

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE ON AFRICAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

April 2022



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On the cover: artist rendering of the University of Florida's Gainesville campus in 1916, looking from the northeast (top); on April 15, 1971 (Black Thursday) Black students prepare to enter Tigert Hall to encounter UF President Stephen C. O'Connell. Photo by Kevin Moran (bottom).

INTRODUCTION

Paul Ortiz

The University of Florida's African and Native American History Task Force was created by President Kent Fuchs in the wake of the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin on May 25, 2020. Floyd's death, and the killing of emergency room medical technician Breonna Taylor by Louisville police officers earlier that spring, reenergized the Black Lives Matter movement. By the first week of June, Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests were organized in more than 500 cities across the country. By mid-June, BLM rallies, marches, and public forums had convened on six continents. Students at the University of Florida as well as local people in Alachua County created over a dozen public events in memory of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. Hundreds of UF students joined area civil rights activists in sponsoring vigils, teach-ins, and events including "Say Their Name" commemorations where participants publicly speak the names of the victims of police brutality and state violence. Scholars posit that Black Lives Matter is the largest social movement in US history.¹

Recognizing the need to address the concerns of students, staff, faculty, and members of the broader community who sustain the university campus, Dr. Fuchs issued a historic declaration on June 18, 2020. This public statement was titled, "Another Step Toward Positive Change Against Racism." President Fuchs acknowledged that, "Amid global protests and intentional reflection here on campus, many UF colleges, departments and individuals have joined the growing effort to address racism and inequity." As part of UF's move to combat racism, President Fuchs stated that our university would build on strategic goals and visions enunciated in UF's *The Decade Ahead* plan (published in 2015) in an effort towards "Understanding our history and moving forward with symbolism and behavior consistent with our values."

Dr. Fuchs subsequently appointed Dr. Winfred M. Phillips, UF Executive Chief of Staff and Professor of Mechanical Engineering, the task of leading "A presidential task force [that] will document the history of UF in relationship to race and ethnicity, particularly African Americans and Native Americans." Dr. Phillips became the chair of the African and Native American History Task Force and subsequently asked Dr. Paul Ortiz, Professor of History and Director of the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program (SPOHP) to be co-chair. President Fuchs appointed task force members who had a demonstrated commitment to racial equity and outstanding, public-facing scholarship. This task force was originally composed of Dr. Jon Sensbach, Dr. Hazel Levy, Dr. Kenneth Sassaman, Adreanne Martinez, Dr. David Canton, Gabriella Paul, Carl Van Ness, Professor Kathryn Russell-Brown, and Jane Morgan-Daniel (Dr. Russell-Brown was unable to participate in the task force due to her duties in establishing the foundation for a new race and crime center at UF's Levin College of Law). In addition, the task force was assisted by numerous individuals who supplied insights, written contributions, editorial advice, and research support along the way (see Appendix A for additional information on Task Force members).²

¹ Hogan, Wesley, and Paul Ortiz, *People Power: History, Organizing, and Larry Goodwyn's Democratic Vision in the Twenty-First Century*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2021.

² We acknowledge with gratitude the work of the following individuals: Kathy Wilson (Executive Assistant, Office of the President); Tamarra Jenkins (Office Manager, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program [SPOHP]); Ryan Morini (Center for the Study of Race and Race Relations, Levin College of Law); Sharon Austin (CLAS, Political Science); Loudjina Louis (UF Occupational Therapy); Stephanie Birch (Smathers Library); Neill Wallis (Florida Museum); Donna Ruhl (Florida Museum); Rich Conley (CLAS, Political Science); Robin Wright (CLAS, Religion); Ginessa

The task force first convened on October 20, 2020, and reviewed the scope/charge to the members based on instructions from Kent Fuchs: “A presidential task force will document the history of UF in relationship to race and ethnicity, particularly African Americans and Native Americans.” The task force met biweekly or on an as-needed basis to discuss the creation of a narrative report on the University of Florida’s relationship to Native American and African American histories. Due to the Global Pandemic, task force meetings were held virtually, via Zoom modality.

The task force divided into four chronological and thematic working groups to create narratives to constitute the framework of a larger report that examined racism and the struggle against racism at UF between 1853 to the present. Dr. Sassaman formed a Native American Working Group composed of colleagues outside of the task force to research and write the thematic report on Native American history and the University of Florida. While there are important differences between the histories of Native Americans and African Americans and their interactions with UF, there are continuities as well. As numerous studies now attest, the United States exploited African American labor and pilfered Native American lands in order to create the wealth that helped to build the premier institutions of higher learning in the nation.³

Another benefit of native land dispossession to an expanding nation came with passage of the Morrill Act of 1862. Allocated to Florida through the land-grant program was scrip for over 90,000 acres of land ceded or seized from 120 tribes across 9 states west of the Mississippi. Although the proceeds from bulk sale of scrip were modest compared to other land-grant universities, Florida’s share helped to establish the Florida Agricultural College in Lakeland in 1884. The University of Florida benefited from the dispossession and commodification of Indigenous land stretching from the Great Lakes to California, not simply north-central Florida.

The working groups conferred frequently between larger task force meetings. Each subgroup reported their research findings during the task force meetings. These working groups are:

- History of University of Florida in Relation to African Americans
 - The Early Years (1853–1905)
 - Changing Times (1906–1958)
 - The Modern Era (1959–2020)
- History of University of Florida in Relation to Native Americans

The task force identified major themes to serve as connecting threads between different time periods in the history of the University of Florida and its antecedents. The story begins with Black and Indigenous struggles for autonomy, land, and economic security in Florida, and the University of Florida’s relationship to these struggles beginning in the mid-19th century.

A primary topic is the role of student culture in either upholding the racial status quo—especially between the 1850s and 1950s—or challenging racial inequality, particularly the watershed moment in 1964 when a group of UF students and psychiatry professor Marshall

Mahar (Smathers Library); Natalia Turkel (UF undergraduate student and President of Indigenous-American Student Association); Brendan David-John (CISE Ph.D. student and Vice President of the Gator Chapter of the American Indian Science and Engineering Society); George Topalidis (Political Science Ph.D. candidate and SPOHP Project Coordinator); and Gregory F. M. Jongsma (Biology Ph.D. candidate and Florida Museum).

³ For a synthesis of these reports, see the University of Virginia’s *President’s Commission on Slavery and the University* consortium, “Universities Studying Slavery,” at <https://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery/> (accessed September 11, 2021).

Jones traveled to St. Augustine to participate in civil rights demonstrations with local organizers and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.⁴ The fact that the university disciplined and punished the students and Professor Jones, denying him tenure in 1967, illustrates the struggles that Black and Native American students had on campus as they fought for inclusion and community in an oft-hostile educational environment.⁵ This story is dramatically revealed in oral histories conducted with early cohorts of Black alumni and portrayed in the College of Arts' 2014 stage production, *Gator Tales* which is based on those interviews.

Sustained student organizing, coalition building, and protests led by Black students led to the founding of the African American Studies Program in 1969. Dr. Ronald Foreman was recruited to be the first director of the program, a position he held until his retirement in 2000. Black student protest was informed by movements in the Global South against colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. In turn, Black students' self-activity inspired activism by Latin American, Latinx, LGBTQ+, Jewish, women's and other student organizations.⁶

Student activism in support of Native American rights and representation on campus blossomed in the 1970s inspired by the national Red Power and American Indian Movements. As the Native American Working Group notes, "In large measure, UF student activism has steered the institution towards more equitable futures. Although never more than a small minority of the UF student body, Native Americans have organized and pushed for educational opportunities that culminated in founding of the American Indian and Indigenous Studies program in 2008. Students and faculty vested in Native America have maintained active programs over recent years despite a lack of resources to attract and retain a larger student constituency."

Another vital topic uncovered in this report bears on the role of the teaching and research missions of the university in either upholding the racial status quo or challenging it. In tandem with most major universities of the early 20th century, University of Florida faculty embraced and taught the doctrines of eugenics or "race science" in numerous seminars and departments.⁷ The leading eugenicists in America posited a strict racial hierarchy. White "Anglo Saxons" were considered to be deserving of a privileged place on top of the society while African Americans and Native Americans were relegated to the bottom of the social structure and doomed to lives of hard labor and low wages.

Research and teaching in eugenics confirmed the racial status quo in higher education.⁸ In the early 20th century, UF rejected all applications by African Americans for admission to the university. Eugenics theories informed scholarly approaches to behavioral psychology, criminology, biology, sociology, and a host of other academic fields in universities across the country. In turn, eugenics validated xenophobia and anti-immigrant policies. This was revealed in episodes of anti-Asian racism as well as the failure of the United States to offer safe haven to tens of thousands of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany in the 1930s. In fact, historians have

⁴ Jones, Marshall B., "Berkeley of the South: A History of the Student Movement at the University of Florida, 1963-1968." Typescript Copy, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

⁵ Clawson, Jessica. "Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 3 (2011): 347-374.

⁶ "Alternative UF: Counterculture Through the Decades." *Online Exhibit*, George A. Smathers Libraries (2009), <https://web.uflib.ufl.edu/spec/exhibits/alternativeUF.htm>

⁷ Kevles, Daniel J. *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

⁸ Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980.

demonstrated that the Third Reich drew from the legal and scientific frameworks of segregation and eugenics in the United States in order to create the Nuremberg Race Laws in 1935.⁹

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (known as the G.I. Bill of Rights¹⁰) enabled a new cohort of students and faculty outside of the WASP elite to matriculate to UF in the wake of World War II. Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement as well as student activism and the internationalization of university faculty, UF began developing a reputation for scholarship in the intersecting fields of gender, race, Latin American as well as African American Studies. Key faculty in these areas include WWII veteran David Chalmers, a historian who arrived at UF in 1955. Dr. Chalmers became one of the leading experts on the Civil Rights Movement as well as the Ku Klux Klan. Dr. Madelyn Lockhart arrived at UF in 1959 and taught economics. She quickly joined local Black women's civil rights struggles and became the first female academic dean in the history of UF. Chilean scholar Hernan Vera, a leading expert of comparative race and ethnicity, arrived in Gainesville in 1974. He published a number of groundbreaking books including *Liberation Sociology*, *White Racism: The Basics*, and *The Agony of Education: Black Students at a White University*.

SUPPLEMENTAL HISTORICAL RESOURCES AND TOOLS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The task force decided to create tools in addition to the narrative report to serve as resources for further research into questions that cannot be resolved in the space of one report. The task force developed a *Historical Timeline* (Appendix B) that juxtaposes national and international events with developments at the University of Florida. However, because African and Native American histories in the Gulf South long precede the establishment of the University of Florida and its antecedents, we began the timeline with key events in the history of settler colonialism and the enslavement of African Americans in Spanish Florida. The timeline begins with the European colonization of Florida in the 16th century. It concludes with the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement as well as the successful 2020 UF Student Government resolution demanding that the university assemble a working group on Indigenous Expropriation and Slavery.

The timeline contains a plethora of important details not incorporated into the body of the report. To take one example: in 1917, a UF student by the name of J.K. Fuller shot and killed Anthony Goins, the child of an African American "washwoman" working in the dormitories.¹¹ J. Rex Fariior Sr., a student at the university at the time of the murder, recalled in his oral history interview that African American workers were at the beck and call of white students in the early 20th century. At the student dormitories, "The black women came there every Monday morning, scores of them, to get clothes to wash. People worked in those days. As I recall it, I think for fifty cents a week they would come get your clothes and wash them and bring them back."¹² In addition to highlighting the low wages paid to Black workers, Fariior's interview notes that Florida Governor Sidney J. Catts "...intervened on Fuller's behalf and pressured UF President Albert A. Murphree not to prosecute Fuller."¹³

⁹ Whitman, James Q. *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

¹⁰ Humes, Edward. *Over Here: How the G.I. Bill Transformed the American Dream*. New York: Harcourt, 2006.

¹¹ "Interview with J. Rex Fariior, Sr. by Steve Kerber, September 6, 1980." Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed, April 8, 2022.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00006039/00001>; Flynt, Wayne. *Cracker Messiah, Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977, 199.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

While African American campus workers organized a strike in response to the murder of Anthony Goins, the University of Florida deferred to the governor and failed to seek justice. Troubled by the murder of the young boy over six decades later, Fariior, a retired state attorney from Tampa concluded, “Of course, it was a very careless act, and he [Fuller] should have been severely disciplined. He should have had to serve a year or two in prison.” Clearly, Black lives at UF did not matter much during the era of segregation. This is but one of numerous incidents shown on the timeline that calls for further research.

It is unlikely that many faculty or students know about the murder of Anthony Goins on their campus. Because so much of the history of UF has remained unwritten, the task force compiled a *Source Directory* (Appendix C) to help guide future researchers in fields intersecting with African American and Native American histories at the University of Florida and beyond. These resources include oral history interviews with Black and Native American elders, public programs, podcasts, suggestions for further reading, video documentaries on student organizing, and many other topics. The members of the task force trust that the Historical Timeline as well as the List of Resources will provide a tool kit for researchers interested in pursuing these topics in further depth.

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

This report covers an eventful period of history, from the creation of one of UF’s primary antecedents, the East Florida Seminary in 1853, to the emergence of UF as a major research university in the 21st century. While each decade of the university’s development was unique, several key themes emerged in the history of UF in relation to race and ethnicity. In common with many universities on the eastern seaboard of the United States including Yale, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Virginia, UF and its institutional antecedents profited from the wealth generated by the enslavement of African Americans. And, in common with land-grant institutions established in the wake of the Morrill Act and the Land-Grant College Act of 1862, the University of Florida’s establishment as a university was premised on the expropriation of Native American lands and the violation of numerous treaties between the United States and Indigenous nations.¹⁴

For centuries, Florida has played a central role in the questions of freedom, slavery, and Indigenous sovereignty in the Americas. As early as the South Carolina Stono Rebellion in 1739, enslaved African Americans in British North America, struck out for their freedom and sought sanctuary from slavery with Spanish authorities in St. Augustine as well as Native American nations further in the interior of *La Florida*.¹⁵ In the decades after the American Revolution, African Americans escaped from slavery to create maroon communities along the Apalachicola River and formed strong alliances with Native Americans. These Black and Red abolitionists¹⁶ alarmed the leaders of the new American republic and threatened slavery’s growth in the Gulf South. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams dispatched General Andrew Jackson to Florida in 1817 launching the First Seminole War. The Second Seminole War

¹⁴ Saunt, Claudio. *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2020.

¹⁵ Wood, Peter. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996; Landers, Jane. *Black Society in Spanish Florida: Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

¹⁶ Porter, Kenneth Wiggins. *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-Seeking People*. Revised and edited by Alcione M. Amos and Thomas P. Senter. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.

(1835–1842) witnessed the largest slave revolt in American history as Indigenous people and insurgent African Americans sought to check the US slave empire’s advance into Florida.¹⁷

The forced removal of Seminole people after the second Seminole War and the passage of the Armed Occupation Act (AOA) of 1842 created space and resources for the establishment of the East Florida Seminary in Ocala, in 1853. Several settler colonists and grantees of the AOA later became Board Members of the East Florida Seminary, and leases of former Seminole land generated the necessary funds to start the institution.

After the Civil War, Florida was a battleground for the contested ideas of liberty, equality, and white business supremacy.¹⁸ Black Floridians’ participation in Reconstruction ushered in revolutionary changes to the region. The most important innovation that African American ballots in the South enabled was a system of free, public education open to all the citizenry—and not just the sons and daughters of the white elite.¹⁹ Gainesville was a vital epicenter of African American political leadership in Florida. Black United States Army veterans such as Josiah T. Walls and M.M. Lewey played critical roles in educational and legal reforms in Alachua County even as they promoted the creation of vibrant Black businesses, churches, and lodges.

The white supremacist counter-assault against African American political organizing was lethal and ultimately successful.²⁰ The Ku Klux Klan was only one of several white terror organizations operating in the region. Florida suffered the highest per capita lynching rate in the United States between the 1880s and World War II. In the wake of Black disenfranchisement and the advent of one-party rule, the Sunshine State was notorious for anti-Black violence and mass murders that happened not far from the campus of UF, including the 1916 mass lynching in Newberry, the 1920 Ocoee Election Day Massacre, and the 1923 Rosewood Massacre.

The University of Florida followed the lead of most other institutions of higher learning (North and South) in becoming a force for the maintenance of white supremacy, and unequal educational opportunities.²¹ To a certain extent racism in higher education appears to have been a foregone conclusion in post-Reconstruction America; however, we must be careful to preserve the agency of Florida’s educational and political leaders in their decades-long choices to uphold the racial status quo. There were alternatives. In the decades that Florida faculty were promoting the doctrines of eugenics and the “inequality of the races” African American scholarship thrived at historically Black colleges and universities such as Tuskegee, Fisk, and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. Black scholars including W.E.B. Du Bois, Oliver Cromwell Cox, and Charles S. Johnson enjoyed international acclaim and demolished the precepts of so-called race science or eugenics. While UF was offering courses that promoted the idea that African Americans could never be the equals of white Americans, Black Floridians such as Mary McCleod Bethune, Zora Neale Hurston, James Weldon Johnson, Howard

¹⁷ Rivers, Larry. *Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013; Hatch, Thom. *Osceola and the Great Seminole War: A Struggle for Justice and Freedom*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2012.

¹⁸ Ortiz, Paul, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

¹⁹ Du Bois, W. E. B. *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1935.

²⁰ Ortiz, Paul. *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

²¹ Kluger, Richard. *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

Thurman, Harry T. Moore—and many others—were rising to global prominence in the fields of literature, theology, education, business, politics, and other endeavors in the early 20th century. Surrounded by a sea of Black excellence, the University of Florida chose to adhere to the doctrines of segregation and continued to exclude African American students until the early 1960s.²²

A combination of racist white student culture, state pressure, and the profitability of white supremacy determined UF's stance on racial matters between the end of Reconstruction to the 1960s. In common with other institutions of higher learning, the University of Florida profited from paying African Americans and other workers of color lower wages—a system that was enabled by one-party rule and Florida's suppression of Black voting. The early student fraternities at UF such as Kappa Alpha, paid homage to the Confederacy, antebellum slave plantations, and the so-called Lost Cause of the Confederate States of America.²³ The United Daughters of the Confederacy and other Confederate legacy organizations provided scholarship funds for UF students.

Confederate legacy organizations, the Florida media, and the governor's office maintained a culture of white supremacy that made prospects for change unlikely.²⁴ In 1911, UF History and Economics Professor Enoch Marvin Banks published mild criticisms of slavery and southern secession in the *Independent*. His essay created a firestorm of controversy in a state invested in white, pro-Confederate identity. UF President A. Murphree explained to the governing Board of Control that Prof. Bank's words endangered "...the very life of the institution."²⁵ A chastened Banks soon offered his resignation in response to a defamatory campaign led by the Florida United Daughters of the Confederacy as well as Florida newspapers—and supported by Governor Albert Gilchrist.

Barely a decade later, the abduction and torture of a University of Florida professor accused of promoting Catholicism on campus highlighted the continued suppression of academic freedom.²⁶ Father John Conoley, a World War I veteran and priest at St. Patrick's Church in Gainesville had become by 1923 a well-known instructor and the faculty sponsor of the *Masqueraders*, a popular drama club at the university that performed plays and musicals across the state. Father Conoley's popularity and his advocacy of Catholicism infuriated the Alachua County Ku Klux Klan. (During this time period, many leaders of the Democratic Party in the South ran on platforms of anti-Catholicism, and they equated Catholic beliefs with "racial equality" in order to court the votes of Florida's white electorate.²⁷)

A group of Klansmen kidnapped, beat, and castrated Conoley in February, 1924.²⁸ The KKK also threatened to burn down St. Patrick's Church; however, parishioners and local members of the Knights of Columbus rushed to defend the church with shotguns and high-

²² Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

²³ Ross, Lawrence. *Blackballed: The Black and White Politics of Race on America's Campuses*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2017.

²⁴ Bailey, F. A. "Free Speech at the University of Florida: The Enoch Marvin Banks Case." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 71, no. 1 (1992): 1-17.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Prescott, Stephen R. "White Robes and Crosses: Father John Conoley, the Ku Klux Klan, and the University of Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 71, no. 1 (1992): 18-46.

²⁷ Flynt, Wayne. *Cracker Messiah, Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977.

²⁸ Prescott, Stephen R. "White Robes and Crosses: Father John Conoley, the Ku Klux Klan, and the University of Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 71, no. 1 (1992): 18-46.

powered rifles. This act of terror against Father Conoley and the Catholic community in Gainesville was not condemned or even publicly acknowledged by UF, media, or local law enforcement. This incident demonstrates the rigid conformity, violence, and denial of human rights that the Jim Crow order rested upon—and the failure of UF and other institutions to defend basic tenets of religious freedom and freedom of speech.²⁹

As the national Civil Rights Movement blossomed and as a new generation of faculty and students at the university began to challenge the limits of the Jim Crow system, the State of Florida acted to halt racial progress.³⁰ The most damaging tool in the state's arsenal was the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee led by state Senator Charley E. Johns. The Johns Committee initially attempted to undermine the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Florida by accusing it of being a communist-front organization. When this effort failed, Senator Johns and his allies expanded the charge of the committee to harass and attack "homosexuals" and members of the LGBTQ+ community. In contrast to several other state institutions of higher learning who resisted Johns, the University of Florida enthusiastically cooperated with the committee. The aftermath for human rights and freedom of expression was devastating. According to a Smathers Libraries online exhibit, "At least 15 UF professors and more than 50 students left [UF] after being interrogated by investigators."³¹ Many more students lived in fear of harassment by authorities and untold numbers of faculty and staff left the university. The Johns Committee counted on acquiescence from UF because the state knew that the university had demonstrably tepid commitments to academic freedom, human rights, and diversity.³²

CONCLUSION

The push by African American students and their allies to make the University of Florida a more welcoming and inclusive campus had a remarkable, generative impact on the intellectual climate of UF. When the University of Florida was an all-white and all-male institution, it was viewed at best nationally as a second-tier institution of higher learning. Our university in the past too often spent more time upholding segregation and suppressing freedom of inquiry than respecting diverse viewpoints and pursuing academic rigor. The arrival of scholars of color as well as women faculty and researchers who wove questions of race, gender, and social justice into their teaching, research, and service activities in disciplines including medicine, theatre arts and sociology have been primary drivers of UF's rise to prominence in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

The impact of the African American student-led Black Thursday protests in April 1971, illustrates the vital role of students in bringing change and a new level of academic rigor to UF. Student organizers, including future University of Florida lecturer and administrator Betty Stewart-Fullwood, presented a list of demands that sought to move UF past its Jim Crow past.³³ These demands included increasing Black student enrollment, hiring more African American

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Winsboro, Irvin D. S. *Old South, New South, or Down South? Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2009.

³¹ "The Legacy of the Johns Committee." University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed April 8, 2022. <https://web.uflib.ufl.edu/spec/exhibits/alternativeUF.htm>

³² Braukman, Stacy. *Communists and Perverts under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956-1965*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013.

³³ Gordon, Jacob U'Mofe, and Paul Ortiz. *African American Studies: 50 Years at the University of Florida*. Gainesville: LibraryPress@UF, 2021.

faculty, and creating a university that embraced diversity and all viewpoints. In response to student pressures, UF founded the Institute of Black Culture (IBC) and deepened its commitment to the newly-created African American Studies Program. IBC and African American Studies have been centers with public-facing programming and dialogue that have brought together students, community, and faculty in critical dialogues about town-gown relations, new trends in Black Studies, as well as commemorations of important events including Juneteenth and Martin Luther King, Jr. Day.

In the wake of Black Thursday, UF students continued to press for a more inclusive university that served all people in Florida.³⁴ Black student activist efforts inspired other students, staff, and faculty to organize to create student centers including: the Institute for Hispanic-Latino Cultures (known as 'La Casita'), Asian Pacific Islander Desi Affairs, LGBTQ+ Affairs, and other programs. In turn, these centers created welcoming and intersectional spaces where students, staff, faculty, and community members from diverse backgrounds could organize study groups, public programs, career days as well as service and volunteer activities in the region and throughout the state. The increasing presence of first-generation students from non-traditional backgrounds helped the university build linkages to underserved, rural, as well as urban neighborhoods in the Sunshine State. Outstanding staff and faculty including Dr. Gwenuel W. Mingo, Director of Upward Bound Program (1974–2003), Dr. Harry Shaw, Department of English (1973–2004), and Dr. Patricia Hilliard-Nunn, African American Studies Program (1993–2020), worked tirelessly to enrich campus learning environments and to amplify student voices at all levels of the university.

In recent years, UF students, staff, and faculty have continued to deepen their university's commitments to diversity, equity, and inclusion. A few notable examples include student and faculty involvement in historical racial truth and reconciliation efforts throughout the South via organizations such as the Alachua County Remembrance Committee, the Ocoee, Florida Human Relations Committee, and the Elaine, Arkansas Legacy Center, to name just a few. In the summer of 2020, the Gator Chapter of the NAACP helped to lead a county-wide campaign that successfully changed the name of a local elementary school to honor Carolyn Beatrice Parker (1917–1966), an African American physicist from Gainesville. Student activism and research has once again pushed the University of Florida towards greater engagement with the past, present, and future of race relations. These activities deserve to be sustained and supported.

While the University of Florida has made progress in relationships with Native and African American communities, we still have a long way to go. All universities in the former Confederacy developed in profound tension between federal and state laws—which sanctioned settler-colonialism, segregation and voter suppression—and student activism which drew inspiration from African American and Native American struggles for “survival,” civil rights, and economic security.³⁵ These tensions have played out in UF's relationship towards federally recognized Native American nations as well as Indigenous people generally as this report illustrates:

- How UF has represented Native America in its public-facing media has followed the contours of culture changes over the past century, from the stereotyping and denigration of early decades to the relativism and inclusiveness of recent years.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Mays, Kyle T. *An Afro-Indigenous History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2021.

- In large measure, UF student activism has steered the institution towards more equitable futures.
- Although never more than a small minority of the UF student body, Native Americans have organized and pushed for educational opportunities that culminated in founding of the American Indian and Indigenous Studies program in 2008.
- Students and faculty vested in Native America have maintained active programs over recent years despite a lack of resources to attract and retain a larger student constituency.

In a time when the great majority of Fortune 100 corporations have developed sophisticated initiatives extolling the benefits of diversity, equity, and inclusion,³⁶ UF has yet to achieve a robust and representative enrollment of African American and Native American students. Indeed, in recent years, Black student enrollment rates have declined. While UF boasts outstanding programs such as the MACHEN Florida Opportunity Scholars, which provides resources to first-generation college students, much more needs to be done. A historically white university that has enormously benefited from the land, labor, and resources of African and Native American communities from 1853 onwards is obligated to strive harder to become a place of academic excellence, inclusion, and equity for all.

³⁶ Fulp, Carol. *Success Through Diversity: Why the Most Inclusive Companies Will Win*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2018.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN RELATION TO AFRICAN AMERICANS

THE EARLY YEARS (1853–1905)

Gabriella Paul, Adreanne Martinez, and Jon Sensbach

The origins of the University of Florida are linked to Indigenous dispossession, slavery, structural racism, and the African American freedom struggle in antebellum and post-Civil War Florida. Two small public colleges founded in 19th-century Florida merged to become the University of Florida in 1905. One of those colleges, the East Florida Seminary, established in Ocala in 1853 on land expropriated from Seminole Indians, had a student body and governing board dominated by families from Marion County's slaveholding elite who strongly supported secession and the Confederate cause. The Seminary moved to downtown Gainesville in 1866, the same year the Freedmen's Bureau established Union Academy in Gainesville to educate formerly enslaved students. The Seminary became an all-white military academy steeped in southern martial tradition and white supremacy, a counterpoint to Union Academy and to the efforts of Black Floridians to secure political rights and the franchise during the years of white backlash against emancipation. The other college, Florida Agricultural College, was a land-grant institution established in Lake City in 1886 soon after a new state law decreed racial segregation in all public education. The College provided agricultural and industrial training for white students at a time when most African Americans could not afford or gain access to land, and much of the state's agricultural labor was carried out by disenfranchised Black tenants, sharecroppers, and even convicts. Founded under the Buckman Act in 1905 that reorganized public higher education in the state, the University of Florida inherited and helped to maintain systemic racial inequality in education, politics, and the economy that was designed to keep Black Floridians as second-class citizens. This inequality was enforced by a degree of anti-Black violence in northern Florida, particularly Alachua County, that stood out even by the gruesome standards of the rest of the South, giving Florida the highest per-capita lynching rate in the nation.

BLACK FREEDOM, WHITE BACKLASH

As the Civil War ended, some 1,000 formerly enslaved people gathered on the grounds of the East Florida Seminary in Ocala to commemorate the coming of freedom. Their unpaid labor had once supported the Seminary, but now "from all parts of the county they had begun to assemble on the Seminary grounds" for one of the many Emancipation Day celebrations held across the South in the spring of 1865. Speakers at the gathering included Samuel Small, a former enslaved person of one of Marion County's largest plantations, who would go on to win election to the Florida House of Representatives, serving as one of the first Black legislators in the state from 1873–75.

But in the months following the celebration, even as newly freed people looked forward to gaining land, the means to work for themselves, and the electoral franchise, former enslavers sought to prevent their political and economic advancement, often resorting to violence and intimidation. An agent with the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands reported that Black residents in Marion County were organizing themselves "for religious worship and for mutual relief," as well as for self-defense through armed militia units. Freedpeople, the agent wrote, "exhibit a knowledge of their political situation and their relations to it, which could hardly be expected from a people heretofore prohibited from acquiring a knowledge of such matters." In Marion County, as throughout Florida and the South, African Americans "emphasized mutual

aid, labor struggle, armed self-defense and independent voting as cultural and political acts of survival and resistance in the years immediately following the Civil War.”³⁷

The East Florida Seminary moved to Gainesville in 1866 in the shadow of this struggle, and the history of the institution and the other institution out of which the University of Florida was formed, Florida Agricultural College in Lake City, cannot be separated from the Black freedom quest and the white backlash against it that dominated the political culture of late 19th-century Florida. In the racial politics of Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction Florida, education was considered an important auxiliary in white conservatives; efforts to preserve white hegemony against the aspirations of African Americans.

Built on NE 1st Street in Gainesville, the East Florida Seminary became a symbol of white institutional and cultural authority in a Black majority district, whose formerly enslaved residents steadily gained political visibility and power in the early years of Reconstruction. Like Marion County, Alachua County’s population had expanded dramatically with the opening of central Florida’s cotton frontier in the 1850s. According to the 1850 census, the County’s white residents outnumbered the enslaved Black population 1,617 to 906. But by 1860, Alachua’s enslaved population had increased five-fold to comprise 55% of the population, outnumbering white people 4,456 to 3,767, a proportion that prevailed at the time of emancipation.³⁸ Gainesville itself was little more than a village, with 269 residents in 1860, just 46 of whom were Black. But the Black population swelled after the end of the war as the county’s agricultural workers left the fields for town, drawn by the presence of African American Union Army troops who occupied Gainesville. By 1870, a year after Gainesville’s incorporation as a town, Black residents outnumbered white residents 765 to 679.³⁹

African American numerical preponderance in Gainesville and Alachua County was reflected in the flourishing of Black political power and cultural institutions during Reconstruction. Radical Reconstruction in 1867 and the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments ensuring citizenship and manhood suffrage for the formerly enslaved, combined to enfranchise thousands of Black voters across the state, most of whom supported the Republican Party. As across Florida and the South, Black officials were elected to local, state, and federal posts in Alachua County, including Josiah T. Walls, Florida’s first Black congressman. A former enslaved person from Virginia who served in the Union army before settling in Alachua County after the war, Walls was elected to Congress in 1870 on the strength of Black voters who braved a campaign of white vigilante violence against them.⁴⁰

³⁷ Brown, Ahmad, Javier Escoto-Garcia, Gabriella Paul, and Morgan Peltier. “Slavery and the University of Florida: African Americans, Seminoles, and the Origins of Higher Education in Florida.” University of Florida Digital Collections, 2019, 55-56; Ortiz, Paul. *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 9-10.

³⁸ O’Shields, Herbert Joseph. “Women in Antebellum Alachua County.” Master’s thesis, University of North Florida, 2010, 52.

³⁹ Hildreth, Charles H., and Merlin H. Cox. *History of Gainesville, Florida, 1854 to 1979*. Gainesville: Alachua County Historical Society, 1981, 23, 39-40; Laurie, Murray D. “The Union Academy: A Freedmen’s Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1986): 163.

⁴⁰ Klingman, Peter D. “Race and Faction in the Public Career of Florida’s Josiah T. Walls.” In *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, edited by Howard Rabinowitz. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982; Klingman, Peter D. *Josiah T. Walls: Florida’s Black Congressman of Reconstruction*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1976; On Reconstruction in Florida, see Shofner, Jerrell. *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1974; Richardson, Joe. *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*. Tampa: Trend House, 1973; Peek, Ralph L. “Military Reconstruction and the Growth of Anti-Negro Sentiment in Florida, 1867.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1969): 380-400; Cox, Merlin. “Military

The strong presence of the Freedmen's Bureau in Gainesville proved a sturdy cornerstone for Black community formation. In particular, the Union Academy, funded by the Bureau and constructed in 1867 by Black carpenters on NW 1st St., just a few blocks from the East Florida Seminary, provided the first opportunity for education for the formerly enslaved. Within a few years, enrollment reached nearly 200, ranging from elementary to high school level. "A symbol of self-sufficiency and pride for Gainesville's Black citizens for many decades, the Union Academy also represented the value they placed on education." A rise in autonomous Black churches furthered the burgeoning sense of independence from white control among Gainesville's African American residents.⁴¹

But even as these advances took place, military occupation by the federal government proved unable to curtail the rise in violent atrocities by white Floridians against Black citizens. Between 1865 and 1942, at least 50 African Americans are known to have been lynched in Alachua County, which had one of the highest lynching rates in the nation. At least 11 of these murders occurred in Gainesville between 1868 and 1896, many of them at a site called the Savage lot on NE 5th Avenue and 6th Street, just a few blocks from both the Union Academy and the East Florida Seminary.⁴² Whether students from the all-white Seminary participated in or witnessed any of these killings is unknown. But the intimidation of Black voters throughout Florida in the late 1860s and early 1870s helped to undermine their electoral power at the polls. The gradual retreat of federal assistance and military oversight in the South, culminating in the contested presidential election of 1876 in which Florida played a crucial role, led to the end of Reconstruction and to the reassertion of Democratic control in the state. Thousands of Black voters were arrested for minor offenses and saw their names erased from voting rolls. Others were prevented from voting by election officials for flimsy reasons. As a campaign of terror and voter intimidation against Black citizens spread across the state, former Congressman Josiah Walls looked out at the political landscape that had shifted so dramatically in just a few years and lamented: "See how many of our best men have been shot down."⁴³

Still, Black voters did not give up. Some 200 delegates convened in Gainesville in 1884 to chart a new strategy to unite with white Floridians disempowered by the Democratic ascendancy, with the purpose of forming the new Independent Party in hope of creating a cross-racial alliance to challenge the power of railroads and land syndicates that were creating fortunes for some and consigning others to manual labor. Seeing the Independent Party as a threat, conservative leaders began planning to disenfranchise Black Floridians for good. In the election of 1884, Black voters still wielded enough power to help the Independent Party carry several counties, including Alachua and Marion. But elsewhere, thousands of Black voters stayed home out of fear, and the Independent Party lost badly. The dream of interracial alliance was over.⁴⁴

Reconstruction in Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (1968): 220-34; Peek, Ralph L. "Aftermath of Military Reconstruction, 1868-1869." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1964): 124-42; Peek, Ralph L. "Election of 1870 and the End of Reconstruction in Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (1967): 353-69. Broader treatments include Litwack, Leon F. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery*. New York: Vintage, 1980; Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2014; Trelease, Allen. *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*. New York: Praeger, 1979.

⁴¹ Laurie, Murray D. "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1986): 163-174.

⁴² "Truth and Reconciliation: Gainesville Lynching Victims Remembered." *Gainesville Sun*. February 21, 2021, 2-3.

⁴³ Ortiz, Paul. *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 9-32, 40 (quote), 41.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 41-46.

The aftermath of the election of 1884 was catastrophic for African American electoral power and civil rights. Conservatives drafted a new state constitution that permitted the legislature to require a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, a move that disenfranchised thousands of poor Floridians, Black and white, well into the 20th century. The constitution also stipulated that “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party has been duly convicted” would be allowed in the state. The statute allowed thousands of Black Floridians to be charged and convicted for minor offenses and consigned to years of convict labor in work gangs in turpentine camps, farms, plantations, roads, and railroads. Additionally, while requiring the legislature to “provide for a uniform system of public schools,” the constitution also mandated racial segregation in education specifying that “white and colored children shall not be taught in the same school, but impartial provision shall be made for both.” In reality, funding for public education was disproportionately weighted toward schools for white children because white Floridians were unwilling to see many tax dollars spent on Black education.⁴⁵

Florida's system of land-grant education emerged during this period of intensive political and social realignment. In 1884, the legislature created the first land-grant college, the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City, for white students. Three years later, a separate teachers' college for Black students called the State Normal College for Colored Students was chartered in Tallahassee, renamed four years later as the State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students when it became a land grant institution. In 1909, under the reorganization of Florida's higher education, the college became Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes. Finally in 1953, it became known as Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, which currently remains the state's only public historically Black institution of higher learning.⁴⁶

During the period of Reconstruction, Columbia County and Alachua County—counties associated with the University of Florida—were but a select few areas in that state that witnessed the most racial violence.⁴⁷ The origins of the University of Florida were therefore shaped by the larger struggle over race, politics, and control of land and labor that dominated the state after the Civil War.

THE EAST FLORIDA SEMINARY

The East Florida Seminary was established in Ocala in 1853, which is the same date that the seal of the University of Florida bears today. UF's predecessor, the East Florida Seminary, was founded on Seminole lands expropriated from Native Americans in the aftermath of the Second Seminole War, and further sustained by the booming slave economy that typified Marion County in the late 19th century.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ “Florida State Constitution of 1885.” Florida Constitution Revision Commission. Accessed October 13, 2021. <http://library.law.fsu.edu/Digital-Collections/CRC/CRC-1998/conhist/1885con.html>.

⁴⁶ Rivers, Larry Eugene, and Canter Brown, Jr. “‘A Monument to the Progress of the Race’: The Intellectual and Political Origins of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, 1865-1887.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (2006): 1-41.

⁴⁷ Keuchel, Edward F. *A History of Columbia County Florida*. Lake City, FL: Hunter the Printing Co., 1996, 122.

⁴⁸ Brown, Ahmad, Javier Escoto-Garcia, Gabriella Paul, and Morgan Peltier. “Slavery and the University of Florida: African Americans, Seminoles, and the Origins of Higher Education in Florida.” University of Florida Digital Collections, 2019. See also: 1850 and 1860 federal censuses, Marion County (Florida State Archive, Tallahassee); “Marion County, Florida, Largest Slaveholders from 1860 Slave Census Schedules and Surname Matches for African Americans on 1870 Census.” Rootsweb. Accessed October 13, 2021. <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~ajac/flmarion.htm>.

Dislocated and bankrupt by the Civil War, the Seminary was permanently relocated to Gainesville in 1866 where it grew in attendance and prestige as an all-white military academy. The same year, the Freedmen's Bureau established the Union Academy in Gainesville to educate formerly enslaved students, which was among the first public schools for African Americans in the state.

The Buckman Act of 1905 abolished six existing state schools for white students and created two new schools, a college for white women and a university for white men, known today as Florida State University and the University of Florida.

This is the backdrop against which Gainesville's campus—ranked today as a top-ten public university—draws its legacy: a Seminary steeped in southern martial tradition and white supremacy in the heart of antebellum Florida. The most prominent and digestible features of which can be traced through the following threads: multi-generational ties between Seminarians and historically slaveholding families of Marion and Alachua Counties; a pattern of Black unpaid labor on the Seminary's campus; and the deep-rooted military organization that braided Seminarians politically and financially to the Confederacy—and later, during Reconstruction—to African American disenfranchisement and anti-Black violence.

Generational Ties to Slavery and the Seminary

A 2019 study of Seminary documents, census records, and Marion County slave schedules found that early Seminarians collectively owned hundreds of enslaved people. Namely, six slaveholding families in Marion County collectively owned 197 people; appearing on the Seminary's 1861 commencement program, the names of these families were Blicht, Bruton (Frink), McGahagin, Reardon, and Pyles. In turn, many of the Seminary's early trustees and board members also shared status among Marion County's planting elite, including John Taylor, James B. Owens, John M. McIntosh, Samuel Rogers, S.D. McConnell, Lewis Gaines, John G. Gamble, Adin Waterman, and E.D. Howse.⁴⁹

A preliminary audit of these records reveals over a dozen family names that reappear in documents from the Seminary in Gainesville between 1866 and 1904. Captain Edmund D. Howse, an initial trustee of the Seminary, owned 11 slaves in Marion County. His wife, Cynthia C. Howse, is listed as owning eight slaves herself.⁵⁰ Though unidentified in the county census, nearly two decades later "O.B. Howse" appears in the Seminary's 1887–88 register for students.⁵¹ Alden Waterman, another early trustee, follows suit. Records show Waterman who worked as a merchant owned 15 slaves in Marion County. Later, in the same student register for the 1887–88 session "U.R. Waterman of Marion County" is listed.⁵² A third trustee, John G. Gamble, owned 11 slaves in Marion County. During the 1887–88 session, two possible descendants, W. D. Gamble and S. J. Gamble, are listed as students of the Seminary in Gainesville.⁵³

⁴⁹ Brown, Ahmad, Javier Escoto-Garcia, Gabriella Paul, and Morgan Peltier. "Slavery and the University of Florida: African Americans, Seminoles, and the Origins of Higher Education in Florida." University of Florida Digital Collections, 2019, 37-39.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 28.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

Cross-referencing the full directory of Marion County's planting elite against a growing index of Seminary documents unveiled similar connections for the following family names: Owens, Taylor, Pinckston, Bruton (Frink), Kilgore, Rogers, Harrison, Brown, Williams, McGahagin, and Blich. It should be noted that the scarcity of official records during this time period, Seminary and otherwise, complicates efforts to confirm the genealogy of early seminarians. This is in part due to the "files [that] burned with the Seminary" in January 1883.⁵⁴ While it is impossible to know exactly which records burned, a survey of the university archive reveals that the most notable gap exists between 1861 and 1866, for which there is a complete lack of financial records.

There are also names that reappear when cross-referencing seminarians with the Alachua County planting elite and those enslaved by them. Most notably, listed in Seminary registers as former students or honorary alumni members are Bessie Haile, Evans Haile, Thomas E. Haile, and Charles Haile Chestnut.⁵⁵

Establishing a Pattern of Black Unpaid Labor

Without an official ledger, comparable to the one that exists for the Florida Agricultural College, it is impossible to confirm if any early Seminary buildings in Marion and Alachua Counties were constructed by Black unpaid labor. However, through eyewitness accounts it is known that enslaved people constructed Ocala's first church in Marion County in 1850. In the same account, local historian Eloise Ott wrote "the slaves here were particularly well trained in the making of farming implements and in building."⁵⁶ Considering that the county's slaveholding elite were also among the Seminary's founding members and local religious leaders, it is not unreasonable to assume that other buildings in Ocala's early construction may have been constructed by donated slave labor.

Military Organization

The military organization was not an outgrowth of the Seminary after it moved to Gainesville (Figure 1), rather, it was central to its very existence. As stated by Professor of Military Science and Tactics, First Lieut., 6th Infantry Arthur Lockwood Wagner, "the military department of the Seminary is not merely adjunct, but is 'bone of its bone, and flesh of its flesh.'"⁵⁷ As historians have shown, southern military academies were bastions of conservative philosophy that glorified Confederate traditions and represented the continuation of white supremacist social order.⁵⁸ The East Florida Seminary followed in this tradition. The military organization was not an outgrowth of the Seminary after it moved to Gainesville (Figure 1), rather, it was central to its very existence.

The only surviving document of the Seminary in Ocala is its 1861 commencement program. Occurring six months after Florida's secession from the Union, the ceremony acted more as a military exhibition than a graduation, in what Crowe called an "unhesitating heeding

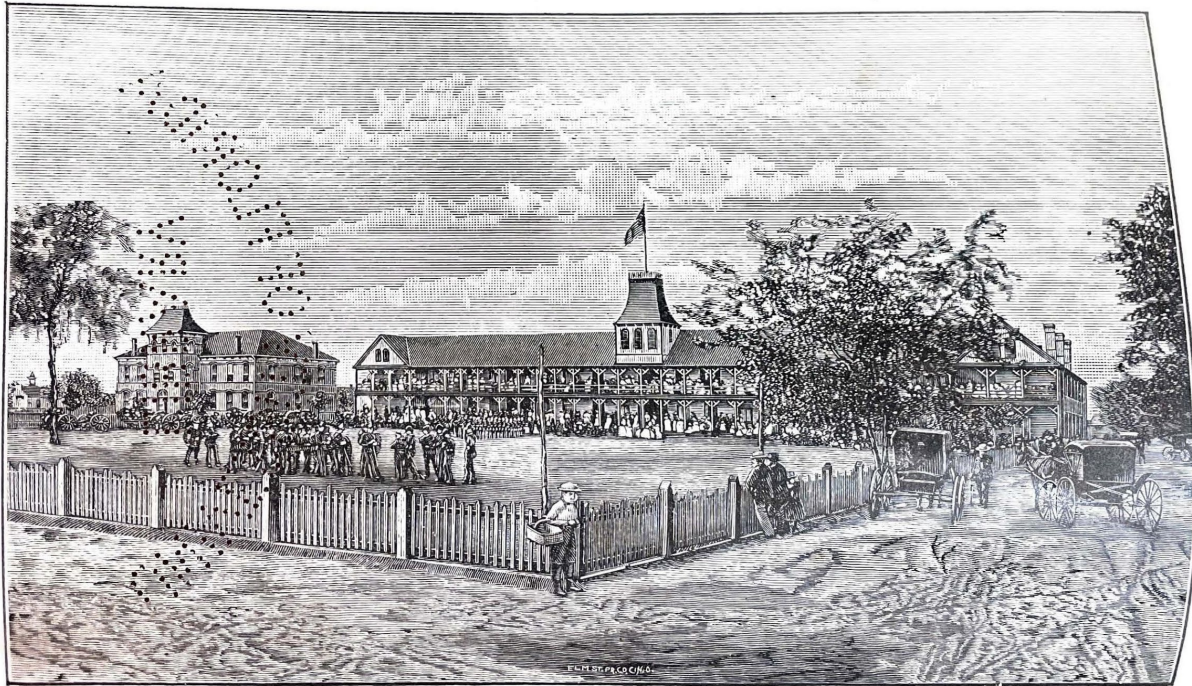
⁵⁴ Register for the EFS, 1882-1883. Special Collections, University of Florida.

⁵⁵ "Elève Association Program 1896." Special Collections, University of Florida.

⁵⁶ Ott, Eloise Robinson. "Ocala Prior to 1868." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1927): Article 5.

⁵⁷ Register for the EFS, 1889-1890. Special Collections, University of Florida.

⁵⁸ Rod Andrew Jr., *Long Gray Lines: The Southern Military School Tradition, 1839-1915* (University of North Carolina Press, 2001).



Prize Drill, Commencement Day.—From a Photograph.

Figure 1. Rendering of the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville included in the register for the 1887–88 semester.⁵⁹

of the call” to join the ranks of the Confederate Army, a call that every graduating male and the Seminary’s own principal Robert Bryce answered. As an ode to the Seminary’s soldiers, “Dixie Song,” a parody of a famous minstrel melody written by Principal Bryce himself, was performed by “Miss Bruton” reportedly marking its annual exhibition.⁶⁰

The Seminary’s military organization remained a defining characteristic even after its removal to Gainesville, earning national prestige during its 1885–1886 session when its cadets performed at the “World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition” held in New Orleans, Louisiana.⁶¹

Best evidenced in Gainesville’s tribute to Superintendent Col. Edwin P. Cater, the Seminary’s martial tradition persisted through the end of the 19th century. In an archived clipping of his full-page obituary, Cater was highlighted as a loyal “Confederate comrade” who was stationed at Fort Sumter in Virginia, before taking charge of the Seminary in 1877. In what was described a “deep mourning” on January 31st, 1899, Cater was buried with a full military

⁵⁹ Register for the EFS, 1887-1888. University of Florida Archives, George A. Smathers Libraries.

⁶⁰ “East Florida Seminary Exhibition, 1861.” Special Collections, Smathers Library, University of Florida. See also: Eloise Ott, “A Song is Sung.” The song “Dixie,” initially titled “I wish I was in the Dixie’s Land,” originated in the blackface minstrelsy of the mid-1800s. These minstrel shows were designed to justify slavery, dehumanize Black people, and negate the idea of Black equality. This resulted in Americans associating the song with white supremacy. During the Civil War, “Dixie” became an unofficial anthem of the Confederacy and was known to symbolize “Southern pride.”; White, Derrick E. “From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football and “Dixie” at the University of Florida.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 88, no. 4 (2010): 476; Rajguru, Sujaya. “The UF band and the songs of old Florida.” *Gainesville Sun*, September 1, 2017. <https://www.gainesville.com/opinion/20170901/sujaya-rajguru-uf-band-and-songs-of-old-florida>.

⁶¹ Register for the EFS 1885-1886. University of Florida Archives, George A. Smathers Libraries.

procession escorted by ex-cadets under the command of Chris Matheson. He was remembered, in part, for his “earnest and efficient works in the interests of the E.F.S.,” for which the Seminary flew the American flag at half-mast.

THE FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

The Florida Agricultural College was a land-grant institution established in Lake City (Columbia County) in 1884. When the state legislature renamed the Florida Agricultural College in 1903, the school became the first to bear the title of the “University of Florida.” After the Buckman Act reorganized public higher education in the state in 1905, the university merged with the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville to become the present University of Florida.

The period of the Florida Agricultural College’s existence (1884–1905) coincided with both the peak of convict leasing (1890–1920) and the peak of lynching (1890–1940) in the United States.⁶² The school operated at a time when much of Florida’s agricultural labor consisted of disenfranchised Black tenants, sharecroppers, and even convicts. Through analyzing the Florida Agricultural College’s founding, dedication ceremony, presidents, students, experiment station, and gymnasium, one can better understand how the institution helped to maintain white supremacy and systemic racial inequality throughout the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

The Founding

Before the three Seminole Wars (1816–1858) resulted in conflict between the United States and the Seminole Indians of Florida, Indigenous peoples utilized Lake City as a campsite.⁶³ In the 1820s, the first white settlers called the town “Alligator,” named after the Seminole Chief Halpatter Tustenuggee known as “Alligator Warrior” who served as a leader of the Dade Massacre.⁶⁴

Between 1884 and 1900, the Florida Agricultural College subsisted almost exclusively on the funds provided by the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, and the Hatch Act of 1887. Under the Morrill Act, the state received 90,000 acres of land and the proceeds of the sale were invested in “Agricultural College Fund” bonds with a par value of \$153,800.⁶⁵ The Agricultural College obtained a \$15,000 subsidy from the Morrill Land Grant College Fund to provide operating expenses and salaries for five professors.⁶⁶ In further investigating the College’s land and funding, one can determine whether the Florida Agricultural College, like the East Florida Seminary, was built on the expropriation of Indigenous lands through the Morrill Act.⁶⁷

⁶² Columbia County, which encompasses Lake City, has the second highest reported lynching rate in the state of Florida; “Lynching in America.” Equal Justice Initiative. Accessed October 14, 2021. <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/explore/florida>.

⁶³ Columbia County Florida. *Description of her Climate, Soil, Health, and General Advantages*. Jacksonville, FL: Horace Drew, 1883, 7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; Haworth, Ester. “The Birth of Columbia County.” *The Lake City Reporter*, July 2, 1978, 9.

⁶⁵ Crowe, Charles. “University of Florida.” Special Collections, University of Florida, 6-7.

⁶⁶ Keuchel, Edward F. *A History of Columbia County Florida*. Lake City, FL: Hunter the Printing Co., 1996, 145.

⁶⁷ The “Seminary Land Fund” that created the East Florida Seminary came from the expropriation of Native land after the Second Seminole War (1835-1842); Brown, Ahmad, Javier Escoto-Garcia, Gabriella Paul, and Morgan Peltier. “Slavery and the University of Florida: African Americans, Seminoles, and the Origins of Higher Education in Florida.” University of Florida Digital Collections, 2019, 5.

The Agricultural College consisted of 112 acres of land, which was given by Joseph F. Baya.⁶⁸ Other significant land donors included Silas L. Niblack, T. William Pemberton, James W. Perry, Annie R. Long, W. R. Chalker, T. S. Chalker, Mathew M. Scarborough, Jephtha M. Dodd, Edward S. Futch, George M. Cline, Atalia Niblack, Emma Chalker, Selwyn Chalker, and Agnes Chalker.⁶⁹ Financial contributors to the college building fund included John Vinzant Jr. and James E. Young. John Vinzant Jr. was born March 21st, 1840, in Tatnall County, Georgia. During the Civil War, he served as a Confederate Army sergeant in the First Florida Cavalry.⁷⁰ In 1883, Vinzant donated to the Florida Agricultural College fund when the trustees selected Lake City as the site of the institution.⁷¹ Another donor was James E. Young, who headed a group of local citizens who raised \$15,000 for building construction.⁷² In addition, between 1884 and 1904, Young represented Lake City on the Board of Trustees of the College.⁷³

Dedication Ceremony

On February 21st, 1884, the Lake City Cornet Band played “Dixie” at 11am, marking the beginning of a parade for the Florida Agricultural College’s dedication.⁷⁴ The ceremony included the sealing and cementing of an iron box (with Masonic mementos, newspapers, old coins, and Confederate bills) in stone.⁷⁵ Both the playing of “Dixie” and the sealing of Confederate bills demonstrate connections between the Florida Agricultural College and the Confederacy.

Florida Agricultural College Presidents

During the latter half of the 19th century, it was insisted that “southern college presidents be conservative and, if possible, southern by birth and training.”⁷⁶ At least three of the Florida Agricultural College’s presidents (Ashley Davis Hurt, Alexander Quarles Holladay, and Thomas Hardy Taliaferro) served in the Confederate military or came from prominent southern families.

Ashley Davis Hurt was a native Virginian born on December 15th, 1834. In 1862, he enlisted in the Confederate navy and served as personal secretary to Commodore Frank Lynch, who played a significant role in naval warfare activities off the Virginia coast during the Civil War.⁷⁷ Hurt served as the President of the Florida Agricultural College in 1884.

Alexander Quarles Holladay was born on May 8th, 1839, at his parents’ “Cherry Grove” plantation in Spotsylvania County, Virginia.⁷⁸ The Holladays were a prominent southern family. When Virginia seceded from the Union, Alexander Quarles Holladay joined the 19th Virginia Regiment as 2nd Lieutenant and later worked on General Braxton Bragg’s staff.⁷⁹ Holladay served as the President of the Florida Agricultural College between 1884 and 1888.

⁶⁸ Wheaton, Thomas F. “The Arredondo Legacy: A History of Lake City’s Veteran’s Affairs Medical Center.” *Florida Living* (May 1990): 15.

⁶⁹ Columbia County History of Colleges, V.A. Medical Center (00054 FLH), Columbia County Historical.

⁷⁰ Roster - Company A - First Florida Cavalry. In Keuchel, Edward F. *A History of Columbia County Florida*. Lake City, FL: Hunter the Printing Co., 1996, 247.

⁷¹ Vinzant Perkins, May. Letter to Mr. McKay, August 21, 1952. Vinzant Family Archive, Columbia County Historical.

⁷² Keuchel, Edward F. *A History of Columbia County Florida*. Lake City, FL: Hunter the Printing Co., 1996, 146.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Proctor, Samuel. “The University of Florida: Its Early Years, 1853-1906.” Ph.D. dissertation., University of Florida, 1958, 220.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 222.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 224.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 226.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Thomas Hardy Taliaferro was born in Jacksonville on March 22nd, 1871.⁸⁰ He came from one of the South's most distinguished families, as the Taliaferros were prominent in Virginia during the colonial and antebellum periods.⁸¹ Taliaferro served as president of the Florida Agricultural College between 1901 and 1904.

Students at the Florida Agricultural College

Between 1884 and 1894, the Florida Agricultural College was restricted to white male students (Figure 2). In 1894, the school allowed white women to enroll but the Board of Trustees later terminated coeducation in 1903.⁸² Joseph E. Young (eldest son of college contributor James E. Young) of Lake City was among the first students enrolled at the college and was present on the school's opening day.⁸³ Other students from Columbia County included Harry P. Baya (son of land contributor Joseph Baya), Horace Wilson, Harold and Norman Ives, Sadie Young, Lily Bates, A. B. Brown, James Mitchell, William B. Cone, Della Brooks, B. Buie, W. F. Dodd, Birdie May Vinzant (daughter of John Vinzant Jr.), Pearl Price, Annie Finley, and R. N. Palmer.⁸⁴

The campus fraternities included Alpha Tau Omega, Kappa Alpha, and Pi Kappa Alpha.⁸⁵ In further researching the Kappa Alpha fraternity at the Florida Agricultural College, one can better understand the connections between the college's students, the Confederacy, and anti-Black sentiments.

The Kappa Alpha (KA) fraternity, whose spiritual founder was Confederate General Robert E. Lee, was established after the Civil War on December 21st, 1865, at Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. Kappa Alpha's establishment came at the same time as the formation of the Ku Klux Klan (December 24, 1865). According to Samuel Zenas Ammen, who was one of the fraternity's founders, "the 'prescripts,' 'creed' and 'oaths' of the Klan were remarkably similar to the principles and obligations of the KA. The two organizations were reactions against the same evils, but their spheres and methods of action differed."⁸⁶ KA's early members declared themselves as "Southern in our loves, we take [Confederate General Thomas "Stonewall"] Jackson and [Confederate General Robert E.] Lee as models of character. Aryan in blood, we exclude the African from membership."⁸⁷ The fraternity was later known to host "Old South balls," "Dixie balls," or "plantation balls," where members would march through campus in Confederate uniforms and guests would come in antebellum attire.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Ibid., 408.

⁸¹ Van Ness, Carl. *Periodic Revolutions: Florida's Struggle for Public Higher Education, 1870-1927*. Unpublished manuscript, 67.

⁸² Ibid., 70.

⁸³ Wheaton, Thomas F. "The Arredondo Legacy: A History of Lake City's Veteran's Affairs Medical Center." *Florida Living* (May 1990): 15.

⁸⁴ Keuchel, Edward F. *A History of Columbia County Florida*. Lake City, FL: Hunter the Printing Co., 1996, 146.

⁸⁵ Keuchel, Edward F. *A History of Columbia County Florida*. Lake City, FL: Hunter the Printing Co., 1996, 146.

⁸⁶ "Directory of the Kappa Alpha Order, 1865-1922." Library of Congress, 1922.

https://archive.org/stream/directoryofkappa01kapp/directoryofkappa01kapp_djvu.txt.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ According to Kappa Alpha Law R16-113 Section B, "the Old South Ball and/or Dixie Ball has evolved since 1920 as a traditional social function of the Active Chapters of the Order with the purpose to celebrate and to perpetuate the social attributes of courtesy, graciousness, and open hospitality, which are values of the Old South and were prominent in Virginia when our Order was founded in 1865." Kappa Alpha Order. "Kappa Alpha Laws," 2011: 56.

<http://www.kappaalphaorder.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/2011-Kappa-Alpha-Laws-10-24-12-74th-Convention-8-3-12-Regulations-WEB1.pdf>.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF EDUCATION,
 WASHINGTON, D. C.
UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.
Report for the Scholastic Year 1896-'97.

NOTE.—Please fill out this form and forward it together with printed reports or catalogues (two copies), to the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C. Return penalty envelopes are inclosed herewith for this purpose, to be used without postage.

1. Name of institution, Florida Agricultural College
 Post-office, Lake City State, Florida

2. Religious denomination controlling, none; year of first opening, 1884

3. Name of president, Oscar Blute, M.Sc., Ed. D.

4. PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS:
 (a) Distribution in departments or schools:

DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL.	PROFESSORS AND INSTRUCTORS.		STUDENTS.				
	Male.	Female.	WHITE.		COLORED.		TOTAL.
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Preparatory	2	—	46	7			53
Collegiate	8	3	59	24			83
Graduate { Resident*	—	—	2	—			2
{ Nonresident	—	—	—	—			—
Business, Comm'l	2	2	28	4			32
Theological	—	—	16	12			28
Medical	—	—					
Total number (excluding duplicates)	10	5	151	47			198

Figure 2. Florida Agricultural College student demographic report for the scholastic year 1896–97.⁸⁹

Florida Agricultural Experiment Station

In 1888, the State of Florida accepted the conditions of the Hatch Act, which appropriated federal funds to each state for agricultural research.⁹⁰ This resulted in the establishment of the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station as part of the college in 1889.

An 1893–1894 ledger reveals names of experiment station laborers who were regularly paid \$5 or less by the college.⁹¹ Some names include Elmore Young, Joe Robinson, Joe Forest, Joe Martin, and Dave Thomas. As this pay is low in comparison to other laborers listed, it

⁸⁹ This Florida Agricultural College report to the Bureau of Education demonstrates that the school was exclusively for white students. Florida Agricultural College. "Reports, 1895-1897." University of Florida Archives Public Records Collection, Series 162, Records 1894-1905, Box 3.

⁹⁰ Proctor, Samuel. "The University of Florida: Its Early Years, 1853-1906." Ph.D. dissertation., University of Florida, 1958, 227.

⁹¹ Florida Agricultural College. "1893-1894 Ledger." University of Florida Archives, Series 161, Volume 7.

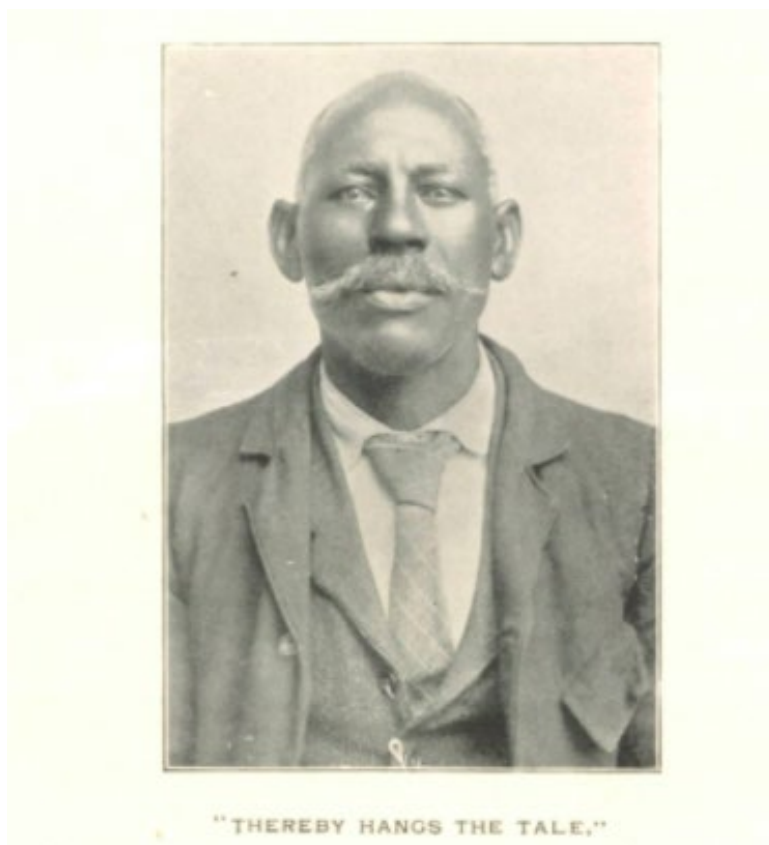


Figure 3: Photo of Elmore Young from the 1901 Pinakidia yearbook.⁹²

makes one wonder whether those who received minimal pay were African American laborers. In addition, Elmore Young is quoted and pictured in the 1901 Pinakidia yearbook (Figure 3).⁹³ This makes one wonder whether this is the same Elmore Young listed in the 1893–1894 ledger, and if so, what kind of labor did Young do for the college that would lead him to have his picture in the yearbook?

Flagler Gymnasium and Connections to Convict Leasing

Before its demise under the Buckman Act of 1905, the Florida Agricultural College doubled in size with the addition of three brick and mortar buildings. One of those buildings, a gymnasium with an indoor swimming pool, was endowed and furnished by railroader Henry Flagler (Figure 4).⁹⁴ In 1901, Flagler gave \$10,000 to the college shortly after the Florida legislature passed the “Flagler Divorce Law,” which allowed Flagler to divorce his wife on the

⁹² Florida Agricultural College. “Pinakidia,” 1901: 157. <https://www.lakecityhistory.com/yearbooks/fac-1901/index.html>.

⁹³ Florida Agricultural College. “Pinakidia,” 1901: 150, 157. <https://www.lakecityhistory.com/yearbooks/fac-1901/index.html>.

⁹⁴ Van Ness, Carl. *Periodic Revolutions: Florida’s Struggle for Public Higher Education, 1870-1927*. Unpublished manuscript, 56.

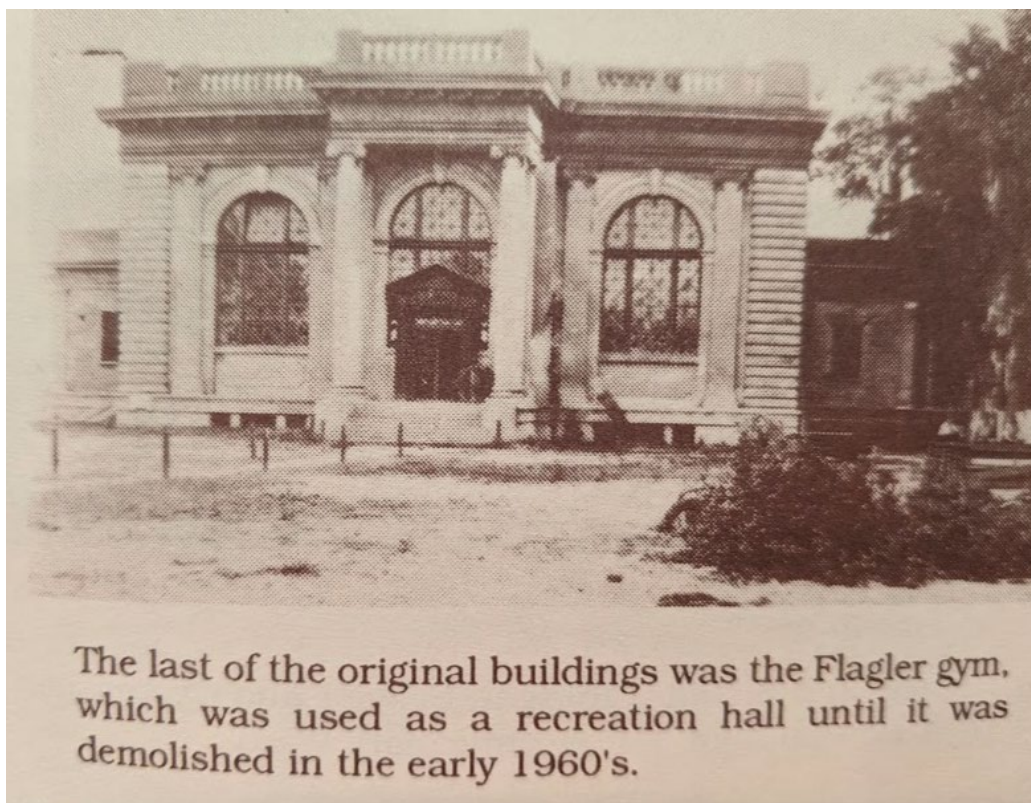


Figure 4: Photo of the Flagler Gymnasium.⁹⁵

grounds of insanity.⁹⁶ Around 1902, the college utilized the funds to build a much-needed gymnasium, named the Flagler Gymnasium.⁹⁷ Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Henry Flagler built his empire through convict leasing. By leasing convicts from the state, Flagler was able to extend his Florida East Coast Railway and clear land for his Royal Palm Hotel.⁹⁸ The Flagler Gymnasium demonstrates that this connection did not exclude the Florida Agricultural College.

In 1877, the Florida legislature passed its first convict leasing statute, which stated that the “custody and control of the prisoners would be surrendered to the person or persons contracting for the convict’s labor” and that “the prisoner could be employed anywhere in the state.”⁹⁹ In the post-Emancipation period, the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution prohibited the enslavement of Black people but still allowed for the enslavement of Black criminals.¹⁰⁰ As a result, white Americans policed and arrested Black freedmen *en masse*, which

⁹⁵ Wheaton, Thomas F. “The Arredondo Legacy: A History of Lake City’s Veteran’s Affairs Medical Center.” *Florida Living* (May 1990): 7.

⁹⁶ Keuchel, Edward F. *A History of Columbia County Florida*. Lake City, FL: Hunter the Printing Co., 1996, 159-160.

⁹⁷ Wheaton, Thomas F. “The Arredondo Legacy: A History of Lake City’s Veteran’s Affairs Medical Center.” *Florida Living* (May 1990): 18.

⁹⁸ Bowman, Bryan, and Kathy Roberts Forde. “How Slave Labor Built the State of Florida—Decades after the Civil War.” *The Washington Post*, May 17, 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/05/17/how-slave-labor-built-the-state-of-florida-decades-after-the-civil-war/>.

⁹⁹ Florida. “Acts and Resolutions,” 1877: 86.

¹⁰⁰ The Thirteenth Amendment states that “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.” U.S. Constitution. Amend. XIII, § 1.

led to the country's first prison boom.¹⁰¹ With a disproportionate number of Black people locked in prisons for violating the Black Codes and segregation laws, convict leasing became the new racial caste system. In addition to re-enslaving Black people, convict leasing provided white Americans with the labor needed to rebuild the South's economy during Jim Crow.¹⁰²

Whether convict leasing followed the University of Florida to Gainesville is unknown. Though it is known that the turpentine industry was popular in the area; convicts would spend their days in the palmetto scrub and pine forests, producing turpentine spirits and harvesting tar.¹⁰³ According to Jeffrey A. Drobney, "No industry demonstrat[ed] the institutional effects of convict leasing as well as the north Florida turpentine industry."¹⁰⁴ Between 1909 and 1923, Florida was the nation's leader in pine gum production. According to the 1910 census, 27,211 men and 316 women, mostly Black laborers, worked in the turpentine industry with 65% of them in Florida.¹⁰⁵ Until 1950, Fairbanks, Florida (a community in Alachua County) operated as a turpentine still town under the Mize family, processing ten 50 gallon barrels of crude gum at a time.¹⁰⁶ Around the mid-1900s, Ellis Mize donated land with a lake bearing his name to UF's forestry education program, demonstrating a possible link between Black convict labor in the turpentine industry and the university's Gainesville campus.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: New Press, 2012, 176.

¹⁰² Martinez, Adreanne. "Divesting Injustice: Reconciling with Slavery and its Legacies on College Campuses." Undergraduate thesis, University of Florida, 2020, 15. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00077087/00001>.

¹⁰³ Drobney, Jeffrey A. "Where Palm and Pine are Blowing: Convict Labor in the North Florida Turpentine Industry, 1877-1923." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (1994): 417. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30150422>.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 412.

¹⁰⁵ "Turpentine Industry Community and Family." Florida Historical Markers, Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources. Accessed October 14, 2021. <http://apps.flheritage.com/markers/markers.cfm?county=alachua>.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

CHANGING TIMES (1906–1958)

Hazel Levy, Paul Ortiz, and Carl Van Ness

This period begins with the consolidation of higher education for white students with the passage of the Buckman Act of 1905 and the establishment of the Gainesville campus of the University of Florida in 1906. Under the restrictions imposed by the Florida Constitution of 1885 and reinforced in the Buckman Act, African American students were not permitted to enroll at either the University of Florida (UF) or the Florida State College for Women, now Florida State University. During these years, native white southerners dominated the student body and shaped campus life, politics, and culture. College curricula stressed racial and historical orthodoxies that buttressed white supremacy. While African Americans were prevented from attending the University of Florida as students, their labor was essential in campus construction and in several service sectors. A brief survey of UF's archives of course catalogs and graduate theses reveals scientific racism reflected in scholarship with policy implications in the state during this era.

With the defeat of Reconstruction, Florida became a one-party state dominated by the Democrats who called themselves “the party of white supremacy.” Disenfranchisement of African Americans was the norm throughout the state. By the turn of the century, African Americans in Florida suffered the highest per capita lynching rate in the United States. During the 1907 session of the Florida legislature, Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward proposed to expel all African Americans from the state, while senators passed a resolution abrogating the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

Despite these obstacles, Black Floridians founded businesses, organized labor unions, and achieved a remarkably high rate of small farm ownership in parts of rural Florida. In the months leading up to the 1920 Presidential Election, African Americans in 35 counties organized a voter registration movement to end Jim Crow. In response to Black gains, white Floridians initiated a new wave of terror during the Land Boom of the 1920s.

After World War II, Black Floridians once again formed the vanguard of the civil rights revolution. Harry T. Moore and the Progressive Voters' League organized over 100,000 Black Floridians to register to vote. Moore and his wife Harriette V. Moore were assassinated on Christmas day, 1951. Five years later, African Americans in Tallahassee organized the historic Tallahassee Bus Boycott.

RACIAL SEGREGATION LEGISLATED AND ENACTED

Buckman Act of 1905

The Buckman Act of 1905 eliminated seven state supported schools of mostly secondary grade and established, in their stead, a college restricted to white women and a university for white men. Section 23 of the Buckman Act states, “No person shall be admitted to said University except white male students.” None of the schools abolished by the act had admitted students of African American ancestry as racial integration in education was prohibited by Florida's Constitution of 1885. The constitution also stipulated the creation of at least one and no more than two normal schools. Two normal schools were created in 1887, one for white teachers in DeFuniak Springs and another for Black teachers in Tallahassee. The former was one of the seven schools abolished by the Buckman Act. Under the requirements of the Second Morrill Act of 1890, the school for African Americans was designated a land-grant college. The

State Normal and Industrial School, as it was titled in 1905, was not impacted by the Buckman Act except to transfer its management from the Florida Board of Education to the Florida Board of Control. In 1909, the school was renamed the Florida Agricultural & Mechanical College and it is now Florida A&M University.

Student Life and Culture

Student culture after 1905 was largely dominated and determined by white students native to the South. The first social fraternities at UF—Alpha Tau Omega, Kappa Alpha, Pi Kappa Alpha and Sigma Nu—have their origins in the South shortly after the Civil War. Kappa Alpha, in particular, paid homage to Southern antebellum life and the Confederacy. Its annual Plantation Ball, in which members dressed as Confederate officers and their dates as Southern “belles,” was a significant social event on campus. Kappa Alpha also claimed responsibility for the introduction of “Dixie” as part of the band program before the start of Gator football games. The song was dropped from the band’s pre-game program in 1969 after protests from Black band members.¹⁰⁸ A student chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans was established in 1916 and had a sporadic existence into the 1930s. The United Daughters of the Confederacy also provided scholarships for lineal descendants of Confederate veterans including the Children of the Confederacy Scholarship, the United Daughters of the Confederacy Scholarship, and the Kirby Smith Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy Scholarship. These are listed in the university catalogs (Figure 5).

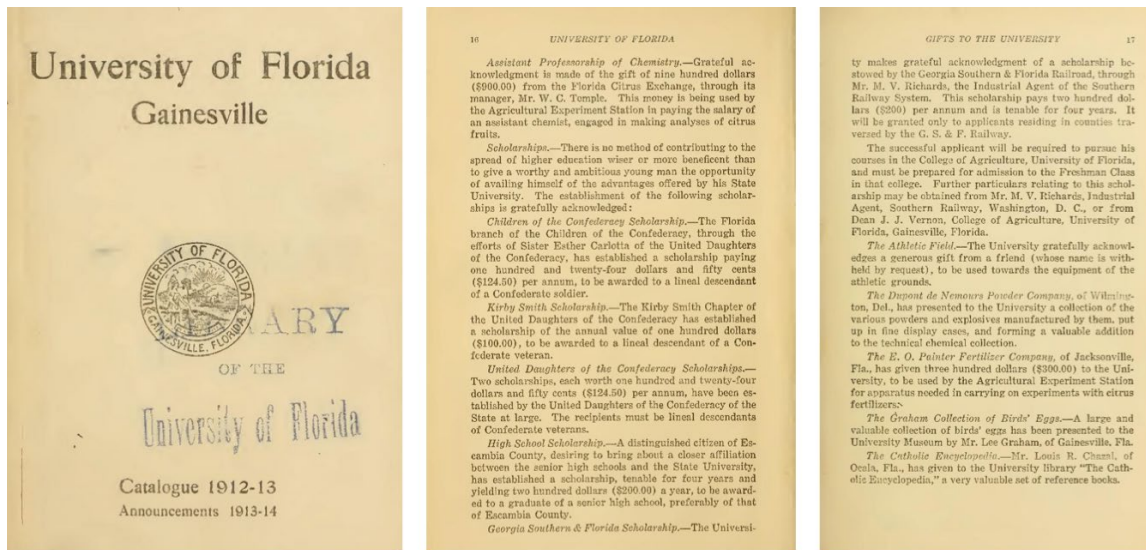


Figure 5. Academic scholarships offered to University of Florida Students in 1913. Shown are Images from the 1913 University of Florida Catalogue the UF Record, linked at <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00075594/00520/16j>. The catalogue title page, and pages 16 and 17 are shown. Pages 16 and 17 include a list of five academic scholarships available to individual UF students. Three of the five scholarships are offered by The United Daughters of the Confederacy and its auxiliary (Children of the Confederacy) and a local chapter (named for Kirby Smith) for students that were the descendants of soldiers of the Confederacy.

¹⁰⁸ White, Derrick E. “From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and ‘Dixie’ at the University of Florida.” *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 469–496.

Racist imagery and text are common in student publications of the period. A survey of the student yearbook, *The Seminole*, found 46 instances of racist imagery. These included students in blackface as well as caricatures of African Americans. Blackface was often associated with the Greater Florida Minstrels, a popular student minstrel act that toured the state and raised money for the university's first athletic field, Fleming Field. Minstrel performances employed racial stereotypes while also expropriating African American song and dance. The Minstrels dissolved in 1920 to become the Florida Dramatic Club, also known as the Masqueraders, which evolved into the current Florida Players. Racist imagery can also appear randomly, as it does in a movie trailer produced by the Florida Theatre for the university in 1931¹⁰⁹ and as a logo for a student political party, the Dixie Party, in 1942 (Figure 6).

As this period came to a close, changes in the student body were becoming apparent. The influx of new residents to the state after World War II, primarily from the Northeast and Midwest, would have a profound effect on student attitudes. The transition to integration in 1958 occurred with only sporadic protest from white students. Student leadership worked with the administration to forestall protests from segregationist elements.

Faculty Culture and Administrative Policy

Faculty culture was also circumscribed by regional values and norms. Professors who strayed from southern racial and historical orthodoxies paid a heavy price as evidenced by the forced resignation of history professor Enoch Banks in 1911. The United Daughters of the Confederacy led the campaign against Banks after he had published an article challenging southern interpretations of the origins of the Civil War.¹¹⁰ In the larger community, the local KKK was a force to be reckoned with. In 1923, Catholic priest John Conoley, pastor of Crane Hall, was violently assaulted and mutilated by the Klan for his involvement with the student drama club.¹¹¹

All institutions in the South were required to obey and adhere to the racial laws of their respective states, and UF was no exception. While the university sometimes made accommodations for African Americans to attend larger cultural programs, most events on



Figure 6. Logo of the Dixie Party in the 1942 UF student government elections. Racist imagery was used by UF students in a logo for a Student political party. From The University of Florida Archive, Student Government Campaign Materials, Series 55.

¹⁰⁹ "Fighting Gators in Training (1931)." University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed April 8, 2022.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00079566/00003>

¹¹⁰ Bailey, F. A. "Free Speech at the University of Florida: The Enoch Marvin Banks Case." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 72, no. 1 (1992): 1–17.

¹¹¹ Prescott, Stephen R. "White Robes and Crosses: Father John Conoley, the Ku Klux Klan, and the University of Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 71, no. 1 (1992): 18–40.

campus were restricted to white people only. In the 1930s and 1940s, radio station WRUF confined Black entertainment to a Tuesday evening program and a Sunday morning gospel program that was also popular with white audiences.

African American Laborers

During this time period, African Americans were employed at UF as gardeners, cooks, field laborers, and custodians. African Americans supplied much of the physical labor needed to move UF from Lake City to Gainesville as well as essential labor in the construction of every building on campus. Some were part of the permanent workforce; others were employed seasonally or as day laborers. Documentation on the university's non-professional labor force, white and Black, is scant and difficult to interpret when available. Anecdotal descriptions of the labor force appear randomly in various reports and correspondence. Black laborers always worked under white supervisors and continued to do so long after the end of segregation.

Members of the African American community also worked independently as service providers. Most notable were the women who offered laundry services to students and faculty. In 1917, a child assisting his mother in one of the dorms was killed by a student irate after being awakened on a Sunday morning. The student was expelled, but never charged with a crime. African American workers on campus staged a brief strike in protest.

African American Scholars

African American scholars were barred from UF and from peripheral scholarly affiliation with the university. Figure 7 is a letter that describes John F. Martin's impetus to preserve "white supremacy" by blocking Ben F. Caruthers from publishing in UF's *Revista Inter-Americana* journal in 1944. Caruthers's larger body of work is archived at the New York Public Library.¹¹²

Governance

During this time period, Florida's public universities operated under an unusual dual-board governance system. The Buckman Act created the Florida Board of Control to oversee and manage the schools, but also made it subordinate to the Florida Board of Education. The latter consisted of the governor and four cabinet members and often overrode decisions of the Board of Control. The members of the Board of Control were appointed by the governor and were typically drawn from the state's economic elites including land developers, bankers, lawyers, and planters (Figure 8).

¹¹² "Benjamin F. Carruthers papers, 1941-1985." Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library. Accessed April 8, 2022. <http://archives.nypl.org/scm/20565>; "Revista InterAmericana", University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed April 8, 2022. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00002854/00007/3j>.

JAN 7 '44

President Dr. Tigert. ✓

January 6, 1944

Mr. John M. Robey, Director,
 Feature Section, Press Division,
 Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs,
 Commerce Department Building,
 Washington 25, DC.

Dear Mr. Robey,

I return herewith Ben F. Carruthers' article "English Studies in the Universities of the Other American Republics", which you were kind enough to transmit with your letter of December 24, 1943, for publication in our "Revista Inter-Americana".

As the article is a creditable piece of work, I should like to oblige you by publishing it. However, I happen to know that its author is an American negro. As negroes are barred from the University of Florida, I do not feel justified in opening the columns of one of our publications to a negro author for the purpose of adding to his professional and, incidentally, social prestige. And that you may not be misled into thinking that I am shielding myself behind the University's attitude, I may say that personally I am a firm believer in white supremacy.

Sincerely yours,
John F. Martin
 John F. Martin,
 Acting Director

JFM:MP

Dr. Tigert called Mr. Martin and asked him to wire Mr. Robey indicating that the communication was confidential.

Handwritten notes:
 Very good but h-
 Mr. Martin - by
 copy to h-
 was what the
 is confidential.
 1/7/44

Figure 7. Letter from John F. Martin, Director of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, excluding a Black scholar from the University of Florida publication *Revista InterAmericana*. In the letter, dated from 1944, Martin plainly states that the decision to exclude the scholarship of Ben F. Carruthers' is based on Martin's enforcement of "white Supremacy." The letter includes a note that President Tigert recommended that the letter be treated as confidential. This record is from UF's Administrative Policy Records of President Tigert (P7, Box 8c). See link to UF Archive of *Revista InterAmericana* <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00002854/00007/3x>.

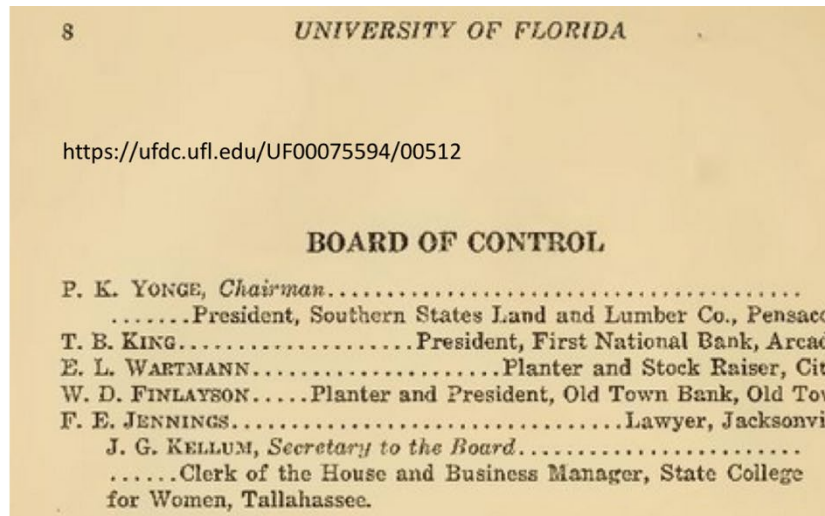
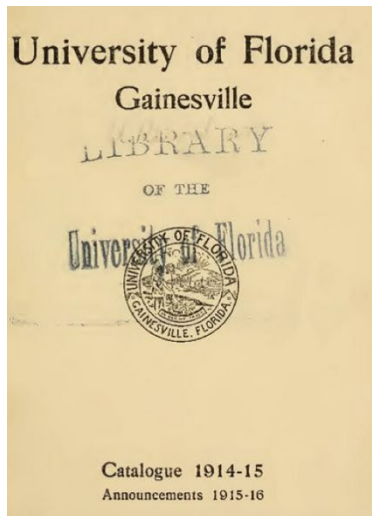


Figure 8. Planters and developers were members of the UF's Board of Control in 1915. Shown are Images from the 1915 University of Florida Catalogue the *UF Record*, linked at <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00075594/00512>. The catalogue title page, and an excerpt from page 8 is shown. Page 8 includes a list of the Board of Control members and their occupations, which included land developers, plantation owners, banker, and lawyers.

CURRICULUM AND SCHOLARSHIP

In 1914, lynching and white supremacy movements were on the rise across the U.S., and UF was listed in the *Journal of Heredity*¹¹³ as a U.S. college where Eugenics was taught (Figure 9). The *Journal of Heredity* was an early publication for Eugenics-focused scholarship and was the periodical of the American Breeders Association (ABA), founded in 1903 by the acting Assistant Secretary of Agriculture under Theodore Roosevelt, Willet M. Hays. The prominent Eugenics policy maker Paul Popenoe (American Eugenics Society, Human Betterment Foundation, and founder of the American Institute of Family Relations) was the publication's first editor, until 1921.¹¹⁴ The ABA became the still active American Genetics Association (AGA) in 1914, which retains the periodicals original name.¹¹⁵

Scientific Racism in U.S. Higher Education and Government Policy during Jim Crow

Eugenics is a white-supremacist movement, philosophy, pseudoscience, academic discipline, and set of policy initiatives aimed at the selective breeding of populations. The goal of the Movement was clarified in 1908 by Eugenics pioneer Sir Francis Galton:

¹¹³ "Eugenics in the Colleges." *Journal of Heredity*, 5, no. 4 (1914): 186–186.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a107837>.

¹¹⁴ Crow, J. F. "The Wilhemine E. Key 2003 Invitational Lecture: Genetics: Alive and Well. The First Hundred Years as Viewed Through the Pages of the Journal of Heredity." *Journal of Heredity*, 95, no. 5 (2004): 365–74.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/jhered/esh061>.

¹¹⁵ "The American Genetic Association." Accessed April 8, 2022. <https://www.theaga.org/about-the-association.htm>.

favorable soil conditions gave rise to crippled plants in the experimental stations, so that here we have apparently an example of the inheritance of acquired characters.

Pines (*P. vulgaris*) two to six years old, grown from seeds produced by trees which in turn had been grown from seeds collected 30 to 40 years ago at

low elevations and planted at high altitudes, were distinct from the normal lowland pines of this species only in the smaller proportion of large individuals. The parent trees had preserved in the new climate the habit of growth of their original habitat and had transmitted it to their progeny. In this case "after effect" had become "heredity."

EUGENICS IN THE COLLEGES

CORNELL UNIVERSITY is organizing a course in Genetics and Eugenics to be given in the early part of 1914 by a number of specialists.

There are now 44 colleges giving either a complete course in eugenics or some lectures on it as part of another allied course; 15 in the East, 14 in the Middle West, four in the South. Sixteen teach eugenics in their zoology department, 11 in the biology department and 11 in the sociology department.

The following is a partial list of courses in eugenics (often combined with genetics) given in the colleges of the United States last year.

Agricultural College of Utah	Zoology Department.
Alfred University	Biology Department.
Barnard College	Zoology Department.
Bryn Mawr College	Biology Department.
Carnegie Institute of Technology (Margaret Morrison Carnegie School).	Department of Science.
Central University of Kentucky	Biology Department.
Colorado Agricultural College	Entomology and Zoology Department.
Cornell University	Plant Breeding Department.
Dakota Wesleyan University	Biology Department.
Dartmouth College	Sociology Department.
Denison University	
Elmira College	Sociology Department.
Harvard University	Zoology and Psychology Departments.
Knox College	Biology Department.
Marietta College	Biology Department.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Biology Department.
Middlebury College	Zoology Department.
Oberlin College (Summer Session)	Sociology Department.
New York University	Sociology Department.
State College of Washington (Series of Lectures).	
Syracuse University	Zoology Department.
Rush Medical College (University of Chicago)	Zoology Department.
Tulane University	
University of California	Zoology Department.
University of Chicago	Department of Political Economy and Zoology Department.
University of Colorado	Biology Department.
University of Florida	Sociology Department.
University of Illinois	Zoology Department.
University of Minnesota	Animal Biology Department.
University of Nebraska	Sociology Department.
University of New Mexico	Biology Department.
University of North Dakota	Sociology Department.
University of Oklahoma	Zoology Department.
University of Pennsylvania	Sociology Department.
University of Pittsburgh	Department of Biology, Sociology and School of Education.
University of South Carolina	
University of Southern California	Sociology Department.
University of South Dakota	Human Economics.
University of Tennessee	Zoology Department.
University of Texas	Zoology Department.
University of Washington	Department of Political and Social Science and Department of Zoology.
Washington University Medical School.	
Western College	Biology Department.
Western Reserve University	Sociology Department.

Figure 9. A list from the *Journal of Heredity* of US colleges formally teaching Eugenics in 1914. University of Florida's Sociology Department is included in the listed. Eugenics is white-supremacist and ableist social engineering. The Journal of Heredity archive is linked here <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a107837>.

This is precisely the aim of Eugenics. Its first object is to check the birth-rate of the Unfit, instead of allowing them to come into being, though doomed in large numbers to perish prematurely. The second object is the improvement of the race by furthering the productivity of the Fit by early marriages and healthful rearing of their children. Natural Selection rests upon excessive production and wholesale destruction; Eugenics on bringing no more individuals into the world than can be properly cared for, and those only of the best stock.¹¹⁶

Eugenics theories are rooted in misinterpretations of Mendelian genetics¹¹⁷, amalgamated with race pseudo-science,^{118, 119} and Pearson and Galton's pseudo-statistical *Biometrics*.¹²⁰ American Eugenics policies based on these theories have two major prongs called "positive" and "negative," both aimed at engineering the gene pool of the "American stock." Negative eugenic policies focus on "unfit" populations and aim at their displacement, immigration restriction, institutionalization, and genocidal sterilization and extermination.¹²¹ Positive eugenic policies aim to develop and apply assessment methods to identify and sort those defined as "fit" (racially white, mentally "hygienic," "well bred," physically fit, and intelligent by white Euro-American middle-class standards) into reproductive segregation, away from those deemed unfit. The "fit" were sorted toward environments that were enriched through government intervention. Positive eugenics works to encourage eugenic mating of the "fit" by bolstering their property rights, legal protections, economic futures, and educational resources (curricula, schools, funding, etc.).^{122, 123, 124}

At UF, scholars in Education, and the Social, Agricultural, and Biological Sciences were engaged in the American Eugenics Movement of the Jim Crow Era, and were assimilating the scholarship of social engineering, as prescribed by notable Eugenics Movement academics and policy makers including Richard T. Ely, Edward L. Thorndike, Lewis M. Terman, Paul B. Popenoe, William Z. Ripley, Edward A. Ross, Karl J. Holzinger, Frederick M. Babcock, Robert S. Woodworth, John L. Gillin, and Leta Hollingsworth. This section of the report includes a brief appraisal of some of UF's teaching and research archives, and reveals references to the academic work of those eugenicists listed.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ Galton, Francis. *Memories of My Life*. London: Methuen and Co., 1908, 323.

¹¹⁷ Mendel, Gregor. "Experiments on Plant Hybrids." *Verhand- Lungen Des Naturforschenden Vereines in Brünn*, no. 4 (1865): 3–47.

¹¹⁸ Grant, Madison. *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History*. New York: C. Scribner, 1916.

¹¹⁹ Ripley, William Zebina. *The Races of Europe; a Sociological Study*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1899.

¹²⁰ Aldrich, J. "Karl Pearson's Biometrika: 1901-36." *Biometrika* 100, no. 1 (2013): 3–15.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/biomet/ass077>.

¹²¹ Kevles, D. J. "Eugenics and Human Rights." *British Medical Journal* 319, no. 7207 (1999): 435–38.
<https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.319.7207.435>.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York and London: Liveright, 2018.

¹²⁴ Katznelson, Ira. *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2005.

¹²⁵ "University of Florida Course Catalog Archive." <https://catalog.ufl.edu/UGRD/previous-catalogs/>;
Anderson, Cyrus E. "A Classification and Analysis of All Masters' Thesis from the Inception of the Graduate School at the University of Florida." Graduate thesis, University of Florida, 1933; *University of Florida Graduate Theses and Dissertations 1906–1938*. 1939. University of Florida Library Catalog Department; *Abstracts of Theses and Dissertations: University of Florida Graduate School, 1942–1946*. 1947. University of Florida Library Catalog Department.

Many of the more influential people in the Eugenics Movement had strong ties to academia and to the government; colleges, universities, and academic associations (e.g., American Sociological Society [ASA], American Psychological Society [APA], American Economic Association [AEA]) were fertile platforms to amplify their theories into legislation. For example, E. A. Ross, a professor at Cornell, Stanford, and then University of Wisconsin, and a President of the American Sociological Society, coined the phrase “race suicide” in his 1901 piece, *The Causes of Racial Superiority*.¹²⁶ Ross described different racial categories, with guidance from William Z. Ripley’s classic white supremacy book *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study*,¹²⁷ and argued that immigration coupled with a low birth rate among the “white man” was diminishing the American race.¹²⁸ Ross’s race suicide concept and his proposed remedy for race suicide, *Social Control*,¹²⁹ influenced the work of Academic social scientists, and Progressive Era politicians like President Theodore Roosevelt, who echoed the fear of race suicide when he said, “If all our nice friends in Beacon Street, and Newport, and Fifth Avenue, and Philadelphia, have one child, or no child at all, while all the Finnegans, Hooligans, Antonios, Mandelbaums and Rabinskis have eight, or nine, or 10 — it’s simply a question of the multiplication table.”¹³⁰

In 1906, Roosevelt’s Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Willet Hays, created an American Breeders Association subcommittee, the *Heredity Commission*, to advise the government on issues of eugenics and race betterment.^{131,132} The subcommittee included Harvard and University of Chicago Zoologist Charles Davenport, a member of the Galton Society, the American Eugenics Society (AES), and the ABA, and Davenport was the Director of the influential policy think tank, the Eugenic Record Office (ERO) at the Carnegie Institute of Washington (CIW) from 1910 to 1939.¹³³ The CIW-ERO helped to underwrite the federal immigration restrictions and state compulsory sterilization laws of the Progressive Era.¹³⁴

UF Undergraduate Course Catalog Archive

A perusal of the UF Course Catalog Archive¹³⁵ from 1911–1915 (and later) confirms the claim of the *Journal of Heredity* in 1914¹³⁶; Eugenics and other race pseudoscience was taught at UF to students in philosophy, biology, education, and sociology. Some selected catalog entries are listed below, but an exhaustive search is still needed.

¹²⁶ Ross, Edward Alsworth. “The Causes of Race Superiority.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 18, no. 1 (1901): 67–89. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271620101800104>.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 69. Ross quotes from Ripley, William Zebina. *The Races of Europe; a Sociological Study*. New York: D. Appleton and Co, 1899.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹²⁹ Ross, Edward Alsworth. *Social Control; A Survey of the Foundations of Order*. New York: The MacMillian Company, 1901. Social control called for government intervention to control selective reproduction of people.

¹³⁰ Wister, Owen. *Roosevelt, the Story of a Friendship, 1880-1919*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

¹³¹ Troyer, A. F. “Willet M. Hays, Great Benefactor to Plant Breeding and the Founder of Our Association.” *Journal of Heredity* 94, no. 6 (2003): 435–41. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhered/esg099>.

¹³² Kimmelman, Barbara A. “The American Breeders’ Association: Genetics and Eugenics in an Agricultural Context, 1903-13.” *Social Studies of Science* 13, no. 2 (1983): 163–204. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F030631283013002001>.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Bird, Randall D., and Garland Allen. “The J.H.B. Archive Report the Papers of Harry Hamilton Laughlin, Eugenicist.” *Journal of the History of Biology* 14, no. 2 (1981): 339–53. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00141098>.

¹³⁵ “University of Florida Course Catalog Archive.” <https://catalog.ufl.edu/UGRD/previous-catalogs/>.

¹³⁶ “Eugenics in the Colleges.” *Journal of Heredity* 5, no. 4 (1914): 186–186. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a107837>.

Courses in Education. Education courses on intelligence testing, based in Lewis Terman's eugenical principles of sorting and segregating students,¹³⁷ were offered in Education at UF. The basic principles of eugenics, beyond mental testing, were also taught to Florida's future educators through the adoption of a eugenics textbook in 1913.

- Education I – *Psychology*. Textbook for this foundation education course was the eugenics book by E. L. Thorndike, *Elementary Psychology*.¹³⁸

Courses in Sociology. From 1911 to the 1930s, courses on race and eugenics appeared in UF's course catalog to be offered by the Sociology Department.

- Sociology 1A – Principles of Sociology, 1911/1912 Catalogue lists "eugenics" as a course topic as well as "immigration" and "race conflicts."
- Sociology 1Ba – Modern Charities, 1911/1912 Catalogue, mentions "feeble-minded" issues. This was a fictional genetic "trait" and a buzzword of eugenicists.
- Sociology 1Bb – Criminology, 1911/1912 Catalogue, mentions "penal labor," and "rehabilitating colonies." Colonies were a eugenic construct to institutionalize people deemed to be unfit for reproduction in the general population.
- Sociology IIIb – *Southern Race Problems* was first offered in 1913 to study the "negro problem in its anthropological, social, political, and economic aspects."
- Sociology 1b – Race Problems (later Sociology 443), focused on "history cause and effect of immigration, methods of assimilation" and "the negro problem." A later version of the course was offered and taught by the former Chair of the UF Sociology Department, Lucius Moody Bristol.

Courses in Psychology and Philosophy. Before these departments separated in 1930, courses in both majors included several that touched on race and eugenics.

- Psychology 405 – *Psychological Testing*. From 1912–1929, UF provided instruction in test development and administration to test "general intelligence...personality traits...business ability...". General Intelligence was a fictional genetic "trait" and eugenics concept that generalized and ranked "superior" white middle class mentalities.
- Psychology 308 – *Comparative Psychology*. In this course, students would "trace the phylogenetic development of human intelligence."
- Psychology 406 – Theory of Psychological Measurement.
- *Advanced Experimental Psychology*. In 1920, the UF Psychological Laboratory was established for carrying out mental and physical tests.
- Philosophy Va – *Genetic Psychology I*. Focused on child psychology.
- Philosophy Vb – *Genetic Psychology II*. Distinguishing between "instincts and intelligence."

Courses in Zoology Starting in 1912. A few courses were offered that warrant further study and research, and may have been founded in the academic eugenical ideas of the time. Records of the textbooks and literature used for these classes are needed.

- Zoology VI – *Evolution and Heredity*.
- Zoology VII – *Physiology and Hygiene*.
- Zootechny V – *Animal Breeding*, toward "the upbuilding and maintenance of high-class herds."

¹³⁷ This reference is included here as a typical example of Terman's work in IQ testing and this particular work was used for UF graduate research. Terman, Lewis M. "Genius and Stupidity: A Study of Some of the Intellectual Processes of Seven 'Bright' and Seven 'Stupid' Boys." *The Pedagogical Seminary* 13, no. 3 (1906): 307–73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08919402.1906.10534367>.

¹³⁸ Thorndike, Edward L. *Educational Psychology, Vol 1: The Original Nature of Man*. New York: Teachers College, 1913. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/13763-000>.

UF Faculty and the National Eugenics Movement

UF faculty were not only teaching courses that introduced students to eugenics, they were interacting with the National Eugenics Movement and were engaging in the scholarship of Social Engineering.

UF faculty member John Belling worked at the UF Agricultural Experiment Station and was involved in the American Eugenics Movement. Belling is listed as an attendant at the 8th annual meeting of the ABA (1911). Presenters at the conference included some of the most powerful eugenicists of the time including Alexander Graham Bell (AES), Willet Hays (ABA, AGA), and Robert DeCourcy Ward (AES, and Founder of the Immigration Restriction League [IRL]).¹³⁹

Belling later worked at the Carnegie Institute of Washington (CIW) Station for Experimental Evolution, at Cold Spring Harbor (CSH) with Albert Blakeslee¹⁴⁰ under Charles B. Davenport, the Station's Director. In 1921, Belling was a representative from the CIW who attended the Second International Congress of Eugenics, presenting genetics data as a participant in the international Eugenics Movement.¹⁴¹ At the time of Belling's tenure, the CIW was developing a Federal immigration restriction policy, and a state-focused sterilization model law, published in a 1922 report¹⁴² written by Harry H. Laughlin, Superintendent of the CIW Eugenic Record Office.^{143,144}

As a UF faculty member from 1920–1945, Lucius Moody Bristol was head of the Sociology Department. He taught the course on race and the “negro problem” mentioned above. Bristol's 1915 book *Social Adaptations* includes an appraisal of the eugenics theories *du jour*, which he critiqued and expanded upon, but did not denounce. *Social Adaptation* includes a long

¹³⁹ “Cold Spring Harbor Eugenics Archive.” n.d. <http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/eugenics/>.

¹⁴⁰ Some research accomplishments from the collaboration between Belling and Blakeslee. Blakeslee, Albert F. “John Belling: October 7, 1866—February 16, 1933.” *Stain Technology* 8, no. 3 (1933): 83–86.

<https://doi.org/10.3109/10520293309116109>; Blakeslee, Albert F., J. Belling, and M. E. Farnham. “Chromosomal Duplication and Mendelian Phenomena in *Datura Mutants*.” *Science* 52, no. 1347 (1920): 388–90.

<https://doi.org/10.1126/science.52.1347.388>; Belling, J., and A. F. Blakeslee. “The Configurations and Sizes of the Chromosomes in the Trivalents of 25-Chromosome *Daturas*.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 10, no. 3 (1924): 116–20. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.10.3.116>.

¹⁴¹ “Scientific papers of the second International Congress of Eugenics held at American Museum of Natural History, New York, September 22-28, 1921.” Wellcome Collection.

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ugd55y4w/items?canvas=9>.

¹⁴² Laughlin, Harry H. *Eugenical Sterilization in the United States*. Chicago, IL: Psychopathic Laboratory of the Illinois Municipal Court, 1922. <https://archive.org/details/eugenicalsterili00laug/page/n3/mode/2up>.

¹⁴³ Many states enacted laws based on the CIW's model and the Virginia Sterilization Act of 1924 was held up in the Supreme Court Case *Buck v. Bell* (1927) with expert testimony offered by Laughlin's collaborator at the ERO, Arthur H. Eastabrook. *Virginia Sterilization Act*. 1924 was upheld by supreme court case *Buck v. Bell*. 274 U.S. 200. 1927. Sterilization State law progress was summarized in Popenoe, Paul B. “The Progress of Eugenic Sterilization.” *Journal of Heredity* 25, no. 1 (1934): 19-26. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a103833>.

Adam Cohen gives an in-depth analysis of *Buck v. Bell* and the role of Eastabrook. Cohen, Adam. *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck*. Penguin Books, 2017.

¹⁴⁴ Laughlin himself gave expert testimony to the US Congress to support the passage of the Immigration Restriction *Johnsons-Reed Act* of 1924, which codified immigration restrictions based on eugenical social engineering theories, and white supremacist arguments. This is analyzed by Ludmerer. Ludmerer, Kenneth M. “Genetics, Eugenics, and the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924.” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 46, no. 1 (1972): 59–81.

appraisal of E. A. Ross's most famous work *Social Control* (1901), which calls for government intervention to prevent race suicide.^{145, 146} UF maintains an archive of Bristol's work.¹⁴⁷

UF's Graduate Research and the Politics of Segregation

Graduate research at UF prior to racial desegregation, particularly from 1933 to the end of World War II, reveals many implications about race and scientific racism.

The UF Libraries archive of graduate theses reaches back to 1906. Early Bulletins summarizing the collection were published in 1933 and 1939, spanning research up to 1938; the next summary available covers 1942–1946, skipping the critical years 1939 and 1940.¹⁴⁸

Some of Florida's influential policy makers and educators of the time were trained in research practices at UF. Frazier Rogers, for example, completed his Master's thesis at UF in 1930 on *The Economic Use of Tractors in Florida for 1929*, and would later become the first head of UF's Department of Agricultural Engineering, and today we have a building named after him.¹⁴⁹ Horace O'Bryant, who went on to become Superintendent of Monroe County Schools from 1949 until 1965, wrote his 1932 graduate thesis on *The Cuban Child in Division Street School Key West, Florida*, and today there is a K-8 school in Key West that bears his name.¹⁵⁰ This demonstrates that research scholarship at UF from this era continues to impact the educational environment throughout the state.

Many graduate projects in the education archive focused on mental and intelligence testing for sorting and segregating students into different curricula and educational resources. Several theses from this era describe research on white teachers, students, and schools in Florida, and others describe research on Black people or "negros" in Florida's education system. A deeper appraisal of this scholarship of separation would be valuable to understand the relationship between UF's research and the historic and racialized communities in Florida.

Selected works from the UF Graduate Thesis and Dissertation Archive (1906–1946).

Below is a short collection of selected theses with research that was supported in the ideas and practices of racist pseudoscience. The UF scholarship selected here incorporates ideas and phrases from prominent eugenicists of the early twentieth century, many of whom were higher education faculty, writing popular textbooks and other academic publications.

¹⁴⁵ Bristol, Lucius Moody. *Social Adaptation; a Study in the Development of the Doctrine of Adaptation as a Theory of Social Progress*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915.

¹⁴⁶ Ross, Edward Alsworth. *Social Control; a Survey of the Foundations of Order*. New York: MacMillan, 1901.

¹⁴⁷ "University of Florida Lucius Moody Bristol Papers." George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

¹⁴⁸ Bulletins included in this report are Anderson, Cyrus E. *A Classification and Analysis of All Masters' Thesis from the Inception of the Graduate School at the University of Florida*. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida, 1933; *University of Florida Graduate Theses and Dissertations 1906–1938*. University of Florida Library Catalog Department, 1939; *Abstracts of Theses and Dissertations: University of Florida Graduate School, 1942–1946*. University of Florida Library Catalog Department, 1947.

¹⁴⁹ Rogers, Frazier. "The Economic Use of Tractors in Florida for 1929." Graduate thesis, University of Florida, 1929.

¹⁵⁰ O'Bryant, Horace. "The Cuban Child in Division Street School, Key West, Florida." Graduate thesis, University of Florida, 1932.

A Contribution to the Scientific Programming of School Achievement (1931), by Verne Edmund Wilson.¹⁵¹ Wilson references the Woodworth-House mental hygiene inventory,¹⁵² and cites Eugenicist and Statistician Karl J. Holzinger¹⁵³ who was trained in the Galton Laboratory, under Biometrician and Eugenics Statistician Karl Pearson.¹⁵⁴ Mental hygiene was a eugenic concept and discipline.

The Cuban Child in the Division Street School (1932), by Horace O'Bryant was a study of Mexican, Cuban and "Southern Negro" students, and comparing the incidence of "retardation" in these groups compared to white children as the standard for comparison.¹⁵⁵ O'Bryant concluded that non-white students have a higher incidence of retardation, and reported that "foreign parentage" and "mentality" were the causes of retardation in the Cuban students studied.¹⁵⁶ O'Bryant references work by eugenics scholars E. A. Ross¹⁵⁷ and Lewis Terman, including Terman's classic eugenics piece *Genetic Studies of Genius*;¹⁵⁸ and notably O'Bryant references the white supremacist scientific racism book by William Z. Ripley called *The Races of Europe* (1899), where Ripley defines a hierarchy of European races based on cephalic indices.¹⁵⁹ Ripley's work was influential on Progressive Era immigration policy.

A Study of Pardoning Systems with Special Reference to Florida (1932)¹⁶⁰ was written by Loris Rood Bristol, son of UF's Chair of Sociology Lucius Moody Bristol. Bristol references a collection of works by Paul Popenoe,¹⁶¹ an avid eugenic sterilization lobbyist¹⁶² who co-wrote (with Roswell Johnson) a popular eugenics textbook *Applied Eugenics*, edited by social engineer and land economist Richard T. Ely.¹⁶³ Bristol also references John Lewis Gillin's work, *Taming the Criminal*,¹⁶⁴ which includes a study of the Florida Penal System's convict slavery, treating it as meritorious. Gillin was an E.A. Ross enthusiast¹⁶⁵ and a supporter of eugenic sterilization for the control of crime and poverty.¹⁶⁶

The Assessment of Real Estate in Marion County Florida (1932) by Ernest M. McCracken, includes a reference from the pioneer of Land Economics and highly influential social engineer Richard T. Ely, as well as many of Ely's college students and mentees, including Frederick M.

¹⁵¹ Wilson, Verne Edmund. "A Contribution to the Scientific Programming of School Achievement." Graduate thesis, University of Florida, 1931.

¹⁵² House, David S. "A Mental Hygiene Inventory." *Archives of Psychology* 14, no. 88 (1927): 112; Harriman, Philip Lawrence. "A Follow-up Study of the Woodworth-House Mental Hygiene Inventory." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 8, no. 2 (1938): 255–59. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1938.tb05321.x>.

¹⁵³ Holtzinger, Karl J. *Statistical Methods for Students in Education*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1928.

¹⁵⁴ Bellhouse, David R. "Karl Pearson's Influence in the United States." *International Statistical Review* 77, no. 1 (2009): 51–63. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-5823.2009.00066.x>. Bellhouse reports Holzinger's Eugenics work with Pearson at the Galton Laboratory.

¹⁵⁵ O'Bryant, Horace. "The Cuban Child in Division Street School, Key West, Florida." Graduate thesis, University of Florida, 1932.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁵⁷ Ross, Edward Alsworth. *The Outline of Sociology*. New York: The Century Company, 1923; Ross, Edward Alsworth. *Principles of Sociology*. New York: The Century Company, 1930.

¹⁵⁸ Terman, Lewis M. *Genetic Study of Genius, Volume I. Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Terman, Lewis M. *The Measurement of Intelligence*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1916.

¹⁵⁹ Ripley, William Zebina. *The Races of Europe; A Sociological Study*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1899.

¹⁶⁰ Bristol, Loris Rood. "A Study of Pardoning Systems with Special Reference to Florida." Graduate dissertation, University of Florida, 1932.

¹⁶¹ Popenoe, Paul B. *Social Science Abstracts* (collection) 2, no. 8 (1930): 1387.

¹⁶² Popenoe, Paul B. "The Progress of Eugenic Sterilization." *Journal of Heredity* 25, no. 1 (1934): 19-26. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.jhered.a103833>.

¹⁶³ Johnson, Roswell H., and Paul B. Popenoe. *Applied Eugenics*. New York: MacMillan, 1933.

¹⁶⁴ Gillin, John Lewis. *Taming the Criminal: Adventures in Penology*. New York: MacMillan, 1931.

¹⁶⁵ Gillin, John Lewis. "Edward Alsworth Ross, 1866–1951." *The American Journal of Sociology* 57, no. 3 (1951): 281–282.

¹⁶⁶ Gillin, John Lewis. *Poverty and Dependency*. New York: Appleton and Company, 1937.

Babcock.¹⁶⁷ Babcock is best known for his work as the Director of Underwriting for the Federal Housing Authority (FHA),¹⁶⁸ producing the FHA's 1938 *Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Manual*,¹⁶⁹ which promoted racial segregation in home ownership through differential property valuation and mortgage insurance allotment prescribed by race-based risk indices.¹⁷⁰ Babcock encouraged the use of racial restrictive deed covenants for properties to be purchased with FHA-insured mortgages.¹⁷¹

A Diagnostic Study of a Group of Superior Children in the Morningside Elementary School in Miami, Florida (1943), by Wilma Stiner Holderman is a study of white middle-class children to determine their "traits," defined *a priori* as superior. Holderman discusses the heredity of intellectual superiority, referencing intellectual hierarchy schemes with "white Americans" ranked as the most intellectually superior.¹⁷² Holderman heavily references the work of two of the leading eugenicists in gifted-testing development, Lewis Terman¹⁷³ and Edward Thorndike's mentee, Leta Hollingsworth.¹⁷⁴

The Behavior of Intelligence Test Items Under Conditions of Tuition (1943), by Andrew N. Dow, Jr. studies the use of an intelligence exam adapted from the Army General Classification Test, which was used to categorize workers and identify leaders for the military.¹⁷⁵ The Army's Intelligence test was developed in a collaboration between President Woodrow Wilson's Surgeon General of the Army, and Harvard Biologist, Psychologist, Eugenicist and President of the APA Robert Yerkes, and was first introduced in 1917.¹⁷⁶ Yerkes led a committee of well-known psychologists to develop and administer the test, including members of the American Eugenics Society, H. H. Goddard, Carl Brigham, and Lewis Terman.¹⁷⁷ The data from the Army Alpha testing were then used to support the Eugenic theory of "race deterioration" due to immigration, and also to develop the SAT and GRE college admissions exams for selective admissions to colleges and universities.¹⁷⁸

¹⁶⁷ Babcock, Frederick. *The Appraisal of Real Estate*. Frederick M. Babcock. New York: MacMillan, 1924. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/253851>.

¹⁶⁸ The Library of Congress's website describes Babcock's role at the FHA. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016871684/>.

¹⁶⁹ Federal Housing Authority. *Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act*. Washington, D.C.: FHA, 1938.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1032 and 1864

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 960; The FHA's role in segregating housing in the U.S metropolitan areas is addressed by Rothstein. Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York London: Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W.W. Norton & Company, 2018.

¹⁷² Holderman, Wilma Stiner. "A Diagnostic Study of a Group of Superior Children in the Morningside Elementary School of Miami, Florida." Graduate thesis, University of Florida, 1943. On page 21 Holderman references Goodenough's work for an IQ ranking scheme; Goodenough, F. L. "Racial Differences in the Intelligence of School Children." *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 9, no. 5 (1926): 388–97. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0073325>.

¹⁷³ Terman, Lewis M. *The Measurement of Intelligence*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916.

¹⁷⁴ Hollingsworth, Leta S. "Bright Students Take Care of Themselves." *The Modern Language Journal* 22, no. 5 (1938): 385. <https://doi.org/10.2307/317943>. Holderman references many more publications by Hollingsworth.

¹⁷⁵ United States Army. *Practice for the Army Tests*. New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1942; United States Army. *The Inductees Mental Tests*. New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1942.

¹⁷⁶ Yerkes was at once the Chair of the Surgeon General's *Committee on Methods of Psychological Examination for Recruits*, and the Chair of *The Committee on Inheritance of Mental Traits* of the Carnegie Institute of Washington's Eugenics Records Office; the same people were on both committees.

¹⁷⁷ Carson, John. "Army Alpha, Army Brass, and the Search for Army Intelligence." *Isis* 84, no. 2 (1993): 278–309; Conlisk, John, and Leon J. Kamin. "The Science and Politics of I. Q.: A Review Article." *The Journal of Human Resources* 11, no. 4 (1976): 561. <https://doi.org/10.2307/145432>.

¹⁷⁸ Brigham, Carl C. *A Study of American Intelligence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1923; Owen, David. "The S.A.T. and Social Stratification." *The Journal of Education* 168, no. 1 (1986):81–92.

The goal of this *curriculum and scholarship* section of the report was to assess the climate for racial attitudes and beliefs at UF left behind in the archival materials. We include some details on the influence of educators, the courses offered, educational content (books and literature) used, as well as original research scholarship produced in collaboration between UF's faculty and students. This brief review of the collection of research and teaching at UF between 1906 and 1958 demonstrates that during the era of *de jure* racial segregation, UF's white students were trained in eugenics scholarship, including the theories of genetic intelligence, general intelligence, intelligence testing, and segregation, using quantitative methods normalized around the achievements of white upper middle-class members, but then applied as "general" and "superior" to all. A thorough appraisal of all racial implications of UF's scholarship is needed to better understand the environment and obstacles that UF's Black students faced once their constitutional right to matriculate at UF was no longer blocked by the state.

As a special note, the history of UF's Psychology Laboratory (where IQ testing was developed for Florida's gifted programs) and its entanglement with eugenics-based intelligence testing and segregation methods warrants further research. An analysis of the impact of racialized segregation-era scholarship at Florida's higher education institutions on the state's public K-12 educational system of today is needed.

In particular, "gifted" education practices of segregating superior students from the inferior continues today. Public schools (K12 and post-secondary education) were segregated by race in Florida when gifted education was conceived, and UF taught Florida's teachers that different teaching practices and outcomes were necessary for the different racial groups. Normalizing segregation as a practice is engrained in gifted education.

Normalizing segregation, along with the notions of superiority and inferiority, as proven by high stakes "intelligence testing" and coupling this with differential access to state resources, is a lasting legacy of the work of the Progressive Era American Eugenics Movement, and has remained a deeply embedded formulation in the American Educational System and in education curricula. Even today the Florida Department of Education website describes students whose educations are funded through their "gifted education" program as having "superior intellectual development" and that they are allocated special funds to "provide academic and social emotional support to this selected group of students."¹⁷⁹

As recently as 2016, a Florida State Board of Education rule was updated to provide for funding that would "allow districts to use multiple criteria rather than limiting access to gifted services with an IQ score threshold," to soften the emphasis on high-stakes testing for educational resource allocation.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, IQ-based entrance exams for college admissions have just recently been falling out of favor.

CONCLUSION

This section of the report covers the period from the passage of the Buckman Act of 1905 and the establishment of the Gainesville campus of the University of Florida in 1906, but

¹⁷⁹ "Florida Department of Education Exceptional Student Education." 2016. <https://www.fldoe.org/academics/exceptional-student-edu/gifted-edu.shtml>.

¹⁸⁰ Florida Department of Education. n.d. *6A-6.03019 Special Instructional Programs for Students Who Are Gifted*. <https://www.flrules.org/gateway/ruleNo.asp?ID=6A-6.03019>.

prior to the desegregation of UF's learning community by George Starke, Jr., in 1958. Our goal was to not only survey the racialized ideologies held at UF toward Black and African Americans and to document the educational and employment environment that this fostered on campus; but to also examine UF's relationship with defining and constructing "whiteness" by mapping the coupling of whiteness with exclusive educational access, accelerated economic futures, and close proximity to policy influence and policy-orchestrated gains.

Materials presented in this section of the report are largely taken from UF's own archives, during a time when UF's community was largely all white people; meaning that the materials we used were generated by white people. Therefore, the impact of UF's racialized influences on the Black communities in Gainesville, Alachua County, and in Florida, more broadly is not documented here because we do not include in this section the voices of community members who experienced the influences of UF during Jim Crow. Presentation of this work should be coupled with the work of UF's Samuel Proctor Oral History Program's Joel Buchanan African American Oral History Archive, which is a rich resource that includes the voices of Black community members who experienced first-hand the impacts of UF on the local environment prior to 1958, and beyond. The next era covered in this larger report (from 1958 – present) includes coverage of UF's Black community members and how they changed the racialized learning environment at UF. This current section describes aspects of the environment, customs, scholarship, beliefs, and practices that UF's desegregators (Black faculty, students, and staff) would encounter. This section sets the stage for the next act, UF's ongoing struggle toward desegregation.

The research presented here is a brief appraisal, and there are myriad research opportunities that still exist to explore links between current disparities and historic UF and Florida state policies, which allocated access to economic gains and educational opportunities prior to 1958, laying the infrastructure for arrangements seen today. The influence of UF's faculty, students, and their scholarship on historic policies warrants further study, as does the influence of the local and national white supremacist movements of the era on UF. To better understand the inequities in Florida's racialized communities today, we recommend further analysis of how inequities were engineered and lobbied, particularly through the wide dissemination and interrelated functions of education, policy, and administration.

THE MODERN ERA (1959–2020)

David A. Canton, with contributions by Sharon Austin, Cathy Lebo, Hazel Levy, Jane Morgan-Daniel, Jason Osorio, and Jacob Soto

The Modern Era of African American history at the University of Florida began with George Starke and the desegregation of the UF Law School. Desegregation at UF occurred four years after the Brown v. Board of Education decision but a decade later only 103 Black students were enrolled UF. In 1968, Black Students at UF created the Black Student Union (BSU). This organization initiated the struggle to challenge institutional racism at UF. African American history at UF is a microcosm of African American history nationwide. This chapter provides a brief overview of the history of the African American Studies Program and the role the program played in diversifying the faculty. In order to understand African American history of UF, one must recognize the central role that African Americans played in the struggle for equity and UF's reactionary role to racial equity.

In 1935, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) developed a legal strategy to challenge segregation in graduate and professional schools in southern public universities. Nationally known Black attorneys such as Charles Hamilton Houston and Thurgood Marshall and a number of Black local attorneys, such as Constance Baker Motley, sued southern universities for violating the 14th amendment and denying Black students access to southern public universities.¹⁸¹ Houston and Marshall knew southern legislators were not going to create equally funded Black graduate and professional schools in southern states. Some southern states, such as Maryland, paid the tuition for African American students to attend graduate and professional schools (law, medicine, dentistry) in another state. American universities and colleges are tax exempt nonprofit institutions, but according to Richard Rothstein, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) never “withheld tax-exempt status when the promotion of segregation by nonprofit institutions was blatant, explicit, and influential.”¹⁸² From its founding until 1958, similar to its southern peers, UF maintained blatant and explicit policies that upheld segregation. However, from 1958 to the present, national and local civil rights leaders, and African American students, faculty, and staff used the courts and campus protests to end segregation at UF and begin the long struggle for racial equity.

The rise of fascism and Nazism in Germany and the associated increased demands for civil rights in the United States forced the federal government to address racism and segregation. By the 1930s and 1940s, an expanding Black middle and working class joined the struggle for civil and labor rights. By the 1940s, a number of northern universities started to hire full time Black faculty and philanthropic organizations such as the Julius Rosenwald Foundation invested in Black higher education. After World War II, white and Black liberals believed that education was the key to end segregation and racial inequality.¹⁸³

From 1946 to 1958, 85 students tried to enroll at the University of Florida, but none were admitted. The Cold War, the image of the nation to the world, and national and local civil rights struggles caused the federal government to pressure UF to desegregate. In 1949, Virgil D.

¹⁸¹ McNeil, Genna Rae. *Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983; Tushnett, Mark. *The NAACP's Legal Strategy Against Segregated Education 1925–1950*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987; Endersdy, James W., and William T. Horner, (eds.). *Lloyd Gaines and the Fight to End Segregation*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2016.

¹⁸² Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2017, 102.

¹⁸³ Perkins, Alfred. *Edwin Rogers Embree: The Julius Rosenwald Fund, Foundation Philanthropy, and American Race Relations*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011.

Hawkins applied to the UF Law School, but was denied admission because of his race. Nine years later, Hawkins withdrew his lawsuit and in 1958 George Starke was the first African American to get admitted into the UF Law School.

Jackie Robinson desegregated Major League baseball in 1947 but he was not the best Black baseball player. However, Branch Rickey, general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, believed that Robinson was an ideal candidate because he attended University of California Los Angeles and had the temperament to endure racist insults.¹⁸⁴ This same approach existed when southern schools admitted their first Black students. Many of the Black students were from the middle class because they had the grades to get accepted and the temperament to endure racist insults that included southern racist campus traditions, such as Kappa Alpha Fraternity that was established in 1865 and sponsored “Old South Balls”, Dixie Balls, or plantation balls. In 2011, Kappa Alpha no longer is associated with the Confederate Flag.¹⁸⁵

After the futile attempts on the part of UF and white families to resist integration, the arrival of George Starke piqued the interest of local media, students, and the administration as a whole. Starke was the first Black student to enroll at the UF Law School. When Starke enrolled in UF law he was 27 years old. His father was a physician and his mother a librarian and Starke was an Air Force veteran. Starke was not a first-generation undergraduate student and his Black parents had more education than the majority of white parents. For white administrators, Starke was an acceptable student to attend UF Law School and least likely to protest or upset white law students or faculty.

Various news reports praised the administration, students, and Starke for ensuring a smooth desegregation process. White backlash continued as some viewed this decision as “the blackest day in the history of this our great state of Florida.”¹⁸⁶ Most of the white parents complaining about Starke did not have children attending law school, and the tensions surrounding desegregation inspired white violence in many places throughout the South, which was the biggest concern for the UF administration. However, by UF’s standards, Starke was the best candidate to break this barrier due to his background and diplomatic disposition. What the administration hoped for was a student that was simply here to, in the words of Vice president Harry Philpott, “get an education and not simply carry a torch or fight for a cause.”¹⁸⁷ Starke, being a “well dressed soft spoken man” who had impressed his peers with his “poise and composure,” took on the task of being discreet and upholding the highest standard of behavior, given the monumental impact his very presence represented for Civil Rights activists and his own desire to focus on his education.¹⁸⁸ Thus, the goal was to minimize the gravity of the situation by ensuring that Starke was seen as just another student seeking an education as long as he behaved like an ideal (white) student, followed the rules, and did not protest.

¹⁸⁴ Tygiel, Jules. *Baseball’s Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

¹⁸⁵ Students at the Florida Agricultural College, 1853-1905 9-10; 2011 Kappa Alpha Laws, 31.

¹⁸⁶ Correspondence from C.M. Musslewhite to President Reitz, September 15, 1968, Series P14, 14a, box 42, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne Reitz), University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida.

¹⁸⁷ “Philpott praises students for week’s conduct.” *The Florida Alligator*, 1958, Series P14, 14a, box 42, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne Reitz), University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida.

¹⁸⁸ Newspaper clipping on Starke’s arrival, 1958, Series P14, 14a, box 42, Administrative Policy Records of the University of Florida Office of the President (J. Wayne Reitz), University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida.

The national and local push to desegregate UF exacerbated southern white resistance among white UF parents and students who believed that the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* United States Supreme Court decision had violated their rights. Historian Michael Klarman contends that the *Brown* decision did not end segregation, but intensified white resistance.¹⁸⁹ When the NAACP used the courts to desegregate southern graduate and professional schools there was minimal white southern parental backlash because the students were adults and parents were not concerned about Black graduate and professional students socializing with their white peers.

White backlash was evident as southern white people sent petitions and letters to administrators and local politicians justifying de jure segregation in the South. Southern white people had believed Black and white to be separate races, needing their own separate institutions to thrive. UF therefore had to desegregate the campus without alienating white Americans; according to a university survey approximately 60 percent of white parents claimed to prefer to withdraw their children's applications from UF or attend another publicly funded segregated institution.¹⁹⁰ UF had to balance the federal, political, and legal legitimacy of *Brown v. Board*, which revitalized Virgil Hawkins' legal arguments against UF's racist admissions process, but this also heightened resistance from white parents and students.

White segregationists continued to plead for what they saw as the preservation of their state institutions and even nation, arguing that the results of desegregation would be "fraternization" between students that would lead to miscegenation and a "nation of half breeds."¹⁹¹ In addition, most segregationists fundamentally believed that Black people in general lacked the "mental temperament," "mental integrity," and "intellectual status" to succeed at these institutions.¹⁹² White segregationists argued that Black people were inherently violent and if allowed on campus there would be an increase in crime. *Brown v. Board* and the relentless effort of Virgil Hawkins made everyone aware that desegregation was inevitable. So, the question became how UF was supposed to assuage these fears and stereotypes in order to fulfill the federal mandate of desegregation, while maintaining the majority of their economic and social support from the families of white students.

Despite the lack of violence from white students, police officers were still tasked with following Starke as a precaution. George Starke had the responsibility of being a student, but he was the first Black student who received police protection. Student leaders and the administration attempted to treat Starke as any student, but Starke withdrew after three trimesters at UF and accepted a job on Wall Street.

Although Starke and Allen's names are associated with desegregating UF, there were also women who were in the first cohort of Black students. For example, Daphne Duvall, George Starke's cousin, became the first Black woman graduate student at UF. Kitty Oliver, Evelyn Moore, and Hazel Land were also among the first Black women to either attend or

¹⁸⁹ Klarman, Michael. "How *Brown* Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis." *Journal of American History* 81, no.1 (1994): 81-118.

¹⁹⁰ Tabulation of responses from survey on integration, April 1956, MSS 0390, folder 2, John A. H. Murphree Files Regarding the Virgil D. Hawkins Case, University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida.

¹⁹¹ Correspondence from anonymous white parent to John Murphree, February 16, 1956, MSS 0390, folder 1, John A. H. Murphree Files Regarding the Virgil D. Hawkins Case, University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida.

¹⁹² Correspondence from Attorney Cyril E. Pogue to John Murphree, February 23rd, 1956, MSS 0390, folder 1, John A. H. Murphree Files Regarding the Virgil D. Hawkins Case, University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida.

graduate from UF's colleges and in 1962 W. George Allen was the first Black graduate at UF's Levin School of Law.¹⁹³

In 1962, UF admitted six Black undergraduate students and in 1965 Stephen Mickle was the first Black undergraduate student to graduate from UF. The first cohort of Black students at UF who enrolled after Starke entered an environment that, unlike Black-serving institutions such as Florida A&M in Tallahassee, did not embrace Black culture or address their academic needs. When the first cohort of Black students attended UF the term "microaggression" did not exist, but all of the Black students (similar to Jackie Robinson and other Black firsts) encountered a great amount of stress trying to "represent the race" and were not allowed to make a mistake, respond, or protest racist behavior. Out of seven Black students in Stephan Mickle's undergraduate class, which was the first class of Black undergraduate students, only two graduated.¹⁹⁴

Desegregation was the university's first step to integration, but UF still remained a long way from providing minority students with a proper college experience, both socially and academically. As the number of Black students increased, the administration was pressured to hire more Black faculty and administrators, and to increase support for Black student organizations and events. Black students voiced their concerns and blamed the institutional bias and glacial pace of reform on "a timid administration and apathetic students."¹⁹⁵ It was indifference of others that allowed for the maintenance of negligent behavior towards the grievances of Black students. These individuals no longer wanted to be seen as compliant students seeking an education, but also as students seeking a college experience and all the social, professional, and academic opportunities that were supposed to come with it. The pressure to bring in more Black students and faculty signified the end of the practices associated with the politics of respectability that UF demonstrated with Starke. UF needed to address the institutional issues making it difficult to retain their Black students, including a lack of academic advisement opportunities, unfair grading practices, and prejudiced professors.¹⁹⁶ The demonstrations and critiques that students expressed about the administration's reactionary position is what stimulated UF to actively pursue changes to address the grievances of students and appeal to prospective Black students and faculty. The need for diversity, in terms of both populace and academic curriculum, resulted in what Dr. King best wrote in his letter from the Birmingham Jail, to be the "type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth."¹⁹⁷ Out of this tension arose certain conflicts that accelerated the necessary change that brought UF closer to true integration.¹⁹⁸

FROM PROTEST TO POWER 1966–1972

During the first decade of desegregation (1958–1968) at UF there was a small increase in the number of African American students, faculty, and staff. The first decade of desegregation at UF coincided with the civil rights movement, as the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting

¹⁹³ Evans, Stephanie. "I was One of the First to See Daylight: Black Women at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities in Florida Since 1959." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (2006): 42–63.

¹⁹⁴ Stewart-Dowdell, Betty J., and Kevin M. McCarthy. *African Americans at the University of Florida*. University of Florida, 2003, 55.

¹⁹⁵ "Campus Leader Hits Faculty Hiring At UF". *The Tampa Tribune*, July 28, 1970, MS Coll 147, Box 8, Folder 14, Black Student Union at the University of Florida Records, University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida.

¹⁹⁶ Solanki, Yatrik. "The Real Black History of UF - 50 Years of Integration." *The Fine Print*, February 10, 2009. <http://thefineprintmag.org/therealblackhistoryofufyearsintegration/>.

¹⁹⁷ King, Jr. Martin Luther. *Letter from the Birmingham Jail*. San Francisco, CA: Harper, 1994.

Rights Act signaled the end of legal segregation. Many Americans believed after these two bills passed that America was on its way to becoming a land of equal opportunity. However, during Dr. Martin Luther King's last three years of life, he noticed that desegregation and the associated laws that were not enforced failed to address the long-term impact of racism. King admitted that there was progress in the growth of a large Black middle class and an end to *de jure* segregation, but he noticed that systemic racism continued. On April 4, 1968, James Earl Ray assassinated Dr. King in Memphis, Tennessee and later that evening there were racial rebellions across the country that had a huge impact on American society and on college campuses across the country.

The assassination of Dr. King intensified Black student activism across the country. For many southern universities desegregation consisted of admitting a very small number of faculty, students, and staff and hoping there were not any major racial incidents. What Black students noticed on campus was that curriculum and culture at public southern universities centered on European and white American cultures. As a result, many such universities allowed white fraternities to use blackface and wave Confederate Flags. Social sciences and humanities courses were Eurocentric and did not include African American history and culture. In addition, student affairs did not create programming that catered towards Black students. By the fall of 1968, Black students organized and formed Black Student Unions and they demanded universities develop Black Studies Programs, hire Black faculty, create Black cultural centers, and increase Black student enrollment. Black students' demands represented the shift from desegregating white universities to demanding power.

In 1966, 10 UF undergraduate students, including Dr. David Horne and Ms. Thomasina Harris formed the "Afro American Students Association" and later they changed the name to "Black Student Union." The BSU objectives were to network with Black student groups across the country, invite Black speakers to campus, hire Black faculty, create a Black Cultural Center, and increase Black cultural events on campus. Black students at UF and across the country demanded universities to hire Black faculty. By the mid-1960s there was a small number of Black full-time tenure-track faculty at white northern universities, but very few in the south. In addition to their intellectual expertise, Black faculty served as mentors to Black students and provided white students an opportunity to engage with Black scholars.¹⁹⁹

The Black Student Union provided the platform for Black Students to articulate their demands to the administration. In 1971, BSU's members barged into President O'Connell's meeting with another student and presented him with six significant demands:

- 1). An increase in Black enrollment through the establishment of a quota; BSU demanded that 500 out of every 2,800 students be of Black origins.
- 2). Creation of a new Vice President position to head a new department of Minority Affairs, with Mr. Roy Mitchell as the recommendation to become the first person to serve in that capacity.
- 3). The inclusion of a Black Academic Affairs administrator to work with the new department of Minority Affairs and work to meet the newly suggested quota.
- 4). The university administration should hire more Black managers to fill personnel positions.
- 5). The quota imposed on student acceptance should also apply to faculty diversity, to have equally proportionate representation at the university level.

¹⁹⁹ Horne, David L. "Black Students' Struggles for Justice at the University of Florida." In *African American Studies: 50 Years at the University of Florida*, edited by Gordon and Ortiz. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2022.

6). Legal and cultural protection and enforcement on behalf of the university for employees of color.²⁰⁰

Black students had the political capital to make demands and force the administration to integrate Black students into campus culture. The development of Black Thursday tested the limits of the influence that minority students possessed.

Thursday April 15th, 1971, marked the beginning of a three-month struggle between Black students and UF's President Steven O'Connell (1967–1973)²⁰¹, which encompassed campus-wide protests in the hopes of changing campus culture to be more inclusive of African American students. The student protesters also demanded President O'Connell increase the number of Black students and Black faculty. These protests amounted to a student-led demonstration and aftermath known as Black Thursday. Black Thursday represents UF's shift from a desegregated campus to a culturally integrated campus. The distinction between legally desegregated and culturally integrated is significant for defining the Black student experience throughout the 1950s to 1970s. This distinction displays the different material and social resources or conditions available to students in the collegiate setting based on race and status. For example, George Starke Jr., the first African American admitted to UF in 1958, was placed in a position where he had to accept the status quo of white campus life. Due to his unique situation, white students expected him to display a sense of gratitude for the "privilege or honor" of advancing his race. The white students considered UF too esteemed for Black students; thus, it was perceived as a greater honor than African Americans deserved. Starke tolerated racial animus on campus and was not engaged in campus politics. He attended the UF Law School but otherwise had no cultural connection to anchor him there, causing him and other Black students to drop out or transfer to other schools.²⁰²

In contrast, Black students in the 1970s, sought to create Black spaces to express their ideas and their culture at UF. This development was due to the rise of the national Black Power Movement and the gradual increase in representation through higher minority enrollment. By 1970, Black enrollment was approximately 340 students, which was still a tiny fraction of the total student population, yet a significant improvement compared to the late 1950s and early 1960s.²⁰³ Black student protests and demands led to the creation of UF's Institute for Black Culture (IBC), an African American social, cultural, and intellectual space. During the 1990s, African American students organized to get a new building and the IBC building was opened in 2019. The newer wave of Black students came from more diverse backgrounds ranging from low-income, middle-class, and first-generation. These students' societal statuses and conditions removed them from the typical college-educated, high-income backgrounds of the first Black students and many white students. These diverse students' backgrounds and experiences, combined with influence from the Black Power Movement, making them more inquisitive of the systems in place. Whether or not these students questioned larger systems such as institutional

²⁰⁰ List of Demands, April 1971, Black Demonstration Statements by Groups Anti OC, University Archives Vertical File Collection, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

²⁰¹ Connell, Stephen C bio Folder 1.

²⁰² Starke Jr., George H. "UF in 1958: I Was the First Black Student." *Orlando Sentinel*, June 2, 2018. <https://www.orlandosentinel.com/opinion/os-ed-first-Black-student-at-uf-shares-story-20170915-story.html>; Bionda, Martha. *The Black Revolution on Campus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014; Rogers, Ibram H. *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Radical Reconstruction of Higher Education, 1965–1972*. New York: Palgrave, 2012.

²⁰³ Ogbar, Jeffrey O.G. *Black Power: Radical Politics of African American Identity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

racism or microsystems such as discriminatory education policies, they did refuse to be complacent in a racist system.

In 1968, a decade after desegregating UF, there were only 103 Black students enrolled. In 1969, UF hired Dr. Ronald Foreman as the first director of the African American Studies Program. For the next 30 years, he diligently led the program with very little assistance. During this time, the administration failed to hire African American Studies faculty. As a result, few African American Studies courses were offered. The program would not have survived had it not been for Dr. Foreman's leadership and commitment. A year earlier, San Francisco State University had created the first African American Studies Department, but most universities, including UF, did not support granting department status. African American faculty understood the need for an African American Studies Department because a department can hire faculty and grant tenure. In addition, the chair of a department can aspire to become a dean of a college and create policies to increase the number of Black faculty, students, and staff. Horne notes that it took "progressive leadership" at UF and the "dogged determination" of a number of Black faculty and staff to develop the African American Studies Program at UF.²⁰⁴

In 1971, according to Professor Emeritus and former Associate Dean of Minority Affairs Harry Shaw "there were only 3 Black professors, one Black administrator, and 387 Black students at UF"²⁰⁵ and during the next two decades, Black faculty and students demanded UF to hire Black faculty. While UF desired more established Black scholars, Shaw and Dr. Jacquelyn Hart, UF's Affirmative Action Coordinator, developed a "Vita Bank" and they recruited Black ABD (All but Dissertation) Ph.D. candidates. Both had realized senior Black scholars did not view UF as an ideal location, but as a "stepping stone" to a more prestigious institution. In 1974, UF hired 14 new Black faculty members, but from 1975–1976 this decreased, only to rebound in 1977 when UF hired 20 Black faculty members. Shaw referred to UF's Black faculty hiring policy as "red light green light", meaning it was not a consistent priority to recruit and retain Black faculty.²⁰⁶

In spite of the challenges of hiring and retaining Black faculty, the African American Studies program gave its first certificates in 1971. Following Dr. Foreman's retirement in 2000, African American Studies Directors Daryl Scott, Marilyn Thomas-Houston, Terry Mills, Faye Harrison, Stephanie Y. Evans, Sharon Austin, James Essegbey, and David Canton led the program. Dr. Thomas-Houston (2003–2004) received major grants, engaged in fundraising, oversaw a 35th anniversary celebration, developed new courses, and assisted with the hiring of at least 4 new African American Studies faculty members (including Drs. Stephanie Evans, Faye Harrison, William Conwill, and Willie Baber) while at the same time serving as an Assistant Professor of Anthropology. Dr. Terry Mills (2004–2006) served as both an Associate Dean and Associate Professor of Sociology and African American Studies. The program continued to develop under his leadership with the inclusion of new courses and additional students. Dr. Faye Harrison brought a whole new level of star power to the program when serving as Director from 2006–2010. Due to Dr. Harrison's role as one of the nation's most prominent anthropologists, she influenced many African American graduate students to enroll at UF (and

²⁰⁴ Shaw, Harry B. "Reflections on the African American Studies Program." In *African American Studies: 50 Years at UF*, edited by Gordon and Ortiz. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2022; Rojas, Fabio. *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2010.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 8-10.

²⁰⁶ Shaw, Harry B. "Reflections on the African American Studies Program." In *African American Studies: 50 Years at UF*, edited by Gordon and Ortiz. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2022, 9–11.

students of other races and ethnicities as well) and enabled them to teach courses for the program. In addition, the first African American Studies minor was awarded during her tenure in 2006.

The program continued its fundraising efforts, expanded the number of core and affiliated faculty members, developed new courses and innovative programming, and began the initial process of gaining approval for an African American Studies major. During the 2010–2011 academic year, Dr. Stephanie Evans directed the program, expanded the number of affiliates, created an advisory board (consisting of faculty, staff, students, and community members), significantly increased the course offerings (including the program's first study-abroad class, African Americans in Paris), submitted the pre-proposal for the major, and increased the number of minors. Dr. Evans was also one of the most popular mentors on campus as she continued to oversee innovative programming and the hiring of Drs. Patricia Hilliard-Nunn and Gwendolyn Zoharah Simmons. From 2011–2019, Dr. Sharon Austin directed the program and gained approval for the major. Dr. Austin expanded the course offerings, advisory board, and number of affiliates; oversaw programming with the assistance of the faculty; and oversaw the hiring of Drs. Vincent Adejumo, Manoucheka Celeste, Ibram Kendi, and Lauren Pearlman. In 2019, Dr. James Essegbey served as Interim Director and guided the program through its 50th Anniversary celebration and continued to expand the major. Previous Directors Thomas-Houston, Harrison, Evans, and Austin had also drafted proposals for a department, graduate program, and/or combined BA/MA program, but were not allowed to pursue these options, despite massive student support, because of the lack of African American Studies faculty members.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AT UF 1973–2000

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 10925 and four years later President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed Executive Order 11246. Both policies were designed to ensure government contracts “take affirmative action” not to discriminate against minorities. The federal government created affirmative action to address the long history of institutional racism. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr said it best in his book *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community*: “A society that has done something special *against* (slavery, segregation, racism) the Negro for hundreds of years must now do something special for him.”²⁰⁷ In 1973, UF developed its first affirmative action plan, but in 1999 Governor Jeb Bush signed “One Florida” that ended affirmative action in the state. UF’s affirmative action plan resulted in a steady increase in Black students and faculty and allowed UF to fund a number of successful minority student recruitment and retention programs such as Student Support Services Program, Upward Bound Program, Student Enrichment Services Program, and the Academic Enrichment and Retention Services. These programs represented UF’s financial commitment to increasing Black student enrollment, but by the 1990s anti-affirmative action pundits were arguing that African Americans had disproportionately benefited from affirmative action. According to the data, white women were the number one beneficiaries of affirmative action, but the racialization of affirmative action made it easier to eliminate affirmative action in a number of states, such as California which passed Proposition 209 in 1996.²⁰⁸

During the 1990s, a number of articles in *The Independent Alligator* examined Black student enrollments, racial campus climate and Black faculty hiring initiatives at UF. In 1989,

²⁰⁷ King, Jr. Martin Luther. *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2010, 95.

²⁰⁸ Wise, Tim. “Is Sisterhood Conditional? White Women and the Rollback of Affirmative Action.” *NWSA Journal* 10, no. 3 (1998): 1–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4316599>.

Interim President Robert Bryan created the UF Quality of Life Task Force and the committee “made 23 recommendations” that included “hiring 10 new black faculty” and developing “a campus wide system to monitor complaints of racial harassment.”²⁰⁹ In November 1990, Black Student Union President Angela Eubanks met with State University System Chancellor Charles Reed to discuss “minority concerns” at UF. According to one Black female faculty, some of her Black faculty colleagues served on “seven to ten” committees. The staff writer stated, “When advancements and raises are withheld, black faculty leave for higher paying jobs.”²¹⁰ In 1992, UF started an “Equity Accountability Plan” to encourage academic deans “to recruit minority and women faculty.”²¹¹ One year before this plan, *The Independent Alligator* front page story was “The Reality of Racism.” It reported that African American students were “the least satisfied” with former Minority Affairs Assistant Dean Willie Robinson stating that “the university has a very bad reputation as a very racist institution.”

As UF entered the 21st century, ending institutional racism, promoting equity, hiring Black faculty, and increasing Black student enrollments became major priorities. The 2000 fall semester was the first semester after former Governor Jeb Bush signed One Florida, which eliminated affirmative action. In September 2000, Students Taking Action against Racism invited former UF President John Lombardi to address racism at UF and to discuss the results of a racial climate survey. Three years earlier, former President Lombardi referred to Adam Herbert, an African American and former State University System chancellor as “an oreo.” Lombardi had apologized for his comments, but former Regent Julian Bennett supported Lombardi’s comments when he referred to Herbert as a “magnificent oreo.” Bennett defined oreo as “someone who’s Black and can operate in a white world”, viewing the term as a compliment while African Americans viewed “oreo” as racist. Bennett said, “The word Oreo is not racist and neither is Lombardi.” Lombardi, Bennett, and many UF administrators viewed racism as the Ku Klux Klan’s egregious violent acts against African Americans, a white student using the N word, or a white person saying, “I am not racist.” Unfortunately, many of these UF administrators were committed to this line of reasoning that prohibited them from understanding the racist implications of the term “oreo” and the impact of institutional racism.²¹²

In spite of the numerical increase in Black faculty, staff, and students, the long history of institutional racism continued as a major theme. During the fall of 2000, 38 years after the first Black student graduated from UF with a law degree, there were only 2 tenured Black professors in UF’s Law School. The Center for the Study of Race and Race Relations had been founded in 1998 “as an interdisciplinary institution that promotes research and development of public policy in the areas of race relations, interracial dispute resolution, diversity education and training, racial equality and community relations.” From 1998 until September 2001, Professor Rahim Reed served as its inaugural director and one of its founding members. Professor Katheryn Russell-Brown, Chesterfield Smith Professor of Law, has directed the center since 2001. Despite the discussions of race and the influence of the center, UF’s Law school failed to significantly increase its Black faculty presence. Due to the small number of Black faculty at UF’s Law School and the lack of a diversity hiring plan, UF Law Professor Kenneth Nunn resigned as Associate Dean of the Law School.²¹³ In 2004, Bernie Machen became the 11th President of UF and he wanted the “faculty to be as diverse as the student body.” In March 2007, an article titled “Minority Report” stated that between 1988 and 2005 the number of Black

²⁰⁹ *Independent Alligator*, September 19, 1990.

²¹⁰ *Independent Alligator*, November 29, 1990.

²¹¹ *Independent Alligator*, September 4, 1992.

²¹² *Independent Alligator*, January 21, 1998.

²¹³ *Independent Alligator*, September 21, 2000.

faculty had increased from 56 to 86 and that this represented 2.9 percent of the total faculty. However, according to IPEDS HR surveys, in 2003 the number of full time Black faculty was 130 and in 2007 the number increased to 170.²¹⁴ According to some UF officials, Black faculty did not want to relocate and former President Machen said he “had talked to African American students whose friends and even their parents, tell them “Don’t go there.”” Many Black women faculty members encountered white students who questioned their professionalism. For example, Dr. Stephanie Evans, former Director of African American Studies, reported a student who had “accused her of favoring Black students.”²¹⁵ In 2007, UF conducted a survey that asked faculty about diversity and *The Gainesville Sun* reported “Black faculty gave just 41 percent favorable response to diversity while White faculty had a 66 percent favorable rate. This favorable response gap reflects the different experiences between Black and White faculty”.²¹⁶

AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDIES AT UF

The history of the African American Studies Program at UF is central to the history of African Americans at UF. The African American Studies Program started at UF in 1970 as a response to Black students’ protests on campus and nationally. African American students across the country demanded a curriculum that centered on “the African American experience” (in 2021 African American *experiences* is the proper nomenclature) and Black faculty and students fought for universities to establish an African American Studies Department.²¹⁷ In 1987 Dr. Molefi Asante created the first Ph.D. African American Studies Program at Temple University, but since the early 1990s, a number of private and public universities have established undergraduate and graduate programs in African American Studies. According to the [National Council of Black Studies](#), the professional organization for African American Studies, there are 20 Masters and 19 Ph.D. African Studies Programs; seven Ph.D. programs are at flagship public universities.²¹⁸ In order to remain in the top 10, UF needs to commit to developing an African American Studies Department.

In September 2017, an African American Steering committee was formed that consisted of African American Studies core faculty and affiliated faculty members. One goal of the committee was to “recommend an appropriate course of action for creating a Center or Department.”²¹⁹ The African American Steering Committee met in December 2017 and February 2018 to develop a proposal to submit to the Associate Dean. On April 24, 2018, the African American Steering Committee recommended that UF create an African American Studies Department, the first in the state and only the second school among Research I Institutions in the Southeast (Georgia State University in Atlanta has an African American Studies Department). According to the committee, top-ranked public universities and a number of others have African American Studies Departments and as a top 10 nationally-ranked public university, UF must have an African American Studies Department. The committee held that having a department will increase Black faculty, Black student enrollment and more importantly,

²¹⁴ US. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data (IPEDS), 2022, Human Resources survey. Washington DC

²¹⁵ Ibid., March 26, 2007.

²¹⁶ *The Gainesville Sun*, August 24, 2007.

²¹⁷ For a detailed history of African American Studies at the University of Florida, see Ortiz and Gordon, eds., *African American Studies: 50 Years at the University of Florida*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2022.

²¹⁸ Top Ten Public Universities with an African American Studies Department, University of California Berkeley, University of California Los Angeles, University of Michigan, University of California Irvine, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, University of California, Santa Barbara, and University of California, San Diego.

²¹⁹ “African American Studies Steering Committee Final Report & Recommendations.” African American Studies Steering Committee, April 24, 2018, 3.

expose the entire UF community to the intellectual depth and breadth of African American experiences. If UF had implemented a department in the past, it would have been in a better position to retain prominent faculty who went to other universities, such as Dr. Daryl Scott (a Professor of History at Howard University), Dr. Terry Mills (who became an administrator at Morehouse College), Dr. Ibram X. Kendi (who won the National Book Award while employed in African American Studies at UF and is now one of the nation’s top public intellectuals), Dr. Faye Harrison (who left UF after 20 years of employment to accept a full professorship at the University of Illinois and has continued to be one of the nation’s top Anthropology and African American Studies scholars), and Dr. Stephanie Evans (one of the nation’s premiere scholars of African American women’s history and the author of several books). In 2020 the African American Studies Program celebrated its Golden Anniversary, relocated to the first floor of Turlington Hall, hired its new director, Dr. David A. Canton, and initiated a cluster hire of five tenure-track lines in the program.

AFRICAN AMERICANS AT UF IN RECENT YEARS

UF has made a commitment to become a top 10 public university and in September 2021, *US News and World Report* ranked the UF #5 among public universities. However, UF’s ascendance up the ranks has witnessed a steady decrease of Black student enrollment. In February 2021, *The Gainesville Sun* reported that UF has “steadily improved the percentage of minority faculty,” and its percentage of Black and Latinx faculty are higher than “the average at top five universities.” In response to the murder of George Floyd and killing of Breonna Taylor, President Kent Fuchs launched an antiracism initiative that included a Racial Justice Research Fund to conduct research on the history of racism at UF.²²⁰ During the last ten years, UF has hired a number of African Americans in key leadership positions (Table 1).

Table 1. African Americans Hired for Leadership Roles at UF, 2011–2021.

Name	Leadership Role	Start Year
Curtis Reynolds	Vice President for Business Affairs	2011
Chimay Anumba,	Dean of the College of Design, Construction and Planning	2016
Onye Ozuzu	Dean of the College of the Arts	2018
D’Andra Mull	Vice President for Student Affairs	2020
Audrey Gainey	Director of Talent Acquisition and Onboarding, overseeing UF’s Strategic Talent Group	2020
Hub Brown	Dean of College of Journalism and Communications	2021
Andra Johnson	Dean of UF/IFAS Extension and Director of the Florida Cooperative Extension Service	2021
Marsha McGriff	Chief Diversity Officer and Senior Adviser to the President	2021

Black Faculty Hiring and Recruitment

Over the past few decades, new faculty hires at UF who identify as Black comprised about 4 percent of total new hires, with a slight increase over the past decade (Figure 10). From 2015 to 2020, the total number of full-time Black faculty increased 37 percent, from 181 to 248. Over this same time, the number of full-time tenured or tenure-track Black faculty increased 26 percent, from 91 to 115. Two Black faculty members earned tenure during this five-year interval,

²²⁰ *The Independent Alligator*, February 14, 2021.

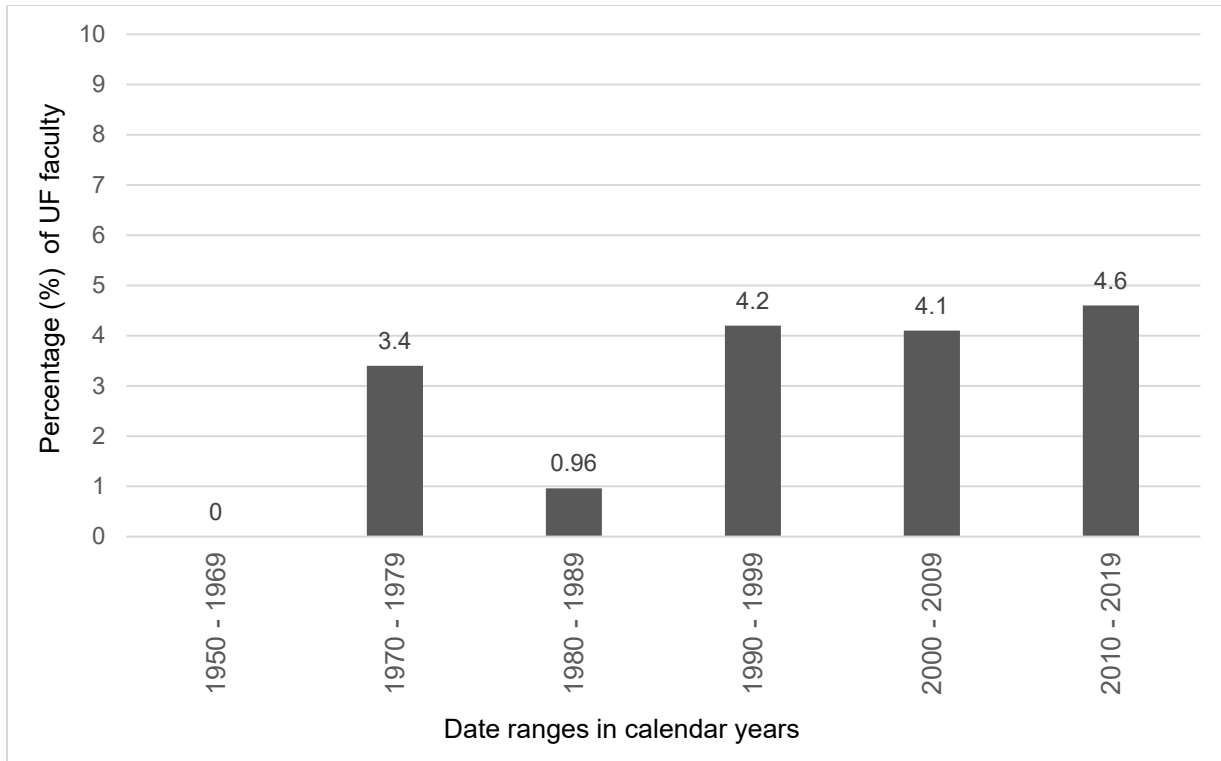


Figure 10. Percentage of University of Florida faculty with start dates identified as Black. Administrative faculty employment data from 1950 to 2019 were acquired from the University of Florida through Public Record Request W004067-042718. Shown is the percentage of faculty with start dates in each time range that are identified in the public record as Black.

bringing the total number to 68, a total that has actually dropped over this interval from a high of 75.

Undergraduate Recruitment

From the mid-1960s until 2010, UF saw a steady increase in Black undergraduate student enrollment. From a starting point of 42 Black students in 1965, enrollment surpassed 1,000 by 1973, 2,000 by 1985, and 3,000 fifteen years later.²²¹ However, the numbers have dropped over the past decade (Table 2). From a peak of 3,567 degree-seeking Black undergraduates in 2007, enrollment dropped to 2,127 by the fall of 2020. Reasons for this drop are many, and include the effects of changing federal criteria for race categories and reporting enrollments.²²² Over this same period, the number of professional and graduate students who identified as Black or African American has increased, although not enough to offset the loss of degree-seeking undergraduate students. The net drop of Black student enrollment from the peak of 2007 is 22.1 percent.

²²¹ From the University of Florida Institutional Report for SACS. Self-evaluation study, January 1972.

²²² Federal race categories and reporting filters were revised in 2010. The new approach was designed to allow people of mixed race/ethnicity to select more than one category. They hoped to increase the overall response rate and reduce missing answers. Since 2010, some African Americans who are of mixed race/ethnicity are reported as "Hispanic" or "Two or More Races."

Table 2. Black Student Enrollment at UF, 2006-2020, by Academic Degree Status (Source: University of Florida, Institutional Planning and Research).

Year ^a	Undergraduate					Total ^b
	Degree-Seeking	Non-Degree-Seeking	Professional	Masters	Doctorate	
2006	3,352	104	231	223	182	4,092
2007	3,567	105	253	251	168	4,344
2008	3,514	107	246	288	172	4,327
2009	3,432	95	283	334	161	4,305
2010	3,062	119	261	328	174	3,944
2011	2,794	113	265	331	182	3,685
2012	2,564	138	242	336	208	3,488
2013	2,397	112	268	337	208	3,322
2014	2,186	186	284	358	216	3,230
2015	2,177	179	297	367	212	3,232
2016	2,179	203	320	352	191	3,245
2017	2,250	270	306	335	195	3,356
2018	2,337	179	280	366	210	3,372
2019	2,182	148	250	381	212	3,173
2020	2,127	199	273	561	224	3,384

a. Fall terms

b. The numbers reported in this table include U.S. citizens and permanent residents. They do not include non-resident aliens.

Among the initiatives UF has taken to recruit and retain Black undergraduate students is the Florida Opportunities Scholars Program. Launched in 2006 by UF President Bernie Machen, the program aims to increase opportunities at UF for historically low-income first-generation college students. During the 2020–21 academic year, the program enrolled 1,278 students. Nearly one in four (22.85%) of these students are African American.

CONCLUSION

Recent changes in Black student undergraduate enrollment at UF are in part a reflection of changing demographics in Florida in general. The proportion of college-ready Black students, as well as white students, is expected to decline in years to come as Hispanic students achieve majority numbers. According to a 2020 WICHE report,²²³ by 2025, single-race Hispanics will account for most public high school graduates in Florida at 37.4 percent of projected graduates, followed by whites at 36.3 percent, and then Blacks at 19.4 percent. The number of single-race Black public high school graduates is projected to decline by 4.56%, from 40,046 in 2019 to 38,210 in 2025, and continue to decline through 2030.

Despite overall changes in the African American population in Florida more can be done to recruit, retain, and graduate eligible Black students. Putting dwindling enrollment figures into historical context, one must acknowledge the central role that Black students, faculty, and the community played to desegregate the institution and continue the struggle for equity, alongside UF’s reactive role. Historically, UF responds to African American protests in order to address

²²³ “Knocking at the College Door: Projections for High School Graduates.” Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, December 2020, <https://knocking.wiche.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2020/12/Knocking-pdf-for-website.pdf>.

racial equity. UF must establish institutional racial equity benchmarks and hold departments, programs, and administrators accountable if the benchmarks are not reached.

The need to increase the number of Black faculty is predicated on a reaction to Black protests, such as the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, but this report advocates a proactive effort that makes hiring Black faculty a priority. As long as the same amount of Black faculty resign and are hired, UF will remain at 4 percent. Based on articles from campus newspapers, every report gives the same reasons for why UF has a difficult time hiring Black faculty: UF is not a welcoming place, cannot locate Black faculty in STEM fields, it is too expensive to hire established Black faculty, Black faculty use UF as a stepping stone, or Black faculty do not want to live in Gainesville. As the fifth-ranked national public university, UF has the resources to support programs to increase Black faculty, staff, and students, it just needs the will to take proactive steps to address these issues.

During the summer of 2020, UF created a \$400,000 Racial Justice Equity Grant to provide funding to study racial inequity at UF. Some African American Studies core faculty and affiliate faculty members (Sharon Austin, David Canton, Robert Stevenson Jr., Paul Ortiz, Michele Manuel, Hazel Levy, and Bernell Tripp) are now working on a racial justice program grant that examines the challenges UF has faced when attempting to recruit and retain Black faculty.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN RELATION TO NATIVE AMERICANS²²⁴

Kenneth E. Sassaman, Richard S. Conley, Brendan David-John, Ginessa J. Mahar, Donna L. Ruhl, Natalia Turkel, Neill J. Wallis, and Robin M. Wright

The University of Florida's (UF) relationship to Native Americans is predicated on dispossession of Indigenous land by European colonists and American settler-colonists. This relationship continues to unfold in the modern era with statutory obligations to evaluate the effects of land-altering activities on historical and archaeological resources. Federal law also requires UF to consult with Native American tribes over the repatriation of human remains and associated funerary belongings in its possession. Although few persons of Native American identity pursue higher education at UF, and virtually none are counted among its faculty, researchers across UF units and public-facing programs such as the Florida Museum continue to pursue knowledge about Indigenous history, occasionally in collaboration with tribal representatives. Moreover, UF students of varied ethnicities have created organizations to promote Indigenous interests. Their efforts have been instrumental in leveraging improvements in UF policy and curriculum.

The history of relations between UF and Native Americans is unwritten but embedded in the land and its material resources. Founded on a legacy of Indigenous land dispossession across the entire nation, land-grant universities like UF are an extension of settler colonialism that converted landscapes of native dwelling into public and private property. Federal and state legislation since the late 20th century has mandated stewardship of public lands, and UF has routinely met the letter, if not always the spirit, of such law. The latest federal mandate—compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990—challenges the logic of property rights by reframing dispossession as a transgression of human rights.

As a matter of education and public facing, relations with Native Americans were slow to evolve from neglect, denigration, and misrepresentation throughout most of the 20th century to the positive intent of recent interventions. Student activism on campus led to the founding of various Indigenous-interest groups and the development of academic programs. Although students and faculty of Native American identity continue to be underrepresented in the ranks of UF, the Presidential Task Force convened in 2020 attests to growing efforts to improve relations with Native America by first taking a critical, honest look at the history of circumstances that warrant reconciliation today.

Structuring this chapter are six themes that define the historical contours of UF-Native American relations: (1) Land Dispossession; (2) Stewardship; (3) NAGPRA; (4) Public Representation; (5) Student Activism; and (6) Academic Programs.

LAND DISPOSSESSION

In keeping with a history of land dispossession and modern mandates on stewardship, UF's relationship to Native America and its Indigenous people turns as much on the land and its

²²⁴ Working Group members: Ken Sassaman (CLAS, Anthropology), Neill Wallis (Florida Museum), Donna Ruhl (Florida Museum), Rich Conley (CLAS, Political Science), Robin Wright (CLAS, Religion), Ginessa Mahar (Smathers Library), Natalia Turkel (UF undergraduate student and President of Indigenous-American Student Association), and Brendan David-John (CISE PhD student and Vice President of the Gator Chapter of the American Indian Science and Engineering Society).

material resources as it does on those who dwelled there. Although this history began at the start of Spanish incursions into the interior of Florida—when Potano people of Timucuan affiliation²²⁵ occupied land on which the Gainesville campus now sits—the removal of Seminole people after the second Seminole War (1835–42) and passage of the Armed Occupation Act (AOA) of 1842 created space for the East Florida Seminary (EFS) in Ocala, founded in 1853. Grantees of the AOA later became Board Members of the EFS, and leases of former Seminole land generated the necessary funds.²²⁶

The Morrill Land-Grant College Act of 1862 ushered in additional funding for state universities from the sale of ceded or seized Indigenous land west of the Mississippi River. After closing its doors at the start of the Civil War in 1861, the EFS was reestablished in Gainesville in 1866. However, land-grant status assigned by state legislators in 1870 went to the founding of the Florida Agricultural College in Lakeland in 1884. According to a *High Country News*²²⁷ analysis of Federal government records on Indian land cessions published in 1899,²²⁸ Florida received scrip for 90,226 acres²²⁹ from 996 parcels of Indian land (Figure 11), for which the U.S. government paid \$1,816 (Table 3). Sold as a block to Cleveland-based broker Gleason F. Lewis

²²⁵ Milanich, Jerald. *The Timucua*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999. If put into full historical context, the story of Native America in what today is known as Florida began at least 15,000 years ago, at the end of the Ice Age. Florida has a robust archaeological record dating from this point forward, and UF archaeologists of the Florida Museum and Department of Anthropology have garnered much knowledge about this ancient past through survey and excavation. For a statewide synthesis see Milanich, Jerald T. *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994; and, for more recent treatment, Wallis, Neill J., and Asa R. Randall, eds. *New Histories of Pre-Columbian Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014. Projects in and around north-central Florida benchmark a long history of Native ancestry culminating in traditions of mound building and rituality that were shared widely across eastern North America since about 200 BCE. A mound dating to ca. 950 CE on the campus of UF was salvaged in 1975 (Fradkin, Arlene, and Jerald T. Milanich. “Salvage Excavations at the Law School Mound.” *Florida Anthropologist* 30, no. 4 (1976): 166-178) and is commemorated today by a historic marker. Although the descendancy of those who built this mound and occupied several other archaeological sites on campus cannot be traced directly to the Potano or other people of 16th-century Florida, archaeologists generally agree that mound-building communities of the region contributed culturally, if not also biologically, to those first contacted by Europeans. For ethnohistoric details on the Potano and related Timucua people, see Hann, John. *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.

²²⁶ Brown, Ahmad, Gabriella Paul, Javier Escoto-Garcia, and Morgan Peltier. “Slavery and the University of Florida: African Americans, Seminoles and the Origins of Higher Education in Florida.” *Alpata* 16 (2021): 1-33. In the larger context of land dispossession that culminated in the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Seminole were expected to relinquish “their land” and relocate to reservations west of the Mississippi River. Seminole resistance to relocation led to war with the U.S. After seven bloody years, the Second Seminole War ended when the U.S. capitulated to the retreat of Seminole to southwest Florida, where they not only survived ensuing decades of unrelenting development but thrive today in the markets of gaming and tourism. For a somewhat dated but authoritative account of Indian Removal see Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932. For a modern, critical analysis of Indian Removal, see Saunt, Claudio. *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory*. New York: Norton, 2020.

²²⁷ Lee, Robert, and Tristan Athone. “Land Grab Universities: Expropriated Indigenous Land is the Foundation of the Land-Grant University System.” *High Country News*, March 30, 2020, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>.

²²⁸ Royce, Charles C. *Indian Land Cessions of the United States*. Eighteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1899, <https://archive.org/details/annualreportofbu218smit/page/n5/mode/2up>.

²²⁹ Land grants ranging from 90,000 to 990,000 acres were distributed to states in proportion to their nonindigenous population. With its relatively small population, Florida garnered only 90,000 acres.

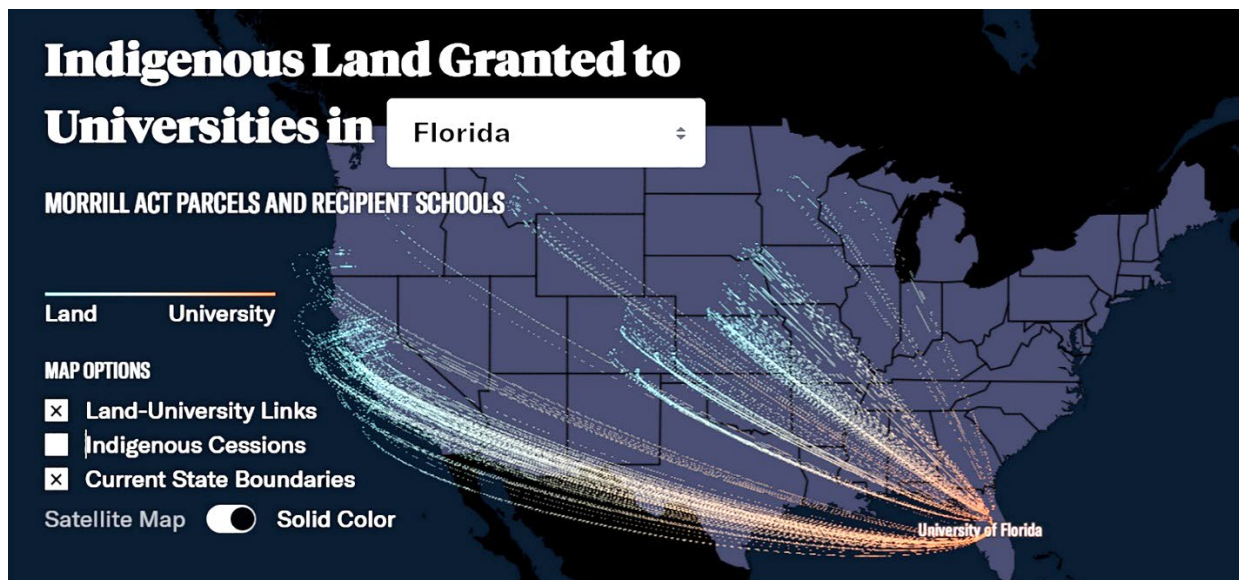


Figure 11. Links between dispossessed Indian land and the University of Florida through the federal land grants enabled by the Morrill Act of 1862. Taken from the interactive database provided in a *High Country News* investigation published in 2020 (<https://www.landgrabu.org/universities>).

Table 3. Inventory of Indian Lands Ceded to or Seized by U.S. Government and Offered to Florida Pursuant to the Morrill Act of 1862 to Fund a Land-Grant University.

ID	Tribal Nation	Mode of Acquisition	Year Acquired	Acres	U.S. Paid	Endowment
123	Great and Little Osage	Ceded by treaty	1825	1,600	\$34.88	\$1,418.09
124	Kansas	Ceded by treaty	1825	9,484	\$55.18	\$8,405.83
191	Confederated Pawnee: Grand Pawnee, Pawnee Loup, Pawnee Republicans, Pawnee Tappaye residing on the Platt and Loup Fork	Ceded by treaty	1833	5,440	\$61.66	\$4,821.49
242	Chippewa	Ceded by treaty	1837	1,120	\$68.47	\$992.66
264	Kansas	Ceded by treaty	1846	1,600	\$80.48	\$1,418.02
269	Chippewa (Pillager band)	Ceded by treaty	1847	320	\$7.74	\$283.62
270	Pawnee (four confederated bands)	Ceded by treaty	1848	160	\$2.90	\$141.81
274	A-pang-asse; Aplache; A-wall-a-che; Co-co-noon; Po-to-yan-ti; Si-yan-te	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	497	\$0.00	\$440.67
275	Cas-son; Cho-e-nem-nee; Cho-ki-men-a; Chook-cha-nee; Chow-chil-lie; How-edh-ee; I-tach-ee; Nook-choo; No-to-no-to; Pas-ke-sa; Pit-cat-chee; Po-ho-nee-chee; Tall-in-chee; Toom-na; Wa-cha-et; We-mal-che	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	800	\$0.00	\$709.04
279	Ko-ya-te; New-chow-we; Pal-wis-ha; Po-ken-well; Wack-sa-che; Wo-la-si; Ya-wil-chine	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	2,560	\$0.00	\$2,268.94
281	Chap-pah-sim; Co-to-plan-e-nee; I-o-no-hum-ne; Sage-womnee; Su-ca-ah; We-chil-la	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	2,895	\$0.00	\$2,565.53
284	Chu-nute; Co-ye-tie; Wo-wol; Yo-lum-ne	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	863	\$0.00	\$764.96
287	Be-no-pi; Das-pia; Mon-e-da; Nem-shaw; On-o-po-ma; Wai-de-pa-can; Wan-nuck; Ya-cum-na; Ya-ma-do; Yol-la-mer	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	341	\$0.00	\$302.14

Table 3. continued.

ID	Tribal Nation	Mode of Acquisition	Year Acquired	Acres	U.S. Paid	Endowment
288	Be-no-pi; Das-pia; Mon-e-da; Nem-shaw; On-o-po-ma; Wai-de-pa-can; Wan-nuck; Ya-cum-na; Ya-ma-do; Yol-la-mer	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	1,480	\$0.00	\$1,311.73
289	Sioux (Wahpeton and Sisseton Bands); Ya-cum-na; Ya-ma-do; Yol-la-mer	Ceded by treaty	1851	160	\$3.78	\$141.81
291	Bat-si; Che-no; Es-ki-un; Ho-lo-lu-pi; Mi-chop-da; Sim-sa-wa; Su-nu; To-to; Yut-duc	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	4,682	\$0.00	\$4,150.01
295	Ca-la-na-po; Cha-nel-kai; Che-com; Da-no-ha-bo; Ha-bi-na-po; How-ku-ma; Me-dam-a-rec; Mo-al-kai	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	321	\$0.00	\$284.11
296	Ca-la-na-po; Cha-nel-kai; Che-com; Da-no-ha-bo; Ha-bi-na-po; How-ku-ma; Me-dam-a-rec; Mo-al-kai	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	1,120	\$0.00	\$992.91
297	Mas-su-ta-ka-ya; Po-mo; Sai-nell; Yu-ki-as	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	3,004	\$0.00	\$2,662.84
299	Cha; Cham-et-ko; Co-ha-ma; Co-lu; Doc-duc; Tat-nah; Toc-de; Wil-lay	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	5,605	\$0.00	\$4,968.07
301	Cu-lee; Loc-lum-ne; Wo-pum-ne; Yas-see	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	1,840	\$0.00	\$1,630.80
302	Cu-lee; Loc-lum-ne; Wo-pum-ne; Yas-see	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	3,105	\$0.00	\$2,752.19
304	Hoo-pah or Trinity river; Peh-tuck or Upper Klamath; Poh-lik or Lower Klamath	Seized by unratified treaty	1851	640	\$0.00	\$567.24
312	Rogue River Indians	Ceded by treaty	1853	320	\$11.84	\$283.77
315	Omaha	Ceded by treaty	1854	1,280	\$166.88	\$1,134.14
343	Chasta; Grave Creek; Scoton	Ceded by treaty	1854	160	\$24.75	\$141.81
344	Calapooia; Umpqua	Ceded by treaty	1854	793	\$64.93	\$702.93
357	Chippewa of the Mississippi	Ceded by treaty	1855	480	\$62.60	\$425.43
362	Cayuse; Umatilla; Walla-walla	Ceded by treaty	1855	280	\$7.88	\$248.17
369	Confederated Tribes of middle Oregon	Ceded by treaty	1855	160	\$5.16	\$141.81
373	Flathead; Kootenay; Upper Pend d'Oreilles	Ceded by treaty	1855	160	\$6.70	\$141.81
397	Coast tribes of Oregon	Ceded by unratified treaty	1855	440	\$0.00	\$389.97
398	Blackfoot; Chippewa, Ontonagon band	Ceded by treaty	1855	1,280	\$43.49	\$1,134.47
399	Nez Percé, Blackfoot and Flathead Nations	Seized by executive order	1855	150	\$5.19	\$133.37
408	Pawnee (four confederated bands)	Ceded by treaty	1857	3,694	\$591.93	\$3,273.89
410	Yankton Sioux	Ceded by treaty	1858	4,153	\$150.20	\$3,681.15
426	Arapaho of Upper Arkansas; Cheyenne of Upper Arkansas	Ceded by treaty	1861	11,653	\$62.95	\$10,328.10
473	Washo	Seized w/o treaty/agreement	1865	1,599	\$0.00	\$1,417.63
477	Arapaho; Cheyenne	Ceded by treaty	1865	4,566	\$24.42	\$4,046.67
478	Comanche; Kiowa	Ceded by treaty	1865	7,979	\$121.75	\$7,071.57
515	Uta (Tabeguache, Muache, Capote, Weeminuchi, Yampa, Grand River, and Uintah bands)	Ceded by treaty	1868	1,440	\$150.54	\$1,276.51
Total				90,226	\$1,816.30	\$79,967.70

for \$80,000 in 1873, the proceeds were invested in \$100,000 worth of state bonds in 1874 (~2.3 million today).²³⁰

Indian land provided to Florida as a land grant was acquired by the U.S. government between 1825 and 1868, with about half taken in the 1850s. The land of 120 Indian tribes across nine states (CA, CO, KS, MN, MT, NE, OR, SD, WI) was taken mostly through ratified

²³⁰ "Inflation Calculator." U.S. Official Inflation Data, Alioth Finance. Accessed March 12, 2021. <https://www.officialdata.org/>.

treaties (65.1%), but also seized by unratified treaties (33.1%), mostly in California, in one case involving Washo land that was seized without agreement. Although the Morrill Act of 1862 has long been acclaimed as the impetus for democratizing higher education, historian Margaret Nash sees it as an extension of settler colonialism.²³¹

After accepting scrip for ceded or seized Indian lands from the federal land grant in 1870, Florida was slow to establish its agricultural college.²³² The act establishing the college was amended seven years later, but again nothing was done as the endowment fund grew to \$120,000 by 1881. Three years later a site was chosen in Lake City for the Florida Agricultural College. In 1904 the name was changed to the University of Florida, and the following year, pursuant to the Buckman Act of 1905, it was moved to Gainesville. After settling some interest debt from state bond investments, the capital of the land-grant fund was valued at \$153,800 in 1905.

Put into perspective of land-grant universities nationwide²³³, the University of Florida benefited only modestly from land grants of the Morrill Act, and it does not continue to hold property or mineral rights from land grants like some of its western counterparts. Still, modest scale and divestment does not diminish the injustice of land dispossession.

UF's "Land Grant" website, which celebrates its land-grant status with a history timeline (<http://landgrant.ufl.edu/>), makes no mention of the dispossession of Indian land. Various academic units of UF have published or plan to publish "Land Acknowledgement Statements," but these too fail to mention dispossession of Indian land through the Morrill Act.

STEWARDSHIP

Since the mid-1960s, UF has been subject to federal law protecting historic resources from the impacts of land-altering activities. Since 2000, UF has operated through a Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement (PMOA) with Florida Division of Historic Resources (DHR) to fulfill such obligations under both federal and state law. A compilation of actions subject to such obligations reflects a high level of compliance. However, whereas land-altering activities since the late 1970s have generally complied with federal and state law protecting historic and archaeological resources, none of the properties under UF jurisdiction have been thoroughly surveyed for archaeological sites in the service of land-use planning and historic preservation. The PMOA currently in place meets the letter of the law in assessing potential impacts to sites on a project-by-project basis. It does not, however, meet the spirit of the law in taking a proactive approach to site inventory and assessment.

As of 2021, the archaeological remains of Native American dwelling have been documented at 18 locations in and around the Gainesville campus of UF (Figure 12). These are sites registered with the Florida Master Site Files at DHR, Bureau of Archaeological Research

²³¹ Nash, Margaret. "Entangled Pasts: Land-Grant Colleges and American Indian Dispossession." *History of Education Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2019): 437-467.

²³² Andrews, Benj. F. *The Land Grant of 1862 and the Land-Grant Colleges*. Bulletin 1918, No. 13. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, 1918. See also LeDuc, Thomas. "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* 19, no. 2 (1953): 216-220.

²³³ By the early 1900s, 10.7 million acres of Indian land were granted to 52 land-grant universities, raising \$22.8 million in principle and unsold land (Lee, Robert, and Tristan Athone. "Land Grab Universities: Expropriated Indigenous Land is the Foundation of the Land-Grant University System." *High Country News*, March 30, 2020, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>).

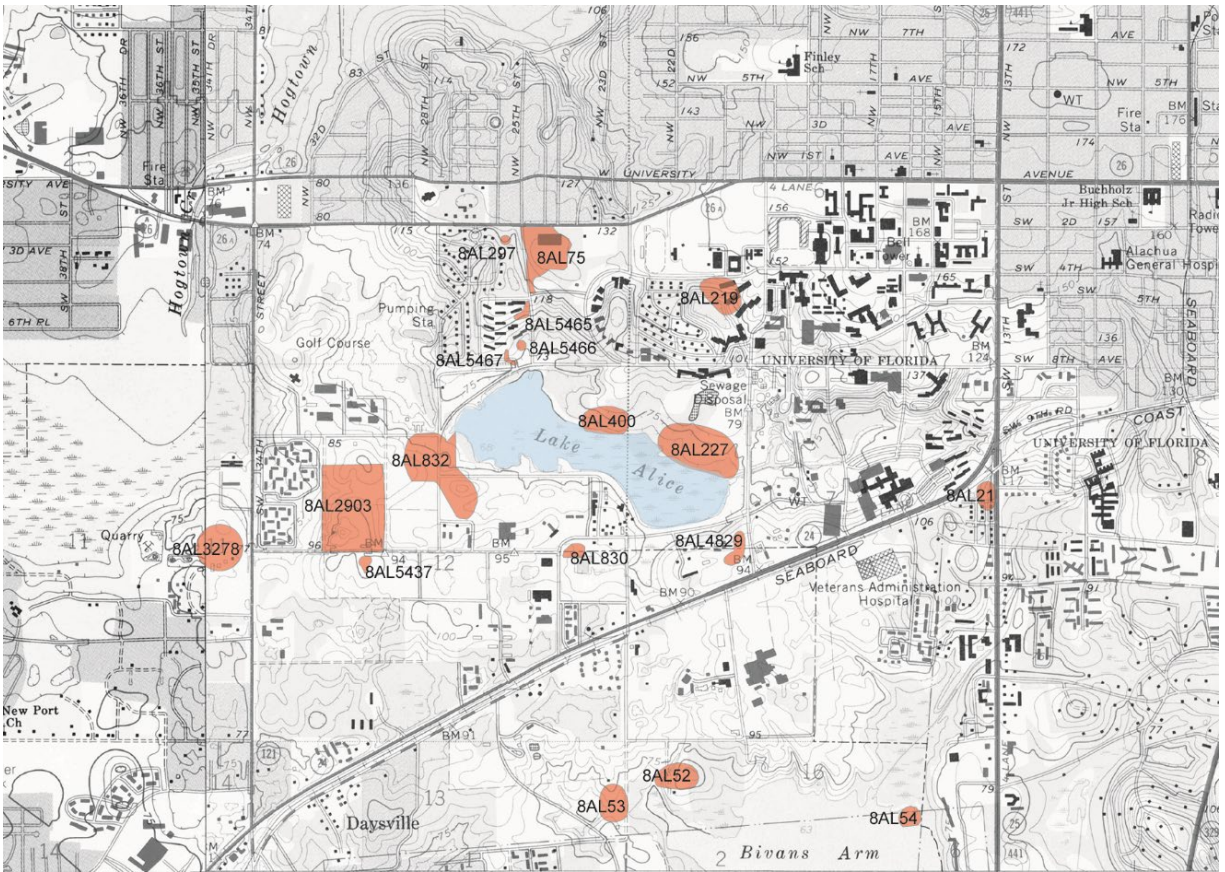


Figure 12. Locations of archaeological sites with components of Native American affiliation on record with the Bureau of Archaeological Research, Florida Division of Historical Resources. Numbers assigned to sites follow the tripartite Smithsonian convention of state (8 = Florida), county (AL = Alachua), and sequential numbers in a county series (e.g., 8AL21 was the 21st site recorded in Alachua County).

(BAR) in Tallahassee. Criteria for listing sites with BAR are beyond the scope of this history but generally revolve around the density of material remains (i.e., artifacts, features); typically, isolated finds such as a spear point or pottery sherd are not eligible for listing as sites. Evaluation of the historical significance of sites is determined through a process promulgated by regulations pursuant to federal and state law that refer to criteria of listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Ancestral human remains of any cultural affiliation have an added layer of compliance regulation and those of Native American affiliation are also subject to NAGPRA.

Well before the passage of laws protecting archaeological remains on public land, UF archaeologists documented on-campus sites at the location of UF’s Levin School of Law (8AL75); along the eastern margin of Graham Woods in the heart of campus (8AL219); south of the intersection of Archer Road and SW 13th St., just east of Shands Hospital (8AL12); and along the northern margins of Bivans Arm (8AL52–54). The so-called “Law School Mound” (8AL297) was not registered with BAR until archaeologists from the Florida Museum²³⁴

²³⁴ Founded in 1917, the Florida State Museum at UF was rebranded in 1988 as the Florida Museum of Natural History, and more recently as the Florida Museum, which is the name used throughout this report irrespective of year.

conducted salvage excavations in 1975.²³⁵ All other sites on campus were registered with the state after 1980 in conjunction with compliance-related surveys triggered by land-altering projects on campus. As of this writing, an inventory of archaeological sites and compliance activities on UF properties apart from the Gainesville campus has yet to be compiled.

Whether for the purpose of research or compliance, all archaeological investigations on state lands require a 1A-32 permit²³⁶ and they must abide by professional standards of practice, reporting, and curation, as well as meet the standard of professionalism issued by the U.S. Department of Interior.²³⁷ Table 4 lists all 1A-32 permits issued by BAR for the conduct of archaeological investigations on UF properties. With the exception of a permit for excavation of the Law School Mound (8AL297) in 1975, all listed permits pertain to compliance-related investigations that were initiated by proposed land-altering activities, beginning in 1991-92 with construction of Southwest Recreation Complex.

In general, compliance-related archaeological activities have been limited to reconnaissance survey in areas of potential impact (i.e., ground disturbance) that entail surface survey, subsurface testing, and ultimately evaluation of the eligibility of any located sites for nomination to the NRHP. Aside from the Law School Mound—which has never been evaluated for NRHP eligibility but is currently protected by a conservation easement—the only site determined to be potentially eligible is 8AL832 on the western margin of Lake Alice. First recorded with BAR in 1980, the boundaries of 8AL832 were expanded in a series of compliance-related investigations between 1991 and 2015. With the exception of one project in 1995, all such projects resulted in recommendations of ineligibility for nomination to the NRHP by parsing out areas of potential impact from the site in its totality. The 1995 project noted the need for more thorough evaluation that was never heeded. In 2006, a construction crew prepping land for Ficke Gardens encountered ancestral human remains that proved to be a Native American burial. Florida Museum staff immediately halted all work and contacted Florida state Archaeologist and Medical Examiner offices as per state statute. UF's C.A. Pound lab was asked to assist as the Florida Museum did not have a bioarchaeologist on staff to oversee in the recovery of ancestral human remains. Subsequently, the state directed the confidential requirements under NAGPRA for repatriation. Most recently, in Spring 2020, construction of a turnabout on the northern boundary of 8AL832 proceeded without compliance review although after brought to their attention, UF authorities arranged for archaeological monitoring of ground disturbance.

In 2000, UF entered into a Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement (PMOA) with Florida DHR to routinize the process for requesting evaluation of potential impacts to archaeological sites from proposed land-altering activities. The PMOA was predicated on a map of archaeological sensitivity that includes the locations of all recorded sites and buffer zones around sites and water bodies (Figure 13 top). The criteria for these buffers are unknown but likely the subjective assessment of UF archaeologists about the likelihood to encounter archaeological remains based on landform, proximity to water, and known sites. The PMOA requires UF authorities—in this case staff of Planning, Design, and Construction (PDC)—to consult with DHR about the need to evaluate potential impacts to archaeological sites (as well

²³⁵ Fradkin, Arlene, and Jerald T. Milanich. "Salvage Excavations at the Law School Mound." *Florida Anthropologist* 30, no. 4 (1976): 166-178.

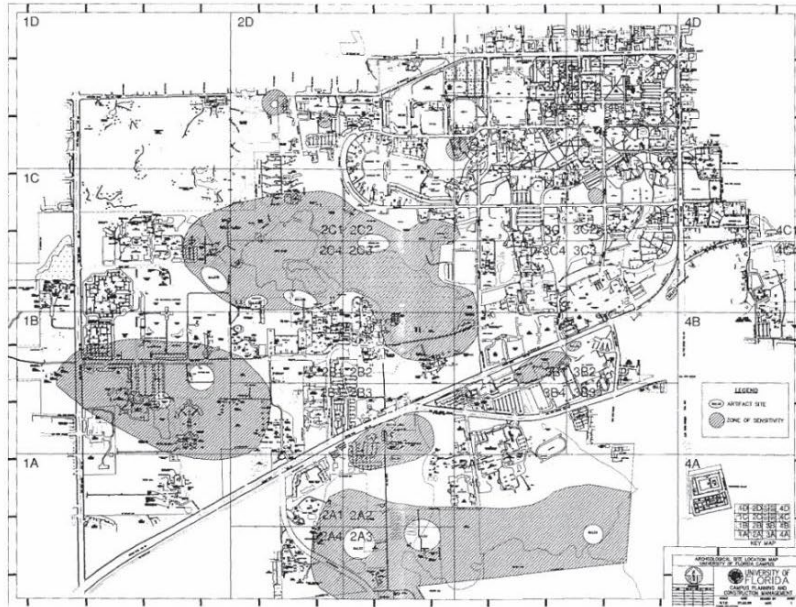
²³⁶ "Research Permits." Florida Department of State. Accessed October 10, 2021. <https://dos.myflorida.com/historical/archaeology/public-lands/research-permits/>.

²³⁷ "Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines." Accessed October 10, 2021. https://files.floridados.gov/media/31936/secretary_of_the_interior_qualifications.pdf.

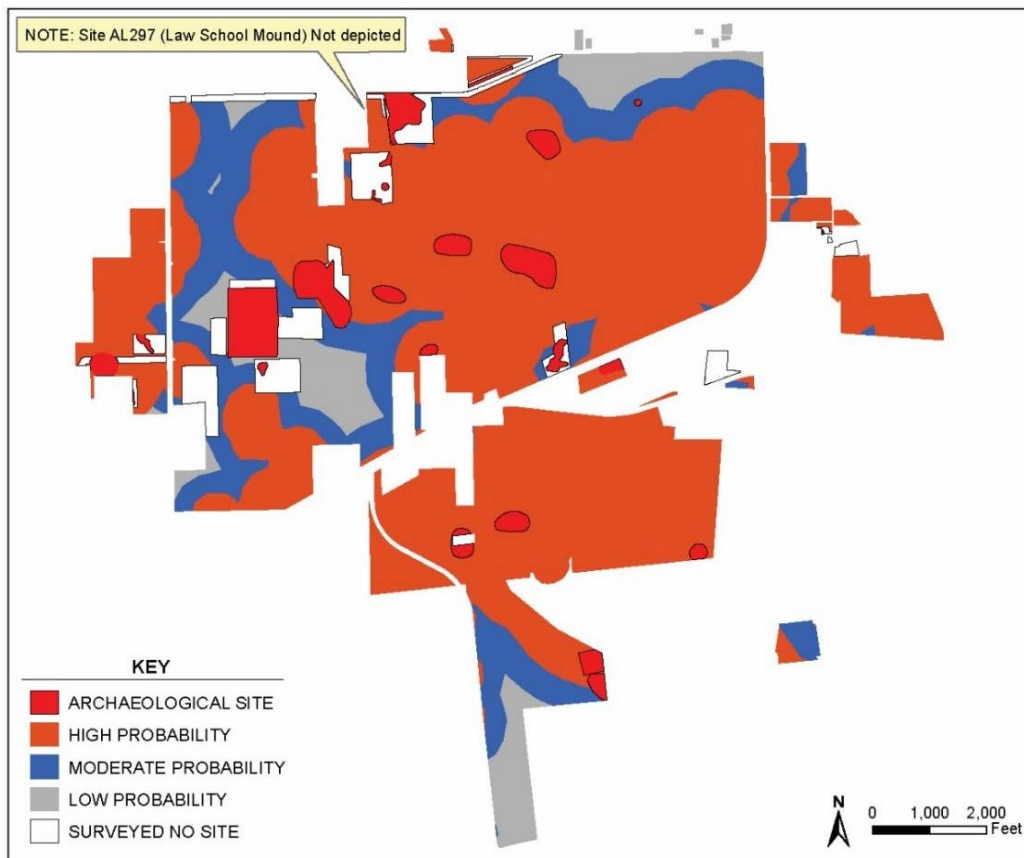
Table 4. Inventory of 1A-32 Permits Issued by Bureau of Archaeological Research, Florida Division of Historical Resources for Archaeological Investigations on UF Properties.

Year	1A-32#	PI	Applicant	Project
1975-76	1	Jerald Milanich	UF Florida Museum	Law School Mound
1991-92	7	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Southwest Recreation Complex
1995-96	5	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Softball Stadium
1995-96	18	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Conference Center Near Lake Alice
1996-97	12	Anne Stokes	SEARCH, Inc.	UF IFAS Horticultural Unit, 71st St.
1997-98	2	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF IFAS Pine Acres Research Unit, Marion County
1997-98	4	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Sites "A" and "B"
1997-98	9	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Baughman Center
1997-98	10	Scott Mitchell	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Student Residence Facility
2001-02	8	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Orthopedic Institute
2001-02	5	Scott Mitchell	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Powel Hall Expansion
2001-02	33	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Genetics and Cancer Center
2003-04	17	Robert Austin	SEARCH, Inc.	IFAS Gulf Coast Research & Education Center
2006-07	20	Donna Ruhl	UF Florida Museum	Ficke Gardens
2006-07	41	Bruce Nodine	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Law Trial Center
2007-08	64	Bruce Nodine	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Law School Mound Monitoring
2007-08	102	Bruce Nodine	SEARCH, Inc.	Creekside DRI
2008-09	5	Robert Austin	SEARCH, Inc.	UF UAA Lacrosse Locker Room Facility
2008-09	16	Bruce Nodine	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Vet School Fish Pond West Bivens Arm Site (8AL52) Remnant Investigation
2008-09	62	Bruce Nodine	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Corry Village
2013-14	28	Marion Almy Consultants, Inc.	Archaeological	UF Parking Lot Lighting
2013-14	35	Bruce Nodine	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Dasburg President's House
2015-16	7	Martin Dickinson	SouthArc., Inc.	UF ODAS Building Power (Bldg. 0967)
2015-16	28	Bruce Nodine	SEARCH, Inc.	Hull Road – Alachua Transmission Line Rebuild
2015-16	34	Kenneth Sassaman	UF Anthropology	UF Student Garden Shed
2015-16	45	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF IFAS Building 615/675
2015-16	46	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF IFAS Building 615/675
2016-17	5	Martin Dickinson	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Newell and Museum Roads
2016-17	29	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF IFAS Field and Fork Student Gardens Area
2016-17	41	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF IFAS Bee Project
2017-18	45	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Band Field
2019-20	9	Lucy Wayne	SouthArc., Inc.	UF Florida Museum Special Collections Building
2019-20	15	Kathleen Hoffman	Janus Research, Inc.	North Transmission Line, Phase III
2019-20	81	Bill Werner	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Radio Rd. & Museum Dr. Turnabout
2019-20	83	Geoffrey DuChemin	SEARCH, Inc.	UF Commuter Lot Expansion

as historic structures, which are beyond the scope of this history). Basically, if a proposed land-altering activity falls within the footprint of a recorded site or within the buffer zone of sensitivity, PDC staff notify DHR, which then determines the need for evaluation. Standard procedure for UF has been to acquire such services from private-sector firms (mostly SEARCH and SouthArc, two local firms). As noted, no PMOA-driven project has resulted in a determination of eligibility for NRPH nomination for any site on UF's Gainesville campus.



Archaeological Sensitivity Map of 2000 PMOA



Revised Sensitivity Map of 2010; rejected by PDC, UF

Figure 13. Archaeological sensitivity map of the 2000 PMOA (top), and a revised version from 2010 that was never adopted (bottom).

The 2000 PMOA also calls for a review of the agreement every five years. This process enables UF and DHR to refine the sensitivity map by excluding areas that have been cleared through prior assessments and to include additional archaeological sites as documented. There is no record of this five-year review since 2000, but in 2010 PDC contracted with the Laboratory of Southeastern Archaeology, Department of Anthropology, UF to update the PMOA with a sensitivity map constructed from the statistical probability of finding archaeological remains in places heretofore not investigated based on the extant locations of sites and bodies of water. The resultant sensitivity map (Figure 13 bottom) was rejected by PDC for being too encompassing.

As noted earlier, UF has fulfilled its obligations under the 2000 PMOA with few exceptions, notably the lack of five-year reviews. Because compliance-related activities are conducted on a piecemeal basis, syntheses of results have not been forthcoming. The UF campus in Gainesville has never been surveyed in a comprehensive fashion, nor have UF properties elsewhere. Federal law prescribes proactive inventory and assessment of historic and archaeological properties on public land, but because these are unfunded mandates, most agencies are unable to conduct comprehensive studies. The use of existing, on-campus resources (i.e., UF professors and students) has never been explored as an alternative to hiring private firms.

Without a comprehensive survey, histories of Native American dwelling in and around the Gainesville campus are incomplete and disjointed. The Law School Mound (8AL297) is the only site to be investigated thoroughly. This mortuary mound is estimated to date to ca. 950 CE, which places it in the Alachua Tradition of the prehispanic period. People of the Alachua Tradition are the presumed ancestors of the Potano (Timucua) who were encountered by the Spanish in the 16th century. The burial exposed along the western shore of Lake Alice is likewise estimated to be of this tradition, as are many of the artifacts across 8AL832, and in the remaining area between Lake Alice and the Law School Mound. The practice of locating burial mounds away from sites of residence dates back to at least 700 CE and signals land use that parses space on the basis of spiritual or supernatural, as well as practical considerations. When taking only practical matters into consideration, proximity to water is a priority, although during earlier millennia of Indigenous dwelling in Florida, ca. 7000–4000 BCE, water itself was a medium of burial.²³⁸ Potential for older burials in the subaqueous sediments of Lake Alice is bolstered by the near-shore burial that was disturbed in 2006. Artifacts of earlier times have turned up occasionally in various compliance surveys of the Gainesville campus, and the greater area of north-central Florida encompasses a high density of such remains.

NATIVE AMERICAN GRAVES PROTECTION AND REPATRIATION ACT: COLLECTIONS, REPATRIATION, AND THE FLORIDA MUSEUM

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 25 U.S.C.3001–3013, 43 CFR Part 10, passed on November 16, 1990, was intended “to resolve the disposition of Native American cultural items and human remains under the control of Federal agencies and institutions that receive federal funding, as well as the ownership or control of cultural items and human remains discovered on federal or tribal lands after

²³⁸ The Windover site near Titusville, reported by Glen Doran and colleagues (Doran, Glen H. *Windover: Multidisciplinary Investigations of an Early Archaic Florida Cemetery*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002) is the best known of the Early Archaic pond burials. Several others are known from the southern half of the peninsula (Sassaman, Kenneth E. *The Eastern Archaic, Historicized*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2010, 67-68).

November 16, 1990.” The statute and regulations outline the rights and responsibilities of lineal descendants, Indian tribes (to include Alaska Native villages), Native Hawaiian organizations, Federal agencies, and museums under the Act, and provide procedures for complying with NAGPRA. Depending on the category of the cultural item in question and its cultural affiliation, NAGPRA has a process for transfer in place to lineal descendants, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations (NHOs).²³⁹

The Florida Museum holds an extensive collection of Native American ancestral human remains from approximately 3,500 individuals and funerary objects estimated to number in the thousands. Ancestral human remains in the Florida Museum collection derive from 43 of Florida’s 67 counties as well as individuals not from Florida. UF also holds an unknown number of ancestral human remains outside of the Florida Museum. The regulations promulgated under NAGPRA require the Florida Museum and all other repositories at UF to consult with and provide information about Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony to lineal descendants, Indian tribes, or Native Hawaiian Organizations. When a request or claim is received, further consultation is required for determination and disposition of ancestral human remains and cultural belongings.

Prior to the passage of NAGPRA, the Florida Museum consulted and collaborated with various chairpersons, elders, and representatives from the then-federally recognized Tribes in Florida on exhibits, research, collections, and repatriation. Since NAGPRA became law, the Florida Museum has been committed to compliance with this legislation. The Florida Museum established a Repatriation/Human Osteological Advisory Committee (HOAC) and the Florida Museum Director appointed NAGPRA representatives for its Archaeology, Bioarchaeology, and Ethnography collections. Through the 1990s and into the early 2000s, the Florida Museum worked to inventory and identify NAGPRA-eligible collections (archaeological and ethnographic)

²³⁹ “Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). A Quick Guide for Preserving Native American Cultural Resources.” US Department of the Interior, American Indian Liaison Office. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/history/tribes/Documents/NAGPRA.pdf>. NAGPRA is human rights law, Indian law (government to government relations), property law, and administrative law. As human rights legislation, it authorized an important change in the relationship between Native Americans and museums, requiring that the latter inventory collections and identify ancestral human remains and cultural items, as well as require contact and consultation with the appropriate tribal group(s) to arrange repatriation. Federal agencies and all museums are subject to NAGPRA. Under NAGPRA a “museum” is any institution, university, state agency, or local agency that receives federal funds (“Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Frequently Asked Questions.” US Department of the Interior, American Indian Liaison Office. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nagpra/frequently-asked-questions.htm>). In addition to NAGPRA, UF must comply with Florida laws dealing with unmarked human burials as set forth in Florida Statutes § 872.05, which requires “that all human burials and human skeletal remains be accorded equal treatment and respect based upon common human dignity without reference to ethnic origin, cultural background, or religious affiliation.” The regulations associated with NAGPRA are not static and have been continually updated by the Department of the Interior in rules that affirm the ethical principles and spirit of the law. Updates include a new rule passed in 2010 that addressed the disposition of Culturally Unidentifiable ancestral human remains (human remains determined to be Native American but for which no lineal descendant or culturally affiliated tribe or NHO has been identified (“Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act Regulations–Disposition of Culturally Unidentifiable Human Remains.” Office of the Secretary, Interior, National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2010/03/15/2010-5283/native-american-graves-protection-and-repatriation-act-regulations-disposition-of-cultural>) and one in 2015 that clarifies the disposition of unclaimed human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects or cultural items (“Disposition of Unclaimed Human Remains, Funerary Objects, Sacred Objects, or Objects of Cultural Patrimony.” Office of the Secretary, Interior, National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2015/11/05/2015-28041/disposition-of-unclaimed-human-remains-funerary-objects-sacred-objects-or-objects-of-cultural>). Currently, new legislation is proceeding through Congress to address other ancestral human remains not included in the NAGPRA (e.g., H.B.1179 - African American Burial Grounds Network Act).

to determine tribal affiliations, and initiated consultation and repatriation in preparation for required submissions of inventories. Much of the focus during this early period of NAGPRA compliance was on ancestral human remains and associated funerary objects. Inventories for culturally affiliated and culturally unidentifiable ancestors were undertaken, and the resulting summaries and inventories were submitted to the appropriate tribes and to the NPS NAGPRA office. Consultations began in the 1990s with the Seminole Tribe of Florida and Miccosukee Tribe of Florida concerning Culturally Affiliated ancestors and these consultations continue today. Initial consultation with federally recognized tribes regarding prior designations of Culturally Unidentifiable ancestral human remains and cultural belongings began in the 2000s. On March 14, 2008, ancestral human remains of 366 individuals were repatriated from Tatham Mound in Citrus County Florida in consultation with tribes and National NAGPRA review committee.²⁴⁰

The Florida Museum is currently working proactively towards repatriation and has reached out to the 13 federally recognized tribes interested in ancestors and cultural belongings from Florida. As collections and archives digitization efforts moved forward in 2015, the Museum came to recognize that the original NAGPRA inventory efforts did not track all of the Museum's holdings. Careful review of various types of documents revealed that some partial and incorrect data gathering had occurred. This initiated more comprehensive efforts for archives and collections, including renewed and new Indigenous consultations, hiring a specialist in bioarchaeology, ground truthing collections, and more consultations with various stakeholders (e.g., federal, tribal, and state). A moratorium on all bioarchaeological human remains (NAGPRA and non-NAGPRA) has been in place since June 2020, and formal recalls have been made for all prior loans as part of the Florida Museum's proactive move towards repatriation. The Florida Museum is currently consulting with tribes in relation to a formal request from the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma to repatriate ancestral human remains and cultural belongings from northwest Florida. Informal requests have also been made on behalf of other tribes and the Florida Museum anticipates that similar requests are forthcoming.

The Florida Museum continues its commitment to working with tribes and Indigenous peoples to ensure that ancestral human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony are repatriated in a respectful manner. Along with rehabilitating and re-inventorying, the Florida Museum is communicating with tribes to rethink its practices and efforts toward proactive repatriation. In addition, the Florida Museum has worked to enhance consultation efforts and is currently drafting a NAGPRA strategic plan that makes every effort to include tribal voices and perspectives. Much work has been completed, yet much more remains to be done. In attempts to make restitution, the Florida Museum is committed to decolonization, embracing indigenizing practices, policies and relationships, and intends to move forward on these fronts.

NATIVE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIONS AT UF

A review of Native American representations at UF reveals a complex history largely on pace with national narratives, depictions, associations, and social movements throughout the

²⁴⁰ Milanich, Jerald T. "The Realities of Reburial." *Archaeology* 62, no. 2 (2009): 18-61; see also Hutchinson, Dale. *Bioarchaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004; and "Notice of Inventory Completion: Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL and Southwest Florida Water Management District, Brooksville, FL." National Park Service, Interior, National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2008/01/23/E8-1078/notice-of-inventory-completion-florida-museum-of-natural-history-university-of-florida-gainesville>.

20th and 21st centuries.²⁴¹ Representations of Native Americans at UF fluctuated over time and variously included cultural appropriation, caricatures and stereotypes, exhibits and displays, and self-representation.

Cultural Appropriation

Earliest representations of Native Americans can be found in the university's yearbook the *Seminole*,²⁴² named for the Native American people who inhabited land in the vicinity of UF's Gainesville campus before the time of Indian Removal and the Morrill Act. The inaugural 1910 edition of the *Seminole* includes a chapter dedicated to the Seminole,²⁴³ whereby the tribe is depicted as an unconquered people of the Florida Everglades living a timeless existence of peaceful hunting and fishing. The trope of the noble savage is paired with that of distrust for the "white man," themes that pervade early 20th-century ethnography of American Indians. The author of the yearbook chapter notes that the tribe is "dying out," their numbers around 400 "souls" and still in jeopardy of being dispossessed of their lands. No mention of Seminole land dispossession is offered and no credit is given to the tribe for use of their name for the yearbook. Publication of the *Seminole* ceased in 1973 and later iterations of the UF yearbook were published under *The Tower*.

Aside from the chapter in the 1910 yearbook and use of the Seminole name for its moniker, instances of cultural appropriation of Native American culture are largely absent from public-facing media representations until the early part of the 21st century when Native American student groups begin to organize on campus. Some uses of American Indian imagery, song, or dance have been featured on campus by non-Native staff and students for campus social events and art programming, some of which were in turn protested or otherwise disputed by Native or non-Native allies.

Caricatures and Stereotypes

Drawings and effigies of Native Americans in public media became popular at UF due to sports-related coverage. In the late 1940s, Florida State University (FSU) was established after the Florida State College for Women became a coeducational institution. Soon thereafter, the "Seminole" was adopted as the school's mascot.²⁴⁴ The athletic rivalry between FSU and UF ramped up over the ensuing decade and with it caricatures of Native American "Seminoles" as the target of competitive ire began to appear in the UF student run newspaper, the *Alligator*.²⁴⁵ The representation of Native Americans as sports mascots in the *Alligator* largely takes two forms: editorial cartoons or reporting coverage of pre- and post-game student antics. Pre-game alliterative headlines of the 1960s (e.g., "Saurians Seeking Seminole Scalps"²⁴⁶) were often paired with instigative banter or images of and references to life-sized human effigies of Native American "Seminoles" that were either hung or burned, or both (Figure 14). The paper's

²⁴¹ Sources consulted for this review included State and local newspapers, the University Archives, Departmental websites, and the University of Florida Digital Collections (UFDC) which was limited to student newspapers and year books.

²⁴² "The Seminole, All Volumes." University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed October 11, 2021.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00022765/00001/allvolumes>.

²⁴³ "The Seminoles, The Seminole." University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed October 11, 2021.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00022765/00001/55j>.

²⁴⁴ "History." Florida State University. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.fsu.edu/about/history.html>.

²⁴⁵ "The Alligator." University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/alligator>.

²⁴⁶ Staff Writer. "Saurians Seeking Seminole Scalps." *Florida Alligator*, April 22, 1960.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028291/01938/4x>.

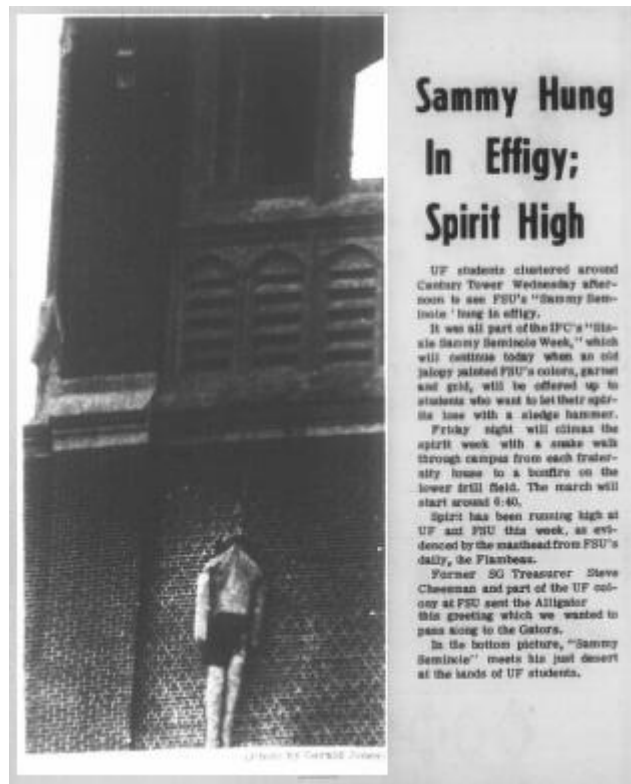


Figure 14. Front page image of the Florida *Alligator* featuring a hanging effigy of a Native American "Seminole" from Century Tower, representing the athletic rivalry between UF and FSU. The effigy would later be burned as was campus tradition either pre- or post-game or during pep rallies. Image copyright the *Independent Florida Alligator*, published 10/6/1966, <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028291/02551>.

reporting alludes to the idea that the burning of the effigies was a semi-regular occurrence and may have been something of a university tradition related to games with FSU. In 2005, a caricature of Albert Alligator throttling a Seminole character even makes light of the fact that it would be culturally insensitive to "kill a Native American this close to Thanksgiving."²⁴⁷ This particular cartoon resulted in a student-organized protest that was also covered by the *Alligator* staff.²⁴⁸

Beyond sports related caricatures, drawings of Native Americans were featured in housing ads and politically-oriented cartoons. These representations largely focused on cultural stereotypes in clothing and behavior (e.g., a Native "brave" in search of housing in Gainesville). Beginning in the 1980s, caricatures and stereotypical representations featured in public-facing media such as the *Alligator* were met with student editorials contesting the use of such imagery and admonishing the paper or university for allowing them to be published.

²⁴⁷ Marlette, Andy. "Opinions, Political Cartoon." *Independent Florida Alligator*. November 23, 2005. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028290/00160/6j>.

²⁴⁸ Richards, Justin. "Local News: Protest Aims for Apology." *Independent Florida Alligator*, January 17, 2006. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028290/00174/9j>.

Exhibits and Displays

Exhibitions focused on Native Americans and Native American culture are largely absent from UF save for those organized by the Florida Museum and the Harn Museum of Art. As with many other Native representations at UF, these were largely curated by non-Native researchers and staff. Public media closely followed the expansion of the collections of the then-Florida State Museum, and therefore collections of Native American or “Indian” artifacts frequently made the news in the 1960s and 70s. Exhibits of Native American artifacts have drawn masses of students and visitors to the Florida Museum over the years, most without controversy. However, one exhibit in particular drew a considerable amount of public media attention, the *First Encounters* exhibit. Launched prior to the Columbian Quincentenary in the late 1980s, the *First Encounters* exhibit focused on the Caribbean and Southeastern explorations of Christopher Columbus and other Europeans from 1492–1570.²⁴⁹ Native American and non-Native student protestors took issue with the lack of Native engagement and consultation in the development of the exhibit,²⁵⁰ which was set to travel for several years as various institutions planned to celebrate the Quincentenary. Several demonstrations at UF were disruptive and student protestors were arrested at some events.²⁵¹ News of the protests was picked up by non-local outlets as the traveling exhibit spurred protests far and wide, some locations even preemptively canceled the exhibit due to the controversy.²⁵² Consequently, the *First Encounters* exhibit has been the subject of discourse regarding difficult and sensitive exhibits that are also politically charged. The protests and controversy lasted several years beginning in late 1989 and occasionally reinvigorated through 1992 during the official Quincentenary.

Controversial exhibits aside, the Florida Museum since the mid-1990s has featured a hall dedicated to South Florida People and Environments.²⁵³ This exhibit hall, like the Northwest Florida: Waterways and Wildlife,²⁵⁴ was developed in consultation with tribal elders and members. The former showcases the Calusa, a large polity that occupied much of southwest Florida at the time of European contact (Figure 15). The hall culminates with a display of present-day Seminole culture, featuring hand-made goods, clothing, and other wares with a message indicating the perseverance of the Seminole people and culture in Florida. The Harn has also featured displays of Native American objects, although Indigenous works are not a central focus of the museum’s collections. An online exhibit curates an Ancient American collection that features images of various 3D objects primarily from Mesoamerica, Central America, and the Andes that are held by the museum.²⁵⁵ These objects are not regularly on display in the exhibit halls.

²⁴⁹ Schlereth, Thomas J. “Review: First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492-157.” *Journal of American History* 79, no. 1 (1992): 190-193. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2078474>.

²⁵⁰ Davies, West. “History Exhibit Racist, Activist Says.” *Independent Florida Alligator*, December 4, 1989. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028290/05327/5j>.

²⁵¹ Davies, West. “Protester Arrested for Trespassing at Museum.” *Independent Florida Alligator*, December 12, 1989. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028290/05333>. Bruscell, Mike, and Ronald Dupont Jr. “Demonstrator Arrested.” *Independent Florida Alligator*, January 8, 1990. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028290/00617/7j>.

²⁵² Villagran, Norma. “The Great Columbus Chase It’s ‘Not My Party’: Storm Brews Over ‘92 Celebration.” *The Mercury News*, July 7, 1991. https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info%3AAsid/infoweb.newsbank.com&svc_dat=AWNB&req_dat=0D0CB57BE7FF6D8A&rft_val_format=info%3Aofi/fmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=document_id%3Anews%252F0EB718701A0ECABB.

²⁵³ “South Florida People & Environments.” Florida Museum. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/exhibits/south-florida/>.

²⁵⁴ “Northwest Florida: Waterways & Wildlife.” Florida Museum. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/exhibits/northwest-florida>.

²⁵⁵ “Ancient America Collection.” The Harn Museum of Art. Accessed [add date]. <http://harn.ufl.edu/collections/ancientamerican>



Figure 15. Banner image used to advertise the South Florida People and environment exhibit at the Florida Museum. This image features a historically created representation of the interior of a Calusa Chief's dwelling, inferred from historical and archaeological research. Image courtesy of Florida Museum website: <https://www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu/exhibits/south-florida/>.

Outside of the Florida Museum and the Harn, few displays of Native American culture and history can be found on campus. Occasional, temporary exhibits by non-Native student groups have appeared infrequently since the 1970s at the Reitz Union, some of which have featured Indigenous speakers. One stone relief sculpture depicting “Native American culture in Florida” is positioned on the south tower arch of Sledd Hall.²⁵⁶ The word *mucozo* is written in relief, although the meaning for this particular representation is not apparent and no plaque is posted detailing the cultural history of Florida’s Native history. Of the numerous Native American affiliated archaeological sites on campus, only one has a commemorative marker. The burial mound formerly known as the “Law School Mound” has since been renamed due to efforts of the UF Native Law Students Association.²⁵⁷ A formal marker change occurred in 2018 and the mound is now known as the Timucua Mound, named for Native American people of a common language who occupied vast stretches of north Florida, among them the Potano of the Gainesville area.²⁵⁸ No exhibit or display for the Potano exists on campus, although artifacts of likely Potano origin from Alachua County are included in Florida Museum displays in Powell Hall and at the Law School.

Self-Representation. Self-representation by Native Americans in public media at UF was relatively infrequent prior to the establishment of Indigenous student groups in the 21st century. Up until the 2000s, attempts to feature Native American culture or celebrate diversity by including Native American art or styles has largely been appropriated by non-Native people and

²⁵⁶ “View of Residence Halls through South Tower Arch at Sledd Hall on the Campus of the University of Florida.” University of Florida Digital Collections. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00031412/00001>.

²⁵⁷ “Timucua Burial Mound/Timucua People.” Florida Historical Markers Programs, Florida Department of State. Accessed October 11, 2021. <http://apps.flheritage.com/markers/markerDetail.cfm?id=1023&keyword=&city=&county=>.

²⁵⁸ “Potano People/Alachua Tradition.” American Indian and Indigenous Studies LibGuide, George A. Smathers Libraries. Accessed October 11, 2021. https://guides.uflib.ufl.edu/AIIS/Potano_Alachua.

groups. Although well intentioned, these attempts have not always garnered the intended response due to the lack of Native consultation or engagement.

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1960s had a large impact on student activism at UF. Soon after a 1970 *Alligator* article mentioned the Red Power Movement alongside other Civil Rights and Anti-War demonstrations, more articles and editorials began to feature the challenges facing Native Americans in the United States. The first editorial from a Native American student at UF came shortly after a visit from activist/actor Jane Fonda who blasted the lack of diversity at the university.²⁵⁹ The editorial calls for the resignation of then University President O'Connell due to a perceived lack of support for minority students, citing the low enrollment of Native students and a lack of Native faculty at UF.²⁶⁰ Overall, Native American engagement with public media in the last three decades of the 20th century largely focused on reactions to culturally appropriative displays or misrepresentations of history, whether in Florida or the Americas writ large. Editorials voicing frustration at a lack of or erroneous representation increased in frequency, either by Native or non-Native allies, throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Attempts at sharing cultural heritage by Native American UF staff and students began to appear during this time as well. However, Native Americans have traditionally been demographically underrepresented on campus as an ethnic group and therefore instances of self-representation have been few. Notably, UF Telecommunications professor Don Grooms, a member of the Cherokee tribe, was featured in the *Alligator* several times due to his Native heritage. He was variously called on to comment on controversial events and issues such as Columbus Day and Thanksgiving.²⁶¹ He was also featured for his incorporation of Native music into the repertoire of a folk band he played with in his spare time.²⁶² As one of the only faculty members of Native ancestry represented at UF, Grooms became a regular voice of Native Americans at UF during the 1990s.

The early 2000s saw the formation of several Native American student groups and with that began a new era of self-representation. The following section on Student Activism and Organizations expands upon self-representation, interests, and experiences.

STUDENT ACTIVISM AND ORGANIZATIONS

Over recent decades, UF students have created organizations to promote Native American interests, and they have been instrumental in leveraging change in policy and curriculum. Comparing student experiences across other minority groups, a general trend is apparent in increased student activism and organizations among groups that were able to secure dedicated spaces and resources on campus. The correlation between minority student enrollment²⁶³ and dedicated spaces and resources is arguably positive, although not entirely

²⁵⁹ Bellows, Randy. "Jane Fonda: 'You Have the Power.'" *The Florida Alligator*, January 25, 1971.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028291/03269/2x>.

²⁶⁰ Edelman, Lynn. "Open Letter to O'Connell." *The Florida Alligator*, May 14, 1971.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028291/03338/9x>.

²⁶¹ Haun, Jocelyn. "Thanksgiving is a Farce, Indian Activist Says." *Independent Florida Alligator*, November 24, 1992.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028290/05696/3x>.

²⁶² Damron, David. "Professor Puts Indian Heritage into His Music." *Independent Florida Alligator*, December 10,

1992. <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028290/05706/7x>.

²⁶³ Enrollment data from 1997 onwards are reported from the UF Common Dataset

(<https://ir.ua.ufl.edu/reports/common-data-set/>) and were collected as part of the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

clear. To put the history of UF Native American student activism into perspective, we review in the sections that follow the enrollment figures for Black, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanic/Latinx students since 1997 and compare enrollment trends against the founding of dedicated resources and related developments.

Black Student Affairs

In 1971, the Black Student Union (BSU) of UF submitted a list of demands to President Stephen O’Connell, aiming to improve the campus climate for Black students. A Black Cultural Center was among the demands. Student occupation of the President’s Office on April 15 of that year, dubbed “Black Thursday,” resulted in 67 arrests and suspensions. Two weeks later, in the wake of denied requests for amnesty, the BSU held a protest rally encouraging withdrawal from UF, which more than 100 students obliged.

UF Administration capitulated. The Institute of Black Culture (IBC) was established in the Fall of 1971. The IBC continued in operation through 2017, when its West University Avenue building was demolished for a development project. Anticipating the need to replace the IBC, UF proposed a plan to combine it with the Institute for Hispanic-Latino Cultures (see below). Student objections to the consolidation plan prevailed. IBC was reopened on November 16, 2019, in its own new building.²⁶⁴

Black student enrollment data are not available from the period of 1972 to 1996 to examine the effect of the IBC on recruitment and retention, but the period from 1997 to 2009 was one of continuous growth (Figure 16). Despite a 2000 gubernatorial order to abolish affirmative action in admissions at Florida state universities—which evidently had a large negative impact on Black student enrollments at FSU²⁶⁵—UF witnessed slow but steady growth until 2009, when enrollments began dropping.

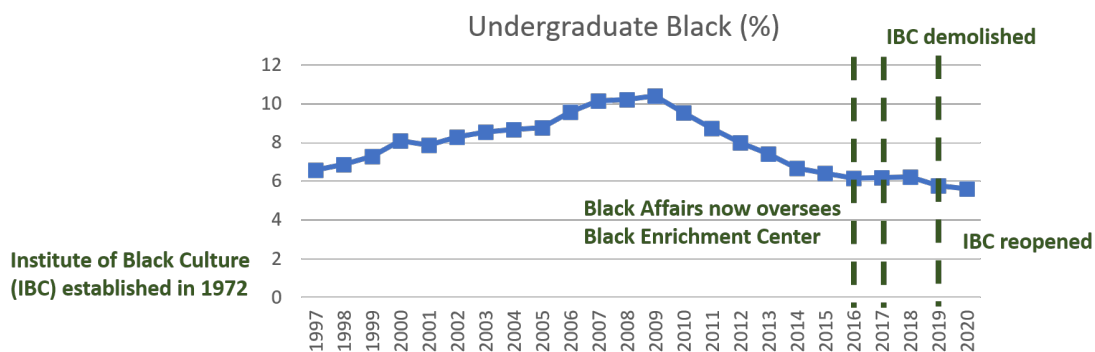


Figure 16. Percent Black student enrollment at UF, 1997-2020, with annotations on the establishment and reorganization of dedicated resources on UF campus for Black students.

²⁶⁴ “History.” Black Affairs, University of Florida. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://blackaffairs.multicultural.ufl.edu/about/history/>; Business Report of North Central Florida. “UF celebrates opening of new Institute of Black Culture and Institute of Hispanic-Latino Cultures.” *Gainesville Sun*, November 27, 2019. <https://gainesvillebizreport.com/uf-celebrates-opening-of-new-institute-of-black-culture-and-institute-of-hispanic-latino-cultures/>.
²⁶⁵ Holifield, Edward. “Decline of Black Enrollment at FSU, UF Troubling.” *Tallahassee Democrat*, December 12, 2015. <https://www.tallahassee.com/story/opinion/2015/12/12/decline-black-enrollment-fsu-uf-troubling/77171580/>.

In recent years, UF’s Multicultural and Diversity Affairs (MCDA) created additional space to serve Black/African American students called the Black Enrichment Center (BEC). Since 2016, the IBC and BEC have been under the oversight of *Black Affairs*, whose purpose is to create, sustain, promote and affirm Black scholarship, culture, history, and leadership.²⁶⁶ The establishment of Black Affairs coincides with a softening of enrollment declines but not yet a return to growth.

Asian and Pacific Islander Student Affairs

Student efforts starting in the early 1990s to garner more support for Asian-American students gained traction in the early 2000s as UF administration began to assemble programs and resources. A student-organized and led rally at Turlington Plaza on November 17, 2003, may have helped to sharpen the resolve to expand an Asian Studies Program founded in 1986 and to later create an office of Asian Pacific Islander Affairs (APIA). In 2010, the APIA Resource Room was opened (located on the fourth floor of Peabody Hall), and the following year Leah Villanueva became the first APIA director. The office relocated to the Reitz Union along with Multicultural and Diversity Affairs in 2016. During the 10th Anniversary Celebration in 2020, APIA was renamed Asian Pacific Islander Desi Affairs and a new logo was introduced.²⁶⁷

Enrollment of Asian and Pacific Islander undergraduate students at UF has generally grown slowly but consistently over the period of record (1997–2020) (Figure 17). Curiously, growth was curtailed and even declined slightly after the APIA Resource Room was opened in 2010. With the relocation of APIA to the MCDA in 2016, enrollment of Asian and Pacific Islander undergraduates has returned to a trend of gradual but steady growth.

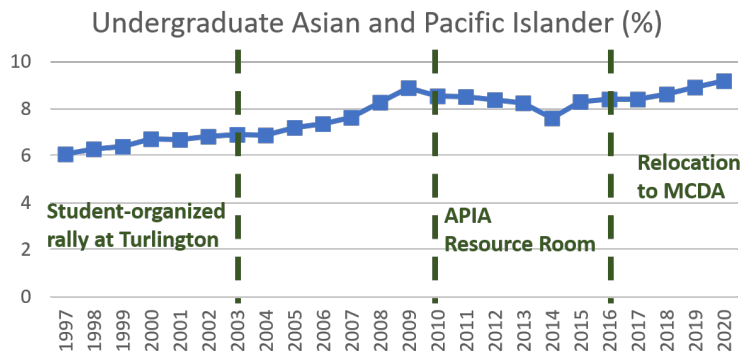


Figure 17. Percent Asian and Pacific Islander student enrollment at UF, 1997-2020, with annotations on the establishment and reorganization of dedicated resources on UF campus for Asian and Pacific Islander students.

²⁶⁶ “About.” Black Affairs, University of Florida. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://blackaffairs.multicultural.ufl.edu/about/>.

²⁶⁷ “History.” Asian Pacific Islander Desi Affairs, University of Florida. Accessed October 11, 2021. <https://apia.multicultural.ufl.edu/about/history/>.

Hispanic-Latino Student Affairs

In 1994, Hispanic and Latino students petitioned for use of a wood-frame building on West University Avenue that was earlier occupied by UF’s International Center. They envisioned a place where Hispanic and Latino students could build a community of common interest. Through the combined efforts of administrators, Hispanic faculty, staff, and students, the Institute for Hispanic-Latino Cultures was dedicated later that year. Known affectionately as *La Casita*, the building was defaced in 2003 with the spray-painted words “No Spic for President” when student Gil Sanchez ran for office in Student Government. This assault only galvanized UF’s Hispanic-Latino community.²⁶⁸

In 2016, MCDA established additional resources for students at the Hispanic-Latino Engagement Center (La Salita). *La Casita* continued for another year, closing in 2017 as part of proposed development and the consolidation plan with IBC noted earlier. It reopened in 2019 in a new facility on West University Avenue.²⁶⁹

Hispanic-Latino undergraduate enrollments at UF have grown steadily over the period of record (Figure 18), more than doubling in percentage from 1997 (~10%) through 2020 (~23%). As the largest minority group on campus, students of Hispanic-Latino heritage have been able to leverage support for facilities and programs to enhance their UF education and experience.

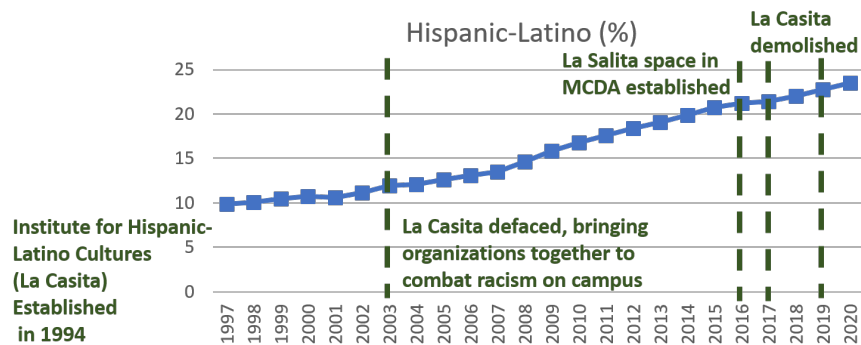


Figure 18. Percent Hispanic-Latino student enrollment at UF, 1997-2020, with annotations on the establishment and reorganization of dedicated resources on UF campus for Hispanic-Latino students.

Native American Affairs

Students of Native American heritage have never comprised more than 0.6 percent of UF’s undergraduate body (Figure 19). Despite underrepresentation, Native American students have mounted several public protests, organized multiple student groups, and were the impetus for a minor in American Indian and Indigenous Studies. Dedicated space and programs for Native American and other Indigenous students have never materialized and dwindling enrollments since 2009 are one obvious consequence of limited investment. As outlined in the section below on Academic Programs, some essential educational resources are missing,

²⁶⁸ “History.” Hispanic-Latinx Affairs, University of Florida. Accessed October 11, 2021.

<https://hispaniclatinoaffairs.multicultural.ufl.edu/about/history/>.

²⁶⁹ Business Report of North Central Florida. “UF celebrates opening of new Institute of Black Culture and Institute of Hispanic-Latino Cultures.” *Gainesville Sun*, November 27, 2019. <https://gainesvillebizreport.com/uf-celebrates-opening-of-new-institute-of-black-culture-and-institute-of-hispanic-latino-cultures/>.

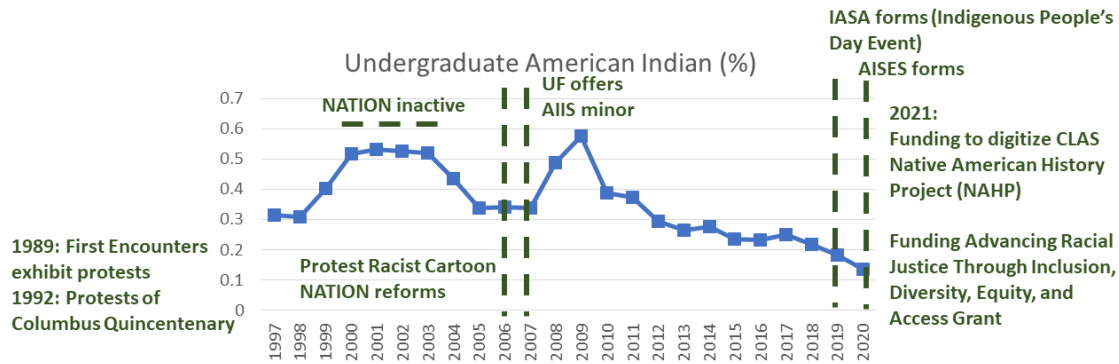


Figure 19. Percent Native American student enrollment at UF, 1997–2020, with annotations on events that inflected a history of student activism and program initiatives.

notably the lack of any history courses on Native North America since the departure of Dr. Julianna Barr in 2015.

As noted earlier, public protests involving Native Americans from both within and without UF began in 1989 with the *First Encounters* exhibit of the Florida Museum. Similar protests followed in 1992 in response to the Columbus Quincentenary. The first student organization, Native American Inter-Tribal Organization Network (NATION), formed two years later and was active through 2000, when student leaders departed UF upon graduation. NATION reformed in 2006, coincident with student protests over a racist cartoon published in the *Independent Alligator*. Other student organizations followed: Native American Law Student Association (2015–2019); Society for Advancement of Chicanos/Hispanics and Native Americans (2018–present); Indigenous-American Student Association (2019–present); and a local chapter of American Indian Science and Engineering Society (2020–present). In the two years since its founding, the Indigenous-America Student Association has been very active with events during Native American Heritage Month (November) (Table 5).

ACADEMIC PROGRAMS

Founded in 2008, the American Indian and Indigenous Studies (AIIS) program has been the primary impetus of academic programming and public outreach pertaining to Native American history, culture, and politics. It grew out of a legacy of relevant curriculum distributed across several departments, but was stimulated in large measure through the activism of Native American students.

Curriculum

A brief review of UF undergraduate catalogs over the past 75 years shows that courses relevant to American Indian and Indigenous Studies began to be offered around the 1950s. Since then, the Anthropology Department has regularly offered courses on North, Central, and South American Indians. Not until 2000 did the History Department begin offering a course specifically on American Indians (AMH4111 “Imperialism and Amerindians 1600–1840”). “American Indian History” courses were regularly offered by this department between 2003–2014; however, since 2014, with the departure of Dr. Julianna Barr, those courses ceased to be offered, which has created an enormous lacuna in the Indigenous Studies curriculum. In 2005, the Religion Department began regularly offering courses on “Indigenous Religious Traditions of

Table 5. Native American Heritage Month and Related Events since 2019 Involving the Indigenous-America Student Association in Collaboration with MCDA, AIIS, and Gator AISES.

2019	
October 11	IASA Indigenous People's Day
Native American Heritage Month	
November 4–5	IASA Tabling and Informational Outreach
November 6	Duane and Maria Whitehorse Beadwork
November 6	Duane and Maria Whitehorse Life on Reservations
November 12	Ancient Languages Falling Silent in Our Lifetime
November 20	Polynesian Luau
November 25	Indigenous Pow-Wow
2020	
Native American Heritage Month	
November 5	Indigenous Cooking Tutorial (With Gator AISES Field and Fork Farm)
November 5	The Indigenous Art and Architecture of California's Missions
November 10	MCDA: Women's Empower Hour: Dr. Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez
November 11	The COVID-19 Pandemic in Native America: Federal Failures and Tribal
Government Responses	
November 16	The History of Indigenous Education
November 18	Decolonizing Thanksgiving
November 19	TRANScending Gender: LGBTQ+ Identities and the Two-Spirited Experience
November 21	MCDA: Community Cleanup and Plant Drop
2021	
General Meetings	
April 1	Why Not White Studies?
May 11	Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

the Americas” and related subjects. Since 2015, the English Languages and Literature Department and the Art History Department have included courses on “American Indian Literature” and “Indigenous Arts of the Americas,” respectively. From 2016, Political Science has offered courses on “Native American Politics.” Finally, curators of the Florida Museum have regularly offered courses in Archaeology and Anthropology.

The AIIS Program

By the early 21st century, as a result of increasing visibility of global Indigenous issues, students and faculty in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences began discussing the possibility of creating an American Indian Studies Program (Table 6). In 2008, a Native student association called “500 Nations” started the ball rolling, with the support of staff of UF’s Multicultural and Diversity Affairs. Initially the program counted on the collaboration of a few professors from Anthropology, History, and Religion. Since then, the program has extended both its academic and community outreach by creating and including new courses, organizing a robust speaker and symposium series, and supporting the research programs of its individual members. Faculty of the program have engaged in ongoing outreach to Native American communities in the North

Table 6. Benchmarks in the Development of American and Indigenous Studies Program at UF.

2008	Consolidation of a multi-disciplinary academic and research program of Indigenous Studies.
2008–on	Robust annual program of speakers, colloquia, and artistic performances.
2017	Specialization in “Indigenous Studies” of the Master’s program at the Center for Latin American Studies created 2017.
2020	Inaugural offering of Quest 1 course on “Indigenous Values.” Alfred A. Cave scholarship fund established for undergraduate students specializing in Native American history.
2020–21	Dean’s Office Incentive grant to develop research and curricular activities of the Program.
2021	Center for Humanities and the Public Sphere, Library Enhancement Grant, for Indigenous Studies acquisitions.

American Southeast (Cherokee, Creek, Houma, Seminole) and to other Native American Studies programs in the United States and Latin America. The program has continued to work closely with Multicultural and Diversity Affairs, as well as Asian Pacific Islander American Affairs, to sponsor Native artists and performers during the annual Indigenous Peoples’ Day (October 12) and Native Heritage Month (November).

The AIIS Program now consists of a Minor in American Indian Studies, an Interdisciplinary Studies Major, and a specialization in Indigenous Studies in the Master’s Program of the Center for Latin American Studies (<https://aiis.clas.ufl.edu/>). The minor, housed in the Departments of Anthropology and Religion, allows students to focus on North, Central, or South America with additional interdisciplinary focus in anthropology, art history, history, literature, religion, environmental conservation, and others. The AIIS Interdisciplinary Studies Major is an extension of the minor for students who have interest in American Indian or Indigenous Studies topics and would like to take their studies further with writing a senior thesis. Open to all students, this concentration offers courses that cut across disciplines such as anthropology, religion, Latin American studies, political science, and history. The concentration deals with the issues and concerns of Indigenous peoples of the world while seeking to understand historical, political, social, and religious structures from an Indigenous perspective. Finally, at the graduate level, the Center for Latin American Studies created a specialization in Indigenous Studies designed for Master’s students whose career plans and educational goals include focus on Indigenous peoples of Latin America, their diverse cultural traditions, histories of relations to nation-states, and their increasing participation in processes of global indigeneity.

The AIIS Program counts on the collaboration of interested and engaged faculty members in the Departments of Anthropology, Language and Literature, History, Political Science, Religion, the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, the Land Use and Environmental Conservation Institute (LUECI), the Center for Latin American Studies, Smathers Library, and the Florida Museum. The program has, since its inception, collaborated with Native student associations such as “500 Nations,” and the Indigenous American Student Association (IASA), as well as engaged individual students, in promoting cultural and educational events during the academic year.

The program has relied on financial support from contributions by constituent Departments, the Dean’s Office of the CLAS, the Graham Center for Humanities and the Public Sphere, and a donation from the Alfred A. Cave Endowment.

Public Programs and Outreach

Every year since 2009, Native Heritage month has been marked with cultural events, speakers, and debates involving regional and nationally recognized Native American scholars, activists, and public figures (Table 7), notable among which are activist and Vice-Presidential candidate Winona LaDuke (2009), Chief Justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court Troy Wayne Poteete (2012), Historian Dr. Philip Deloria (2017), and renowned Taíno scholar Dr. Jose Barreiro (2018).

Table 7. Public Programs of American and Indigenous Studies Program at UF.

Native Heritage Month Speaker Series	
2009	Winona La Duke: "Native Americans and Sustainable Development."
2011	International Conference on "Multidisciplinary Approaches to Plants and Religion," featuring several panels on Indigenous use of plants in ceremonies.
2012	Troy Wayne Poteete: "Fraudulent Identities," and panel discussion by Cherokee Satellite Community representatives (Patsy Edgar, Daniel Morris), and Joe Quetone.
2013	David Narcomey and Ruby Beaulieu: "Native Americans at Alcatraz: The Untold Story," and "the American Indian Movement today" with a presentation by Bobby Billie, Traditional Seminole, on the Fort of St. Augustine.
2015	Presentations of music, poetry, and reflection by Tommy Wildcat (Cherokee cultural ambassador), Wathla Recvlohe, Daniel Morris: "Native Americans: Recovering Indigenous Identities."
2016	Rev. Dr. Casey Church: "Contextualized Ministry and Indigenous Education" and Native American Law Students Association commemoration of Timucua Mound plaque.
2017	Dr. Phil Deloria: "American Indians in the American Imagination"; student presentation at Gainesville Regional Utilities.
2018	Dr. Jose Barreiro: "Cuban Indigeneity: Values and Transformations"; community presentations on Indigenous Issues.
2019	Marcus Briggs-Cloud, "Ekvn-Yefolecv Maskoke Ecovillage."
2020	Marvin Dawes, Sr.: "Plains Indians and Indian Wars"; Dr. Rich Conley, "The Covid-19 Pandemic in Native America – Federal Failures and Tribal Government Responses"; and Dr. Yve Chavez, "Indigenous Art and Architecture of California's Missions."
October Indigenous People's Day Events	
2013	Screening of "Native Americans at Alcatraz: The Untold Story."
2014	Panel on "Indigenous Knowledge, Spirituality, and the Future of Humans in Nature", Marcus Briggs-Cloud (UF), Dr. William Lyon (Kansas), Dr. Ana Mariella Bacigalupo (SUNY), Timothy Mesh (UF), Dr. Robin Wright (UF).
2016	Screening of "The Seventh Fire."
2017	Petition circulated on the Plaza of Americas, UF, in favor of Indigenous People's Day.
2018	Participation in the Gainesville municipal "Declaration of Indigenous People's Day"; speaker on "Creek Ceremonialism."
Other Events	
2016	Meeting and Exchange between Brazilian Indian leader Ailton Krenak and the Seminole Tribal Council in Tampa, Florida.
2021	Virtual Art Exhibit, "Neither Pandemic Nor Pestilence Nor Pogrom," "Lakota Virtual Showcase," Tom Haukas (Lakota) [in process; collaboration with the Mayor's office in Gainesville in the 2021 "Indigenous Peoples' Day" commemoration.

In 2014, the American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program (or AIIS) started celebrating October 12 as Indigenous Peoples' Day, with a symposium focusing on the theme of "Indigenous Knowledge, Spiritualities, and the Future of Humans in Nature." In this, the program collaborated with the International Society for the Study of Religion, Nature, and Culture.

CONCLUSION

The history of UF relations with Native America is disquieting because it is predicated on campaigns of land dispossession promulgated by government policy. Arguably, it is a past that was meant to be silenced in the interest of settler colonialism. After enduring the disease, conflict, and displacement of early European contact, Native Americans of the American Southeast were deported to land west of the Mississippi River starting in the early 19th century. Florida was among the places of sharp resistance to removal, where Creek Indians of Alabama and Georgia in alliance with others gave rise to the Seminole people in the prior century. Armed conflicts in the decade following passage of the Indian Removal Act (1830) ended in 1842 when Seminole of north-central Florida relocated south, where their ancestors persevered through decades of an ever-expanding state. Having rid north-central Florida of its Indigenous people, space was freed for the East Florida Seminary (EFS) in Ocala, founded in 1853. Leases of former Seminole land provided start-up funds.

Another benefit of Native land dispossession to an expanding nation came with passage of the Morrill Act of 1862. Allocated to Florida through the land-grant program was scrip for over 90,000 acres of land ceded or seized from 120 tribes across 9 states west of the Mississippi. Although the proceeds from bulk sale of scrip were modest compared to other land-grant universities, Florida's share helped to establish the Florida Agricultural College in Lakeland in 1884. The University of Florida benefited from the dispossession and commodification of Indigenous land stretching from the Great Lakes to California, not simply north-central Florida.

In the modern era, UF's relation to Native America continues to turn largely on legislative prerogatives. Land stewardship and repatriation mandates have required UF to devote funds and human resources to comply with laws involving archaeological sites and ancestral human remains. UF has generally complied with the letter of the law, but it could do more to enhance the historic value of archaeological investigations and to expand collaborations with federally recognized tribes. Underlying the recent trends towards proactive collaborations is the reframing of law based on property rights as interventions concerning human rights.

How UF has represented Native America in its public-facing media has followed the contours of culture changes over the past century, from the stereotyping and denigration of the early decades to the relativism and inclusiveness of recent years. In large measure, UF student activism has steered the institution towards more equitable futures. Although never more than a small minority of the UF student body, Native Americans have organized and pushed for educational opportunities that culminated in the founding of the American Indian and Indigenous Studies program in 2008. Students and faculty vested in Native America have maintained active programs over recent years, despite a lack of resources to attract and retain a larger student constituency.

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APPENDIX B: HISTORICAL TIMELINE

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
mid-1500s	Potano establish town west of Orange Lake that was visited by de Soto in 1539, attacked by Utiua and Spanish in 1564 and 1565, and destroyed by Spanish in 1584; town moved to location northwest of Gainesville.		
1597	Fray Baltasar Lopez established a <i>visita</i> , a mission without a resident priest, called Apalo, in vicinity of original town of Potano; four years later (1601) Potano chief successfully petitioned Spanish to resettle original town.		
1608	Mission San Buenaventura de Potano was established in the site of the old Potano town; Richardson/UF Village Site (8AL100) believed to be the location.		
1687	A group of enslaved African Americans escape from servitude in South Carolina and petition for sanctuary from Spanish Governor in St. Augustine. Governor grants sanctuary in return for loyalty to the Crown of Spain and eventually, willingness to serve in the African American slave militia and defend St. Augustine from British military assaults.		Jane Landers, <i>Black Society in Spanish Florida</i>
1700s	Groups of Lower Creek from Georgia and Alabama migrated to Florida to evade domination by Upper Creeks; Yamassee migrated to Florida in 1715 as allies of Spanish; other groups (Upper Creek, Yuchi, Mikasuki) followed under various circumstances; by 1770s diverse Native American groups who migrated into Florida became known as "Seminole" (likely derived from the Spanish <i>cimarones</i> , meaning "wild" or "untamed").		
1726-1763	Increasing number of African American slaves from the Carolinas find freedom in St. Augustine. Establish Gracia Real de Santa Teresa Mose (Fort Mose) a defensive fortification. Black soldiers defeat numerous British and white settler colonial efforts to recapture them and seize Spanish Florida. When Great Britain finally takes control of Spanish Florida in 1763, African American residents evacuate Florida and relocate to Cuba.		Jane Landers, <i>Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida</i>
mid-1700s	Paynes Prairie is stronghold of Alachua Seminole under Chief Ahaya the Cowkeeper, with town of Cuscowilla near Micanopy.		
1790s	Cuscowilla relocated to east side of Lake Wauburg and renamed Paynes Town.		

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1791-1804	<p>In 1791, enslaved Africans in the French colony of Saint Domingue rise up in revolt. The former slaves defeat French, Spanish and British armies dispatched to re-enslave them. In 1804, the former slaves declare freedom and name their new nation "Haiti" in honor of the Indigenous peoples who were wiped out by the Europeans. Haiti becomes a beacon of liberty for oppressed people throughout the hemisphere and a "contagion of liberty" for slave masters.</p>		<p>C.L.R. James, <i>The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution</i></p>
1790s-1816	<p>In a precursor to the Underground Railroad, hundreds of formerly enslaved African Americans find sanctuary with Native Americans in the Florida Panhandle. With assistance from the British, this interracial alliance establishes "Negro Fort" and the Prospect Bluff maroon community, a redoubt for freedom on the Apalachicola River. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams dispatches US forces to suppress this grave threat to US slavery.</p>		<p>Canter Brown, Jr. "The Sarrazola, or Runaway Negro Plantations: Tampa Bay's First Black Community, 1812-1821," <i>Tampa Bay History</i>, 12:5-19.</p>
1812	<p>Maroon settlement (escaped African American slaves) formed along the Manatee River in present-day Bradenton. African Americans build a community of nearly 1,000.</p>		<p>Nathaniel Millett, <i>The Maroons of Prospect Bluff and their Quest for Freedom in the Atlantic World</i>.</p>
1816-1819	<p>First Seminole War; Secretary of State John Quincy Adams dispatches General Andrew Jackson to end the Underground Railroad and escape of slaves into Spanish Florida. Destruction of Negro Fort. Use of extreme violence by US against Native Americans is criticized internationally but justified by Secretary Adams who states, "The justification of these principles is found in their salutary efficacy for terror and for example. It is thus only that the barbarities of the Indians can be successfully encountered."</p>		<p>Terrence Weik, <i>The Archeology of Antislavery Resistance</i></p>
1821	<p>Spain ceded Florida to US in Adams-Onis Treaty. Territorial governor Andrew Jackson sends Indian allies to destroy Angola maroon community near present-day Manatee Mineral Springs Park in order to pacify the region and restore slavery. Many Angola residents evacuate to the Bahamas.</p>		
1823-1845	<p>Per the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, Seminoles required to leave northern Florida and confined to reservation in the center of the peninsula.</p>	<p>Congress enacted a series of land grants totaling 184,000 acres to support the creation of two seminaries in Florida.</p>	
1830	<p>Passage of the Indian Removal Act; Andrew Jackson, Indian-Fighter and Land Speculator oversees the "Trail of Tears," forced march of thousands of Native Americans.</p>		
1835	<p>Hundreds of enslaved African Americans rise along the St. Johns River plantations and join their Seminole Indian allies in the largest slave revolt in North American history. The Seminoles continue their struggle against the United States' quest to push slavery further into the Florida peninsula.</p>		<p>Larry Rivers, <i>Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation</i>; Paul Ortiz, <i>Emancipation Betrayed</i>.</p>

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1835-1842	Second Seminole War, costliest war in US history up to that point. Seminoles not completely defeated. Many evacuate to sanctuary in Mexico, the Bahamas, Haiti and Oklahoma; several hundred Seminoles move to unofficial reservation in south Florida.		Brent Weisman, <i>Unconquered People</i>
1842	Passage of the Armed Occupation Act. A Congressional act bolstering Anglo settler colonialism, the act provides free land from the federal government in return for Anglo service in the militia or US armed forces fighting to defeat the Seminoles.	Created space for the East Florida Seminary (EFS) in Ocala, founded in 1853. Grantees of the AOA later became Board Members of the EFS, and leases of former Seminole land generated the necessary funds.	Julius Wilm, <i>Settlers as Conquerors: Free Land Policy in Antebellum America</i>
1845	Florida admitted to Union as a slave state.		
1851	Seminary Act established two seminaries, one east of the Suwannee River and the other west of the Suwannee.		
1853		East Florida Seminary opened in Ocala. Included on its Board of Trustees were grantees of the Armed Occupation Act.	
1857	Charter for West Florida Seminary (FSU) awarded to local academy in Tallahassee.		
1853-1865		The seminaries operated essentially as publically funded academies for Florida's wealthier families. For example, East Florida Seminary Trustee Lewis Gaines held property valued at \$7,000 and owned 18 slaves.	
1855-58	Third Seminole War, US Army invasions into south Florida.		
1858	Society Ladies of Broward's Neck publish a letter in the <i>Jacksonville Standard</i> stating, "In our humble opinion the single issue is now presented to the Southern people, will they submit to the degradation threatened by the North toward our slave property and be made what England has made white people experience in the West Indian Islands--the negroes afforded a place on the same footing with their former owners, to be made legislators, to sit as judges."		
1858-1861	Internal civil war erupts in Florida over slavery. White Floridians who oppose slavery are "dragged from their beds at night, stripped, blind-folded, taken into the woods and whipped." Those who dared publicly speak against slavery in Florida were murdered outright. Calhoun County declared to be in a state of "insurrectionary war." Plantation owners organize vigilance committees to guard against slave insurrections.		Paul Ortiz, "The Not So Strange Career of William Watson Davis's The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida," in <i>The Dunning School of Historians and the Meaning of Reconstruction</i> , ed. John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery
1861-1865	Civil War. Florida seceded from the Union on January 10, 1861.		

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1862	Morrill Act created endowments from the sale of federal lands to support colleges whose purposes are "the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes." The Act was a catastrophe for Native Americans. "The Morrill Act took the land from tribal nations through seizure, unratified treaties and treaties."	Florida received scrip for 90,262 acres from 996 parcels of Indian land, for which the U.S. government paid \$1,816. Sold as a block to Cleveland-based broker Gleason F. Lewis for \$80,000 in 1873, the proceeds were invested in \$100,000 worth of state bonds in 1874. Indian land provided to Florida as a land grant was acquired by the U.S. government between 1825 and 1868, with about half taken in the 1850s. The land of 120 Indian tribes across nine states was taken mostly through ratified treaties (65.1%), but also seized by unratified treaties (33.1%), or in one case involving Washo land in California, seized without agreement.	Lee, Robert, and Tristan Athone, 2020. Land Grab Universities: Expropriated Indigenous Land is the Foundation of the Land-Grant University System. High Country News, March 30, 2020. (https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities). Royce, Charles C. 1899. Indian Land Cessions of the United States. Eighteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Andrews, Benj. F., 1918. The Land Grant of 1862 and the Land-Grant Colleges. Bulletin 1918, No. 13. Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. (https://archive.org/details/annualreportofbu218smit/page/n5/mode/2up)
1863	By the middle of the Civil War over 1,000 African American men in Florida, mostly former slaves, enlist in the United States Army to fight for freedom. Many more Black men and women serve as laborers, nurses, and spies for the Union Army in Florida.		
1865	United States Army liberates Tallahassee, Florida on May 20. Army of liberation includes elements of the 3rd United States Colored Troops. Emancipation Proclamation is read from the State Capitol. May 20th becomes widely celebrated for generations to come as Emancipation Day in Florida.		
1866	Ku Klux Klan originally founded in Pulaski, Tennessee spreads to Florida as an anti-Black terror organization	East Florida Seminary charter transferred to the Gainesville Academy.	Paul Ortiz, <i>Emancipation Betrayed</i>
1866-1871	First Stage of Reconstruction includes the formation of the Freedman's Bureau. Radical Reconstruction, beginning in 1868 bolstered by Black voting, leads to the creation of the first viable public school system in Florida. Ku Klux Klan terrorists target Black schools, churches, and small farmers for violence. In 1871, Congressional hearings on Ku Klux Klan violence are convened in Florida and uncover massive conspiracies to crush Black voting and political power.		
1871	African American Union Army veteran and former slave Josiah T. Walls is elected to the U.S. Congress to represent Alachua County and surrounding counties.		Paul Ortiz, <i>An African American and Latinx History of the United States</i>
1873	Congressman Josiah T. Walls gives a landmark speech in the U.S. House of Representatives demanding that the United States support insurgents against the Spanish Empire during the Cuban War of Liberation. A large number of Cuban refugees live in Alachua County by this time. African Americans launch a national movement in an effort to push the administration of Ulysses S. Grant to support the Cuban struggle. The campaign is defeated by Wall Street and Sugar interests in Washington, D.C.		

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1871-1875	Federal government passes the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 to counter terrorism in Florida and other southern states. Numerous Black Union Army veterans move to Florida, including Civil War hero Matthew M. Lewey. Lewey is elected mayor of Newmansville in Alachua County in 1875.	Florida Agricultural College chartered as the state's land grant college.	References and resources Jerrell Shofer, <i>Nor is it Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction</i> (1974)
1876	Anti-Black violence and voter suppression leads to a decline in African American voting. Employers in Alachua, Duval, Jefferson and other counties create a blacklist and vow to refuse employment to anyone who votes for the Republican ticket. Reconstruction ends.		Joe M. Richardson, <i>African Americans in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877</i> .
1884	Black Floridians convene emergency political convention in Gainesville to stave off the disenfranchisement of African Americans. Delegates form the interracial Independent Party of Florida. Effort fails due to white terrorism.	After two failed attempts during Reconstruction, the Agricultural College opened in Lake City.	Paul Ortiz, <i>Emancipation Betrayed</i>
1885	Florida Constitution of 1885 institutes the poll tax, bonding and other measures to suppress African American voting. The new constitution prohibits coeducation of Black and white children.		
1885-1889	Black Floridians form interracial alliances with progressive whites in key Florida cities under the banner of the Knights of Labor and the People's Party. The Florida state legislature revokes the charters of Jacksonville, Key West, and Pensacola--all cities with interracial city commissions--and replaces elected officials with appointees who support one-party rule, voter suppression and white supremacy.		
1887	Legislature created two normal schools, one for white teachers in DeFuniak Springs and another for African-American teachers in Tallahassee (now FAMU).		
1888	Affluent white Democrats and Republicans in Alachua County combine to eject Josiah T. Walls and Matthew M. Lewey from the Republican elections ticket. Both men subsequently leave Alachua County and Black political power declines rapidly.		
1890	Federal Lodge Election Bill fails. Measure would have provided for federal oversight of Congressional elections and staunches the advance of voter suppression of African Americans in the South. Florida Senator Samuel Pasco provides key testimony against the bill.		
1891	Under the provisions of the second Morrill Act, the state normal school in Tallahassee was designated as a land grant school for African Americans.		

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1891	<p>Florida convict labor prison camp Captain J.C. Powell's "The American Siberia: Or, Fourteen Years' Experience in a Southern Convict Camp" is published. Florida becomes known as a notorious place for the exploitation of convict labor to build roads, work on farms, mine phosphate and prison labor is used to depress wages throughout the state.</p> <p>West Florida Seminary became the Florida State College.</p>		<p>J.C. Powell, <i>The American Siberia, or, Fourteen Years' Experience in a Southern Convict Camp</i> (1891); Matthew J. Mancini, <i>One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South</i> .</p>
1901		<p>Florida Agricultural College became the University of Florida.</p>	
1903		<p>The University of Florida ended gender coeducation to become an all male school.</p>	
1905		<p>Buckman Act "abolished, revoked and vacated" all existing state schools for whites and created two ostensibly new schools, a university for white men and a college for white women. Act specified that UF "shall admit no person other than white male students." Subsequent to the act, the Florida State College became the site for the women's college and a new campus outside Gainesville was chosen as the site for the university.</p>	
1905-1906		<p>The new university opened in Lake City while Gainesville campus was constructed. Faculty and moveable property are relocated to Gainesville. Classes in Gainesville began in September 1906.</p>	
1907	<p>During his State of the State address, Governor Napoleon Broward calls for the expulsion of African Americans from Florida while the Florida Senate passes a resolution to abrogate the 14th and 15th Amendments to the US Constitution in Florida. Florida's reputation as state with the highest lynching rate per capita in the United States is established.</p>		
1909	<p>Florida State Supreme Court ruled that the old Florida State College had not been abolished, revoked and vacated and that the women's college was its legal successor. The ruling also implied that the old University of Florida and the new University of Florida were one and the same.</p>		
1909	<p>National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) founded in the wake of anti-Black riots in Washington, D.C. and Springfield, Illinois.</p>		
1911		<p>Under pressure from the United Daughters of the Confederacy, history professor Enoch Banks resigned after Banks challenged Southern orthodoxy on the origins of the Civil War.</p>	<p>Free Speech at the University of Florida: The Enoch Marvin Banks Case. Bailey Fred Arthur. <i>The Florida Historical Quarterly</i>, 71(1):1-17</p>

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1915	<p>After decades of bitter debate, compulsory public education is established by an act of the Florida State Legislature. Many white leaders continue to voice opposition to the act for reasons of race. In the same year, Alabama, South Carolina and Texas establish compulsory public education.</p>		
1917	<p>James Weldon Johnson, executive secretary of the NAACP, returns to Florida to organize new NAACP branches, including one in Gainesville. Thousands of African American men in Florida mobilize for World War I and eventually embark to fight in the American Expeditionary forces in Europe. Black Floridians demand equal citizenship in return for their war service.</p>	<p>Anthony Goins, an African-American child assisting his mother with laundry service in the dorms, was murdered by a white student. No criminal charges were filed against the student after pressure from Governor Sidney Catts. Black laborers waged a brief work stoppage in protest.</p>	<p>Paul Ortiz, <i>Emancipation Betrayed</i></p>
1917		<p>Florida State Museum established at UF.</p>	
1918	<p>Armistice declared November 11, 1918. Thousands of African American soldiers return to Florida. Mary McCleod Bethune, M.M. Lewey, Eartha White and other African American leaders in Florida call for equal citizenship and for the abolition of Jim Crow.</p>		
1919	<p>Red Summer. White citizens in scores of American cities launch anti-Black riots and pogroms in an effort to reverse African American economic and political advances.</p>		
1920	<p>Black Floridians organize a statewide voter registration movement in 35 counties—including Alachua County. Four African American women in Gainesville are among the first women in the state of Florida to vote in the wake of Congressional ratification of the 19th Amendment. Statewide wave of anti-Black violence and voter suppression by whites results in many African American casualties, beatings, evictions and assassinations of Black organizers. Federal government fails to enforce 14th and 15th amendments to the US Constitution and white supremacy is maintained in Florida.</p>	<p>S.D. McGill, an African American attorney from Jacksonville writes the UF College of Law expressing interest in an extension course. McGill is referred instead to Florida A&M University.</p>	
1920	<p>In response to attempts by African Americans to vote in Ocoee, Florida (near Orlando), whites burn down African American homes and churches. NAACP investigation estimates between 30 and 50 African Americans are killed.</p>		<p>Paul Ortiz, "Ocoee, Florida: Remembering 'the single bloodiest day in modern U.S. political history,'" <i>Facing South</i> (2010).</p>
1921	<p>Martin Tabert, a 22-year-old man from North Dakota is arrested for vagrancy in Tallahassee. He is sentenced to work for the Putnam Lumber Company in Dixie County. The following year, Tabert is beaten to death in the prison camp. The case brings Florida's brutal convict leasing system to national attention and becomes a cause celebre. Governor Cary Hardee abolishes Florida's convict leasing system. Despite some reforms, Florida continues to be nationally known for administering a corrupt and violent prison system.</p>		<p>Vivien Miller, "The Icelandic Man Cometh: North Dakota State Attorney Gudmundur Grimson and a Reassessment of the Martin Tabert Case," <i>Florida Historical Quarterly</i> (2003); Colson Whitehead, <i>The Nickle Boys</i>.</p>

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1923	Rosewood, Florida Massacre: Community of mainly African American families burned down (8 killed – 2 white and 6 African Americans) during a riot by 200 or so white people after a white woman claims to have been raped by an African American man. It was later found that the woman was beaten by a white man known to her. Many African Americans fled to Gainesville to escape the murderous mob of whites. No charges were made.		David Colburn, "Rosewood and America in the Early Twentieth Century," <i>The Florida Historical Quarterly</i> , (1997).
1923	KKK parade of over 100 hooded Klansmen held in Gainesville, Florida. Participants carry a burning cross and a banner that reads, "First and Always Protect Womanhood."		
1924		World War I veteran Father John Conoley, pastor of Crane Hall and director of the student drama club, The Masqueraders, was abducted, assaulted and castrated by the local KKK for allegedly promoting Catholicism at UF. Several leading Gainesville citizens were implicated in the crime—never charged—and UF stayed silent about the attack.	Stephen R. Prescott, "White Robes and Crosses: Father John Conoley, the Ku Klux Klan, and the University of Florida," <i>The Florida Historical Quarterly</i> , (1992), & oral histories in SPOHP archive.
1925		State legislature permitted white women to enter certain academic programs at UF, if they were not offered at Florida State. Women enrolled in agriculture, law, pharmacy and other schools.	
1930	The 1930 federal census demonstrates that the Alachua County School Board allocates \$5.90 per Black pupil compared with \$28.27 per white pupil. The average value of white schools in the county is \$24,377 compared with \$8,350 for Black schools.		
1935		Florida Board of Control ruled that the origin dates of the two seminaries (1853 and 1857) would serve as the founding dates for UF and FSU, respectively. In 2001, FSU changed its founding date to 1851, the charter date for both seminaries.	
1937	Zora Neale Hurston publishes <i>Their Eyes Were Watching God</i> , a story set in the all-Black Florida town of Eatonville and which follows the travails of Janie Crawford and her search for love and fulfillment. The backdrop of the novel is the 1928 Hurricane that killed thousands of migrant workers in South Florida.		
1944-1950	The Progressive Voters League, Led by Harry T. Moore launch a successful voter registration drive and register over 100,000 Black Floridians to register to vote.		Ben Green, <i>Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr</i>
1946		Two African-Americans, Ulysses Kenisy and Elliott Robbins, are denied admission to the College of Law.	
1947		Gender segregation at UF and FSU ends.	

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1948-1958		African Americans engaged in a lengthy campaign to integrate Florida's public universities. 85 African Americans were denied admission to UF during this period.	
1949		Virgil Hawkins and five other African Americans sued to enter UF College of Law.	
1951	On Christmas evening, Harry T. Moore and Harriette V. Moore assassinated in Mims by white terrorists for their political activism.		
1954	Brown vs. Board of Education.		
1956	Following the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the African American community in Tallahassee launches a historic, year-long bus boycott against segregation. Floridian Stetson Kennedy publishes <i>Jim Crow Guide</i> , an expose of racism in Florida and other southern states.		Glenda Alice Rabby, <i>The Pain and the Promise: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Tallahassee, Florida</i> .
1956-1971	A succession of Florida governors with various political tendencies create "school choice plans" to avoid the successful implementation of <i>Brown vs. Board of Education</i> . NAACP chapters and African American parents throughout Florida file lawsuits against local school boards' continued policies promoting school segregation. NAACP lawsuit against school segregation in Fort Myers lasts 35 years.	The Florida State Legislature establishes the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (known as the "Johns Committee" to investigate civil rights organizations. In contrast to many other state institutions, UF cooperates fully with the Johns Committee and the investigation turns into an anti-communist and anti-LGBT witch hunt. Numerous students, staff and faculty are questioned and ultimately leave UF due to harassment for their sexual orientation.	Irvin D.S. Winsboro, ed., <i>Old South, New South, or Down South? Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement</i>
1958		Virgil Hawkins withdrew from suit with the stipulation that Florida would not pursue further legal challenges to desegregation. George Starke, Jr., (Law) became the first African-American to enter a previously all-white UF.	SPOHP interview with Starke: https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00006235/00001
1958-1962		Racial integration limited to professional schools and graduate programs. Daphne Duval became the second African-American student by enrolling as a graduate student in Education. Dr. Madelyn Lockhart arrives at UF. She becomes a long-term advocate for equal rights and is initially denied the right to be placed on the tenure track due to being a female.	

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1959		Dr. Madelyn Lockhart begins teaching at UF after earning her PhD in economics at Ohio State University. She and her husband are reprimanded by fellow faculty for inviting a Black professional couple over for dinner soon after arriving in Gainesville. Reflecting on the attitude of UF faculty towards racism in these years, Lockhart reflects "...they didn't do a damn thing about it....they didn't want to get their hands dirty....they really didn't want to associate with Blacks."	
1960	On February 1, four Black students from North Carolina A&T sit down at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, NC and refuse to give up their seats in a protest against segregation. This sparks a national wave of sit-in protests against segregation and leads to the birth of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.		
1960	On August 27, groups of white men assault African Americans engaged in sit-in protests against segregation in Jacksonville. The attack becomes known as "Ax Handle Saturday."		Abel Bartley, <i>Keeping the Faith: Race, Politics and Social Development in Jacksonville, Florida, 1940-1970</i> .
1962		W. George Allen, first African-American to graduate from UF (Law).	SPOHP interviews with Allen: https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066574/00001 https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066575/00001
1962		Six African American undergraduates registered in the fall of 1962. Meanwhile, Black and white students protested at white only businesses catering to UF students.	"Berkeley of the South" by Marshall Jones. Manuscript available in the University Archives.

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1963	<p>In April, the Alabama Christian Movement for Civil Rights launches the Children's Crusade and massive civil disobedience against segregation. In June, Alabama's Segregationist Governor, George Wallace, and a group of state troopers stood in front of the University of Alabama's Foster Auditorium in an attempt to intimidate and deny access to two Black students, Vivian Malone and James Hood.</p>	<p>A group of wives of UF faculty including future Gainesville Mayor Jean Chalmers, organize the Gainesville Women for Equal Rights in tandem with the Student Group for Equal Rights and local civil rights organizers in order to advocate for equal rights in Gainesville and at UF. According to UFDC finding aid, "The women first made their presence known in October 1963 during protests against segregation at the College Inn; they replaced students on the picket lines who faced expulsion from the University of Florida due to continued absence from class. Members of GWER continued their work in Gainesville for over a decade, sponsoring education and employment programs, protesting discriminatory legal actions, and otherwise striving to improve the quality of life of African-American citizens in Gainesville and surrounding areas. GWER was the driving force behind desegregation at the Boys' Club, the Library, Alachua General Hospital, and other institutions." https://findingaids.uflib.ufl.edu/repositories/2/resources/370</p>	
1964	<p>Joel Buchanan and three other African American students are chosen to attend all-white Gainesville High School. White students, teachers and parents retaliate against the African American students. Joel goes on to become a teacher as well as a librarian at UF.</p>		
1964	<p>Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee organizes Mississippi Freedom Summer. St. Augustine, Florida movement against segregation calls Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for assistance. The St. Augustine Movement is widely credited for helping to create the momentum to pass the historic 1964 Civil Rights Act.</p>	<p>UF's Student Group for Equal Rights travels to St. Augustine, FL to participate with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and local civil rights struggle to end segregation in the Ancient City. Students are subsequently harassed by UF administration for their participation in the civil rights movement and faculty advisor for the group, Dr. Marshall Jones, is denied tenure by presidents Reitz and O'Connell. Stephen Mickle became first African American to receive undergraduate degree (CLAS).</p>	
1965	<p>African Americans in Alabama organize the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, an independent Black political organization. They choose the black panther as their symbol. In nearby Selma, African American civil rights organizers launch the Selma to Montgomery marches. Alabama State troopers violently suppress the first march at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Federal government intervenes to protect subsequent Selma to Montgomery March. This provides critical momentum towards the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.</p>	<p>Center for African Studies established.</p>	

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1965	LaVon Wright becomes the first African American graduate of Gainesville High School. On the way to earning her diploma, Wright endures beatings from fellow students and insults from white teachers and administrators. She goes on to earn a doctorate. Years later, she reflects, "Despite the horror...I refused to give up then. I refuse to give up now. The struggle continues."		
1967-1968		Dr. Marshall Jones denied tenure by J. Wayne Reitz and Stephen C. O'Connell despite recommendations of the chairman and faculty and dean of his college... American Association of University Professors (AAUP) places UF under official censure for violating academic freedom.	
1968	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. travels to Memphis, Tennessee to support sanitation workers on strike for union recognition. He is assassinated on April 4.	Black Student Union established. It was officially recognized as a student organization in 1970 with Sam Taylor as president.	SPOHP interview with Taylor: https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066529/00001
1968		Johnnie Brown became first Black athlete (track). After complaints from the first Black band members and a lengthy debate by students, alumni and faculty, Dixie is dropped from the marching band's playlist.	
1968-1970			
1969	African American students and others at UF organize Third World Solidarity protests and demonstrations against the Vietnam War. Thousands of UF students participate in the national Vietnam Moratorium in 1969 and thousands more march in protest of the killing of anti-war demonstrators at Kent State in May, 1970. Massive protests force UF President O'Connell to close the campus from May 6 to May 8.	First tenure track Black faculty hired. Spencer Boyer hired as a Visiting Professor and became the first African American to teach at UF Law. After receiving threats, he and his family leave Gainesville abruptly.	
1969		African American Studies Program established.	
1969		Football team integrated.	SPOHP interview with Willie Jackson Sr: UFA14. Not online.
1969		Only 103 Black students enrolled in AY 1968-69 after 10 years of nominal integration.	
1970		Stephen Mickle became the second African American law graduate. Mickle became the first African American to establish a law practice in Gainesville and ultimately became a federal judge.	

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1971	Doris Duke provides funding for a national consortium of universities—including the University of Florida—to conduct oral histories with Native American groups and nations throughout the United States. Dr. Samuel Proctor leads the project at UF Oral History, eventually collecting nearly 1,000 oral history interviews with members of the Poarch Band of Creek Indians, Seminoles, Catawba, Lumbee, Western Cherokee and other groups.	Black Thursday "On April 15, 1971, the Black Student Union (BSU) organized a sit-in at Tigert Hall. Seventy students marched into President Stephen O'Connell's office with a list of demands. They wanted the University to address the shortage of Black faculty and students at UF. The demonstration led to the arrest and suspension of 66 Black students. BSU's demands came 13 years after UF's desegregation. It was also shortly after civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer visited. Their peaceful demonstration was influenced by the Black Power Movement and Vietnam War protests. The day became known as Black Thursday and led to the founding of the Institute for Black Culture (IBC) and the Office of Minority Student Affairs at the University of Florida." They also demanded better wages and working conditions for African American staff workers. When their demands for amnesty are denied by President O'Connell, a mass withdrawal of Black students ensued. Congress holds hearings on situation at UF. https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/BlackThursdayUF/	SPOHP interview with Betty Stewart-Fullwood https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00006189/00001_Smathers_Libraries_exhibit : https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/BlackThursdayUF/
1971		Certificate in African American Studies offered. Founding of Institute of Black Culture.	
1972-1977	NAACP filed suit requesting HEW enforce Title VI compliance in ten states, including Florida. Florida SUS files plan with HEW in 1973 which is rejected. Subsequent plans were also rejected. In 1977, Florida and five other states were still non-compliant.		
1973		UF filed its first Affirmative Action Plan.	
1974		1035 Black students (4%) enrolled at UF. UF ranked sixth among the nine state universities in terms of percentage. Chilean scholar Professor Herman Vera arrives at UF. He becomes a leading scholar of comparative race and racism. He earns tenure after a long struggle and becomes one of the leading scholars of race in the United States.	
1976		Excavation of the Law School Burial Mound led by Jerald T. Milanich.	
1979-1980	Arthur McDuffie, a 33-year-old military veteran and insurance salesman is beaten to death by white Dade County police officers. Riots break out in Miami the following year in the wake of an all-white jury acquitting the officers.	1,220 Black students (<5%) enrolled at UF. Forestry and Building Construction had no Black students.	

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1980	"Mariel Boatlift" from Cuba involves thousands of refugees--many of them Afro-Cuban--who arrive in Florida between spring and late autumn. The harsh treatment against many Cubans of African descent becomes a major issue.		
1984	Rev. Jesse Jackson begins the first of two major presidential campaigns. Jackson's Rainbow Coalition becomes a seedbed for community organizers, some of whom will lead Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign.	Madelyn Lockhart appointed Dean of the Graduate School, the first woman to hold an academic University-wide position at UF.	
1985		UF admitted to the Association of American Universities.	
1987		Law School Burial Mound marker installed on campus. The marker was replaced in 2018 with new marker highlighting Timucua history in area and renaming mound the Timucuan Burial Mound.	
1988		Florida State Museum's name changed to the Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH).	
1989		1969 Black students (6%)	
1990	Passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.	Through the 1990s and into the early 2000s FLMNH worked to inventory and identify NAGPRA collections (archaeological and ethnographic) to determine tribal affiliations, and initiated consultation and repatriation in preparation for required submissions. Initial consultation with federally recognized tribes regarding prior designations of Culturally Unidentifiable (CU) ancestral human remains and cultural belongings began in the 2000s.	
1973-1993	International campaign against apartheid in South Africa steadily grows resulting in the end of apartheid in 1993 and non-racial national elections in South Africa.	Between 1973 and 1993, thousands of UF students, faculty and staff organize solidarity actions with the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa.	
1994	Rosewood Act awarded \$150,000 to nine African American survivors of the Rosewood Massacre and establishes a college scholarship for descendants of victims of 1923 massacre.		
1997		2,493 Black students (6%).	
1998	After a three-decade legal battle, the United States District Court, Middle District of Florida determines that Fort Myers has created a plan to implement a unitary school system for all pupils. The Court notes that "The eradication of dual school systems in Lee County came only after constant pressure from local citizens, the NAACP (link is external), the federal courts, and the United States Department of Justice."		

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
1999	Governor Jeb Bush signs Executive Order ending affirmative action in Florida. African Americans launch statewide protests against Bush's One Florida plan. State University System Board of Regents subsequently approves One Florida. Black enrollment at UF and FSU declines.		
2000	US Supreme Court intervenes in Florida count of the Presidential Election and decides in favor of George W. Bush. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights finds that hundreds of African Americans, Latinx and Haitian American voters were deprived of their rights to vote in Florida.	UF enters into PMOA with Florida Division of Historic Resources for compliance with federal and state laws protecting historical resources on UF properties.	
2006		Native American Tribal Inter-organizational Network (NATION) established by students on UF campus. After discussions with Governor Jeb Bush, UF President Bernie Machen establishes Florida Opportunity Scholars Program to assist first-generation college students at UF.	
2008	Barack Obama becomes the first African American President in US History.	Joel Buchanan, Paul Ortiz and Marna Weston approach UF President Bernie Machen with plan to start a major African American oral history archive @ UF. The Office of the Provost provides yearly funding for the gathering, preservation and promotion of African American oral histories.	
2010		3,944 Black students (<9%).	
2010-2021		Poarch Band of Creek Indians' Archives and Record Management Department reestablishes research relationship with Samuel Proctor Oral History Program. Over the next several years, UF students will conduct over 100 oral history interviews with Poarch Band tribal council members and elders.	
2012	George Zimmerman's fatal shooting of Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida launches a statewide and then nationwide civil rights campaign known as Black Lives Matter. Black students at UF and others participate in civil disobedience campaigns and organize the Dream Defenders, a group allied with the BLM movement.		
2013	U.S. Supreme Court guts the 1965 Voting Rights Act in the <i>Shelby v. Holder</i> decision, which undermines Section 5 of the Act requiring states to file "pre-clearance" plans with the federal government on voting plans to ensure non-discrimination in elections. Immediately, southern states begin passing laws making it more difficult to vote.	Major in African American Studies offered.	

Dates	Events in national and state history	Events at UF	References and resources
2014	Universities Studying Slavery consortium established at the University of Virginia. The consortium consists of over 70 colleges and universities working towards reconciliation on slavery and its legacies on college campuses.		
2018	After a statewide petition campaign initiated by civil rights, labor union and civil liberties organizations garners more than one million signatures, Floridians approve by a wide margin Florida Amendment 4, "Voting Rights Restoration for Felons Initiative," thus overturning a Reconstruction-era measure designed to depress minority voter turnout.		
2019		3,153 Black students enrolled (<6%). Joel Buchanan Archive of African American Oral History unveiled at UF with a national, three-day symposium organized by the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program and sponsored by the Office of the Provost.	
2019		Four undergraduate students researched the university's ties to Indian removal and slavery, and prepared a final report titled, "Slavery and the University of Florida: African Americans, Seminoles and the Origins of Higher Education in Florida."	
2019		Indigenous-American Student Association established at UF; land acknowledgement statements begin to appear on websites and syllabi or UF departments and colleges.	
2020	After police homicide of George Floyd in Minneapolis, MN, African Americans launch a new phase of the Black Lives Matter movement. BLM becomes perhaps the largest social movement in American history, goes global in the summer with protests on every continent. Major BLM marches in Florida cities like Gainesville, Tampa, and Miami. UF students, faculty and staff heavily participate in BLM movement.	A student government resolution requesting that UF assemble a Working Group on Indigenous Expropriation and Slavery passes unanimously in the Student Senate. African American Studies @ UF hosts a two-day national symposium commemorating 50th anniversary. Gator Chapter of the NAACP participates in a successful city-wide campaign to petition the Alachua County School Board to change the name of J.J. Finley Elementary School to Carolyn Beatrice Parker Elementary. Parker was an African American scientist who taught in Gainesville during legal segregation. The University of Florida awards an Honorary Doctorate in Humane Letters to civil rights attorney John Dorsey Due.	

Dates	Events in national and state history	References and resources
2020-on	<p>Events at UF Faculty, students and staff from the Samuel Proctor Program and African American Studies begin participating in the Alachua County Remembrance Committee chaired by County Commissioner Charles Chestnut, IV. Working with the Equal Justice Initiative, students assist in researching and documenting incidents of lynching and anti-Black violence in Alachua County. The Proctor Program records Soil Collection ceremonies in Archer, Newberry and Gainesville and conducts interviews with the descendants of lynching victims. These events are archived in the Joel Buchanan Archive of African American Oral History at the UFDC.</p> <p>The Doris Duke Charitable Trust approaches the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program about making SPOHP's 1,000+ oral history interviews with Native American nations more accessible, findable and usable to Tribes and to scholars in general. This results in a collaboration between SPOHP and Smathers Libraries to fully digitize and transcribe these interviews for public use.</p> <p>The Gainesville Sun newspaper approaches the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program to provide research and analytical support in writing a report of that newspaper's coverage of racial issues from the 19th century to present.</p>	

APPENDIX C: SOURCE DIRECTORY

A Select List of Resources Related to African American and Native American Experiences at the University of Florida (URLs for articles may require connection to a recognized UF IP)

SOURCES RELATED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

The Independent Florida Alligator. “The Alligator was founded in 1906 as The University News, which was an independent, student-owned newspaper created to serve the University of Florida when it opened in Gainesville.” *The Alligator* has an online archive and is an excellent source for UF history. Older copies of *The Alligator* have been digitized and may be found at the University of Florida Digital Collections (UFDC) at: <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/alligator>

The Gainesville Iguana was founded in 1986. It contains numerous pieces on the connection between student activism, integration at UF, and broader world events. The *Iguana* has been digitized and may be accessed at the UFDC: <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00073860/00103/citation>

Articles

Clawson, Jessica. “Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972.” *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Winter 2011, Vol. 82, No. 3, 347-374.

“From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and ‘Dixie’ at the University of Florida.” Author(s): Derrick E. White. Source: *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (Spring 2010), pp. 469-496. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29765122>

“Free Speech at the University of Florida: The Enoch Marvin Banks Case.” Author(s): Fred Arthur Bailey Source: *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jul., 1992, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 1-17. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30148184>

“White Robes and Crosses: Father John Conoley, the Ku Klux Klan, and the University of Florida.” Author(s): Stephen R. Prescott Source: *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Jul., 1992, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 18-40. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30148185>

“Brown V. Board of Education and Virgil Darnell Hawkins Twenty-Eight Years and Six Petitions to Justice.” Author(s): Algia R. Cooper Source: *The Journal of Negro History*, Winter, 1979, Vol. 64, No. 1, pp. 1-20. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2717122>

“Blacks Have Made Few Gains at Gainesville.” Source: *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, No. 19 (Spring, 1998), pp. 40-41. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2998898>

Monographs

Betty J. Stewart-Fullwood and Kevin McCarthy, *African Americans at the University of Florida* (Gainesville: The University of Florida, 2003).

Jacob U’Mofe Gordon and Paul Ortiz, eds., *African American Studies: 50 Years at the University of Florida* (Gainesville: Library Press@UF, 2021).

Marshall Jones, “Berkeley of the South: a history of the student movement at the University of Florida, 1963-1968,” Unpublished manuscript in the University of Florida Archives.

“Slavery and the University of Florida: African Americans, Seminoles and the Origins of Higher Education in Florida,” by Ahmad Brown, Javier Escoto-Garcia, Gabriella Paul, Morgan Peltier. An independent study in the Department of History, University of Florida, 2019.

Martinez, Adreanne, "Divesting Injustice: Reconciliation with Slavery and Its Legacies on College Campuses," (Senior Thesis, University of Florida, 2020) <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00077087/00001>

University of Florida Digital Collections Sources: Hearings, Exhibits, and Galleries

Marshall Jones Hearings (1968). From the description: This collection of recordings documents a series of closed hearings on the case of Marshall B. Jones held by a subcommittee of the University of Florida's Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. Jones was a Professor of Psychiatry in the College of Medicine who was denied tenure by President J. Wayne Reitz. Jones had been active in anti-war and civil rights activities. <http://findingaids.uflib.ufl.edu/repositories/2/resources/1390>

Alternative UF: Counterculture Through the Decades. From the description: This exhibition, created by undergraduate student interns enrolled in HIS 4944 Preserving History, focuses on campus activism at the University of Florida during the Age of Protest. <https://web.uflib.ufl.edu/spec/exhibits/alternativeUF.htm>

The Haitian American Dream. <https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/HaitianAmericanDream/>

Black Thursday: UF's Black Campus Movement, <https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/BlackThursdayUF/>

Black Educators: Florida's Secret Social Justice Advocates, <https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/online.html>

African American Agricultural Extension Agents in Florida, <https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/ExtensionAgents/>

About Face: Revisiting Jamaica's First Exhibition in Europe, <https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/aboutface/>

Civil War Legacies, <https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/civilwar/>

Racism, Representation, and Resistance in Children's Literature, 1800-2015, <https://exhibits.uflib.ufl.edu/RacismRepresentation/>

The Matheson History Museum, Online Resources

McCarthy Moment: The Johns Committee in Florida. From the description: Initially launched against African Americans in 1956, this committee targeted gay and lesbian faculty, staff and students at UF. "This reign of terror led to dozens of professors and students leaving the university. Although we will never know everyone the Committee hurt, this exhibition seeks to tell their stories." <https://spark.adobe.com/page/n2RaGQ69SDhcj/>

Trailblazers: 150 Years of Alachua County Women, <https://spark.adobe.com/page/cHJRnxVsLi0qd/>

Museum of Florida History, Florida Department of State, Online Resources

Civil Rights in the Sunshine State, <https://museumoffloridahistory.com/exhibits/traveling-exhibits/civil-rights-in-the-sunshine-state/>

Beyond the Vote: Florida Women's Activism, <https://museumoffloridahistory.com/exhibits/now-on-view/>

Seminole People of Florida: Survival and Success, <https://museumoffloridahistory.com/exhibits/traveling-exhibits/seminole-people-of-florida/>

Florida's Got the Blues, <https://museumoffloridahistory.com/exhibits/traveling-exhibits/floridas-got-the-blues/>

Forgotten Florida: Farm Security Administration Photographs,
<https://museumoffloridahistory.com/exhibits/traveling-exhibits/forgotten-florida/>

The Orange County Regional History Center, Online Exhibits, Panel and Articles

Yesterday, This Was Home: The Ocoee Massacre of 1920, <https://www.thehistorycenter.org/preparing-for-a-landmark-exhibition/>

The Legacy of Ocoee: A Panel Discussion, <https://www.thehistorycenter.org/event/ocoe-panel-discussion/>

Mary McLeod Bethune: Educator and Activist, <https://www.thehistorycenter.org/mcleod-bethune/>

Against All Odds: The Art of the Highwaymen, <https://www.thehistorycenter.org/collections/traveling-exhibits/>

Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Resources on African American History, Native American History, Anti-Racism & Racial Justice

Audiovisual materials: performances, panels, speakers, and oral histories

Oral History Transcripts for *Native Peoples of the Americas Oral History Collections* including interviews with members of the Poarch Band of Creek Indians, Cherokee, Seminoles and many more,
<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/oh4>

Gator Tales. Stage Performance. A play written by UF College of Arts Professor Kevin Marshall in partnership with the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program (SPOHP). Based on 14 SPOHP oral histories with the first African American students at UF. Playwright and UF Professor Kevin Marshall adapted the oral histories for College of Arts MFA students to perform.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eS4heJtVCMk&t=747s>

Audience talk-backs after the performances of *Gator Tales*. Talk-backs feature dialogue about race relations @UF between performers, current students and multiracial Gator alumni:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MTCXsfqdJ4Q>
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_Gv44XdM5Q&t=928s

“Dr. Patricia Hilliard-Nunn on the founding of African American Studies at UF”: Dr. Patricia Hilliard-Nunn discusses the founding of African American Studies at the 50th Anniversary of African American Studies at the University of Florida symposium. A frank discussion of the frequent failure of UF to address issues of systemic racism:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vBEPBuQYcPE&list=PLzMFflzfl0ESQb-YvZ2HuRGsnA_gE_NsOO&index=5

“From Segregation to Black Lives Matter: Celebrating the Opening of the Joel Buchanan Archive of African American History at UF: A 3 Day Symposium.” Link to the panels:
<https://mediasite.video.ufl.edu/Mediasite/Catalog/catalogs/segregation-to-black-lives-matter-symposium>
This symposium was a conference and celebration of the public opening of the 1,000+ collection of SPOHP’s oral histories with African Americans in Florida and the Gulf South. The Joel Buchanan Archive of African American Oral Histories has been funded primarily by the Office of the Provost. (A program of the symposium is available via SPOHP’s website)

The Making of the Institute of Black Culture at the University of Florida. Student-produced documentary featuring UF alumni, students, faculty and staff discussing the origins and importance of the Institute of Black Culture at UF. Funded by the Office of the Provost:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hXxJailPGgw>

“A Tale of Two Houses: A Dialogue on Black and Latinx History at UF.” SPOHP panel moderated by Paul Ortiz. Featuring UF Alumni and current students discussing the intersections of Black and Latinx Histories at UF from the 1960s to present:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dXnXVgmhaDM&t=1226s>

Resistance, Respect and Regrowth: A student-produced documentary focusing on Black and Latinx students' and staff experience at UF. From the Latina/o Diaspora in the Americas Seminar at SPOHP:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=khsuSuiyT7s>

Oral History Interviews

The following are selected titles from the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program. Further research in the Joel Buchanan Archive of African American Oral History reveals Black students, faculty and staff struggles at the University of Florida. Other titles can be found at: <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/ohfb>

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00024670/00001> (Madelyn Lockhart, 12/5/2005). Dr. Lockhart arrived at the University of Florida in 1958. She describes racism at UF and in Gainesville in vivid detail. She became the first female academic dean at UF many years after she had been denied the right to earn a tenure-track position at the university.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00054180/00001> (Dan Harmeling 10/25/14). In this interview, Dan Harmeling, a graduate of UF, talks about the Civil Rights Movement at UF and several student groups that took part in the fight for racial justice on campus and in St. Augustine, Florida with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He also discusses how members of the UF administration punished UF faculty and students who participated in the civil rights movement.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066209/00001> (Carlton Davis 11/23/2011). Dr. Carlton Davis was one of the first Black professors hired to the University of Florida. He talks about the struggles of Black faculty at UF, Black Thursday, the founding of the African American Studies Program, and the founding of the Institute of Black Culture (IBC) at UF.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066577/00001> (Warren Arther McCluney 9/5/09). In this interview McCluney touches on going to UF and how UF was just as racist as any other institution at the time. He also points out the divide between UF's Black elite and the other Black people at UF who are more community oriented.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066262/00001> (Diana Bell 9/5/09). In this interview Bell touches on how in the 60s there weren't any organizations for Black people and how her first year they founded the Black Student Union.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066469/00001> (Mildred Hill Lubin 6/4/2009). Dr. Mildred Hill Lubin, a champion of UF's African American studies program, came to work at UF in 1974 as a professor in the Department of English. In this interview, she talks about what it was like to teach at UF in the 1970s.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00053919/00001> (Joel Buchanan 10/14/2009). Joel Buchanan, who was in the cohort of the first four African American students to integrate Gainesville High School, talks about race relations at UF in the 1970s.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066292/00001> (Evelyn Mickle 2/7/2010). Mrs. Evelyn Mickle talks about her harrowing experiences as the first African American student and graduate of the UF College of Nursing. She also discusses current difficulties Black students face at UF.

[https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00019974/00001\(podcast\)](https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00019974/00001(podcast)). In this podcast, Evelyn and Stephen Mickle talk about what it was like to be among the first Black graduates at UF. Judge Stephen Mickle was the first African American to graduate from UF as an undergrad, and the second to graduate from UF Law.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066195/00001> (Bernard Mackey). Bernard Mackey entered UF in the late 1960s. He talks about the struggle for diversity and inclusion and reflects on the future of UF.

<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00066172/00001?search=gainey> (Andrew Gainey 9/3/2010). Andrew Gainey entered UF in the 1980s, and talks about racism he experienced, as well as some fond memories of his college years.

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Audiovisual materials: performances, panels, and speakers

Images of Rosewood by Lizzie Jenkins: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fnmw4-ZQYpA>

2009 Rosewood Traveling Exhibit: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cqfRlyUYayY>

"Mrs. Lizzie Jenkins: An African American History of Alachua County":
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqT4yBX1LLg>

"An Oral History with Curtis Michelson and Julian Chambliss (On the Ocoee Massacre)"
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MEBakC0pUUY>

"The 100th Anniversary of the Ocoee, Florida Election Day Massacre": Florida Humanities Lecture by Paul Ortiz:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ov6puXb1KJ4&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR1KbzQQ0x_EM_daP7LfYWHjrSIPVyWiaFnyeudj8h2MjvCXzjWJx_0SAMQ

"Florida Civil Rights Struggle: Past and Present." This SPOHP 2014 program celebrates those who fought for equality with a panel of Civil Rights Veterans and a showcase of stories from the Movement. Panelists include Dan Harmeling, John Due, Vivian Filer, and Rosemary Florence. Moderated by Dr. Paul Ortiz.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e-mZGRn1lpA>

"Authors@UF: A Conversation with Paul Ortiz on *Emancipation Betrayed*" at George A. Smathers Libraries, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ldm_qPy424

From Colored to Black: Stories of North Central Florida. Public Performance @ the Harn Museum:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tcHPqF7wTNk>

"Stetson Kennedy's America: Paul Ortiz and Sandra Parks discuss the anti-racist legacies of legendary Florida author and activist Stetson Kennedy." Filmed at the Civic Media Center:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4pxQSS7gHU&list=PLzMFflzfl0EQ-ZCUdeD0Q8ctdbCyexk5N>

"Relocating the Confederate Statue in Gainesville, Florida: A Teach-In" (2015)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hb7H9G9mWTE&list=PLzMFflzfl0EQ-ZCUdeD0Q8ctdbCyexk5N&index=5>

Films

"From Disenchantment to Dialogue and Action: The 'Transforming Community' Project at Emory University." Author(s): Leslie M. Harris and Jody Usher. Source: *Change*, March/April 2008, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 18-23. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41505854>

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