

Sledd set the pattern for his administration during his first weeks in office. He was a conscientious and hardworking executive, cordial and understanding with his faculty, sympathetic toward students, and uncompromising with politicians who sought to lower academic standards. During his five years as president the people of the state had little reason to criticize him. He guided the institution during its last two years in Lake City, and he was president of the University of Florida after it was located in Gainesville. Moreover, he met in full measure the leadership qualities demanded by Nathan P. Bryan.

50 Sledd to Farr, August 31, 1904, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
first chairman of the board of control, who had said, "Florida needs a big man; one who by act and deed can allay all bitterness . . . and command and hold the confidence, respect and esteem of her people."\footnote{Nathan P. Bryan to Bishop Warren A. Candler, July 13, 1905, ibid.}
CHAPTER XVII

THE SOUTH FLORIDA MILITARY AND EDUCATIONAL COLLEGE

Besides the East Florida Seminary and the Florida Agricultural College, two other state-supported institutions - the South Florida Military and Educational College at Bartow and the St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School - were parents of the University of Florida. All four of these institutions were examples of the pluralistic structure of American higher education. This fragmentation was not unique to Florida, and it was caused by a number of conditions. In Florida geography and the poor transportation system of the nineteenth century were mainly responsible for the relatively large number of colleges and seminaries which were established before 1905. The South Florida Military College and the St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School were created to serve local areas at a time when the cost of traveling to Gainesville or Lake City was too great for many would-be scholars. These institutions had the good effect of making education available to many who would otherwise have gone without.

A characteristic of Florida's institutions of higher learning is that most of them began as private schools. The Bartow institution was established in 1894 as a private military school, and it operated as such for a year before it was taken over by the state. Its founder, Major General Evander McIver Law, a teacher of long and varied experience and a Confederate veteran of distinguished service, was born on
August 7, 1836, in Darlington, South Carolina. In 1854, at the age of eighteen, he entered The Citadel in Charleston, and two years later was graduated as third lieutenant. During his last year at The Citadel he was an assistant teacher in belles-lettres, and literature remained one of his main interests throughout his life. Early in 1857 he accepted a position as professor and assistant principal at King's Mountain Military Academy. Three years later he moved to Macon County, Alabama, where he helped found the Tuskegee Military Institute.

In the early spring of 1861 he was commissioned a captain in the Confederate army, and was authorized to recruit a company of men. Stationed first at Pensacola, he was later transferred to the Confederate forces in Virginia, and he was wounded in the action at First Manassas. Law was promoted first to lieutenant colonel, then to colonel, and on October 31, 1862, he was appointed brigadier general in General John Bell Hood's division of Longstreet's corps. At Gettysburg and Chicamauga, when Hood was seriously wounded, Law, as senior brigadier, commanded the division.\(^1\) In 1863, at the age of twenty-seven, Law was made a major general, and, on his transfer from Lee's army, he served on the staff of General Joseph E. Johnson. He was in charge of the Confederate forces in Columbia, South Carolina, when the Union armies attacked the city.\(^2\)

After the war, Law administered the large plantation and railroad holdings which he and his wife had inherited from her father,

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\(^2\)Information on Law's military record was furnished the author by the director of the Florida Board of Pensions, Tallahassee, in a letter, December 7, 1951.
William A. Latta. This kind of life did not interest him, however, and he resumed his connection with King's Mountain Military Academy. After teaching there several years, he moved with his family to Florida, settling in Bartow, where he organized the South Florida Military Institute. He patterned the school's discipline and curriculum programs after those in operation at The Citadel, the Virginia Military Institute, and the United States Military Academy.

In manner and dress General Law was the personification of the traditional southern gentlemen. He was a quiet, dignified man, with expressive features and courteous manners. Although he was experienced in classroom procedure, and was considered a discerning teacher, he was not always a thorough scholar. He revealed, however, a deep interest in the classics, showed a sincere liking for the sciences, and was adept in mathematics and linguistics. His education was largely the result of reading and self-training, and there were certain large gaps which Law always regretted. Paternal in his attitude toward his students, and cooperative in his relations with his faculty and board of trustees, General Law was the most popular man ever associated with the Institute. He always wore his Confederate army uniform, and commanded a large measure of respect throughout his life. When he resigned from the Institute in 1903, he became editor of the Bartow Courier Informant, a position that he held until his death in 1920.

3Biographical data was furnished author by alumni office of the Association of Citadel Men, in letter, March 11, 1953. See Also Makers of America, Florida Edition (Atlanta, 1911), III, 76-81.

4R. A. Gray, former student, to author, in interview, March 3, 1953.
The extension of the railroads into South Florida during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the discovery of river pebble phosphate deposits in the Peace River in 1885 stimulated a rapid growth of population in that area. Bartow, which had been a small village in 1880, grew to be the thirteenth largest city in the state by 1895. Conscious of its new importance, South Florida resented the fact that all the tax-supported institutions of higher learning were located in the northern part of the state. Moreover, as we have seen, the citizens of that part of Florida had to consider the cost of transporting students to Gainesville, Lake City, Tallahassee, or DeFuniak Springs where the state-supported schools were located.

In seeking legislative appropriations for a college in their own town, the people of Bartow were, in effect, agreeing with Lord Bryce who felt that small institutions in rural districts serve "a multitude of poor men, who might never resort to a distant place of education." Shortly after the great freeze of 1894-1895, which dealt a severe economic blow to the agricultural economy of Florida, a delegation of citizens from Bartow, Lakeland, and the surrounding communities, headed by General Law, appealed to the Florida legislature for financial support. Cognizant of the increasing political importance of the counties in South Florida, the house and senate appropriated $6,400 to aid the institution, and directed that the South Florida Military and Educational Institute be placed under the direction and

5Dovell, op. cit., II, 610.

control of the state board of education. Governor Henry L. Mitchell, a native of Tampa and an enthusiastic supporter of this measure, approved the act on May 29, 1895, and appointed a local board of trustees, "whose duty it would be to provide a suitable building and to perform such other duties as may be prescribed hereafter, when rules and regulations for this institution may be adopted." The governor selected men for the board who were important in the economic and political life of that section of Florida. He appointed M. H. Johnson, J. W. Boyd, C. C. Wilson, J. H. Tatum, and H. L. Davis of Bartow; William H. Reynolds of Lakeland; and E. A. Cordery of Fort Meade.8

The campus of the South Florida Military Institute was located on a thirteen and one half acre tract, about three-quarters of a mile from the center of town. The land, "covered with large oak and pine forests," had been originally purchased by a group of Bartow citizens for $1,350, and title had been vested in the board of trustees.

During the summer of 1895, money had been raised in Bartow and a contract let for the construction of the first building, a two-story wooden barracks with a central three-story tower. It was a large structure, one hundred seventy feet in length and eighteen feet wide, with spacious verandas extending the length of the building on both sides. It contained thirty-two large rooms, including three in the tower. Sixteen rooms were used as bedrooms. Classrooms, offices, chapel, and the rooms for the superintendent and the faculty were on

7\textit{Laws of Florida}, 1895, 96.

8\textit{Florida State Board of Education Minute Book Number Two, February 11, 1883, to October 4, 1895}, 367.
the first floor. Originally, all the walls were papered, but eventually the paper was stripped off, and the rooms were "neatly ceiled and wainscoted throughout."

Although not all the plumbing and windows had been installed, and many rooms were still without light fixtures, the building was finished enough for use when the session began on September 24, 1895. When the cadets arrived on opening day they found piles of lumber stacked outside in the yard, and they had to thread their way around the deep beds of sand which the workmen had piled up around the foundations of the unpainted barracks. Only about half the furniture had arrived, and large crates, crammed with beds, desks, books, and other paraphernalia, were not yet unpacked. A major deficiency was the lack of dining room facilities on the campus, and the cadets lost time going back and forth into town for their meals. In order to remedy this situation, the Institute in 1896 erected a small one-story wooden mess hall building. The south end was used as a laboratory and storeroom. The kitchen was in a separate building, a few feet away from the mess hall. Two small square wooden buildings were used as an oil house and as a guard house and office. These properties in 1901 were valued by a legislative investigating committee at $7,598.

In 1901 the legislature appropriated $3,500 to enlarge and repair the barracks and to complete the installation of electric lights. Two years later the building was repainted, and the rooms were refurnished with iron cots, new mattresses, and enameled copper washstands. The chemical and physical laboratories and the department of civil engineering were housed together in a small wooden building.
The chemistry laboratory, according to the institution's catalogue, was "supplied with water and gas" and was furnished with "a dozen individual tables for extended work in chemical analysis." A large lecture room adjoined the laboratories, and there was sufficient space in the building to house engineering equipment. A new mess hall and a gymnasium, constructed in 1904, completed the campus buildings. The administrators of the school boasted that the gymnasium was one of the finest in the South, since it contained "a large playing gym, in addition to four bath rooms and tubs" and "two splendid shower baths." A small library and reading room were opened in 1904, but students were allowed to use it only during their leisure hours. The parade ground, located near the main building, was a three-acre plot which had been cleared of timber, stumps, and roots and sodded with Bermuda grass.

By the terms of the act creating the South Florida Military Institute, each state senator was permitted to nominate, upon the basis of competitive examination, one cadet who had to be a resident of his senatorial district. The appointment was for the five year period of instruction. In 1897 the legislature made the county, rather than the senatorial district, the unit for scholarships, and the number of these scholarships was increased from thirty-two to forty-five. At the beginning of the first session of the Institute in the fall of 1895, there were thirty-one scholarship or "state cadets," as they

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9South Florida Military College Catalogue, 1904-1905, 8. Cited henceforth as SFMC Cat.

10Laws of Florida, 1897, 112.
were sometimes called, registered. The remaining vacancy was filled within a few days. There were also eight other students in the garrison and fifteen "day students," who lived with their parents in Bartow, enrolled for classes. According to General Law, the school operated successfully during its first year. "There were no suspensions nor expulsions and no serious breaches of discipline," he reported to the state superintendent of public instruction.\(^{11}\) Enrollment at the Institute was never large, the average annual attendance during its ten year history was fifty-five.\(^{12}\) During its last session sixty-four students were registered. The scholarship program spurred student enrollment, however, from all parts of the state. A legislative committee in 1901 found every country except Taylor represented among the student body.

All cadets, both "state" and "pay," had to be unmarried, not less than fifteen years of age, no shorter than five feet in height, and physically qualified for military service. They were required to pledge themselves to continue their connection with the school until graduation or regular discharge. They agreed not to join any secret organization or engage in hazing and obligated themselves to attend chapel each school day and church on Sunday.\(^{13}\) A cadet, to be admitted to the school, had to prove his ability "to read English with facility" and show his knowledge of the elements of English grammar, descriptive geography, arithmetic, and American history. The annual tuition

\(^{12}\) Cochran, op. cit., 161.
\(^{13}\) SFMC Cat., 1904-1905, 1H=16.
fee for "pay" cadets was $200, one-half to be paid at the beginning of each term. A contingent fee of $10 was also charged.14

Prior to the reorganization program in 1903, the curriculum of the Institute was based on a five-year program. The last year consisted of a post-graduate course. Cadets studied English grammar, geography, algebra, American history, reading, writing, and spelling during their freshman year. More algebra, and English composition, ancient history, mythology, physiology, and physical geography were added in the sophomore year. Trigonometry, geometry, surveying, modern history, inorganic chemistry, Latin, bookkeeping, and elocution were the curriculum for the third year, and seniors studied analytical geometry, astronomy, organic chemistry, English literature, civil government, elocution, composition, and Latin. The graduate course included classes in differential and integral calculus, civil engineering, commercial law, moral philosophy, English composition, and advanced elocution. It is open to question whether one should admire more the talents and application of the four instructors who, at least by inference, pledged themselves to teach so many subjects or to marvel at the industry and brain power of the students who were supposed to master them all.15

Cadets were required to wear uniforms in the mess hall and classroom, and special dress coats and hats were used for church services, parades, and social functions. Uniforms included a blouse, dress coat, trousers, dress cap, campaign hat, two blue flannel shirts,

14Charles L. Crow, "South Florida Military College" (unpublished MS, UF Archives), 2.
15Ibid., 3-4.
and a belt; and the cost was $31.50 each. Military routine and
discipline regulated the schedule and activities of the cadets.
Reveille was sounded each morning at ten minutes to six, followed a
few minutes later by assembly on the parade ground in front of the barr-
racks. Breakfast came at 6:40, and the first class call was sounded
at 8:10. Drill was scheduled every afternoon, except Saturday and
Sunday, followed by a retreat parade. Taps was blown at 9:30 and
taps at 9:45 p.m.

The Institute offered little in the way of social activity for
the students. The Phi Delta Sigma Literary Society held meetings on
Saturday evening, and although there were conflicting opinions from the
cadets, the faculty insisted that the organization gave the student
"the best kind of literary training, speaking on the floor, and
becoming familiar with the rules and laws of parliamentary practice."17

On rare occasions a well chaperoned evening dance was held,
and the cadets were allowed to invite young ladies from the nearby
communities of Bartow and Lakeland. The cadets found no lack of lighter
amusements in the vicinity of the campus. Swimming, boating, and
fishing were popular. For all those who could afford the price of shot
and shell, there was sufficient opportunity on Saturday afternoon to
hunt squirrels, rabbits, and quail.

Athletics, "under proper regulations," were encouraged by the
administration and faculty, and the cadets prided themselves on their
baseball and football teams. A regular baseball diamond was laid out

16SFMC Cat., 1904-1905, 12.
17Ibid., 16.
on the campus in the fall of 1900, and a baseball club under the supervision of Captain Thomas W. Gary, a member of the faculty, was organized. For the most part, games were played among the student body, and it was not until about 1903 that any attempt was made to schedule games with other state college teams. Football also remained largely a local sport, but spirited games were played by the campus teams. In the spring of 1903 a "varsity scrub" team, and a "substitute" team were organized, and in November of that year two games were played. The varsity was victorious in the first game with a score of ten to five; in the second game the substitutes won five to nothing. The Athletic Association reported in 1903 that it had $120 in its treasury, and expected to have enough the following year to purchase uniforms for the players. To measure up to the enthusiastic spirit of the teams, the student body adopted a number of college yells. One repeated the refrain S.F.M.I. - Eat Grits or Die,18 and another, used after the Institute became a College, went:

Rahl! Hoo! Rahl!
Rahl! Hoo! Rahl!
Who are we? Who are we?
S-F-M-C! S-F-M-C!

The most widely indulged physical activity at the school was drill, whose "beneficial effects," according to the catalogue, "are unchallenged. It develops the man, insures in him an individual responsibility, and gives to him an ease and grace of carriage which

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will last throughout his after life.\textsuperscript{19} The school's administrators were fond of saying that their military system not only developed "habits of promptitude, order, discipline and subordination," but that it fostered "self-reliance and force of personal character by removing all extraneous distinctions," and it placed "each cadet, whatever his antecedent circumstances, on his own individual responsibility."\textsuperscript{20}

Each spring the cadets were taken on a four-day encampment trip away from the campus. In 1904 Tampa was selected as the camp site, and the cadets won the $50 prize offered by the Tampa Festival Association as the best-drilled cadet company in the state. Although the company was a well-drilled organization, the fact that it was the only team in the competition undoubtedly influenced the decision of the judges.

The original faculty of the school when it opened in 1895 seems to have been somewhat of a family group. General Law taught belles-lettres and ethics. His son, Lieutenant Colonel E. M. Law, Jr., who had graduated with a degree in civil engineering from The Citadel in 1886 at the age of twenty-two, was professor of chemistry and physics and served as quartermaster. Another son, Major William Latta Law, who had also attended The Citadel, taught mathematics and served as commandant of troops. The only member of the faculty who apparently was not related to the Law family was Captain Thomas W. Gary, a graduate of Patrick Military Institute, who was professor of Latin and English and assistant in physics.

After 1900 both of General Law's sons resigned from the faculty. To fill the vacancies the board appointed John B. Hutchings, who had

\textsuperscript{19}SFMC Cat., 1904-1905, 20.
received his bachelor of science degree from Kentucky State College, as professor of civil engineering and physics, and T. W. White, Jr. as commandant of cadets and professor of chemistry. White, a native of Abingden, Virginia, was a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute. In later years he studied medicine at the University of Louisville, specializing in children's diseases. Before his death in 1929, Dr. White was chief of pediatrics at a leading hospital in Detroit and a nationally known pediatrician. Still another appointment to the faculty was P. J. Brucker-Haegy, who became professor of modern languages in 1904. He had received his training at the University of Paris and the University of Geneva. In addition, the military staff in 1904 consisted of a chaplain, a surgeon, and a bursar.

Early in 1902 General Law quarreled with members of his board of trustees over matters of school policy. The board, Law felt, had overstepped its authority in certain cases involving student discipline. Neither side was willing to compromise, and finally Law decided that he would resign effective January, 1903. The news that he was leaving the school was withheld from the student body and the public until just before his resignation was to take effect. The announcement was received with incredulous surprise by the cadets, and immediately after the Christmas holiday they held a mass meeting to consider the matter and protest the General's action. Several students wrote letters to Governor Jennings and other state officials, but there was little that could be done in the face of the board's opposition to Law. Upon the suggestion of Cadet Robert A. Gray, later Florida's secretary of state, the senior class petitioned the state board of education for permission to graduate at the end of the fall term, 1903, rather than wait until
the spring term, so that General Law's name would appear on their diplomas. When the board refused this request, because it believed that the cadets could "put in five months more of very profitable study before earning their diplomas," all but three of the seniors resigned from school and returned home. It was not until 1927 that the Florida legislature took cognizance of this situation and passed an act which authorized the University of Florida to confer degrees upon these men.

The faculty had also been greatly disturbed by the suddenness of Law's resignation. Believing that pressure had been brought to bear upon the General, the faculty, after some consideration, resigned in a body. When it was realized, however, that such action would jeopardize the continued existence of the school a few of the faculty withdrew their resignation and agreed to stay on.

The board, meanwhile, appointed Harry Porcher Baya as president. The board's action seemed wise at that time, largely because of Baya's training and experience. The people and newspapers of Florida seemed pleased that he was a native of the state. Certainly this attitude was different than that held by the boards of trustees of either the East Florida Seminary or the Florida Agricultural College. At those institutions the effort had been made to secure someone from

21Florida State Board of Education Minute Book Number Three, October 8, 1895, to April 9, 1909, 431.


23General Albert H. Blanding, former student, to author, in interview, August 17, 1953.
out-of-state to serve as president.

Baya was born in Lake City in 1870, and attended the Virginia Military Institute. In 1889, the year after he had graduated from the Institute, he was appointed professor of mathematics and engineering at the Florida Agricultural College. Although his scholastic record at the Virginia Military Institute was excellent, this appointment was due more, perhaps, to the fact that Baya's family had donated part of the land for the Agricultural College campus and that his father had served on the College's original board of trustees. Baya taught in Lake City until 1896 when he accepted a position as professor of mathematics at a military school in Ossining, New York. Two years later he was named professor of natural sciences at the State Normal College at DeFuniak Springs, and he was teaching there when he accepted the presidency of the South Florida Military Institute. In later life, Baya left the teaching profession to become an attorney in Tampa, where he lived until his death in 1949.24

Baya was a good administrator, and he proved to be a man of the most scrupulous principles in all matters affecting the operation of the College. He was an outstanding personality, with wide academic experience, and he revealed an unquestioned executive ability. He suffered, nevertheless, in the eyes of the public when he was compared with his predecessor, and he failed to receive the popular support which had been given so generously to Law. While his family and friends knew him as a gentle, kindly man, outsiders often got the impression that he

was somewhat impetuous and that he would not let anything stand in the way of his ambitions. Although there was no evidence to substantiate the belief, a few people in Bartow at the time thought that Baya had, in some way, helped to disrupt the relations between the trustees and Law. As a result, Baya's years in Bartow as head of the Institute were not as happy as he had probably expected them to be when he took over as president.

During the 1903 session of the legislature, a bill was passed changing the name of the South Florida Military Institute to the South Florida Military College. At the same time the institution was given the authority to confer collegiate degrees. This act also changed the title of the chief executive officer of the school from superintendent to president.25 Shortly afterwards, the administrators of the institution reorganized the curriculum into separate courses of study: an engineering course, "designed to fit men for the practice of the profession in this State," and a literary-scientific course, "designed for the purpose of insuring a broad and general education." Schedules for engineering students during their junior and senior years included a number of courses in mathematics, chemistry, physics, geology, mineralogy, astronomy, and civil engineering. Four years of English, mostly the study of composition and rhetoric, and two years of Latin were required. Students who registered for the literary-scientific course took a number of courses in chemistry, physics, and mathematics, but most of their work was in English literature, English and American history, Latin, political science, and either French or German. The

foreign language department was established in 1904, and courses in French, German, and Spanish were offered. The political science curriculum was divided into four courses: constitutional history, principles of American government, Florida history and civics, and the law of commercial relations.

The practice of celebrating the successful completion of each academic year by presenting a literary exhibition began early at the South Florida Military College. In June, 1904, commencement activities began on the evening of June 21 with a literary program sponsored by Phi Delta Sigma. After the invocation, the singing of "America," and the welcoming address, William A. McMullen orated on "The South Since the Civil War." The declamation contest followed, with four orations, and then, after a musical selection, came the main event, a debate which resolved the question "That Japan is Justified in Waging War Against Russia." The singing of "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground" and the benediction concluded the program. The graduation exercises the following evening were opened with a prayer, the welcome by the senior class president, and an address to the graduating class delivered by the chairman of the board of trustees. Musical numbers and drill exhibitions were interspersed between the forensic activities. After the presentation of medals and awards to the seniors, one of which was presented by General Law, President Baya conferred the degrees. More music followed and then the benediction. A formal ball the next night concluded the strenuous round of commencement activities. A town orchestra was hired to play for these special dances, and members of the board of trustees and their wives served as chaperones.²⁶

²⁶Taps (South Florida Military College student publication), 1904, 59-61.
By the close of the spring term of 1902, the institution had graduated forty-four cadets. It was decided that these graduates should form an alumni association, and on May 29, 1902 a temporary organization was founded with the appointment of E. L. Wirt of Bartow as president and Barney R. Colson of Gainesville as secretary-treasurer. The following year, on May 26, 1903, the alumni held its first general meeting in Bartow and elected the following as officers: Evander A. Law, president; A. J. Angle, first vice-president; and E. L. Wirt, secretary-treasurer. It was agreed that the annual meeting of the alumni would be held during commencement week, and that the efforts of the association would be directed toward enhancing and enlarging the scope and activities of the College.

Although the total number of graduates from the South Florida Military College could not have exceeded fifty-four, according to the statistics published in the last catalogue issued by the school, it is interesting to note the generosity of the state's appropriations. During the 1899-1900 session, the East Florida Seminary, with one hundred forty-nine students, had an income of $7,500, while the South Florida Military Institute, with a much smaller student body, had an income of $9,000. This annual appropriation continued through 1904. In addition, the state by 1903 had appropriated $76,300 for buildings and maintenance. Several thousand dollars had been used in 1901 to buy the land and buildings owned by General Law. In 1904 the school received

27 Barney R. Colson was later president of the University of Florida Alumni Association, 1910-1919.
28 Taps, 65.
29 Rerick, op. cit., I, 405.
an appropriation of $2,000 to purchase books and equipment for the library.30

In his annual report to the state superintendent of public instruction, President Baya in 1904 announced that in terms of activity and interest the South Florida Military College was flourishing. The faculty had increased, all the buildings were in good condition, new departments had been created, and the enrollment was increasing. It was little wonder that the president described the cadets as "the equal at least of the student body of any college in Florida" and the "condition of the College excellent."31

Under the Buckman Act, which the legislature passed in 1905, the South Florida Military College was merged into the University of Florida. The furniture, books, supplies, and other equipment were all turned over to the newly created board of control for the use of the institutions under its jurisdiction. Part of the land reverted back to the city of Bartow. Some of the College property was given to the local schools, and the rest of it was advertised for sale by the state board of education, to be sold to the highest bidder. On April 6, 1906, the board accepted the bid of $2,610.50 made by W. B. Swearingen, and a deed was executed in his favor.32

Although the South Florida Military College as a separate institution had ceased to exist, the College itself was not dead. Its graduates were authorized by the legislature in 1909 to receive

31Ibid., 180.
32Ibid., 1906, 205.
diplomas issued by the University of Florida, and their names were duly enrolled on the alumni records of the University. The work that was begun at the institution was continued in the laboratories and classrooms of the University of Florida at Gainesville.
CHAPTER XVIII

THE ST. PETERSBURG NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

The St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School, whose history is also to be considered in this study, had its origin in a public school established in 1893. Although St. Petersburg was only six years old when this school was founded, it was one of the fastest growing communities in the state. There were over 1,000 inhabitants, at least during the winter months, and it was advertised as a tourist center, "whose climate," according to its boosters, "compared favorably with that of the French Riviera, whose beaches were equal to those in Italy, and whose sunsets were more glorious than those of Egypt." Many of its citizens were claiming that it was "already the second city in importance upon the West Coast."1 A growing population needed a school, and, by a vote of thirty-nine to one, it was agreed that a $7,000 bond issue be floated, and the income used to purchase a suitable site and to build and equip a grade school. The lone opponent to the bond issue is unknown, but it is likely that he was the individual who shortly afterwards moved outside the town limits because "he didn't want to be robbed of everything he had."2

1Facts and Suggestions for Persons Forced to Seek Permanent or Temporary Homes in the Pinellas Peninsula (Philadelphia, 1896), 45.
2Karl H. Grismer, The Story of St. Petersburg (St. Petersburg, 1948), 92.
A two-story wooden building was constructed on the site of the present Municipal Building. It included a library, assembly hall, and seven classrooms. Furniture cost $1,000, but, because there was a delay in its arrival, the first term in the new structure had to be shortened to five months. There were a hundred students enrolled, and the faculty consisted of a principal and two teachers. It was called the Graded School until 1899, and, although it was mainly concerned with elementary teaching, the school board permitted the faculty to teach "some of the higher branches--algebra, physical geography, rhetoric, etc." The school continued to grow, and, by 1898, its faculty had doubled and its enrollment had increased to one hundred and seventy-two students.

A large measure of the school's success was due to the interest and efforts of two local philanthropists, Edwin H. Tomlinson and his father, Peter Tomlinson. Their contribution of two hundred fifty American flags to the institution in 1896 had prompted a Washington birthday celebration which became an important annual event in St. Petersburg and the highlight of the winter tourist season. The Tomlinsons were from Connecticut, and they had accumulated a fortune from their investments in copper mines and a large sugar-cane plantation in Santo Domingo. They had constructed a palatial winter home in St. Petersburg, which included a tower one hundred thirty-seven feet high. The tower was designed to be used by Guglielmo Marconi in his experiments with wireless telegraphy. The structure was never used by the inventor, and it was destroyed years later by a bolt of lightning. Edwin Tomlinson has often been described as the "patron saint" of St. Petersburg Normal
and Industrial School. He helped organize a student cadet corps and purchased its uniforms, guns, and other military material. He paid for all the equipment for the girls' physical education classes and the instruments for the student drum corps and school orchestra. He built and fully equipped the first manual training building and donated it to the city.3

Joselph E. Guisinger, who was appointed principal in 1898 at a monthly salary of $90, played the most important educational role in the early history of the St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School. Born on a small farm near Thornville, Ohio, November 18, 1868, Guisinger moved with his family to Holden, Missouri when he was four years old. He received his early education in the small rural school near his home. At the age of fourteen he enrolled at Holden College, a private Campbellite Church boarding school, which accepted children from the area as day students. While in college, Guisinger did substitute teaching, and for one semester he taught a class in algebra. After graduating in 1888 he taught in the Missouri Public Schools until he had saved $300, whereupon he rented a three-room cottage at Warrensburg, Missouri, purchased a quantity of food supplies, and, together with his two sisters, enrolled at the Missouri State Normal College. When his funds ran out he returned to teaching. Later, he joined the land rush into the Cherokee Strip of Oklahoma and staked out a claim. He did not finally receive his college degree as bachelor of scientific didactics until 1893, and he spent the next five years teaching and administering public schools in Missouri. In 1898 he received a letter

3Ibid., 279-80.
from L. Buchholz, superintendent of schools in Hillsborough County, Florida, offering him a choice of positions as either science teacher in the Tampa High School or principal of the St. Petersburg Graded School. He accepted the latter job, arriving in St. Petersburg in September.

Guisinger was an excellent choice for principal of the expanding school. His varied training as a teacher and administrator in public school work provided him valuable experience. He was a scholar by taste and temperament, a man who read widely, and he was eager to add to his educational training. In 1901 he attended the summer session of Teachers College at Columbia University, and later did graduate work at Cornell and the University of Colorado. He was an enthusiastic supporter of a school curriculum that would give the student a firm foundation in the classics, the humanities, and the sciences. Guisinger helped and encouraged his students and maintained a lifelong friendship with many of them. He was vigorous in advertising the merits of the institution which he headed, and he won for the school many patrons and friends, including members of the legislature, after the school had been brought under state control in 1901. There were many who agreed with Governor Broward, when he wrote in 1906 that Guisinger had "rare ability as a manager and teacher in school business." State Superintendent Sheats, in an open letter of introduction, described

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5W. B. Broward to Guisinger, February 27, 1906, in the personal papers of Joseph E. Guisinger, Kansas City, Missouri.
Guisinger as "a high-toned gentleman possessing worth far beyond appearance."  

Shortly before Guisinger received his Florida appointment, the people of St. Petersburg voted in favor of establishing a special community school tax district, administered by a local board of three trustees. The new law provided a three-mill tax levy to maintain a normal and industrial school for an eight-months term. Guisinger, after he arrived, enthusiastically endorsed this progressive action. He first expanded the elementary school curriculum, and in 1899 he introduced basic high school courses for the first time. In 1900 a three year high school was organized, and manual training courses were made a vital part of the program. The normal department was instituted the following year, and, according to the school authorities, it provided "splendid facilities for mastering the subjects required for the State examinations, and the theoretical part of teaching."  

A normal course required four years of mathematics, English, history, and pedagogy, two years of French or German, and a year each of physiology, botany, zoology, physics, and geography. In addition, all male students studied military tactics and physical culture, and women were required to take domestic science. 

In 1900 Edwin Tomlinson purchased a large lot just east of the Graded School building, and erected a two-story brick building for the manual training, physical culture, and military science classes. The following year, when the building was nearly completed, Tomlinson gave

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6Sheats to "Whom it May Concern," July 3, 1905, ibid.
7St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School Catalogue, 1902, 31.
Guisinger $1,000 to purchase necessary equipment and supplies. The principal, who was then in New York, carefully noted the facilities at Columbia University, and with the money he had available purchased similar machines and furniture for the Florida institution.  

It was an important day in St. Petersburg when the new building was formally dedicated on December 29, 1901. The city fathers had designated it Manual Training Day, and visitors, including two hundred teachers, had gathered from all parts of the state to hail the beginning of vocational education in Florida. Prominent educators, representing the colleges and seminaries of the state, were featured speakers, and afterwards there was a public reception and a drill exhibition. For many years the Industrial School was the only one in the state offering a full course of study in home economics and industrial arts.

A manual training annex building was next constructed and fully equipped by Tomlinson, who turned it over for the use of the school in February 1902. Later, he agreed to sell the building to the city at a sum much below its original construction cost. The annex consisted of a large room, used as a gymnasium and a drill hall, and a smaller room in the rear, called the library reading room and museum.

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8Joseph E. Guisinger, "The St. Petersburg, Florida Normal and Industrial School" (unpublished MS in UF Archives), 4.
9Karl H. Grismer, History of St. Petersburg, Historical and Biographical (St. Petersburg, 1924), 118-19.
10Cochran, op. cit., 140.
12St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School Catalogue, 1904-05, 16.
With the use of folding chairs, the gymnasium could be turned into an auditorium large enough to seat 2,500 people, and the citizens of St. Petersburg boasted that it was the largest auditorium on the Gulf Coast. Meanwhile, on August 27, 1901, the voters had approved a new bond issue of $11,900 to purchase a tract of land west of the Graded School building, and to erect a normal and high school building. This two-story brick structure, completed in the spring of 1902, contained eight recitation rooms, a library-study room, and a science laboratory. The value of the four buildings was set in 1905 at $40,000.13

The enrollment of the school grew rapidly after 1900, and there was an ever increasing need for more and better trained teachers. Edwin Tomlinson was reluctant to spend his money for other than equipment and supplies, and funds for salaries, upkeep, and maintenance had to come from local sources. Since it was traditional not to charge the children of winter tourists tuition, the burden upon the county school fund had become very heavy.14 Guisinger, Tomlinson, and the school trustees finally agreed, after long discussion, that an appeal should be made to the legislature in 1901 for funds to carry on the work of the normal and mechanical arts departments. T. F. McCall, a prominent St. Petersburg citizen, went to Tallahassee, where he became a one-man lobbyist in presenting the school needs of his community. Armed with photographs and detailed information regarding the work of the normal and industrial school, a letter from Tomlinson authorizing free use of the buildings he had constructed, and a batch of endorsement letters from

13Grismer, History of St. Petersburg, 120.

West Coast citizens, McCall was able to stimulate enough legislative enthusiasm to assure the success of his project. The delegation from Hillsborough County agreed to write and sponsor the bill. J. W. Williamson of Clearwater subsequently introduced the bill in the house, and Thomas Palmer sponsored the measure in the senate. Apparently there was little opposition, and on May 31, 1901, Governor Jennings signed the bill into law.

The legislature had appropriated $10,000 for the biennium, beginning July 1, 1901, to "assist in maintaining an Industrial and a Normal Department in the St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School." These departments were placed under the supervision of the state board of education, and an eight-months school curriculum was approved by the state superintendent of public instruction. Moreover, it was agreed that each member of the legislature would be permitted to award a scholarship to the school, provided the appointees were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years, and that instruction in the normal department would be free to all students preparing to teach. Scholarship students were required to have an elementary education through the seventh grade, and to possess a basic knowledge of reading, spelling, English composition, arithmetic, grammar, and the geography of the western world.

The teacher-training and industrial arts program had been widely advertised throughout the state, the institution had been described

15Grismer, History of St. Petersburg, 119.
17St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School Catalogue, 1902, 19.
as "one of the public schools in the State," and by 1902 there were students enrolled from nine Florida counties other than Hillsborough. The state's appropriation had enabled the school officials to assemble a trained and experienced faculty. Guisinger, in addition to his duties as principal, was in charge of the manual training classes. Henry Damm, who had received his early training at the School of the South in Knoxville, Tennessee and had worked in the St. Petersburg school system for a time, taught classes in mathematics and history. Elizabeth Bangs, who had received a degree from the University of Michigan, was appointed professor of English, and G. Walker Chambers, a graduate of the University of Nashville, held the chair of Latin and science. Margaret Wilder, who was to be remembered for her long years of service as a member of the faculty of the St. Petersburg High School, taught reading, geography, and drawing at the Industrial School. Faith R. Lanman, who had received her training at Ohio State University, was in charge of the domestic science and physical culture classes. The salaries of the faculty averaged from $100 to $125 a month. Guisinger, during his last year as principal, received $210 a month.18

A library was started in 1895 when Alice Barnard, a winter visitor in St. Petersburg, donated a twenty-six volume set of encyclopedias. Joseph Merry gave a four volume set of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and the proceeds from a school entertainment provided enough money to purchase a large dictionary.19 In 1900 Tomlinson donated $250 for books, and, shortly afterwards, G. W. Southwell,

19 Grismer, History of St. Petersburg, 119.
rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, gave one hundred books as a memorial to his daughter. In 1902, when the library was being moved into the Normal Building, it was reported that there were approximately 1,000 books. Many of these had been donated to the school and were of little value. Professor Guisinger, however, had used discretion with the limited library funds that he had available, and most of his purchases had been in the fields of education and industrial arts. The budget for 1902-1903 reveals that $401.57 had been used to add to the reference collection, and during the following year approximately $1,000 more was spent for books. Eventually many of these volumes were shipped to Gainesville, and they became part of the University of Florida library. The first librarian was Grace Edwards, who also supervised the study hall. Although she had no library training or experience, Miss Edwards learned how to catalogue her books according to the fixed shelf system. She tried to widen the services of the library, and she insisted that it be available at all times to students who sought "a quiet place to study" and the chance to "examine reference books with as little annoyance as possible."

Two literary societies, each having about thirty members, came into existence around 1901. They met on Friday afternoons under the supervision of Miss Bangs, the English instructor, and the students generally presented programs of "selected readings, essays, recitations, oration, and debates."

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20 Ibid., 120.
Shortly after he arrived in St. Petersburg, Guisinger organized what was probably the first public school orchestra in the state. Although his own musical experience had been limited to "six private lessons on a cabinet organ, and a little experience as a baritone singer in a mixed chorus at Holden College," Guisinger assumed the responsibility of leading the orchestra. The musical organization included fifteen volunteer students - mostly violinists - Miss Annie Bradshaw at the piano, and Professor Guisinger on the clarinet, an instrument which he was then just learning to play. Empty packing cases served as music stands, and when later a student volunteered to play the drums, those instruments were borrowed from a local resident. After a few practice sessions, the orchestra learned a simple march tune, and every morning thereafter, the students marched in and out of chapel to the strains of music.

Within a few months the orchestra had built up its repertoire, and with the cooperation of the literary societies, Guisinger arranged a benefit recital at the local "Opera House." The building was rented for $20 and the admission was set at 25 cents. Widespread advertising resulted, good salesmanship disposed of all the tickets, and at the given hour a capacity crowd filled the house. The program, according to local critics, was a great success and the school netted about $30. In the audience was Edwin Tomlinson, and so impressed was he by the performance of the orchestra that he informed Guisinger the following day that he would furnish all of the funds necessary to purchase

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instruments, music stands, and sheet music.24

Upon the insistence of Guisinger, the state board of education in 1904 authorized the establishment of a musical conservatory as a department of the school. It was planned to give free voice lessons to any student registered in the school, who expressed a desire for such training, and to charge "nominal fees for special lessons in advanced voice culture and piano." The school official hoped that at some future date a regular conservatory building would be constructed.25

Through the continued generosity of Tomlinson a drum corps was organized and outfitted with "beautiful Zouave uniforms, with red fez caps, white leggings, white gloves and blue sashes." Tomlinson paid for the six snare drums, two bass drums, seven military flutes, and two regulation army bugles that were used.26 For the girls' physical culture program Tomlinson purchased "thirty-six fine blue cloth gymnasium suits . . . thirty-three pairs of dumbbells, thirty-three pairs of Indian clubs, a fine basketball outfit, a complete equipment for tennis, and several wall exercising machines."27 According to the catalogue "the Swedish system of gymnastics" which had been adopted, was "educative, hygienic and recreative." The catalogue also noted that it developed "an erect carriage, corrects spinal curvature and faulty habits of standing and sitting, improves the circulation and respiration, gives strength and control, secures mental relaxation and

24Ibid., 2-3.

25St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School Catalogue, 1904-05, Addenda.

26Ibid., 1902, 35.

27Ibid., 36.
proportional body development." 28

There was no regular athletic program developed for the male students, although they were encouraged to use the facilities of the gymnasium. All students had their regular sports, but no attempt was made to organize baseball, basketball, or football teams, as was true at the other state-supported institutions of higher learning. It was pointed out that "swimming was a healthy pursuit in which all could indulge."

A small printing machine had been purchased in 1903 as part of the regular equipment for the manual training department, and, in order to encourage its use, Professor Guisinger had approved the request of the students to publish a school newspaper. It was called The Palmetto and Pine, and reported the social, recreational, and educational activities of the students. Original verse, inspirational articles by the faculty, and news items about other Florida schools were used. After 1905, The Palmetto and Pine continued to be published by the students at the St. Petersburg High School. 29

The catalogue in 1902, the first one published by the school, set forth the official attitude towards the government of the institution. "We have no fixed list of rules for the behavior of pupils," the wording in the catalogue ran, "but we have strict discipline here." Students were placed on their own responsibility, it was stated, "but strict attention to business in every department" was demanded. Students were told that "those who come here for any other purpose soon

28 Ibid., 36-37.

become dissatisfied with the school."30

A serious handicap of the school was the lack of dormitories
to house the ever-increasing number of students who were taking
advantage of the scholarship program and who were registering from all
parts of the state. Girls who had no relatives or friends in town to
live with presented the greatest problem. In 1901, through the efforts
of Tomlinson, a large three-story private residence, located near the
campus, was secured and refitted as a girls' dormitory. Parlors,
reception rooms, dining room, and kitchen were on the first floor. On
the upper floors were sufficient bedrooms to house forty girls. Girls
had to be at least sixteen years of age to live in the dormitory and
had to furnish their own linens. Room and board was set at $12 a month,
payable in advance. Male students who came from out-of-town boarded
with private families, who charged them $2.50 a week for a room and
three meals a day. The school officials deplored the fact that St.
Petersburg was a tourist town and that the prices for board were "some-
what higher than those of interior towns," although they carefully
pointed out that boarding facilities were much superior to those found
elsewhere.31

School expenses were moderate even for those times. Board and
room averaged from $60 to $80 for the four months' term. The cost of
textbooks was negligible. Uniforms for the boys who joined the cadet
company or the drum corps were furnished free, as were the gymnasium
suits used by the girls in their physical education classes. The

30St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School Catalogue,
1902, 38

31Ibid., 29.
materials which the students used in their domestic science and industrial arts classes were also furnished free. There were no tuition charges, even for the non-scholarship students, and it was announced through the catalogue that "as long as the school is not over-crowded it will be the policy . . . to admit all pupils to all departments of the school free of charge." The school officials and the citizens of St. Petersburg liked to boast that "there is not another school in the United States which is so well equipped or which offers advantages equal to those offered here."

In 1903 the legislature increased the biennial appropriation to $15,000 with the stipulation that the funds be used only for the normal and industrial departments. In his annual report the following year, Guisinger asked that this appropriation be increased to $8,000 per annum and that the name of the institution be changed to the State Normal and Industrial School. There were good prospects that these recommendations would be acted upon favorably by the legislature in 1905. Guisinger also wanted the state to construct two dormitories and a large classroom building on the campus. In reviewing the achievements of his school since it had been taken over by the state, the principal pointed out that "success had crowned the efforts of those who have worked so faithfully during the past four years."

State appropriations had been satisfying, Guisinger declared, and the funds had been "used to the greatest possible advantage by the State Board of Education." The institution, he felt, has "a great service to perform in helping to lay the foundation for the future industrial development of Florida."32

In passing the Buckman Act, the legislature failed to act upon the recommendations of Guisinger and his board of trustees. The normal and industrial work of the St. Petersburg institution eventually became part of the teacher-training and engineering programs of the University of Florida. The equipment of the school, with the exception of some of the library volumes, was turned over to the St. Petersburg public school system.
CHAPTER XIX

THE BUCKMAN ACT

If pluralism and diffusion of educational facilities have the good effect of making education available to many who would otherwise go without, they may also have certain inherent disadvantages. Many of the American colleges founded in the nineteenth century had been rushed into existence without adequate planning or sponsorship, and there had been an incalculable waste of educational effort. Long ago Lord Bryce found American educational reformers complaining of the multiplication of degree-giving bodies and the consequent lowering of the worth of a degree.1 There was a widespread feeling that funds and teacher power should be concentrated rather than dispersed. "One strong institution in a State does more," it was argued, "to raise the standard of teaching and learning, and to civilize the region which it serves, than can be done by twenty weak ones."2

The problem of pluralism in Florida, and its good and bad effects, was to be weighed by the state legislators when they gathered in Tallahassee on April 4, 1905, to begin a new legislative session. It was impossible to predict whether they would continue to support the eight educational institutions for which the state had assumed

1Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., 117-18.
2Bryce, op. cit., II, 893.
financial responsibility, or whether they would insist upon consolidation in the interests of economy and the development of a stronger college system. The schools receiving state support in the order of their establishment were the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville, the West Florida Seminary in Tallahassee, the University of Florida in Lake City, the White Normal School in DeFuniak Springs, the Normal School for Negro students in Tallahassee, the South Florida Military College in Bartow, the Normal and Industrial School in St. Petersburg, and the Florida Agricultural Institute in Osceola County.

The costs of operating these eight schools had become increasingly burdensome. From 1881 to 1905 these institutions had expended a total of $1,626,240.42. Of this amount, the state had appropriated $583,032.19, or an annual average, over the twenty-four year period, of $24,293.3. In 1901 the biennial appropriation for higher education in the white institutions was $191,910, and in 1903 this appropriation was increased to $255,522.11. In 1905 the colleges were prepared to ask the legislature for $700,000, over two and a half times as much as requested for the previous biennium. Even if this amount was appropriated, it would not be adequate to properly finance the expansion that would be needed to keep pace with a growing population.5

3These figures are from a report prepared for Henry H. Buckman by the state treasurer during the legislative session of 1905. This report is in the Buckman Papers, UF Archives.


Florida's financial status in 1905, according to all reports, was excellent. The state comptroller announced that the treasury showed a surplus without any "sacrifice of any material interest." He reported that all government operations and the public schools had been provided for and that the "unfortunates" of the state had been "cared for in the most substantial manner." The assessed value of taxable property had increased some $20,000,000 between 1901 and 1904, and Governor Jennings in 1904 recommended a substantial tax reduction. On January 1, 1905, the comptroller reported a balance of $499,796.8, and the treasurer stated that Florida's finances were on a "very satisfactory basis." "Never in the history of our State," Governor Broward announced in his message to the legislature in 1905, "were all of its material conditions more encouraging."

Florida in 1905 found itself in the enviable position of having enough money to meet its needs. Adequate funds were available to finance the public school system, and the legislature could have met the financial demands of the institutions of higher learning with only a small increase in taxes. Most of the legislators, however, agreed that this unusual condition would probably not be permanent and they wondered "what might happen in the future if the demands of the schools

7Ibid., 1904, 37.
8Ibid. 1905, 9.
10Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 3.
continued to grow as they doubtless would."

Meanwhile, Florida's educational leaders were expressing concern over the "considerable duplication of work and therefore of expenditure" necessitated by "the multiplicity of institutions." As President Sledd had pointed out, Latin was part of the curriculum of all the Florida colleges, even though it was apparent that "the total number of students pursuing the study of Latin seemed hardly sufficient to justify the separate maintenance of so many instructors." This argument, of course, would make sense to the legislators who were concerned with ever-growing costs.

Still another problem which resulted from diffusion was the feverish competition for students which particularly involved the East Florida Seminary and the University of Florida. A rivalry developed over the years which had been criticized as not being "promotive of the best education interests of the State." In an effort to impress the legislature with a large enrollment and the need for funds, each institution naturally tried to increase the size of its student body. Sometimes "recruiters" were hired to travel through the state to impress would-be students with the allurements and advantages of attending a particular college. The University of Florida had, during its earlier years, even used its president on occasion for this purpose.

13 Ibid., 2.
14 Supra, 280.
The preparatory classes in the colleges had in some cases held back the growth of the public school system. Some counties had purposely delayed organizing their own high schools, and were able by this means, to shift part of their own school tax burden on to the state.

There were other grievances against the colleges. Each was under a different management, each had its own board of trustees, each importuned legislatures for funds, and each was becoming a political factor whose strength, when joined together, became so powerful as to force the legislature to make appropriations against its own best judgment. It is little wonder that the legislators in 1905 listened with interest when Governor Broward suggested that "the only way to secure the best results from these institutions is to establish some definite plan for their work and progress and adhere strictly to it, making each of these institutions bear its relative and coordinate part in the accomplishment of the great business of educating the young men and young women of this state."  

The idea that Florida had too many schools and that the value received did not justify the expenditure was not new. Governor Fleming in 1890 deplored the fact that Florida had not appropriated adequate funds to establish a "State University under efficient management which would compare favorably with those of most of the other States." In his opinion, it was not feasible to concentrate and consolidate the

15 From notes compiled by H. H. Buckman, July 21, 1908, for C. H. Smith, who was to use them for a magazine article. Buckman's unpublished MS, "The System of Higher Education in the State of Florida: Its Growth, Present Condition and Prospect," is in the Buckman Papers, UF Archives.

16 Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 21.
institutions because "of the large amount invested by the State in educational buildings at the several localities." He recommended, however, that the legislature appoint "a single Board of Regents or Trustees" to manage these schools. At one time, President Cater of the East Florida Seminary had advocated consolidating his own institution with the Florida Agricultural College, and, according to one account, he made an unsuccessful effort to have such a bill introduced at the 1893 session of the legislature. Nothing has been found in the legislative records or in the contemporary press to indicate the truth of this story or the nature of Cater's proposal.

For several years, State Superintendent Sheats had been stressing the fact that there were too many colleges, although at first he thought consolidation too radical a remedy. In 1896 he compared Florida's educational condition to a "poor man with more children than he can provide for, yet each is the object of his special affections and he cannot decide which one could be spared." Sheats agreed that it would have been wiser if the attempt had never been made "to foster so many institutions for higher education, all competing for the same patronage, but it would be folly to agitate combination at this late day." Two years later the superintendent thought consolidation "beyond even a possibility," in spite of the "clear case of weakness growing out of too much division of effort and funds." By 1900,

17 Ibid., 1890, 30.


20 Ibid., 1898, 265.
however, Sheats had been won over to "consolidation." He wanted legislative appropriations "concentrated on the State schools, one or two in number," and argued that "the sooner steps are taken in that direction the wiser." 21 Again in 1902 Sheats called the state's attention to the deplorable condition of higher education and the expense involved in duplication of facilities. In his report in 1904 Sheats endorsed consolidation, and described multiplication as "a policy which has resulted in wasteful dissipation of the resources for higher education." 22

There is some evidence that administrative officials and faculty of the University of Florida at Lake City played a part in 1905 in developing a receptive attitude among the legislators to accept the idea of consolidation and in determining certain features of the Buckman Act. In his memoirs Professor Farr says that he, Taliaferro, and Sledd were involved in this intrigue, and that it had developed from the rivalry between the University and the West Florida Seminary. Every effort was made to "beat out" the Tallahassee institution. "The first move," according to Farr, "seems to have been to get the name changed to the 'University of Florida'; second, to confine to males." The idea, according to Farr, seems to have been this: "If there were but two state institutions of higher learning for Whites, one of them a university for men . . . and the other a college for women, the former would win out in size and recognition in competition with the

21 Ibid., 1900, 170.
22 Ibid., 1904, 172.
Both of these goals were achieved in 1903 by legislative action. The University people later hailed the passage of the Buckman Act as the major step toward making their institution the capstone of the state's educational structure.

Andrew Sledd arrived in Florida in 1904, imbued with the ideal of building a real state university whose academic standards and rank would compare more favorably with the large universities of the North and Midwest. Through his Emory College connections and through his father-in-law, Bishop Warren A. Candler, Sledd knew William James Bryan and Nathan P. Bryan, kinsmen and political associates of Napoleon B. Broward, newly elected governor of Florida. The Bryans had served as Broward's campaign managers during the Democratic primaries of 1904, and they were continuing to advise him on appointments and policy. Sledd told them about his plans for the University, and he was assured that he would have the governor's support. Sledd had talked to Broward about educational matters in August, 1904, and, at that time, there may have been discussion of Sledd's expansion plans.

Meanwhile, Farr allegedly had been writing a series of unsigned articles for newspapers throughout the state, condemning multiplication and extolling the virtues of consolidation. The object of these articles, according to Farr, was to engender enthusiasm for the idea, particularly among the school teachers who "were in favor of the measure,


both for patriotic and personal reasons—a genuine desire to see educational standards raised and a hope that in the move their own beggarly salaries would be increased."^25 Farr did not explain why he thought teachers should have expected salary increases as a result of the establishment of a state university, unless they hoped that such a move might promote an awakening among the citizen as to the financial needs of all levels of education.

Sledd and Farr, according to the latter, planned their campaign carefully. It was agreed that the strongest argument would be financial. In order to add emphasis to the problem of sustaining many state institutions, the University "padded" its budget heavily, hoping that the other schools would do likewise. It is probable that this "budget planning" was done with the approval of President Pound of the East Florida Seminary who also favored "consolidation." In 1903 the University had received an appropriation of $73,000; in 1905 it requested $102,000. The Seminary in 1903 had received $36,000; in 1905 it asked for $150,000.26 Comparable budget increases were requested by other state institutions.

Sledd and Pound worked well together. They had strong roots in Georgia, they had shared a mutual interest in the development of Emory College, and they had worked together on various educational committees and in Methodist lay circles. Strong wills and ambitions were characteristic of both men. In Florida they visited each other often, and discussed the state's educational system. It is likely that they

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26From statistics compiled by Buckman, in Buckman Papers, UF Archives.
had personal ambitions to administer the new institutions. The possibility of eliminating all state supported schools except the University of Florida and the East Florida Seminary must have been considered. In later years, W. A. Rawls, who had represented Leon County in the 1905 legislature, stated that Representative Henry H. Buckman had "intended that one of the colleges should be at Lake City, and the other at Gainesville." The success of such a proposition was problematical. Not only would this have been opposed by many of the state's most powerful political figures, but it would also have eliminated as a candidate for the presidency of one of the institutions Albert A. Murphree, popular president of the West Florida Seminary and son-in-law of the influential Judge John A. Henderson of Tallahassee. Perhaps this was the reason for the long and deepseated antagonism between Sledd and Murphree, which eventually became so bitter that Murphree once told a close friend: "I dislike Sledd so much that I don't like to be in his town."28

Sledd and Pound conferred together even more frequently after Governor Broward's inauguration on January 3, 1905. They were obviously trying to "sell" their educational ideas to the new governor, working through the offices of William James Bryan. It is possible, though not certain, that their plans included not only consolidation but also the eventual removal of the University from Lake City to Jacksonville, the governor's home city. Farr had long held that "the most advantageous site for the University would be in a suburb of

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27 W. A. Rawls to A. A. Murphree, March 11, 1921, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.

27 Murphree to L. W. Buchholz, December 14, 1908, ibid.
Jacksonville on the banks of the St. Johns," and had made some effort to interest his "few acquaintances among the leading citizens of the city" in the idea.29 At the height of the Buckman bill debate, A. J. P. Julian, representative from Lake City, charged that "a ring had been organized to control the school affairs . . . and that there was a movement on foot to establish the University of Jacksonville."30 Perhaps it was this suggestion which first interested Buckman in the educational problem.

Whatever the extent of their plans, Sledd and Pound consulted often with Nathan P. Bryan. Late in January 1905 Pound advised Sledd that Bryan had invited him "to come by Jacksonville to see him; to drop off at Lake City to visit you (Sledd), and then to go along to Tallahassee." "I do not know his motive," Pound continued in his note, "but think his advice is probably wise, inasmuch as our appearance on the scene at the same time might start some people talking; or, what might be worse, thinking."31 Pound kept his appointment with Bryan, but decided against the trip to Lake City. Writing Sledd of this decision, he added, "I do wish to see you and talk with you quite fully about all of our plans for the future."32 Bryan had advised them to "see the Governor and to talk to him, each in his own way about their plans and purposes."33

30Florida Times-Union, May 19, 1905.
31Pound to Sledd, January 27, 1905, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
32Ibid., February 9, 1905, ibid.
33Pound quoting Bryan in a letter to Sledd, January 27, 1905, ibid.
Whether Broward was ever interested in having the University located in Jacksonville is not known, but the best evidence seems to be to the contrary. Certainly he owed Jacksonville little politically since that city and Duval County had supported his opposition in the Democratic primaries. On the other hand, Columbia County, in which Lake City was located, had gone for Broward. It was reported that during his gubernatorial campaign Broward had promised the citizens of Lake City "that he would use his influence to retain the university there." State Senator Frank Adams of Columbia County, a relative and close friend of the governor, was chairman of the senate appropriations committee in 1905. It is known that Adams and Broward had, on several occasions prior to the opening of the legislature, conferred on educational matters, and it was to be expected that the senator would have used his influence to prevent removal to Jacksonville or any other city. The proposals of Pound and Sledd were certainly discussed, and, as events would show, they were rejected. William James Bryan told Sledd it had been decided "that the removal of the State University to this City (Jacksonville) would not be practicable or possible," and that it would not be "for the best interest of the school."35

Broward, in his message to the legislature, said nothing of abolishing or relocating any institution of higher learning in the state. He deplored the beggarly attitude which the heads of these schools had been forced to assume, and he recommended a thorough study of "the needs of each institution." He further advised that, upon the results of such

34Bristol, "The Buckman Act; Before and After," loc. cit., 34.
35Bryan to Sledd, March 7, 1905, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
investigation, proper budgets should be prepared, in which "provision should be made for their economical and efficient maintenance." He agreed that the requirements of the schools could "never be intelligently and properly considered until an efficient system of management, control and supervision over them is provided." Moreover, he suggested that an official be appointed or a board established to supervise all of the state's educational institutions. The governor also wanted a specific tax levy for maintenance of schools instead of using money from the general revenue fund.36 This would eliminate lobbying by the various institutions, and, perhaps to some extent, lessen competition for funds.37

To carry out Broward's recommendation, Senator Telfair Stockton of Duval County and Representative J. P. Wall of Putnam County introduced on April 13, 1905 companion measures in their respective branches of the legislature. These bills would have authorized the governor to appoint a fifteen member board of regents to "control, manage, and maintain" all institutions of higher learning.38 Two days later, a house special committee on state institutions met with the senate committee on education and issued a joint statement recommending passage of the Stockton-Wall bills, provided they were amended so as to prevent the appointment of any person who lived in the county in which one of the schools would be located.39

36Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 21-22.
38Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 74; Florida House Journal, 1905, 72.
Although most of the state newspapers indicated that these measures were acceptable to a majority of the legislature, the college officials began to raise objections. The older schools, such as the University and the two seminaries, were afraid that they would be stripped of their independence and that their very existence might be in jeopardy.\(^{40}\) "All kinds of rumors are current as to this or that," the Florida Times-Union reported on this situation, "and various schemes are said to be incubating to defeat the measure by several of the State institutions that have representatives on the ground."\(^{41}\)

Meanwhile, the padded budgets had been released, which gave the legislators another opportunity to be critical of the growing costs of higher education and to wonder whether the state was getting full value. Regardless of the large money surplus, most of the law-makers were economy-minded and opposed voting large appropriations. Meanwhile, trustees of the various schools had arrived in Tallahassee to meet members of the senate and house appropriations and education committees.\(^{42}\) Their presence failed to change the attitude of many legislators, however, and a few announced openly that they were disgusted with institutional rivalry, competition, duplication, waste, and inefficiency. Hoping to soothe the lawmakers' tempers, the school delegates held an emergency caucus, and agreed to trim their budget requests to \$174,000, or less than one-third of their original estimates.\(^{43}\) This

\(^{40}\) Rhodes, "The Legal Development of State Supported Higher Education in Florida," loc. cit., 167-68.

\(^{41}\) Florida Times-Union, April 18, 1905.

\(^{42}\) Simmons, loc. cit., 178.

\(^{43}\) Florida Times-Union, April 29, 1905.
action was taken too late, and only convinced the legislators that the budgets had been padded all the time. The tempers of the lawmakers were rising, and the demand that something be done was becoming more insistent.

On May 3 Stockton's regent bill was called up as a special order of business in the senate. Several amendments were adopted, the most important prohibiting the new trustees from abolishing any of the existing institutions or changing their location. Another stipulated the manner in which budgets would be submitted to the state board of education. Debate on these questions dragged on into the hot afternoon, and it was late when Senator H. H. McCreary of Gainesville offered a substitute measure. Representatives of the state institutions had already read and approved the McCreary bill since it continued their existence and kept control in the hands of their own boards of trustees. In this feature it was like the bill introduced by Stockton. Overall supervisory control, according to this measure, would be delegated to a board of uniformity, whose membership would consist of two trustees from each school. The only function of the board of uniformity would be to evaluate institutional needs and to help each school prepare its biennial budget. Under Stockton's bill there would be much more supervisory control. The senate promptly rejected McCreary's measure, and resumed its debate on Stockton's regents bill.

On the same day, in the house, W. A. Rawls of Leon County introduced a measure similar to the one introduced in the senate by

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44Bristol, Three Focal Points, 22.
45Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 373-74.
46Ibid., 375-76.
Representative Buckman of Duval County attacked Rawls' board of uniformity bill, claiming that it would neither satisfy the people, nor give "relief in the way of taking the State schools out of politics." He announced that within a few days he would introduce a bill, "providing for the maintenance of a real State University, a girls' school, and a normal school." He asked that further debate affecting the state colleges be postponed until May 9. The house agreed to Buckman's request, and the senate also voted to postpone final action on Stockton's bill until a later date. There is nothing in the records to indicate the nature of Buckman's plan at this time, but it is possible, at least from one writer's point of view, that he envisioned a single co-educational college, or at least one having a normal department open to female students.

Consolidating the educational institutions had been originally suggested in the house on April 17 by Representative C. S. Noble of Lake County. He asked that a joint committee be appointed "to examine into the benefits of these institutions to the school children of the State at large and determine if any such institutions can be dispensed with, and if so which institutions should be retained." Noble's resolution died in committee and Buckman became the leading advocate of consolidation. A native of Jacksonville and a graduate of

48 Florida Times-Union, May 4, 1905.
50 Bristol, Three Focal Points, 23.
Cumberland University, Buckman was enjoying an established reputation as one of the state's leading lawyers. His legal training and experience proved valuable throughout his political career, and his appointment as chairman of the judiciary committee during his first legislative term indicated that he was an influential personality.52

Buckman had known of the discontent throughout Florida with the state's colleges. The need to eliminate jealousy, wrangling, and political competition and to provide universities and colleges of which Florida could be proud was apparent to Buckman and other legislative leaders. Consolidation seemed to many the most feasible solution, and it was evident after the start of the session in 1905 that an increasing number of legislators were coming to the same conclusion. Buckman announced that he had been imbued with the consolidation idea ever since he arrived in Tallahassee, and that he had been impelled to step in "like a fool where angels fear to tread" and draft a consolidation bill.53

It is likely that Buckman had been in touch with Sledd and Pound and had heard their ideas on consolidation. It is likely, too, that he had conferred with Governor Broward, the Bryan brothers, and probably others, and, that as a result of these consultations and meetings, he had drawn up at least an outline of his bill before the legislature began. Mrs. Broward later recalled that her husband had mentioned on several occasions in the weeks immediately after his inauguration, the plan to build a great university in the state.54

52Makers of America, op. cit., I, 182-87.
53Florida Times-Union, May 21, 1905.
54The late Mrs. Napoleon B. Broward to author, February 7, 1952.
Buckman, according to one of his legislative contemporaries, "spent a great deal of time in research as well as in drafting the Bill. It was necessary for him to go back into the whole history of the several existing state institutions and to make sure that the provisions of the Bill that we were offering should not work a forfeiture of existing Federal appropriations. All of this required a very considerable amount of time and labor." 55

Buckman was made responsible for drafting the consolidation measure, and it was a matter of great satisfaction to him that he was able to write the first draft of the bill "between eight o'clock one evening and daylight the next morning." 56 Anticipating strenuous opposition from alumni and faculties of the schools scheduled to be abolished and from the counties in which these institutions were located, Buckman sought expert advice from the Bryan brothers and others so that the bill would be as legally sound as possible. The final measure, which became known as the Buckman Act, actually resulted from the coordinated efforts of Buckman, Representative E. L. Wartman of Citra, Florida, and a number of legislators, lawyers, and educators, whose advice was sought in preparing the measure for legislative action. Sledd was asked for suggestions and was invited to come to Tallahassee to read the bill before it was introduced, but he decided that this would be unwise "as his presence would necessarily be

55 Eugene S. Matthews to L. M. Bristol, July 14, 1944, in Bristol's Three Focal Points, Appendix 14, 39.

56 H. H. Buckman, Jr. furnished this information for an article, "Florida's Institutions of Higher Learning," which was printed in the Florida Real Estate Journal and Industrial Periodical, n.d.
conspicuous and give opponents of the measure an opportunity to accuse the University of trying to influence legislation." Farr went instead, and, according to his memoirs, he "spent three days in the capitol; went over the bill with Mr. Buckman; made suggestions, some of which were incorporated; and, at his request, discussed the measure with some of the doubtful legislators."57 It is obvious that the Buckman bill was not the result of hasty consideration, but rather the product of "most painstaking research and deliberation," and the cooperative efforts of many people.58

Just before Buckman's measure, House Bill No. 361, was introduced, he made a preliminary statement in which he announced that the measure had been written in an effort to raise the standard of education in Florida and, at the same time, to decrease its cost.59 The difference between the appropriations requested by the existing schools and the amount necessary to run the colleges that he was proposing would result in a saving of some $300,000 a year.60 Buckman was wise in presenting the measure as an economy bill. It thus won considerable support from some legislators who were not otherwise attracted to it.61

The bill, as set forth by Buckman, provided that all existing white institutions of higher learning be abolished and that all their properties revert to the state. The state board of education would

58Matthews to Bristol, July 14, 1944, loc. cit.
60MS copy of speech in Buckman Papers, UF Archives.
61J. G. Kellum to L. M. Bristol, June 20, 1944, in Bristol's Three Focal Points, 38.
have authority to dispose of such property. Two institutions were to be revived—the Florida Normal and Industrial College for Negroes and the Institute for the Blind, Deaf and Dumb—and two new institutions were to be created—the University of the State of Florida and the Florida Female College. The University was to be a school exclusively for men. All four institutions were to be placed under a five-member board of control to be appointed by the governor. No member of the board could be from a county in which any one of the schools would be located. All board of control action was to be subject to the final approval of the state board of education. It was stipulated that "as soon as practicable" the two boards would meet in joint session in Tallahassee for the purpose of locating the two white schools and to consider the permanent location of the two other institutions.

A surprising feature of the bill was the freedom given the state boards to locate the white colleges. There was no definite requirement that one be located in East Florida and the other west of the Suwannee River. The boards were advised to "consider the sites of the abolished institutions, keeping in mind the availability of lands, property, and buildings, and the fact that the income from the Seminary Fund would continue only as long as one institution was located west and the other east of the Suwannee River." The interest from the fund was not large, although it may have seemed so to economy-minded legislators, and it was likely that no action would be taken which might jeopardize the state receiving even this limited income. The Buckman bill recommended that the University be located "at some central point in the State. The bill suggested that the boards should locate The Florida Female College "at one of the places occupied by any one of the
said abolished institutions under this act, having special regard for the character and condition of the grounds, buildings, and structures . . . its location as to health and accessibility, and its adaptability to the particular needs of such an institution." Thus, it would have been possible within the scope of the bill, to locate both institutions east of the Suwannee River. In view of the restrictions of the Seminary Fund and the determination of the legislators from West Florida that they would have one of the institutions in their section of the state, it is surprising that the bill was not amended to take care of this matter.

There were a few legislators who felt that Buckman was trying to have both the University and the Female College located in East Florida. Representative Rawls of Leon County, chairman of the house appropriations committee, challenged Buckman on this point when they chanced to meet one afternoon in the comptroller's office a few days after the measure had been introduced. Buckman denied the allegation that he was trying to deprive West Florida of a college, and he agreed to add to the bill the stipulation that one "must be located west of the Suwannee River." Rawls, in turn, agreed not to use his strong political influence to oppose the measure when it reached the floor.62 This amendment was not made, but, as later events will show, the Suwannee River became, by action of the board of control, the educational dividing line for state-supported higher education in Florida.

Separating male and female students in the white institutions in all but the normal department was another debatable part of the

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62Rawls to Murphree, March 11, 1921, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.
measure. All of the state supported colleges of Florida, except the South Florida Military College, had admitted both sexes during their history, and, apparently there had been no strong prejudice against coeducation. For that matter, coeducation had become a growing practice throughout the country during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It began at Oberlin College (Ohio) in 1833, and after the Civil War an increasing number of new state and private universities and colleges accepted coeducation, including many southern institutions. By 1900 the Universities of Mississippi, Texas, Kentucky, Alabama, South Carolina, and North Carolina admitted men and women on equal terms. The state schools in Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana still resisted coeducation, however, and in 1905 the Buckman Act added Florida to this list.

"Sex problems on the campus of the University of Florida," was suggested by a former member of the faculty as a reason why separation of the sexes was included in the Buckman Act, but there is nothing in the University records to show that this was true.63 Probably a majority of the legislators opposed coeducation because they believed that functional differences in curriculums would reduce "competition and friction," eliminate duplication and overlapping of courses, and would thus save the taxpayers' money.64 Eugene S. Matthews, who was chairman of the house committee on state institutions in 1905, later said that "the merits of co-education versus segregation of the sexes were

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63Farr was the faculty person who related it to Bristol. See Three Focal Points, 18.

64Harry M. Ayers to J. J. Tigert, November 6, 1936, in Tigert Papers, UF Archives.
not given marked consideration. The segregation feature of the bill seems to have been taken more or less for granted. 65

Everyone did not hold to the same view as the legislators, however. The county superintendents of public instruction, who were holding their state convention in Tallahassee at the time the bill was being introduced, commended the policy of coeducation, and adopted a resolution opposing any plan to close "the doors and advantages of the State colleges to the young women of Florida." These officials declared that, "in the nature of things, boys and girls should be trained up together, since they are to live together as men and women, and need to be taught their true relationship." They described "separate schools for boys and girls" as "relics of a monastic age. 66

The bill stipulated that no student below the twelfth grade could enroll at the University. It made the Experiment Station a department of the University, and created the agriculture-mechanical-industrial arts department, the scientific-classical department, and the normal department. The latter department could be coeducational at the discretion of the board of control. Military tactics would be taught if the boards agreed that it was "requisite or proper." The board of control would have authority to set the cost of tuition and board "at the lowest rate . . . consistent with the welfare and efficiency" of the University. Each county had the privilege of awarding a tuition scholarship to one student each year.

65 Matthews to Bristol, July 14, 1944, loc. cit.

66 "Resolutions adopted by the late State Convention of County Superintendents of Schools in Florida" (original MS in Buckman Papers, UF Archives).
Buckman's bill was long, covering nineteen typed legal-size pages, and its reading consumed almost an hour. On the motion of J. P. Wall of Putnam County, it was referred to the special committee on state institutions which was then considering Senator Stockton's regents bill. On May 15 the committee reported unfavorably on the latter measure, and announced that it was offering a substitute for Buckman's bill. After many hours and in consultation with Buckman, Wartmann, and President Sledd, who had come to Tallahassee for the superintendents' meeting, the committee had drawn up a bill which it felt the legislature would support.

Although differing in detail, the revised bill retained the main portions of Buckman's measure. The bill now required the boards of control and education, the state treasurer, and the state comptroller to each submit a biennial report to the legislature on their activities affecting the institutions of higher learning. In addition, the board of control had the responsibility of writing examinations for the high schools. Presumably this meant tests which would be given to graduating seniors to determine their college ratings, although the bill was not specific on this point. The state superintendent was instructed to visit all institutions of higher learning at least once a month and report his findings directly to the governor.

The committee also considered summer schools which had not been mentioned by Buckman in his bill. The fact that the county superintendents debated this topic in their convention seemed to focus

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67 Typed copy of House Bill 361, as originally introduced by Buckman, in Buckman Papers, UF Archives. An analysis of the major sections of the bill was made by Charles L. Crow, "The Buckman Act" (unpublished MS, UF Archives).

attention on the question of whether or not they should be provided for. At first the committee agreed that "Summer Schools now or that may be hereafter provided" should be held at the University. It was feared, however, that certain influential legislators might resent this discrimination against the Female College, and it was finally decided that the board of control would designate the place of the summer school at the time that it established the normal department.

Wartman was chairman of the committee that had drawn up the revised bill, and, in reporting it, he asked that it be brought up for debate as quickly as possible. Time was an important factor if these new schools were to be ready at the opening of the 1905 term. Debate was scheduled for the morning of May 18. Interest in the measure was widespread throughout Florida, and people everywhere followed the legislative debate as reported in the newspapers. For the most part the state press was favorable to the idea of consolidation. There were exceptions, however, particularly in the communities which stood a chance of losing their educational institutions. For instance, the editor of the Polk County Record warned that the proposed legislation was "fraught with results that no man of sane judgment can invite," and he predicted that the change would be "unjust to existing institutions and unfair to young men and women that live in remote parts of the state."

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70Typed copy of sections added by committee to House Bill 361 in Buckman Papers, UF Archives.

71Polk County Record (Bartow), n.d., ibid.
On the morning that debate on the bill began the visitors' gallery in the state capitol was jammed with interested spectators. There seemed to be an unusual amount of activity on the house floor, and all but two representatives answered roll call. Lobbyists and citizens' committees representing the schools scheduled to be abolished had labored for hours in hotel rooms and lobbies trying to build up opposition to the bill, and now they could be seen talking to various legislators on the house floor, even after the speaker called the assembly to order.

Almost the entire morning was taken up with the reading of the bill, and debate was postponed until the afternoon. At first, opponents of the measure attempted to forestall debate and to postpone final action until 1907, but they were not successful. Arguments began with Buckman's firm statement that "the time has come when we must prune out some of the sprouts which have grown up in the educational institutions of Florida, since the appropriations required for their maintenance and support have grown beyond the resources of the State to supply." He went over the committee substitute bill point by point, emphasizing the economies and pointing up the educational benefits that would accrue,72 "When the act shall have been fully understood and its operation shall have had a chance to be felt and its efficiency seen by the people of the State," Buckman promised, "they will have no reason to regret the change." Fully aware of the political implications of the bill, he argued, nevertheless, that it was "time to use the knife and cut this sore from the body politic and in its stead

72 MS notes of speech, ibid.
raise their branches to heaven, and in after years produce the fruit that every man, woman and child in this State desires to see and pluck."  

In opposing the measure, Representative Julian of Lake City agreed that the "colleges are not what they ought to be," but wondered if "Dr. Buckman" was qualified to diagnose "the diseased conditions." "He may have private convictions that there has been mismanagement, blunders and graft," Julian declared scornfully, but "now this kind-hearted physician, instead of suggesting a treatment that will eradicate these diseases partially, says that you shall take this instrument and stab them to death." Another opponent, William A. Bryan of Chipley, described the provisions of the bill to be as "cruel as hell, as wicked as the iniquity of Satan's own heart."  

Argument continued throughout the afternoon of May 18 and all of May 19. It was unseasonably hot and the sultry heat did nothing to lessen the tension in the house chamber. Women waved palmetto fans in the gallery and many representatives took off their coats.  

As each amendment was defeated supporters of the bill became more enthusiastic about the final outcome. Wartmann later said that he had been confident during the debate since he "had made a thorough canvass of the members, checking them carefully, and ... saw that victory for our measure was assured."  

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73Florida Times-Union, May 19, 1905.

74Ibid.

75Ibid.

76O. K. Armstrong, The Life and Work of Dr. A. A. Murphree (St. Augustine, 1928), 42.
The tension which had been building up in the house reached its peak on the morning of May 20 when the final vote was called for. The room was unusually quiet when the clerk rose to announce the results. By a vote of thirty-four to twenty-two the bill had passed. A great cheer burst from the legislators clustered around the desk of Representative Buckman. Noise and confusion swept through the chamber as a dozen legislators jumped to their feet, demanding to be heard. Laughter greeted the explanation of Representative J. L. Robison of Leon County who said that he had opposed because he believed in coeducation. The uproar continued for another half hour and then the house was adjourned for the day.

Interest was now transferred to the senate where there was perhaps even stronger opposition to consolidation. Senate President Park M. Trammell led the group which favored the status quo. On May 3 he had introduced a bill which would have reorganized the existing colleges and would have prevented consolidation. This measure passed the senate, but it was killed in a house committee. The revised Buckman bill was introduced in the senate on May 26. Trammell stepped down from the rostrum to speak against the measure. He argued that the senate had not had sufficient time to study the bill and that the proposed plan would not meet the needs of the state. Trammell represented Polk County, and he was speaking for his section of the state when he said that "South Florida and South Middle Florida, paying more than half of the taxes, with more than half the population, under the

78Ibid., 1797; Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 989.
measure gets neither of the two schools." While Trammell's statements regarding taxes and population were somewhat exaggerated, he was, in fact, expressing the point of view of many local communities which were reluctant to give up their colleges. Many legislators exemplified Richard Hofstadter's observation that educational pluralists have been willing to let their institutions struggle along with "insufficient funds, pathetic libraries, and overworked and under-diversified faculties" rather than allow consolidation. Senator McCreary of Gainesville was such a pluralist in point, and he sought to exempt the East Florida Seminary from merger sections of the Buckman bill. He was no more successful than Trammell, and on the final tally the bill passed by a vote of sixteen to five.

The Buckman Act, as it came to be known, was signed into law by Governor Broward on June 5, 1905. Consolidation had won. A new educational era was beginning for Florida.

79Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 1337.
80Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., 117.
81Florida Senate Journal, 1905, 1336.
CHAPTER XX

LAST YEAR IN LAKE CITY AND THE MOVE TO GAINESVILLE

With varied reactions the citizens and press of Florida greeted the enactment of the Buckman Act and the consolidation of the state institutions of higher learning. The newspapers indicated that the public, for the most part, supported the measure and hoped that it would enable the state "to concentrate its educational forces and gain a degree of efficiency otherwise scarcely attainable."\(^1\)

Newspaper opinion in the main was favorable. One editor described the act as an example of "triumphant progress."\(^2\) Another called it the "most important passed at this session of the legislature."\(^3\)

On the other hand, there was a little adverse criticism, some of it caustic. President Murphree of the West Florida Seminary had vigorously opposed the bill, and he admitted, years later, that he had regarded its passage at the time as "a mistake."\(^4\)

President Henry E. Bennett of the State Normal School at DeFuniak Springs and later dean of the normal department of the University of Florida, had made spirited protests against the Buckman bill.

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\(^1\) E. H. Sellards, "Florida's Educational System," The Outlook, LXXX (July 29, 1905), 840-41.

\(^2\) East Coast Advocate (Titusville), June 2, 1905.

\(^3\) Jacksonville Metropolis, reprinted in Daily News (Pensacola), June 10, 1905.

\(^4\) Murphree to W. A. Rawls, March 8, 1921, in Murphree Papers, UF Archives.
in speeches and through the newspapers. John R. Benton, later dean of the University’s college of engineering, in a letter to President Sledd, described the act as "an idiotic piece of spite-work, carried through in utter disregard of justice or of responsibility to the wishes of the people." The news editor of a national weekly magazine labelled the Florida legislators "irresponsible" because they had approved the consolidation measure. "It is hard to imagine any intelligent reason for such a jaunty method of conducting an educational department," the writer concluded, and "if there is a sane explanation, we should be glad to know what it is. Certainly if any individual acted as Florida has in this matter, his mental soundness would be at once questioned."5

The time for controversy had now passed. The Buckman Act was law and consolidation was no longer a matter for conjecture but an accomplished fact. Under the provisions of the act, Governor Broward had the responsibility of appointing a board of control. Even before he had signed the bill, he had received over a score of letters from various parts of the state recommending that Representative Buckman be appointed to the board.6 Although he and the governor had been on opposite sides of the political fence during the hectic 1904 campaign, Buckman’s education and training and his obvious interest in the educational institutions undoubtedly would have assured his appointment. The state constitution, however, in article 3, forbade the appointment or election of any member of the legislature to any civil office during

5"A State Educational System Truncated," The Outlook, LXXX (June 24, 1905), 458-59.

6These letters are in the Broward Papers, a private collection owned by the Broward Family, Jacksonville, Florida.
his term of service. Broward asked the state supreme court for an advisory opinion on whether membership on the board could be called a civil office.7 The court, after careful consideration, ruled that board members would be civil officers and that the appointment of a legislator would not be legal.8

Realizing that the first board of control would be responsible for launching the consolidated institutions, Broward gave careful consideration to his appointments. Nathan and William Bryan were among the governor's most trusted political advisors, and they played an important part in the selection of this board.9 Senator Frank Adams of Lake City, W. B. Sadler of Jasper, W. M. Girardeau of Monticello, C. S. Noble of Montclair, Henry H. Buckman, and E. L. Wartman were also called on for advice and counsel.

On June 21 Broward announced that he had appointed the following men to constitute the first board of control: P. K. Yonge of Pensacola, Nathaniel Adams of White Springs, Thomas Butler King of Arcadia, A. L. Brown of Eustis, and Nathan P. Bryan of Jacksonville.10 Newspaper reaction to Broward's announcement was typified by the editorial comment of the Pensacola Journal, which commended the board "as one from which the people have every reason to expect honest and intelligent effort."11 The Florida Times-Union which strongly opposed Broward on

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7Broward to Chief Justice Thomas M. Shackleford, Florida Supreme Court, June 8, 1905, in Broward Papers, Jacksonville.
8Daily News (Pensacola), June 13, 1905.
9The late Mrs. N. B. Broward to author, February, 1952.
10Pensacola Journal, June 22, 1905.
most political issues, noted that "great care has been exercised by the Governor in selecting gentlemen who will work together harmoniously and energetically in establishing, developing and constantly building up the higher education of the state."12

Nathan Bryan was perhaps the best-known member of the new board. His membership in the Jacksonville law firm of Bryan and Bryan and his active participation in the 1904 campaign had made him known throughout the state.13 P. K. Yonge, president of the Southern States Lumber Company of Pensacola, was one of West Florida's most cultured and substantial business men.14 Nathaniel Adams was a prosperous merchant of White Springs and a brother of Senator Frank Adams who had worked so hard to steer the Buckman bill through the legislature. Thomas King, a banker from Arcadia, was the son of Ziba King, one of South Florida's pioneer developers and richest business men. Dr. A. L. Brown, the fifth member, was a prominent physician and farmer from Eustis. Contemporary praise of Broward's board of control appointments has been confirmed by the manner in which its members performed their duties.

The new board held its first meeting in the governor's office on June 28. Bryan was unanimously elected chairman and J. G. Kellum of Gainesville was appointed secretary at a salary of $100 a month.15


13Biographical sketch of Bryan in Makers of America, op. cit. II, 82-83.


15Board of Control Minute Book I, June 28, 1905. Cited henceforth as BC Min. Bk.
There had been several candidates for the position of secretary, and before deciding upon Kellum the board had considered the qualifications of Fred Kettle, special correspondent for the Florida Times-Union and S. Boteler Thompson, the early graduate of the Florida Agricultural College who had helped organize the Alpha Tau Omega fraternity on the Lake City campus.16

At this first meeting President Sledd appeared and requested the appointment of John R. Benton, a young instructor from Carnegie Institute of Technology, to the chair of physics and engineering. He informed the board that an annual $1,000 contract had been signed with the Carnegie Institute of Technology, which would allow Benton to continue various physical and geodetic experiments at the University laboratory. After approving Sledd’s recommendations, the board informed the representatives from Lake City and Gainesville, who had come to present the claims of their respective towns, that no action on the selection of a site for the University would be taken until the next meeting. The board then joined with the state board of education in a published notice inviting representatives of any city interested in securing one of the institutions to present its qualifications, either in person or by letter, at the next board meeting in Tallahassee on July 6.17

On June 28 the members of the state board of education—Governor Broward, Secretary of State H. Clay Crawford, Attorney-General W. H. Ellis, Superintendent of Public Instruction W. M. Holloway, and

160cala Banner, June 30, 1905.

17BC Min, Bk. I, June 28, 1905. See also Twice-a-Week Sun (Gainesville), June 3, 1905.
State Treasurer W. V. Knott - and the members of the board of control began their tour of the various cities that were offering sites for the new institutions. After inspecting the campus and buildings of the West Florida Seminary in Tallahassee and the Institute for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind in St. Augustine, the group arrived in Gainesville late in the afternoon of June 30. The following morning a citizens' committee, made up of the leading merchants and professional men of the community, called upon the visitors at the Brown House, a hotel near the courthouse square, and invited them to tour the East Florida Seminary buildings. Although the Seminary students were on their summer vacation, President Pound had organized an impromptu military honor guard, and when the governor and his party approached the campus the gun crew fired a small brass howitzer that had been stationed on the parade ground.18 During the afternoon the inspectors traveled in horse-drawn carriages to the Gainesville High School and to the proposed alternate campus sites in East and West Gainesville. That evening a reception was held in the parlors of the women's dormitory, which had been elaborately decorated with flowers and greenery and the orange and black colors of the Seminary.

On Sunday morning the members of the two boards entrained for Lake City. They were met at the railroad station that afternoon by an enthusiastic welcoming committee, and a band led the procession to the Blanche Hotel. Most of the next day was spent inspecting classroom buildings, the library, gymnasium, laboratories, and the facilities of

18Information furnished author by the late Austin Miller, Jacksonville, in letters, December 29, 1952, January 7, 1953. Austin Miller was in charge of the honor guard.
the Experiment Station on the University campus. In the late afternoon a committee showed the visitors the lands adjacent to the campus that Lake City was willing to turn over to the state. That evening the citizens of the community gave a reception at the Blanche. Members of the boards, with the exception of P. K. Yonge, returned to Tallahassee the following morning. Yonge remained in Lake City an extra day to attend to other business for the board of control.19

There was little doubt that The Florida Female College would be located in Tallahassee, and no great concern was shown about the sites of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute and the Negro Normal School. The main controversy arose over the location of the University of Florida. The newspapers actively entered the campaign, and scores of people wrote the governor and other state officials, extolling the virtues of their respective home cities, and strong political pressure was exerted in the hope that it might yield results.

Gainesville and Lake City were the two leading contenders for the University, but, for obvious reasons, several other communities sought the institution. Fernandina's qualifications were enumerated in a newspaper editorial: "We've got more ozone than both of those towns put together, and if we once get them on the island, the boys can't run away from school without getting caught at the drawbridge. We can provide a magnificent site with an unobstructed view of the Atlantic Ocean, with Europe and Africa in the background."20

19Reminiscences of W. J. Knott quoted in Bristol, Three Focal Points, Appendix 16, 41.
20Florida Times-Union, June 22, 1905, quoting the Fernandina Star.
President Sledd had originally thought the University should be located in Jacksonville, and that was also the choice of a Titusville newspaper editor who felt that Jacksonville was "really the key to Florida." In announcing the bid of Live Oak, the editor of its local paper wrote: "The saloons were long ago driven out of this city, and if Suwannee Springs water isn't good enough for the University or any other institution not purely celestial, we would like to know why it isn't." Ocala backed up her candidacy with the guarantee that the water which she could furnish the University would be drawn from a "depth of 1500 feet," and would be "pure, wholesome and healthful."

While Pensacola never actively sought the University, a local newspaper editor analyzed the qualifications of the communities that were in the race and decided that "Pensacola, which never asks for anything, never expects anything and never gets anything from Florida, is, for many good and valid reasons, a better location for a college than any of them."

Many people throughout the state thought that, for reasons of economy, Lake City should be selected since the University was already established with several new and modern buildings. The University faculty favored Lake City because of local attachments and because the selection of any other site would necessitate moving their families.


22East Coast Advocate, June 30, 1905.

23Ocala Banner, July 7, 1905, quoting Live Oak Democrat.

and belongings. When it became apparent that the University would not go to Jacksonville, Sledd also supported Lake City. The question of whether he could retain his position as president if the institution were moved disturbed him. His close identification with the Lake City school might preclude his acceptance by some other community, and, he reasoned, political pressure might be exerted on the board of control to appoint someone else.25 Out-of-state support for Lake City came from Sledd's father-in-law, the eminent Methodist divine, Bishop Warren A. Candler of Atlanta, Georgia, who had been informed that Gainesville was ready to offer as much as $100,000 to get the institution.26

Gainesville, which naturally had a large measure of local support, also had received the endorsement of a number of state organizations and associations. Among other outside support, the Tampa and St. Petersburg newspapers wanted the University located in Gainesville and editorialized frequently on its superior virtues.27 Gainesville was described in the Tampa Tribune as a city possessing "everything desirable for the maintenance of the University. It has the school spirit, good water, a healthful climate, good buildings, and is a town without a saloon or a disorderly house, and with a standard of morality that makes it an ideal college town."28 Under the direction of William N. Wilson, a prominent Gainesville merchant, and Mayor W. R. Thomas,

25C. A. Carson to Sledd, Lake City, May 31, June 24, 1905, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.

26W. A. Candler to Florence Candler Sledd, Lake City, June 15, 1905, in Sledd Letter File I, UF Archives.


28Ibid., June 8, 1905, quoting the Tampa Tribune.
a tireless campaign was waged by scores of people from all parts of Alachua County. The mayor had personally conferred with every county school board in the state and had received an endorsement for his community from many of them. A campaign to raise $40,000 was successful, and Mayor Thomas and C. W. Chase agreed that they would deed to the state all the land that would be needed for a campus.

The editors of the Lake City Reporter and the Gainesville Sun were unrelenting foes during the location battle, and charges and countercharges were hurled back and forth in nearly every issue of the newspapers. Arguments against Gainesville stressed the inadequacy of transportation service, asserting that Gainesville's "trains are nothing but 'jerk-water' trains and there is no Pullman service." Gainesville's water "isn't an antidote for the Gainesville fever," Lake City citizens reported, "and there is an insufficiency of supply." The people of Gainesville retaliated with similar criticisms of their opponent. One Lake City resident sarcastically noted: "Of course, a great many places want the University. That is perfectly natural. Did you ever see a poor old horse with long hair that had run on the range with no attention and nobody wanted him, but when taken up by some good farmer and fed and groomed he became sleek and fat and everybody wanted him." The editor of the Gainesville Sun charged that Lake City had supported the Buckman Act only "to promote its own ends," and that it had purposely and "diabolically murdered the other schools of the state."

29From conversations with W. R. Thomas and E. E. Voyle, as reported by Charles L. Crow, "History of the University of Florida through 1908-09," I (unpublished MS in UF Archives).

30Florida Times-Union, June 20, 1905.

31Ocala Banner, June 2, 1905, quoting the Gainesville Sun.
The problem facing the board of control and the board of education was difficult since, as one newspaper pointed out, so many places had put forth their bids as "the ideal place for the University," the board members would undoubtedly "feel the embarrassment of riches in 'ideal places'." After completing their tour, the inspectors had returned to Tallahassee, where, on July 5, they held a short meeting to determine the agenda for the following day. It was agreed that each delegation would be given a full and fair hearing. The first city to present its claims would be allotted an hour and a half; all other cities would be allowed two hours each, after which the first city presenting its claims would be given an half hour to close its argument. This arrangement distinctly favored the city first to present its claims as it gave time for rebuttal.

Lobbyists and sightseers thronged Tallahassee for the meeting. Both Gainesville and Lake City had chartered trains and had sent large delegations to the capital as they had when the Buckman bill was being debated. The house chamber was crowded to capacity when Governor Broward called the open meeting to order promptly at ten o'clock on Thursday morning, July 6. As a result of a caucus held the previous evening, Gainesville won the right to speak first. J. F. McKinstry Jr., a prosperous Gainesville physician, whose family had been among the pioneer settlers of Alachua County, submitted two proposals on behalf of his community. Gainesville agreed to deed the state five hundred acres of land west of the city and to donate $40,000; or to deed three hundred

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32Florida Times-Union, June 20, 1905.
33BC Min. BK I, June 5, 1905. See also Minute Book III, State Board of Education, July 5, 1905.
twenty acres in west Gainesville and fifteen acres, including the public school building and grounds, on what is now East University Avenue. In case the first proposition was accepted, Gainesville agreed that the University could use the school building, free of all charge, "until such time as the necessary new buildings have been completed." In either case, the proposal stipulated that Gainesville would "furnish water to the University without charge." Her citizens, moreover, agreed to house students in private homes "at a rate not exceeding that charged by the State, until such time as the necessary buildings for their accommodation have been completed." This proposal was signed by nine of Gainesville's leading citizens, and it was accepted at that time as an official offer which the local government would support.

Reverend Mr. W. J. Carpenter, representing the board of education of the Florida Methodist Conference, spoke next for Gainesville and submitted a bid of $30,000 on behalf of fourteen local citizens for the property of the East Florida Seminary. Joseph H. Jones of Orlando used the remainder of Gainesville's time for a short speech extolling "the culture, educational spirit, tradition and loyalty of the citizens" of Gainesville, and he said that people all over Florida

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34Ibid., July 6, 1905.

35Appended to the Gainesville offer were the signatures of Mayor W. R. Thomas, J. F. McKinstry, Jr., Perry M. Colson, A. M. Cushman, John B. Dellt, George M. Lynch, S. H. Wienges, W. N. Wilson, and C. A. Colclough.

36Appended to the offer to purchase the Seminary property were the signatures of Mayor W. R. Thomas, Perry M. Colson, B. F. Hampton, Marcus Endel, W. S. Broome, C. A. Colclough, J. H. Hodges, J. D. Stringfellow, S. J. Thomas, A. M. Cushman, George M. Lynch, W. N. Wilson, and W. B. Taylor. This offer is recorded in BC Min. Bk. I, July 6, 1905 and Minute Book III, State Board of Education, July 6, 1905.
shared his sentiments.

Opening for Lake City, Colonel A. B. Small reviewed the history of the Florida Agricultural College, and pointed out the various qualifications of his community which had caused the College to be located there. At the end of his lengthy address he submitted Lake City's proposal: the citizens offered sixty-two acres of land adjacent to the campus, and eight hundred acres additional, valued at $20,000 "to be used or sold for the benefit of the said University as the authorities thereof see fit." In addition, $40,000 in cash would be given if the University were permanently located in Lake City. Colonel Small presented three certified checks aggregating this amount to guarantee the offer. Lake City's many virtues were further set forth in arguments and appeals made by Charles E. Davis of Madison and Judge A. J. Henry and Judge W. M. Ives of Lake City. Reverend Mr. C. H. Ferron concluded the plea for Lake City with a description of the elevated moral and cultural tone of that community. It was midafternoon when the Lake City speakers closed their arguments and the governor ordered a recess. This gave Gainesville an interval to prepare its closing argument.

At three o'clock Governor Broward banged his gavel on the table and declared the boards in session. It was time for Gainesville to make its final argument. Robert McNamee, a Tampa attorney, summarized Gainesville's case as it had been presented earlier, and he turned over a deed for five hundred seventeen acres of land and a certified

37 BC Min. Bk. I, July 6, 1905; also Minute Book III, State Board of Education, July 6, 1905.
check for $40,000.38

Of the several cities that had expressed an interest in securing the University, none, except Gainesville and Lake City, had sent delegations to the Tallahassee meeting or had presented formal offers to the boards. Representative W. A. Rawls, Judge George P. Raney, and F. T. Myers made brief talks pointing out the advantages of having the state university in Tallahassee, but, for the most part, there seems to have been no organized effort to have the institution located anywhere in West Florida. It is possible that there might have been an unofficial understanding that Tallahassee would get The Florida Female College provided the University was placed in the eastern part of the state. It is certain no other city competed with Tallahassee for the women's college.39

The speeches had droned on through the long, hot afternoon, and it was evening when Governor Broward again recessed the meeting. Most of the board members had accepted Governor and Mrs. Broward's invitation to supper at their home, and it was eight-thirty before the group reassembled in the capitol. Afterward the boards went into closed session in the governor's office. Reporters, members of the school delegations, and curious spectators crowded the corridor and watched with an air of expectancy the ribbon of light that showed underneath the closed door. It was after eleven o'clock when Chairman Bryan finally opened the door and announced that the secret balloting

38At a meeting of the Gainesville representatives and the board of control on July 19, 1905, it was discovered that there was a mistake on the deed and that it should have been for only 512 acres.

39Rhodes, "The Legal Development of State Supported Higher Education in Florida," op. cit., 188.
was completed and that the results were ready. The crowd pressed
around him and there was wild applause when he reported that Tallahas­
see had been chosen as the site for The Florida Female College. A
motion to this effect had been introduced by P. K. Yonge, and the
joint boards had assented to this proposal unanimously. Bryan waited
until the throng in the corridor was quiet again before making his
second announcement. It was a hushed group that heard that by a vote
of six to four, Gainesville had been selected as the future site for
the University of Florida.

In Gainesville throughout the day there had been an air of
nervous expectancy. People had been asking each other what they thought
the outcome of the balloting would be. Men talked in small groups out­
side the stores near the courthouse square, and a few men were seen
laying bets on Gainesville's chances. A large crowd jammed the side­
walk in front of the telegraph office, reading the telegrams pasted
on the window reporting the activities in Tallahassee. By eight
o'clock that evening the crowd numbered over two hundred, and from time
to time new arrivals swelled the throng. Buggies were lined up three
deep all the way out to the Seminary, and the streets around the square
were crowded with men and women who waited impatiently for the decision
from Tallahassee. It was nearly midnight when one of the telegraph
operators, excitedly waving a message which had just arrived, pushed
through the crowd, yelling the news that Gainesville had won and that
the University would be moved to Gainesville. Someone ran up the street
to the Methodist church and began ringing the bell in its steeple. In
a moment bells and mill whistles all over town were ringing and blowing,
and someone was cranking the fire siren. Lights were on in most of
the houses, and porches and the sidewalks were crowded with excited
people discussing the happy news.

As the night wore on, the demonstrations continued. Bells in
the neighboring country churches had begun ringing. In the city men
blew whistles, little boys had a wonderful time beating iron spoons
against tin cans and buckets, and soon a torch light parade was weav-
ing through the downtown streets. A bonfire had been lit on the corner
near the Presbyterian church, and another burned on the Seminary parade
ground. Everywhere firecrackers were popping and bells clanging, and,
according to a newspaper report, "everything that could make a noise
was put to the test and the enthusiasm and excitement was [sic] tense.
There was a display for fireworks, and a general love feast, and
hallelujah." An Ocala visitor recalled that "everything that rang,
that whistled, that exploded, or resounded, was called into requisition,
and the hottest time in its history was abroad in the old town." The celebration continued throughout the night and all the
next day. Most of the business houses remained closed and the beer
parlors and hotel bars did a thriving business. A telegraphed message
from Mayor Thomas announced that the Gainesville delegation would be
arriving from Tallahassee on the noon train Friday and that was a sig-
nal for a resurgance of the celebration. Fifty or more carriages and
buggies, decorated with American flags and the Seminary's orange and

Ocala Banner, July 14, 1905. A description of the Gaines-
ville celebration was published in the Sun, July 10, 1905.

Ocala Star, reprinted in Twice-a-Week Sun, July 13, 1905.
black colors, and scores of gaily bedecked bicycles moved hurriedly towards the railroad station, and a gathering throng of people prepared a rousing reception for the victorious leaders. There was a mementory disappointment when it was discovered that Mayor Thomas, W. N. Wilson, and a few others had remained in Tallahassee to finish up some business, but the other committeemen were greeted with thunderous applause as they stepped out of the train. They were given seats of honor in open, decorated carriages, and the procession moved around the courthouse square and then up Main Street to the Seminary. There were speeches, cheers, and enthusiastic yells, and it was with reluctance that the crowd finally dispersed.

The following day there was another parade to welcome Mayor Thomas, McNamee, Wilson and the rest of the delegation when they arrived. Thomas rode through the streets in a buggy that had been emblazoned with a huge sign reading: "Our Mayor - God Bless Him." There was another round of enthusiastic speechmaking, punctuated by loud applause, shrill whistles, and jubilant shouts from the audience. On Saturday evening the whole town was invited to a gala reception held in the parlors of the women's dormitory at the Seminary, and on Sunday morning almost all of the churches held special Thanksgiving services.

As might have been expected, the mood of Lake City and the reaction of its citizens to the news were vastly different from that of Gainesville. There, as in Gainesville, Thursday had been a day of nervous tension and watchful waiting. Telegrams from Tallahassee had been read and discussed, and men clustered in front of the newspaper
and telegraph offices waiting for more information. The leaders of the community had revealed no open concern over the possibility of some site other than Lake City being chosen, and, in fact, many people were making plans for the town's growth and the acceleration of its business activity. Nearly everyone had been confident of Lake City's success. C. A. Carson, immediately after the passage of the Buckman Act, had expressed the opinion that "the University of Florida will still be located in Lake City," and Senator Frank Adams later stated "that he had received solemn assurance from a majority of the two Boards that they would vote for Lake City."

On the evening of July 6 a large crowd gathered in front of the telegraph office on Marion Street. By eleven o'clock there were more than a thousand people standing side by side along the sidewalk near the Hotel Blanche and the courthouse square. "They were milling around in nervous expectancy, the buzz of conversation filling the air," Professor Farr later recalled. "Occasionally the deep bass voice of some man could be heard as he proclaimed the justice of their cause and the impossibility of the Board's daring to steal her school from Lake City. Now and again the shrill, hysterical tones of a woman arose as she appealed to listeners to tell her what would become of the town if they lost the school." Inside the telegraph office a small group waited, its members nearly breathless with suspense each time the telegraph keys clattered out a message. It was almost midnight when the Lake City code suddenly sounded on the instrument receiver, and within

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42 Carson to Sledd, May 31, 1905, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
43 Quoted in Farr's, "The Making of a University," loc. cit.
a few seconds the operator began receiving the message. The staccato chattering reverberated through the room as everyone watched the operator. One observer recalled that at first her face reflected "amazement, then incredulity and then blank horror swept across it." Too overcome with emotion to do anything about the message, she handed it to Dr. Farr who was in the office. He stood at the window for a moment, looking at the anxious faces of the crowd in the street below. He raised his hands to silence the turmoil, and, almost as though someone had pulled a switch, the talking and the shuffling suddenly stopped, and a thousand pairs of eyes looked up. Without any explanation, he read them the brief message: the University would go to Gainesville. The news stunned the crowd and for a moment there was no reaction. Then a loud angry roar swept across the packed streets and sidewalks. Shouts of "No!" and "Cheap Politics!" were heard on every hand, and men and women wept openly. "The angriest crowd of human beings I have ever seen," was the way Farr described the citizens of Lake City that night. "If the members of the Boards had been present," he later recalled, "I am sure they would not have escaped with their lives." The fury that had swept across Lake City was not soon forgotten nor was the resulting bitterness quickly alleviated. For years many citizens of Columbia County refused to send their sons to the University of Florida, and it was nearly half a century before most of the resentment against Gainesville disappeared.

The members of the boards did not immediately reveal how they had voted, and for months Floridians tried to guess the six men who

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44Ibid., 50.
had favored Gainesville. It was generally agreed that Governor Broward, Bryan, Adams, and Brown had supported Lake City, although the editor of the Ocala Banner thought that it was P. K. Yonge, rather than Brown, who had voted for Lake City.\(^{46}\) Actually Yonge had voted for Gainesville, whose "cultural atmosphere" he admired and because he saw the value of "having a completely new campus unencumbered by any existing buildings."\(^{47}\) State Treasurer Knott later admitted that he had voted for Gainesville because of its central location, offer of "perpetual free water rights," which he had roughly estimated to be worth $40,000, and because of "the 500 acres in one body suitable for the buildings, campus and the experiment station."\(^{48}\) Attorney-General Ellis had at first voted for Lake City, and it was only after several ballots that he switched to Gainesville and broke the five to five tie.\(^{49}\)

In 1908, when Broward was making his first race for the United States Senate, the University vote question again became a controversial issue. According to the Gainesville Sun, which had always fought him, Broward had admitted at a political rally that, although he had voted for Lake City, he had really wanted the University in Gainesville and had consequently appointed to the board men who were favorable to that community.\(^{50}\) The governor immediately denied this report, and issued a statement which asserted that "three

\(^{46}\)Ocala Banner, July 14, 1905.

\(^{47}\)Rhodes, "The Legal Development of State Supported Higher Education in Florida," loc. cit., 190. See also Bristol, Three Focal Points, Appendix 16, 42.

\(^{48}\)Knott to Bristol, quoted in Bristol's Three Focal Points, Appendix 16, 42.


\(^{50}\)Gainesville Sun, April 10, 1908.
of the five who were appointed as members of the board of control, together with myself, voted for Lake City."51 Apparently none of the other members of the boards ever publicly revealed how they had voted on the location question, and the board's minutes do not give that information.

Meanwhile, in Tallahassee the boards were concerned with other important matters affecting the University. Owing to the generally run-down and delapidated condition of the East Florida Seminary buildings and their lack of accommodation for the expected increase in student enrollment, it was decided to use the Lake City campus during the 1905-06 term. The first of the new buildings on the Gainesville campus was expected to be ready for occupancy within a year. The main business before the boards on the morning of July 7 was the election of presidents for the two white institutions. Upon the motion of P. K. Yonge, Dr. Albert A. Murphree was unanimously elected president of the Florida Female College at an annual salary of $2,500.

The main controversy came over the appointment of Dr. Sledd as president of the University. In May, just before the legislature had adjourned, a harshly critical report on the Lake City institution had been submitted by a legislative investigating committee. The legislators announced that they had found most of the campus buildings in a "frightfully delapidated condition, absolutely filthy, walls falling down." The classrooms, they said, were "inadequate, filthy, and hardly as good in equipment as the average country school;" two of the dormitories were "in bad condition, and entirely unwholesome;" the

51Ibid., April 21, 1908; Florida Times-Union, April 27, 1908.
mechanical engineering building was "completely worn out;" the Flagler gymnasium was in a "delapidated condition, showing serious defective construction;" the veterinary building so inconveniently located and so entirely unadapted to the uses intended that it has been wholly abandoned." The committee claimed that the science building was not being "used for the purposes constructed," that the faculty lacked maturity, that Experiment Station funds were being used "for purposes contrary to national law," and that all the farm buildings were badly "adapted to their uses." An exorbitant price had been paid for land for the model farm, it was reported, and the farm management would not "commend itself to intelligent thrifty farmers." The bitterness of the report was climaxed by the fact that it did not definitely recommend the appropriation of a single dollar. Although the lawmakers had stated that their report was offered "in the most friendly disposition" and that its "object is to benefit and not to damage," it actually indicted President Sledd and the members of the board of trustees for the "abundant evidence of inefficiency and wastefulness." 52

This report raised a furor throughout the state. Frank Harris, in the Ocala Banner, denounced the whole affair as "a piece of political devilment." "The misinformation of the Legislative visiting committee is so apparent, and the findings so partisan and biased," he stated, "that the report is hardly entitled to serious consideration." 53 Sledd made a full and formal refutation of all the charges, which was printed in most of the newspapers of the state. 54 He pointed out that the

53The Citizen-Reporter, June 2, 1905, quoting Ocala Banner.
54Sledd's refutation was published in many Florida newspapers, including the Florida Times-Union, May 27, 1905.
legislators had only made a cursory inspection of the campus during their short visit and that the unfavorable report was obviously an attempt "to slap at the Board of Trustees." "If the Board of Trustees and myself were guilty of the things charged in this report," Sledd said, "our names should have been called and our dismissal here should have followed by prosecution." Sledd suspected that the report had been written with the assistance of Professor Horace E. Stockbridge, Professor A. A. Persons and Representative A. J. P. Julian, a Lake City physician, all of whom were personally antagonistic to the president. Julian had fought the Buckman bill because, according to Sledd, he had not been appointed University physician.

However unjustified the report might have been, the political enemies of the members of the board of trustees and those antagonistic to the University used it for their own purposes. One Florida newspaper claimed that Lake City had lost the University because of "the bad report" and the personal attacks on the institution. There was an increasing number of newspaper criticisms directed against Sledd, although many editors, like Frank Harris, had defended him as "a pure, high minded man," who "lives rigidly up to religious vows, and during his whole life no oath has ever passed his lips." Another paper said

56 Ibid., 143, 147.
57 Ocala Banner, July 14, 1905, quoting the Tampa Herald.
58 George E. Wilson to Sledd, Lake City, June 28, 1905, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
59 Ocala Banner, May 5, 1905.
that it was because he had "adhered so closely to the University and to his duty thereto that he has incurred some hostility from those who seem to believe that the test of a public servant is ability to get into the limelight."60

Some of the anti-Sledd sentiment had crystallized in the state board of education and a few of its members wanted someone else appointed president of the University. In its joint meeting with the board of control, there was opposition to Sledd, but it was not strong enough to prevent his appointment. The resentment against Sledd was rekindled during the luncheon recess and members of the board of education called the board into secret session, where it was resolved to annul Sledd's election and appoint Murphree instead. This action was wholly unexpected, but the board of control, denying the jurisdiction of the board of education in such matters, refused to accept this action. Nathan P. Bryan was adamant in his opposition and threatened to carry the conflict to the state supreme court if necessary. P. K. Yonge and other board members strongly supported Bryan, and when the governor sided with the board of control, the board of education yielded and withdrew its resolution.61 Sledd's salary was set at $2,500 a year, and he was empowered to choose his own faculty and establish much of his own educational policy, subject to final board approval.

Later that afternoon Sledd appeared before the board and formally accepted his appointment. Farr had already been elected vice-

60 The Morning Tribune (Tampa), May 31, 1905.

president of the University, and Sledd asked that he also be appointed head professor of English at a total annual salary of $1,500. In addition, Sledd nominated the following faculty, most of whom were already teaching on the Lake City campus: James N. Anderson, Latin and Greek; David Yancy Thomas, history; Charles M. Conner, agriculture; Edward R. Flint, chemistry; John R. Benton, physics; M.T. Hochstrasser, mechanical engineering; N. H. Cox, civil engineering; Karl Schmidt, mathematics and astronomy; F. M. Rolfs, botany and horticulture; E. H. Sellards, zoology, geology, and entomology; Charles L. Crow, modern languages; and C. A. Finley, librarian. The board approved these nominations and set the University's salary budget for 1905-06 at $26,750.62

The faculty of the normal department was next approved, and Henry E. Bennett, who had revealed considerable administrative ability during the time that he served as principal of the DeFuniak State Normal School, was chosen professor of pedagogy. At a later meeting the board voted to separate the offices of the president and the director of the Experiment Station, and P. H. Rolfs was chosen director. In August, 1905, the board employed George F. Green as athletic director and football coach at an annual salary of $750.63

The activities of the University during its last year in Lake City moved along quietly. One hundred thirty-six students, including eight graduate students, had enrolled when the term opened in September, 1905. There were a few changes in the faculty during the year, and there was some modification of the curriculum. The most important

63Ibid., August 14, 1905.
change occurred in the normal department which had been set up as a separate administrative unit with its own faculty. The small enrollment in this department did not justify the expense of its operation, and, by board ruling, it was abolished and replaced with a professorship of education under a department of pedagogy. Academic standards for normal students were raised, and a bachelor of arts in pedagogy was offered which included all requirements of the teacher training curriculum and all of the general course work of other University students. It was agreed during this first year that it would be proper for members of the Experiment Station staff to be relieved of any University duties so that they might devote their time "wholly to their specific work in investigation and publication of the results of their researches."64

The main attention was directed toward Gainesville where the new campus was being laid out. Professor N. H. Cox had designated the sites of the first buildings on July 17, 1905, and had planted a row of oaks on either side of a planned roadway running from the dormitory area to the northeast corner of the campus. Using rock and gravel dug up from the University grounds, the county began surfacing Alachua Avenue (later University Avenue) from the Tampa and Jacksonville Railroad tracks (now the Atlantic Coast Line tracks) to the edge of the campus. The people of Gainesville, moreover, had offered to lend the state $100,000 at six per cent interest so that there would be no delay in awarding the building contracts.65 This offer was declined with

the grateful thanks of the board members and with the explanation that
the buildings would have to be constructed within the limits of the
state's appropriations.66 A South Carolina firm, Edwards and Walters,
was appointed official architect for the University and was ordered
"to prepare a prospectus plan of the University grounds . . . to show
how the board could best expend $65,000 in the erection of the follow-
ing buildings: three barns . . . dormitories to accommodate 100 students;
assembly hall; a temporary mess hall; machinery hall; 12 classrooms to
accommodate 20 students each; 12 classrooms to accommodate 40 students
each; and 4 laboratories, 20 by 30 feet each."67 P. K. Yonge worked
with the architects in drawing up the first campus plan which called
for the eventual construction of forty-four buildings, including six
dormitories, a gymnasium, a number of houses for faculty, fraternities,
and literary societies, and separate buildings for the colleges of
law, medicine, agriculture, horticulture, and education. A library,
chapel, museum, infirmary, Y.M.C.A. building, and other structures
were included in the plan. The focal point of the campus plan was a
large administration building, to be erected in the area now called the
Plaza of the Americas.68

In October the architectural plans drawn by Edwards and Walters
for the first University buildings were accepted and construction of
the dormitories was allotted first priority. It was agreed that as soon

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66Twice-a-Week Sun (Gainesville), August 17, 1905.

67Ibid., August 15, 1905.

68A copy of the plat is in the P. K. Yonge Papers, a private
collection owned by Julian Yonge of Gainesville. It was also in the
University Record, II, No. 3, August, 1907.
as funds should become available the chapel, administration building, science building, law building, and agricultural building would be erected. No temporary structures were to be constructed. Upon motion of Yonge, the board voted the "Tudor-Gothic" style of architecture for campus structures. It was decided at this meeting that "a shower bath and water closet" should be installed on each floor in each dormitory section.

Bids were immediately advertised for two brick dormitory buildings, and construction began before the end of the year. The W. T. Hadlow Company of Jacksonville received the construction contracts on a bid of $75,250. This was in excess of the $65,000 limit set up in the first building budget, but its acceptance was authorized by the governor's office. The larger building, containing six dormitory sections, was named Thomas Hall for Mayor Thomas who had played such a prominent role in the fight to bring the University to Gainesville. The other building was named Buckman Hall in honor of the legislative leader who had done so much to bring about educational consolidation.

Rumors, meanwhile, had begun circulating throughout Florida that final construction for these two buildings was likely to run as high as $1,500,000. The editor of the Jacksonville Metropolis predicted that, if these rumors were true, an effort would be made "to repeal the Buckman bill at the next session of the Legislature," and the Miami Record also decided that it would be more economical to

69Daily Sun (Gainesville), October 10, 1905.

70Daily News, October 25, 1905, quoting Lake City Citizens Reporter.

71Jacksonville Metropolis, October 17, 1905.
return to "pre-Buckman bill days." Nathan Bryan denied these stories of exorbitant costs in a letter published in several Florida newspapers and said that it had been the "expressed purpose of the boards not to exceed the amounts appropriated" but that building costs were more than had been estimated. He promised, moreover, that no construction money would again be expended by the board of control "without the approval of the legislature." It was believed that the total cost of all structures designated on the complete campus plan would cost more than $1,000,000, but this was a long-range building project.

On a Saturday morning early in March, 1906, President Sledd, Vice-President Farr, and a group of the faculty arrived in Gainesville to inspect the campus site and to check construction progress. Enroute to the girl's dormitory at the East Florida Seminary, where a luncheon had been prepared by a group of ladies, the group was intercepted by a boisterous crowd of some two hundred boys, waving banners and shouting, "We are going to be University boys!" After luncheon the committee drove out to the campus site. The town practically ended at the Tampa and Jacksonville Railroad tracks. Farr described the approach to the new campus as follows: "Beyond stretched a rough country road--on each side weed-covered fields, with here and there a Negro hut. About half-way out was a handsome new two-story residence, the home of Congressman Frank Clark (now the Elks Club). Finally we came to the intersection of another road, leading south to Ocala. Before us, bounded by the two roads, stretched a sweep of pine woods, the part nearest us low and water-covered--a desolate and

72Daily News, October 25, 1905.
forbidding scene. Beyond we could see signs of building activity. We drove up and found the foundations and part of the walls of the two dormitories, Thomas and Buckman, growing under the hands of the masons." All members of the group, Farr remembered, were depressed with their visit, and several of them wondered whether it would ever be possible to secure "the large sums necessary to convert this bare spot into a plant commensurate with our ambition for the future great University." The committee returned to Lake City "feeling chilled and discouraged."73

In Lake City, meanwhile, preparations were underway to move the supplies and equipment to the new campus. As early as October, 1905, the Experiment Station had sold its cows to the University mess hall and had disposed of its horse, surrey, and typewriters in Lake City. In January, 1906, Director Rolfs began moving some of the Experiment Station equipment to Gainesville, using the Old East Florida Seminary buildings for storage. The following month he set out the first plants in the area that was to be used by the Station and planted two hundred oak trees along the projected route of the main campus drive. In April, 1906, construction was started on the Experiment Station barns and cottages, and six miles of wire fencing was strung, enclosing the campus site.

None of these activities had helped to calm the tempers of most of the Lake City people. Their anger over losing the University had been simmering all winter, and it finally reached the boiling point on June 1, 1906, when an injunction was ordered by Judge A. J. Henry,

restraining the shipment of any more equipment to Gainesville.\footnote{The Citizen-Reporter (Lake City), June 8, 1906.} Although there was little probability that the injunction could be made permanent, it was feared that a legal dispute might delay the opening of school in September. On June 9, Bryan, acting for the state's attorney, appeared before Judge B. H. Palmer of the circuit court and asked that the injunction be dissolved, since it was inimical to the interests of the state. When the court announced that it would delay its decision, citizens of Lake City, through their attorneys, petitioned for another injunction on June 15, and brought a civil suit against the state board of education, the board of control, and President Sledd. This new plea questioned the legality of the Buckman Act and challenged the boards' authority to move the University away from Lake City. Citing the Dartmouth College case, an early decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court, the Lake City attorneys declared that the removal of the institution would impair a contract that had been entered into in 1884 by the board of trustees of the Florida Agricultural College with the citizens of Columbia County. The injunction, which was granted by the circuit court commissioner, stipulated that the packing of University equipment must stop, that nothing more would be shipped, and that any equipment already in Gainesville would have to be returned to Lake City.

W. S. Cawthon, who recently had been appointed librarian and instructor in mathematics, was in charge of the packing.\footnote{The Citizen-Reporter (Lake City), June 8, 1906.} Described as "a man of powerful physique, determination and courage,\footnote{BC Min. Bk., I, May 29, 1906.}"
as well as being a crack shot," Cawthon was considered ideal for the job. He was assisted by W. P. Jernigan, the University's business manager. After the second injunction, a Lake City policeman came out to the campus to warn Cawthon that unless he stopped packing he would be arrested. That possibility had already been considered by Nathan Bryan, and while he did not think it likely, he asked Cawthon if he would mind going to jail in order to test the validity of the restraining order. After a conference with Mrs. Cawthon and an assurance by Bryan that a writ of habeas corpus could be secured, the librarian agreed to cooperate. Every morning Cawthon received wires from Bryan in Jacksonville and President Sledd, who was in Gainesville at the time, inquiring as to his status, and every evening Cawthon telegraphed back that the packing operations continued satisfactorily and that he had not yet been arrested.77

Meanwhile, appeals had been filed with the Florida Supreme Court, but since no action could be expected before the January session there was a real danger that the University's opening date would have to be postponed. Bryan and his associates argued that this civil action was really being directed at the state, and that, since the state could not be sued without its consent, the injunctions were invalid. This legal maneuvering quickly developed into a situation which one contemporary aptly termed "a lawyers' battle."78 On July 5, 1906, the attorneys representing Lake City asked the court for

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77 W. S. Cawthon to author, in an interview in Tallahassee, March 3, 1953.
78 Unsigned letter to Sledd, June 20, 1906, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.
permission to consolidate its two existing suits and to substitute a new bill of complaint. Four days later, without rendering a decision, Judge Palmer disqualified himself, on the ground that he had contributed to the original Florida Agricultural College fund and because he owned real estate in Lake City which might be affected by the removal of the University to Gainesville. The matter now came under the jurisdiction of Circuit Court Judge John W. Malone of Quincy, and, on July 19, he handed down an order, dissolving the two injunctions and disallowing the introduction of a third suit. 79

The bitterness which this fight engendered threatened to erupt into a pitched battle when the University was preparing to move to Gainesville. The packing operations had been delayed because almost no Lake City people would consent to work for the University and laborers had to be hired out of town. Then, when the packing cases and furniture were ready to be hauled to the freight depot, no Lake City livery stable would hire drays, and four wagon teams and drivers had to be brought in from Gainesville. 80 People in Lake City later explained that their wagons had been busy at the time and that there had not been "enough teams for the public and private work then going on in the community." Many state newspapers criticized Lake City, however, for its "obstructionist tactics," and one newspaper called it a "manifestation of soreness." 81

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79Florida Times-Union, July 21, 1906.

80Bryan to Cawthon, Lake City, July 20, 1906; Sledd to W. R. Thomas, Gainesville, July 23, 1906, in Sledd Papers, UF Archives.

congratulated the people of Gainesville "on the unusual but prompt and effective manner in which they surmounted the obstacles thrown in their way by jealous Lake Cityites." 82

Disquieting rumors had circulated around Lake City that force would be used, if necessary, to prevent the equipment leaving the campus. The University employees had been cautioned not to do or say anything that might further aggravate the situation. Packing operations had continued quietly in the midst of the political and legal wrangling, and on Monday morning, July 23, Professor Cawthon had the wagons loaded, ready to move out to the freight station. Hoping that there would be no interference, and uncertain as to what action should be taken if there were, Cawthon, with a loaded rifle across his knees, rode in the first wagon. Faculty members rode on the other wagons and the laborers walked behind the wagons but none of them carried weapons. On both sides of the road into town crowds had gathered to watch the wagons go by. A few men booted and hissed and hurled cat-calls at Professor Cawthon, but for the most part the people stood silent as though they were watching a funeral procession. Except for a single shower of pebbles and sandbags which were hurled at the wagons by a group of youngsters posted on the corner near the courthouse square, the journey to the railroad station was made peaceably. The baggage was quickly and quietly loaded aboard the waiting freight cars, and within an hour the train had pulled out for Gainesville. Boxes of books, barrels of dishes, and the laboratory equipment which had not been shipped were carried in the drays to Gainesville. It took two

days for these wagons to make the trip over the deep-rutted sandy road.  

Meanwhile legal efforts to block the move had been continuing throughout this period. When state court action failed, Lake City counsel sought an injunction in the federal courts. A petition was presented to Judge David Shelby of the United States Circuit Court, asking for a temporary injunction to prevent the removal of furniture and equipment from Lake City. However, almost everything had already been shipped to Gainesville, and about the time Sledd announced that only one portable blackboard, an old boiler, and a few office chairs remained, the court refused the injunction. The Lake City attorneys were given until October 1, 1906, to appeal this decision.  

On December 19, 1906, the state supreme court upheld the constitutionality of the Buckman Act in a decision written by Chief Justice Thomas M. Shackleford. United States Circuit Judge James W. Locke handed down a final order dismissing the injunction suits on April 11, 1907. This brought to an end the complicated legal battle by Lake City to prevent the University moving to Gainesville.  

As the Lake City equipment arrived in Gainesville, it was stored by Professor Floyd in a small, wooden machinery building that had been constructed just south of Buckman Hall. The blackboards,

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83 Cawthon’s description to author, March 3, 1953.
84 Florida Times-Union, August 7, 1906; the Sunday Times-Union, August 12, 1906; The Citizen-Reporter, August 12, 1906.
85 Florida Reports I (1905), 293, 406.
86 Florida Times-Union, April 12, 1907.
furniture, books, and rifles from the South Florida Military Institute and the books from the St. Petersburg Normal and Industrial School were placed temporarily in the old East Florida Seminary buildings. By the middle of August the lower floors of Thomas and Buckman were ready, and new furniture and apparatus were stored there.

Plans were made for the beginning of the first term on the new campus. Registration was scheduled for Monday, September 24, with classes to begin two days later. Early reports indicated that a hundred and fifty students would be enrolled before the end of the week, but these predictions were overly optimistic. At no time during the session of 1906-1907 were there more than one hundred and two students, including thirty-eight "sub-freshmen," attending the University.

The formal dedication of the University was set for three o'clock Thursday afternoon, September 27. The campus had been cleaned of debris, and Buckman and Thomas were open for public inspection throughout the day. The visitors for the most part were pleased with the new campus, and particularly with the new buildings, although it was agreed that there was already "insufficient dormitory room."

Offices and stores throughout Gainesville closed for the occasion, the city was gaily decorated with the newly adopted University colors of orange and blue, and everybody, according to one newspaper reporter, was "jubilant."

The convocation exercises began with an invocation and welcoming speeches by Gainesville's William Wade Hampton, Sr. and Congressman

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88 *Florida Times-Union*, September 27, 1906.
89 *Board of Control Report*, 1907, 26.
90 *Florida Times-Union*, September 27, 1906.
Frank Clark. Governor Broward spoke on "Education and Citizenship," and President Murphree of The Florida Female College entitled his address "The Unity of the State School System." After an interlude of music, Nathan P. Bryan, representing the board of control, made the dedicatory address. Tracing the development of the University from its earliest beginnings in Ocala, he paid tribute to the pioneer educators whose "uncomplaining, splendid patience, courage, and determination" laid the foundations of the state's tax-supported educational system.

While the Buckman Act had been "drastic in its provisions" and "seemingly cruel in its abolition features," Bryan predicted that it would be "wise in theory and statesman-like" in meeting the educational problems of Florida. Bryan hailed the twentieth century as "the age of the specialist," and he pointed out that the "so-called learned professions can no longer monopolize the technical instruction of our colleges and universities, but provision must also be made for the expert in other callings, such as teaching, engineering, pharmacy and agriculture." The purpose of the University of Florida, as he saw it, was "to educate the young men of the state" and to assist in the development of Florida's resources. He envisioned the time when it would be possible "for every worthy young man . . . to secure a first-class University education," and when the University would number among its alumni governors, United States senators, important legislative and judicial leaders, and men who had made important contributions to the arts and the sciences.91

More music, a short talk by President Sledd, and a prayer ended the long convocation.

91Printed copy of Bryan's speech in UF Archives.
The audience, although wearied by the lengthy program, applauded the speeches. According to the newspaper account, "all of Gainesville, male and female, from the wee bit of a youngster to those who were so advanced in age they could not walk and were compelled to take other means of conveyance, were present . . . and a happy crowd it was, too. The babies laughed and cooed as if they understood the situation, the faces of the elder ones were wreathed with smiles of satisfaction, the speakers seemed at the best and most enthusiastic mood, and in all it was an occasion the like of which was never before witnessed in this city."92

The University's most difficult years were now over, and, although disappointments and discouragements still would be experienced and obstacles would remain to be surmounted, the pathway to the building of a real University, with all of its challenge and opportunities, lay ahead.

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Smithson, Mrs. Fannie. Lake City, Florida. October 14, 1952.


Samuel Proctor was born on March 29, 1919 in Jacksonville, Florida. After attending public schools in that community, he entered the University of Florida in 1937, and received his bachelor of arts degree four years later. In 1942 he received his master of arts degree from the University of Florida. For the next few months he worked for the United States Army Engineer Corps in Miami, and then, in July, 1943, he entered the United States Army.

In 1946 he received an appointment as instructor in the American Institutions Department, University College, University of Florida. Since 1949 he has held the position of assistant professor in that department. Mr. Proctor is also a member of the faculty of the Department of History of the University.

In 1948 he began work on the doctor of philosophy degree in history and political science, and during the summer of that year he took graduate work at the University of North Carolina. The following summer he studied at Emory University.

As an undergraduate, Mr. Proctor received the James Miller Leake Medal in American History and the Haisley Lynch Memorial Medal in American History. While working for his master's degree he held a fellowship from the Graduate School. He is the author of *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (University of Florida Press, 1950), and has published a number of articles on Florida.
Southern, And American-Jewish history.

He is a member of Phi Kappa Phi, national honorary scholastic fraternity, Pi Gamma Mu, national honorary social science fraternity, Phi Alpha Theta, national honorary history fraternity, and Alpha Kappa Delta, national sociology fraternity. He is married, and lives in Gainesville with his wife and two sons.
This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

February 1, 1958.

Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

Dean, Graduate School

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