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WHEN A MINORITY BECOMES THE
MAJORITY: BLACKS IN JACKSONVILLE
POLITICS, 1887-1907

by EDWARD N. AKIN*

WITH THE END OF Reconstruction in 1876, the national Republican party abandoned the blacks of the South to state governments controlled by native southern whites. This traditional textbook interpretation of the plight of blacks in the Bourbon South rested on two implicit assumptions: the black was dependent on national Republicanism for protection; and, with the end of this protective system, blacks ceased to be a viable independent political element.¹ When blacks did vote during the Bourbon era, they were pictured as sheep being led by conservative whites. An example of this voting behavior in an urban setting is recounted in a recent study of Augusta, Georgia, during this period. The author graphically describes the "boozed and bought" Negroes doing the bidding of the white conservative "ring" on election day.²

The theory of docile blacks doing the bidding of their former masters has been under attack by scholars of the South for several decades. C. Vann Woodward contended that the political arena was one place in the Bourbon South where the black man was able to exercise some degree of independence. But even

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1. The traditional view of post-Reconstruction politics in the South is presented by Oscar Handlin: "After 1876, the South was solidly Democratic. . . . Republican efforts to maintain a foothold . . . were half-hearted and ineffectual. . . . The only effective dissent came from among the Democrats." Oscar Handlin, *The History of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1968), II, 72. See also Richard N. Current, T. Harry Williams, and Frank Freidel, *American History: A Survey*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1966), 470; Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *Growth of the American Republic*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1962), II, 334-38.
2. Richard Henry Lee German, "The Queen City of the Savannah: Augusta, Georgia, During the Urban Progressive Era, 1890-1917" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1971), 46-47.

Woodward questioned the effect of black leadership in the amorphous southern politics of this period: "Political leaders of his own [black] race furnished guidance of doubtful value to the Negro in his political quandry." This statement is sandwiched between assertions dealing with national Republican leadership abandoning the Negro and the separation of black leaders, described as middle-class entrepreneurs and Presidential Republicans, and the masses.³

It is the contention of this author that many historians have been blinded to the realities of blacks in Bourbon politics because of their antipathy to local studies. In the realm of political history, they have tended to study issues in inverse proportion to the impact of decision-making on the people. Only recently have decisions made in Washington affected most citizens as greatly as those emanating from city hall and the courthouse. There is much evidence that research activity in local history is growing and that historians are becoming more cognizant of the grass-roots.

Jacksonville politics during the post-Reconstruction period offers a fertile field for a case study of black political activity. Since Negroes for a time had political power, did their leaders act as Woodward would have us believe? Was politics during the Bourbon era a conservative-liberal confrontation? What were blacks concerned with accomplishing once in power? While this study only touches the early careers of United States Senator Duncan U. Fletcher and Governor Napoleon B. Broward, Jacksonville acted as a crucible for incipient Progressive reformers. Therefore, did their goals and methods change in what has been described as the fluid politics of the Sunshine State? One thing is certain, 1876 was a transitional point in Jacksonville but not a stone wall between two well-defined eras.

On the surface, the 1876 Jacksonville municipal election seemed to be part of the classic changeover from Reconstruction to Redeemer rule. This was the first time since 1868 that an all-white government was elected. One irony of the situation was the

3. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 216-17. For an example of the pitfalls of black Presidential Republicanism, see Willard B. Gatewood, "William D. Crum, A Negro in Politics," *Journal of Negro History*, LIII (October 1968), 301-20. Crum was variously appointed postmaster of Charleston, Charleston port collector, and United States minister to Liberia.

election of a carpenter as mayor. But Luther McConihe, a Boston capitalist, seemed to have two qualities which the voters of the city required: he was a Democrat and reputed to be a good citizen. Even in this Redeemer government, blacks continued to hold numerous posts: five policemen, two justices of the peace, two constables, one deputy, one special deputy in the customs office, the collector of customs, five railroad mail agents, one postal clerk, and one revenue boatman.⁴ Three years later the *Florida Daily Union* decried the 1879 election of Peter Jones as mayor. It contended that he had been elected not "by taxpayers but by those who wish to see the city beautified. His [Jones's] vote is drawn almost exclusively from the negro."⁵

Bourbon Jacksonville was a biracial political community— not just a white man's province maintained by manipulation of the black man's vote. An internal feud among the city's Republicans in 1880 found Emanuel Fortune, a black who later would become a councilman, aligned with white reformers. This did not help Jonathan C. Greeley, Fortune's political ally, win a state senate seat. Greeley, a reform Republican, failed in a contested election to unseat Joseph E. Lee, a black conservative Republican.⁶ The 1881 session of the Florida legislature contained two blacks in the senate, and Thomas V. Gibbs, son of Jonathan Gibbs, Florida's black secretary of state during Reconstruction, sat as a representative.⁷

Republican in-fighting continued in Jacksonville. In 1884 the conservative ring retained control of Republican presidential patronage in Florida against a reform revolt led by General Henry S. Sanford and former Governor Harrison Reed. At this time Joseph E. Lee, the epitome of the political animal, was regarded as the leading Negro politician in the Jacksonville ring.⁸ In the arguments over Duval County's representation in the 1885

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4. Emily Howard Atkins, "A History of Jacksonville, Florida, 1816-1902" (M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1941), 136-37.
 5. Jacksonville *Florida Daily Union*, July 17, 1879, quoted in Atkins, "A History of Jacksonville," 137.
 6. Edward C. Williamson, "The Era of the Democratic County Leader: Florida Politics, 1877-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954), 122-23, 132.
 7. Jesse Jefferson Jackson, "The Negro and the Law in Florida, 1821-1921: Legal Patterns of Segregation and Control in Florida, 1821-1921" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1960), 86-87.
 8. Williamson, "Era of the Democratic County Leader," 181.

state constitutional convention, Lee called for blacks to seek the fruits of education and labor even if it meant selecting Democrats for office. He offered to resign his seat at the convention and be replaced by J. J. Daniel, a conservative Democrat, but the Republican machine vetoed this nonpartisan gesture.⁹ As late as 1885 blacks could still claim a modicum of political power in Florida. Seven blacks had been elected to the convention, including Jacksonville's Thomas V. Gibbs and Joseph E. Lee.¹⁰

In observing Florida state politics during the mid-1880s, an extension of Richard Wade's thesis concerning blacks and the southern city is in order. In his study of slavery in the urban areas of the antebellum South, Wade found that the structure of city life had a mitigating effect on the slave system by encouraging independence and tolerance.¹¹ A similar type of situation, at least in politics, existed in the urban counties of Bourbon Florida.

Although Florida had ten counties containing more blacks than whites, only four of these sent anti-Democratic delegates to the constitutional convention in 1885. These four had urban centers: Duval (Jacksonville), Leon (Tallahassee), Marion (Ocala), and Nassau (Fernandina).¹² The 1886 elections found Leon and Duval to be the core counties of Republicanism in Florida; they were the only counties which elected Republican legislators. According to one study of Bourbon politics in Florida, Marion County was the only other strong Republican area.¹³

Of Florida's ten predominantly black counties, the four urban and three of the rural counties sustained relative declines in the number of blacks within their boundaries between 1880 and 1890. However, Leon was the only urban county to sustain an absolute decline in its black population from 1880 to 1890;

9. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 1, 3, 5, 1885.

10. Williamson, "Era of the Democratic County Leader," 225.

11. Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York, 1964), 3-4.

12. Williamson, "Era of the Democratic County Leader," 219. The ten predominantly black Florida counties in 1890 were Alachua, Jefferson, Columbia, Duval, Gadsden, Jackson, Leon, Madison, Marion, and Nassau. U. S. Census Office, *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890, Population*, I, pt. 1 (Washington, 1895), 405.

13. Williamson, "Era of the Democratic County Leader," 239-40, 261.

blacks still remained at eighty-two per cent of the total population.¹⁴

With information gleaned from census data and the Florida constitutional convention of 1885, a general rule of thumb may be applied to the Florida political situation. The dynamics of the urban setting did not increase the relative number of blacks in urban areas, but it did allow them to exercise political power and rights on a broader scale than the state's rural black population. The example of this phenomenon was Jacksonville politics during the late 1880s.

During March 1887, Jacksonville witnessed a coalition of reform Democrats, known as "Straightouts," Republicans, blacks, and Knights of Labor, joining under the political banner of the Citizens' ticket. Emanuel Fortune was present at the Citizens' rally. May R. Green, another black, was one of five members of the nominations committee. The Citizens' ticket platform called for expanding the city limits, law and order, a full-time mayor, conservative fiscal policy, and the maintenance of a paid fire department. John Q. Burbridge, the nominee for mayor, set a reforming tone for the campaign: "Fellow-citizens, a movement like this is going on in all the principal cities throughout the whole country. Wherever men have taken possession of the city government and the duties of the officers are not discharged in accordance with the wishes of the people, the citizens have assembled and nominated tickets that have swept the old officeholders from power."¹⁵

In the spring elections of 1887 Burbridge defeated William M. Dancy by a margin of 210 votes out of 1,498 cast. In his victory speech, Burbridge praised his supporters for their diligent work and promised a clean, upright city government. He continued in a vein which seemed strange for the Bourbon era: "I shall know no one on account of his color and I shall make no distinctions. . . . The colored man can get justice from me as well as the white. Whenever he deserves it I shall do him justice.

14. *Eleventh Census, 1890, Population*, I, pt. 1, 405. The counties by categories are: (1) Leon, Gadsden, Jefferson, and Madison; (2) Jackson and Columbia; (3) Duval, Marion, Alachua, and Nassau.

15. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 31, 1887. Burbridge was president of the Jacksonville and Atlantic Railway Company. Wanton S. Webb, ed., *Webb's Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida* (New York, 1885), 153.

Why? Because they have rallied around us in this fight and saved us from a government not of the people but of a clique. . . . Had it not been thus, the opposition would have overridden us and driven us from the field."¹⁶ The New York *Evening Post* saw the Jacksonville reform victory as part of a nationwide liberal trend called "Mugwumpism." The newspaper incorrectly read the victory as heralding the end of southern "nigger-haters."¹⁷

During this same period the Jacksonville Board of Trade had initiated a campaign for the adoption of a new city charter. On May 14, Mayor Burbridge was quoted as being in favor of a new charter with city elections to be conducted as soon after its adoption as possible.¹⁸ The charter, approved on May 31, 1887, provided for a mayor elected at-large for a two-year term, and two councilmen elected from each ward for four-year terms, with vacancies to be filled by a majority of the remaining councilmen. It directed the city council to divide Jacksonville into wards, "the number and boundaries of which may be changed from time to time."¹⁹ In what was either the repayment of a political debt or the cementing of a new alliance, the new charter extended the city limits to include La Villa, Fairfield, most of Springfield, and other predominantly black areas around Jacksonville. The *Times-Union* estimated the city of 20,004 to have 4,900 eligible voters. Due to the new additions, black voters were in the majority (see Table 1).²⁰

The Straightout charter did provide certain safeguards for the protection of white dominance in the city's political affairs. For the first time in the community's history, wards were adopted as units for the election of councilmen rather than the at-large system of representation.²¹ Although it would be unfair to accuse

16. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 5, 1887.

17. New York *Evening Post* article, quoted in *ibid.*, April 12, 1887.

18. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 14, 1887.

19. *Laws of Florida*, 1887, 160-80. For the first election under the new charter, the person receiving the highest vote in each ward was to serve a four-year term and the second highest a two-year term. The charter names the commissioners who were to divide the city into wards: "Dexter Hunter, F. M. Robinson, Porcher L'Engle, F. P. Fleming, Joseph E. Lee [black], James W. Archibald, Philip Walter, A. W. Barrs, and James Hoey." *Ibid.*, 168. The act was amended to include A. W. Owens, Loton M. Jones, and T. V. Gibbs (black). *Ibid.*, 180.

20. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 26, 1887.

21. "Notes for History of Jacksonville," #2 (pre-1905), Box 2, T. Frederick Davis Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter cited as TFDP.

the reform city council of gerrymandering, since the division lines were fairly straight (see map), there were some curious racial and numerical divisions (see Table 1). The third, fourth, and fifth wards contained the area which had been Jacksonville previous to the merger of 1887. These wards had a well-balanced division between white and black voters with whites having a slight majority. The seventh ward was similar in the constitution of its electorate. The first and ninth wards also had a white majority but, statistically speaking, were in a unique situation. They had over 500 fewer voters than the 667 median for the other seven wards.

While the whites enjoyed relatively slim margins in wards with white majorities, black political leverage in the city as a whole suffered due to wide margins over white voters in the three black-dominated wards. Blacks comprised over seventy per cent of the voters in these wards. It would be impossible, with such a system, for the racial majority of voters to control the city if the white minority voted as a bloc against the candidates of the black community. In a racial bloc vote situation, the blacks would have had a mayor and six councilmen, two from each of the three wards, and the whites would have had twelve councilmen.

The *Times-Union*, a Straightout supporter, hoped the Democrats would capture ten to twelve of the eighteen council seats

TABLE 1
BREAKDOWN OF JACKSONVILLE VOTING ROLLS ACCORDING TO WARD AND RACE,
SUMMER 1887^a

Ward	White Voters	Black Voters	Total
Second	161	543	704
Sixth	70	360	430
Eighth	148	514	662
Third	432	275	707
Fourth	584	392	976
Fifth	379	248	627
Seventh	346	215	561
First	70	52	122
Ninth	78	33	111
TOTALS	2,268	2,632	4,900

^aSOURCE: Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 26, 1887.

during the December 1887 elections. Showing its ability to analyze correctly its opposition, the paper declared, "The colored wards are overwhelmingly so in each instance, and may be set down as securely Republican. The First, Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth Wards contain a good proportion of white Republican voters, so that the color line is not necessarily the political line."²²

Since the amendment of section three of the 1887 charter did not include a statement validating all other parts of the original act, there arose the question of whether or not machinery for the election of officials was provided.²³ The state supreme court ruled that the provisions of the original 1887 charter were still valid. Mayor Burbridge, however, refused to vacate his office. At this juncture, the Jacksonville Board of Trade's committee on elections set up an ad hoc committee to obtain a nonpartisan slate of candidates. Included in this coalition were Republicans and Democrats, businessmen and labor representatives, blacks and whites.²⁴

The impasse between the incumbent government and its opposition soon was resolved. On December 5, 1887, the Board of Trade chose an election committee, which met with the city council and set December 13 as the election date.²⁵ C. B. Smith, nominee of the Board of Trade's Composite ticket, was elected mayor over his Democratic opponent, Frank W. Pope, by a plurality of 1,658 votes out of 3,100 cast. Of the eighteen councilmen elected, seven were white Republicans and five were blacks.²⁶ Duncan U. Fletcher was the only holdover from the Burbridge government.²⁷ Although the Knights of Labor claimed responsi-

22. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 26, 1887.

23. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1887.

24. Richard A. Martin, *The City Makers* (Jacksonville, 1972), 189.

25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 6, 7, 1887. The members of the election committee were J. J. Daniel (chairman), S. B. Hubbard, J. H. Durkee, George R. Foster, J. M. Schumacher, J. A. Huau, J. E. Onley, Patrick McQuaid, and Thomas Lancaster (black). Daniel was president of the Jacksonville Board of Trade and vice-president of the National Bank of the State of Florida. *Richard's Jacksonville Duplex City Directory, 1887* (Jacksonville, 1886), 245. Thomas Lancaster was the pastor of the Bethel Church. He served as a Jacksonville police commissioner in 1888. *Ibid.*, 353.

26. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 299. The election results were Smith, 2,394; Pope, 736; total, 3,130.

27. Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), 16.

bility for Smith's victory, it is unlikely that this organization had enough numerical strength to claim total responsibility for such a landslide.²⁸

There was certainly no "black bloc" at work in Jacksonville in 1887 (see Table 2). The second ward was the only one to elect two blacks to the city council; the sixth and eighth wards elected one black apiece. The biggest surprise of the election must have been Emanuel Fortune, a black, receiving most of the votes in the white-dominated third ward.

TABLE 2

DECEMBER 1887, ELECTION RESULTS IN WARDS WHICH ELECTED BLACKS TO THE JACKSONVILLE CITY COUNCIL^a

Ward	Candidate	Race	No. of Votes
Second	Wright	black	319
	Vaught	black	274
	Delaporte	white	178
	Smith	black	113
	Kinne	white	40
	White	white	25
Third	Fortune	black	194
	McCormick	white	192
	Clarkson	white	190
	Hunter	white	84
	Muller	white	74
	(scattering)	—	6
Sixth	Dennis	black	318
	Boyd	white	186
	Thompson	black	82
	Menard	black	54
	Croft	(not known)	20
	Middleton	black	14
Eighth	Spearing	black	477
	Wiggins	white	256
	Claiborne	black	224

^aSOURCE: Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 14, 1887.

28. Frederic Meyers, "The Knights of Labor in the South," *Southern Economic Journal*, VI (April 1940), 486, 483. The Knights of Labor claimed these election victories in the South: 1887— one congressman and eleven of fifteen councilmen in Lynchburg, Virginia; the majority of city and county officials in Macon, Georgia; and the mayor in Jacksonville; 1888— the mayors of Anniston, Alabama, and Vicksburg, Mississippi. Although Florida increased union locals from one to eighteen in the period 1885-1888, its membership as recorded in the Southern District Assemblies report in 1886 was only 467.

When a political group is discussed, there is the question of leadership. In Jacksonville the religious and laboring sectors of the black community were also the political leaders. In the second ward, Benjamin Wright was a brickmason and Capius M. Vaught, a minister.²⁹ Emanuel Fortune owned a market on the corner of Washington and East Church streets. Samuel Dennis, representing the sixth ward, was a mason from Hansontown, a recently incorporated division of the new city.³⁰ The eighth ward representative, John E. Spearing, was also a mason, residing at 509 West Forsyth in the section of town known as La Villa.³¹ In wards electing blacks to the council, there was little socio-economic difference in black and white leadership: Stephen Wiggins was a painter; Thomas J. Boyd, a laborer; and William McCormick, a grocer and saw mill owner.³²

Not only were these leaders closely associated with their constituents, but at least three of them had prior political experience. Benjamin Wright had represented Escambia County in the 1865 Florida constitutional convention, and had been defeated by E. D. Tracy for president of the convention by a 15-24 vote.³³ John E. Spearing served as an alderman for La Villa before the incorporation of the town into Jacksonville.³⁴ But it was Emanuel Fortune who was the seasoned politico among the black councilmen. He had been elected to the Florida house of representatives from Jackson County in 1868.³⁵ The same year he represented the third district in the state constitutional convention,

29. *Richards' Jacksonville Duplex City Directory, 1887*, 511, 482. Although Wright's occupation was listed as bricklayer, he was also addressed as "Reverend."

30. *Webb's Jacksonville Directory, 1880* (New York, 1880), 92, 85; Wanton S. Webb, comp., *Webb's Jacksonville Directory, 1889* (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1889), 107.

31. Webb, *Webb's Jacksonville Directory, 1889*, 225; *Richards' Jacksonville Duplex City Directory, 1887*, 455.

32. *Richards' Jacksonville Duplex City Directory, 1887*, 496, 202, 367. The 1889 city directory correctly states Boyd to be white; also, he had moved up the economic ladder from laborer to painter. Webb, *Webb's Jacksonville Directory, 1889*, 80.

33. John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 11-12.

34. J. M. Johnson, "Jacksonville, Florida," in Federal Writers' Project, *Florida, Negro History in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1936), 15.

35. U. S. *House Reports*, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 22, pt. 13, p. 97. Emanuel Fortune was in Jacksonville on November 10, 1871, testifying about Ku Klux Klan intimidation of Republican leaders in Jackson County, Florida.

aligning himself with the conservative bloc.³⁶ Threats to his life caused Fortune to leave Jackson County.³⁷ He moved to Duval County, where he continued his political activities; he was variously elected there as city marshal, county commissioner, and clerk of the city market. In addition, he served as an alternate delegate to three Republican national conventions.³⁸

Jacksonville's city councilmen and mayor were not allowed to take their respective offices immediately. The legality of the election had been questioned, and the case was under consideration by the state supreme court. Until the court rendered a decision, the old mayor and council continued in office.³⁹ On March 28, 1888, the court ruled that the December election was legal. At three o'clock that same afternoon C. M. Smith and the new council took the oath of office.⁴⁰

The first order of business for the newly-installed council was filling the other official posts in the city government. During these deliberations, two cooperative voting blocs appeared.⁴¹ Black councilmen voted for blacks for the positions of municipal judge, one of the police commissioners, and city marshal. Eleven councilmen, following the dictates of the Knights of Labor, voted a straight ticket for the three commissioners on the Board of Police Commissioners.⁴² Three of the black councilmen voted

36. Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida*, 49; Peter David Klingman, "Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1972), 197.

37. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 172.

38. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist* (Chicago, 1972), 22.

39. Martin, *City Makers*, 289n; Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 299.

40. "Notes for *History of Jacksonville*," #2 (pre-1905), Box 2, TFDP.

41. For the deliberations and results of these appointments see Jacksonville *Minutes City Council*, Book 6, 12-16; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 4, 1888. All council minutes mentioned in this article are located in the City Hall, Jacksonville, Florida. They are hereinafter referred to as *Minutes*. In the following discussion, the race of candidates was determined by consulting *Webb's Jacksonville Directory, 1880*; *Richards' Jacksonville Duplex City Directory, 1887*; and *Webb's Jacksonville Directory, 1889*.

42. The Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* on March 31, 1888, gave this list of the Knights of Labor candidates: trial judge—J. E. Lee; marshal—J. H. Sherman; collector and treasurer—W. A. Bisbee; comptroller—S. M. Lorimer; police chief—Jimmy Hoey. The newspaper could not be certain whether either Dr. J. C. L'Engle or George R. Foster would be running together with J. L. Burch and W. B. Watson for the Board of Public Works, nor whether Thomas Lancaster or Alonzo Jones would join W. T. Delaporte and William Marzyck as the endorsed candidates

the straight labor ticket on this issue, and the other two voted for two members of the labor ticket.

The Knights of Labor profited greatly by the election. Of the ten posts the organization had taken a position on, eight of its candidates were appointed. Alonzo Jones, a black, was named to the Board of Police Commissioners with three of the five black votes (two voted for Thomas Lancaster, the other Knights' alternative). All the blacks and five whites voted Joseph E. Lee in as municipal judge.

The voting on these appointments revealed several things about the black councilmen. These men were extremely Machievellian when they were voting for offices in which they had no direct interest; they would change votes before tallies were announced in order to play the winning side. In almost every case, Spearing voted for the winning candidate. The blacks voted as a bloc when the interests of their constituents were at stake. A black man needed the protection of the law during the Bourbon era; therefore, the black councilmen voted for blacks for police commissioner, municipal judge, and city marshall.

Racial solidarity was not the cornerstone of black politics in Jacksonville, as the *Times-Union* had earlier made clear concerning white politics. For instance, if one omits the balloting for city marshall, the black councilmen voted for eight whites and two blacks. Since these were the men elected, the results indicate that black voting was in the mainstream. The position taken by Duncan Fletcher, the reform Democrat, on the appointment of Joseph Lee, the conservative black Republican, demonstrated the real political battle lines. Fletcher challenged the appointment on the grounds that Lee was not a resident of Jack-

for the Board of Public (Police) Commissioners. The labor bloc of the city council included: McMurray, Stephens, Webster, Spearing (black), Wiggins, Boyd, Bisbee, Clark, Wright (black), St. John, and Dennis (black). This list is compiled from voting patterns observed in *Minutes, Book 6*, 12.

43. Another example of the failure of biracial reform is William H. Chafe, "The Negro and Populism: A Kansas Case Study," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXIV (August 1968), 402-19. Chafe attributes the inability of a black-white Populist front in Kansas to a difference in primary motivation. Whites were concerned with economic problems while blacks were concerned with protection from prejudice and violence. As was the case in Jacksonville, "politics was the one arena in which the Negro had power to bargain for his goals. When his vote could mean the difference between victory and defeat for a political party, he could demand safety and protection in exchange for it." *Ibid.*, 418.

A TIMELY WARNING.

The Farris bill, changing the sixth and seventh wards of Jacksonville, makes it possible for four negroes to be elected to the Council if Democrats fail to vote. June 18th

The negroes are organized to carry these wards

W.A. Selbring
Nominee for Mayor

Jacksonville Metropolitan, June 11, 1907.

sonville.⁴⁴ Although Lee was appointed despite Fletcher's objections, the dispute brought into proper perspective the political situation in Jacksonville. Fletcher realized that Lee would be a major deterrent to a successful biracial reform movement.

Lee brought to the municipal judgeship excellent credentials both as a lawyer and a politician. An 1872 graduate of Howard Law School, Lee was admitted to practice law before the Florida Supreme Court the following year. He served as a representative from Duval County in the Florida house for eight years and also served a two-year term in the state senate. In 1878 he was appointed Deputy Internal Revenue Collector of Jacksonville. Lee also served as a delegate to the Republican national conventions of 1880 and 1884.⁴⁵

When the time came for appointing councilmen to the standing committees, whites received an inordinant amount of the power. Each of these committees had three members; most had only one black member. This, however, was not disproportionate to the ratio of blacks to total council membership. But, the three most powerful committees—ordinances and rules, laws, and finance—were all white.⁴⁶

An analysis of the voting of black councilmen after the initial organization of the council in 1888 fails to reveal any trends of bloc voting. During the council's first meeting, Wright and Vaught supported a raise in policemen's salaries.⁴⁷ Vaught, Dennis, and Spearing supported two ordinances for street and sidewalk improvements.⁴⁸ In both cases, the other black councilmen voted against the measures. Even on council appointments, the black councilmen showed no solidarity. They split on the selection of a health officer. When a seat from the seventh ward was vacated, there was a three-way split among the black councilmen regarding the replacement.⁴⁹

44. *Minutes, Book 6*, 15-16.

45. Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida*, 194; Webb, *Webb's Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida*, 137.

46. *Minutes, Book 6*, 19-21. The following are the committee assignments for black councilmen: Dennis—support and relief of the poor, police; Vaught—fire, weights and measures, city property; Spearing—public lamps and lighting streets, wharves and slips, cemetery; Wright—budget of expenses; Fortune—weights and measures, market, taxes.

47. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, April 4, 1888.

48. *Minutes, Book 6*, 76.

49. *Ibid.*, 22, 24.

There was one area of Jacksonville city government—the law—which did unite the black councilmen. An event during the course of the 1888 yellow fever epidemic showed both the pragmatism and strength of black members of the council. Mayor Smith and Police Commissioner Jones, the black chairman of the commission, had had several arguments about the authority to control the police force. Smith requested that the council remove Jones from office. The police committee backed the mayor's request, and the council suspended Jones, but Thomas Lancaster, another black, was appointed by the council to fill the vacancy. The coalition of blacks and labor was still working. With only three blacks present at the time, Lancaster received a unanimous vote from the ten members present.⁵⁰

By 1889, blacks had made impressive strides in gaining a semblance of equality in Jacksonville government. In addition to the five city councilmen, blacks held positions as municipal judge, police commissioner (one of three), roundsman (one of two), and patrolmen (thirteen of thirty).⁵¹ The presence of blacks in government disturbed many whites. According to local historian T. Frederick Davis, Smith's "administration was entirely distasteful to the majority of white people of Jacksonville and it was frequently linked with the 'carpet-bagger' regime of former days."⁵²

Even after the December 1887 election, Democratic reformers still hoped to gain support from the black community. A natural phenomenon, a change in an editorial position, and the results of the 1888 election caused a change in this coalition position. Charles H. Jones, Straightout editor of the *Florida Times-Union*, resigned his position to become editor of the *St. Louis Republic*. The new publisher, J. J. Daniel, an uncompromising Democrat,

50. *Ibid.*, 154-55, 200.

51. Webb, *Webb's Jacksonville Directory, 1889*, Appendix, 280.

52. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 299-300. There is an element of truth in Davis's "carpet-bagger" charge. In addition to the Reconstruction careers of the blacks already discussed, James Hoey was closely associated with Jacksonville political power during Reconstruction. The council appointed Hoey police chief April 5, 1888. He had been a police captain from 1872 to 1874 during the administrations of Mayors Greeley, McConike, and Jones. "Notes for *History of Jacksonville*," #2 (pre-1905). Box 2, TFDP.

opposed the reform program which his predecessor had been willing to countenance.⁵³

The yellow fever epidemic of 1888 generated hostility between whites and blacks. The latter were often denied admission to refugee camps outside Jacksonville.⁵⁴ Therefore, while only 3,945 whites remained, there were almost 10,000 blacks in the city in early September at the height of the epidemic.⁵⁵ On the other hand, whites accused blacks of emigrating into the city in order to reap some of the \$200,000 in federal relief funds.⁵⁶

The resignation of Jones and the epidemic were setbacks for biracial reform, but the fall election of 1888 was the final blow to any hope of a Democratic-Republican-black coalition in Jacksonville. Many whites had not returned to Jacksonville in time to vote. In Jacksonville Benjamin Harrison led Grover Cleveland by a margin of 1,176 of the 2,634 votes cast.⁵⁷ The Republicans carried every office on the ticket. Blacks were elected to the positions of clerk of the circuit court and clerk of the criminal court. In addition, three of the eleven justices of the peace and six of the eleven constables were blacks.⁵⁸

The Democrats could see what happened when there was no tight rein on the voters. House bill number four was introduced in the legislature to rid Jacksonville of its latter-day Reconstruction by giving the governor power to appoint the city council. The *Times-Union* supported this legislation: "We might go so far as to concede for the sake of argument . . . that the bill is intended to overthrow the Republican party in the city. . . . For eight long years of the reconstruction period the solid black mass

53. Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher*, 18. J. J. Daniel, president of the Jacksonville Board of Trade, became the publisher of the Florida *Times-Union*. For a study of the career of Jones, see Thomas S. Graham, "Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1973).

54. Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher*, 17.

55. Charles S. Adams, ed., *Report of the Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association, of Jacksonville, Florida, Covering the Work of the Association During the Yellow Fever Epidemic, 1888* (Jacksonville, 1889), 184. It should be noted that blacks were probably less susceptible to yellow fever than whites since only 103 of the 427 dead were blacks. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 185.

56. Atkins, "History of Jacksonville," 156.

57. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*. November 7, 1888. In the final Duval returns, Harrison electors received a 1,313 plurality out of about 4,100 votes cast. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1888.

58. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 15, 1888.

of newly-enfranchised ignorance and impudence defeated every measure for the welfare of the States. Here in Jacksonville, where ninety-nine hundredths of our visitors and immigrants are white men, two-thirds of the 'guardians of the city's welfare' are negroes! On the dark continent— in India— everywhere save in Jacksonville alone, the white man is supposed to be (at least!) quite as good as the negro."⁵⁹

Letters written to the *Times-Union* criticized the arrogance of blacks. One letter, signed "Five Ladies of Jacksonville Knocked Off the Sidewalk," stated that white women were tired of "negroes walking three abreast and defiantly refusing to give an inch of the way." Another letter writer reported that she had seen "an aged lady" elbowed off the sidewalk by three black women, and she wondered, "Do you suppose if our day police force was not (with only one single exception) made up of colored men, such astounding indecency would be permitted?" After describing how a Negro newsboy had intimidated him, a man who claimed to be a visitor said he wanted to punish the lad but held back because he had just seen a black policeman.⁶⁰

This fear of blacks in power benefitted Democratic politicians. When a legislative committee came to Jacksonville to determine if house bill number four was needed, Mayor Smith had only white policemen on duty. Not to be outdone, Democratic Sheriff Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, later to become governor of Florida, took the delegation on an extended tour of Jacksonville, thus causing the delegates to miss the afternoon train back to Tallahassee. Mayor Smith did not know the legislators were still in town, and the following day the black policemen returned to their regular day shift. The representatives saw them and returned to Tallahassee with a recommendation that the bill be adopted. It was, in May 1889.⁶¹

A final effort was proposed by John Spearing of the bi-racial city council. He appealed for a resolution asking the old council not to recognize the city council appointed by Governor Fleming, but none of the other black councilmen supported his

59. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1889.

60. The above examples come from letters to the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 10, 1889.

61. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 47-48.

move.⁶² On June 3 the new council took up the reins of government, and the racial and political lines merged.⁶³ Fletcher, a reform Democrat, was elected president of the city council.⁶⁴ Patrick McQuaid, former conservative Democratic mayor, was elected mayor.⁶⁵ But even more indicative, white Republicans were not slighted in the new political order of the city. Fleming had appointed one Democrat and one Republican from each ward except the third and eighth, where both appointees were Democrats.⁶⁶

The 1890 county elections further eased the fears of white Democrats; their candidates carried every position on the ballot. The *Times-Union* applauded this establishment of one-party rule; "The county belongs to the democracy and will never escape its embrace. Honest government is assured, and the county and state will now prosper as never before."⁶⁷ The paper called for repeal of House Bill Number Four, claiming it had served its purpose in meeting "the peculiar and to some extent anomalous conditions which then [1889] confronted them [white politicians]. In brief, these conditions comprehended a rapid approach to absolute negro supremacy in municipal affairs."⁶⁸

The Jacksonville municipal franchise was restored in 1893 by enactment of senate bill number three.⁶⁹ But for potential black voters there were several stumbling blocks. A poll tax law was passed in 1889, and the multiple ballot box system was instituted the same year.⁷⁰ Senate bill number three authorized the secret Australian ballot, stringent registration requirements, and poll watchers. Voters were given five minutes to cast their

62. *Minutes, Book 6*, 468.

63. *Ibid.*, 480.

64. "Notes for *History of Jacksonville*," #2 (pre-1905), Box 2, TFDP.

65. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 300.

66. "Notes for *History of Jacksonville*," #2 (pre-1905), Box 2, TFDP.

67. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, November 6, 1890.

68. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1890.

69. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 301.

70. Allen Quinn Jones, Jr., "Negro Suffrage in Florida from 1865 to the Present" (M.A. thesis, Atlanta University, 1948), 32-33. In an attack on V. O. Key's thesis on disfranchisement, J. Morgan Kousser states: "Yet the restrictive devices which Florida and Tennessee employed actually preceded the Mississippi Convention [of 1890], and although not as complex, were almost as effective as the Magnolia State's regulations in curtailing Negro voting." J. Morgan Kousser, "Post-Reconstruction Suffrage Restrictions in Tennessee: A New Look at the V. O. Key Thesis," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXVIII (December 1973), 656.

ballots; and only election officials were allowed within fifty feet of the polling facility.⁷¹

The 1893 municipal election was indicative of the effect disfranchisement legislation had on the voting patterns of Jacksonville. The Straightout ticket was successful, and no blacks were elected.⁷² But the election results two years later revealed that the Republican-conservative coalition could still deliver the vote as Joseph Lee and Patrick McMurray engineered an upset of the Straightouts.⁷³ This foreshadowed the 1897 election of John R. Scott, a black, to a council seat representing the sixth ward. C. M. Vaught, also black, ran third in the second ward.⁷⁴ In 1899, black representation on the council increased. Scott was reelected, and Charles C. Manigault, also from the sixth ward, joined him.⁷⁵ This ward continued to be a major source of black power in Jacksonville during the first decade of the twentieth century. George E. Ross, a cigarmaker by trade and a lawyer by profession, was the lone Negro on the council after 1901. He was finally defeated in 1907.⁷⁶

Blacks exerted almost no influence on the council. Scott was first appointed to the relief committee, but it was so insignificant that its members had to request a special appropriation from the budget several meetings later.⁷⁷ Scott tended to vote with the majority of the council on all appointments which warranted a roll call vote. He even voted with the majority of his white colleagues on the appointment of police' commissioners.⁷⁸

There were occasions when loyalty to his constituency demanded that Scott vote against his white colleagues. In a debate over the placement of a city produce market, the Colored Men's

71. *Laws of Florida*, 1893, 313-22.

72. Jacksonville *Evening Telegram*, July 19, 1893. Straightouts elected the mayor (Duncan U. Fletcher), comptroller, treasurer, and twelve councilmen. The Fusionists (the heirs of the 1887 Citizens' coalition) elected only four councilmen. For a more detailed analysis of the campaign and election see Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher*, 31.

73. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 19, 1895.

74. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1897.

75. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1899.

76. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1901; June 17, 1903; June 21, 1905; June 19, 1907.

77. *Minutes, Book 12*, 116, 127. Spearing, a former black councilman, was on the health department payroll. *Ibid.*, 120.

78. *Ibid.*, 147-51, 174. In addition to voting with the majority of white councilmen during the initial appointing process, Scott voted with the majority for James A. Bishop to succeed the deceased Gustav Muller as police commissioner. This took place on October 5, 1897. *Ibid.*, 269-70.

National Council of the city petitioned to have it in a central location.⁷⁹ When this request was not followed, Scott stated his displeasure: "I vote against the passage of this [the market] ordinance not only because the market limit is too far west and too far north, but also because I think the ordinance favors the classes against the masses, discriminates against the producers, and protects the strong against the weak."⁸⁰

Scott fought against and managed to defeat an ordinance calling for the closing of barber shops on Sundays. In so doing, he united business and labor interests behind his effort. The bill had already survived the first and second readings before the council; but it was defeated, eleven to four, in the final vote largely due to Scott's persuasive powers.⁸¹ Early in 1898 a resolution sponsored by Scott which called for support of local labor unions in the awarding of printing contracts was adopted.⁸²

For a time Scott served on one important standing committee. In late 1897 he had been appointed to the committee on officers which was responsible for overseeing promotions, salaries, and other matters involving city employees. But the organization of the 1899 council again relegated blacks to unimportant committees. Charles C. Manigault was on the combustibles committee, while Scott sat on the water and relief committees.⁸³

With Manigault's election in 1899, he and Scott presented a united front for the sixth ward. They joined in the unanimous vote for George Floyd as president of the council, but they were in the minority, along with five whites, in support of J. M. Barrs's continuing as the city attorney.⁸⁴

The black representation of the sixth ward ended when Scott suddenly resigned from the council on July 18, 1899. Manigault protested that the citizens of the sixth ward had no notice of this action and requested that the matter be delayed until the next meeting. His motion did not even receive a second. Seeing the position in which he had been placed, Manigault capitulated and participated in the unanimous vote for Thomas A. Bethel as Scott's replacement. The situation seemed to have been or-

79. *Ibid.*, 197.

80. *Ibid.*, 203.

81. *Ibid.*, 407-08.

82. *Ibid.*, 516.

83. *Ibid.*, 274-75; *ibid.*, Book 13, 467-68, 470.

84. *Ibid.*, Book 13, 456-59.

chestrated, for later in the meeting Bethel was sworn in and took part in the remainder of the day's proceedings.⁸⁵

Manigault continued to try to represent as best he could his sixth ward **constituency**. When an occupational tax was proposed, he supported amendments to the original bill which would lighten the burden of the new tax on the lower classes. He supported the pro-ration of licenses on the basis of stock carried or capital invested. He introduced a measure reducing the assessment on loan companies and other lending agencies from \$100 to \$50.00. He also wished to have a \$2.00 charge per chair for barber shops rather than a fixed assessment. All of these measures were defeated by the council.⁸⁶ When the first occupational tax was declared unconstitutional, Manigault also opposed the new version proposed to the council. But it passed over the objection of only three members of the council.⁸⁷

George E. Ross replaced Manigault as the black representative of the sixth ward in 1901. Little changed except the tightening control of the Straightouts on the council's decision-making process. Mayor Duncan U. Fletcher dominated council decisions. For instance, when the mayor vetoed a building code, the council unanimously supported his veto.⁸⁸ During his first month in office, Ross consistently voted with the majority.⁸⁹ His loyalty did not improve his committee appointments over those of his black predecessors.⁹⁰

Ross established a progressive record during his tenure as councilman. Two specific pieces of legislation which he initiated illustrate this point. On July 17, 1903, Ross offered a resolution which called on the Board of Public Works to employ persons from city voting rolls rather than hiring outsiders. The resolution passed on a voice vote.⁹¹ On October 17, 1905, Ross proposed an ordinance making it unlawful for an officer or city em-

85. *Ibid.*, 480-81.

86. *Ibid.*, 550-52.

87. *Ibid.*, Book 14, 87.

88. *Ibid.*, Book 15, 197.

89. *Ibid.*, 149-206. A random check indicates that this pattern continued until Ross's defeat in 1907.

90. In 1901, Ross was appointed to the relief and water committees. *Ibid.*, 206. In 1903, he received appointments to the combustibles, sanitation, and water committees. *Ibid.*, Book 17, 105-06. In 1905, it was the combustibles, sanitation, and electricity committees. *Ibid.*, Book 18, 392-94.

91. *Ibid.*, Book 17, 121.

ployee, or their employees, to profit from city contracts. Ross had no trouble in suspending the rules and immediately bringing the bill to a unanimous vote.⁹²

That October meeting marked not only Ross's best legislative triumph but also the beginning of open harassment of Jacksonville blacks during this period. When the council passed an ordinance providing for separate seating on streetcars, only Ross and three white councilmen voted against the measure.⁹³ Even with this defeat, Ross continued to vote with the majority on most issues. The spring of 1907 signaled the demise of blacks in city government. Ross was the lone councilman voting against two measures specifically aimed at blacks. The first was a license tax imposed on all operators of carts or wagons used to peddle fruits and vegetables. The second was a measure requiring a license to operate a transportation vehicle for hire.⁹⁴

The presence of a black member on the Jacksonville city council was proof enough that the 1889 legislative effort to disfranchise Florida Negroes has not been a complete success. During the spring of 1907 the state senate passed a bill that would have settled that issue however. By a 23-5 vote, the senate approved a measure that would limit the suffrage in Florida to whites only, but the house defeated the bill by a decisive 48-15 vote.⁹⁵ The *Times-Union* noted that this was not a vote based on humanitarian instinct; rather, the state feared that a supreme court confrontation over the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the United States Constitution would hurt Florida's chances of gaining additional settlers.⁹⁶

Although the legislature did not desire a frontal attack on black voting, it did not mind testing the flanks. A bill was submitted to and subsequently adopted by the legislature which effectively disfranchised enough blacks in Jacksonville to insure an all-white victory at the polls in June 1907. The second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth ward boundaries remained the same. The city council was authorized by law to make boundary changes after this election. Section three of the law proved to be

92. *Ibid.*, Book 18, 507.

93. *Ibid.*, 506.

94. *Ibid.*, Book 20, 193, 207.

95. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 9, 1907.

96. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1907.

the effective disfranchisement provision. It stated that the elector had to be registered in his correct ward before the election or he would be disqualified.⁹⁷ The black-dominated sixth ward was obviously the target of this law.

As ward boundaries changed, so did the racial composition of the sixth ward; 300 white voters were switched from the first to the sixth ward.⁹⁸ Only eighteen whites were transferred from the sixth to the seventh ward. The Democratic party further facilitated matters by its actions during its primaries. Since section three of the ward division law allowed for changes of registration before the general municipal election, the Democrats established the first and sixth ward polling places across the street from each other to facilitate registration transfers for the white primary voters.⁹⁹

The *Times-Union* on June 19, 1907, told the story: "ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC TICKET SWEEPS TO SPLENDID VICTORY / All General Officers and Eighteen White Councilmen Were Elected / Overwhelming Majorities for White Candidates Marked Defeat of Negroes." Although the blacks had fought, they had lost. Ross received only ninety-two votes while the highest ranking white elected from the sixth ward received 369 votes. The black machine attempted a strategy of its own. While the Democrats were concentrating on the sixth ward, a black candidate was quietly placed on the second ward ballot. It was not until election morning that this maneuver was discovered. The Democrats quickly took the action necessary to meet this threat, and the black candidate was defeated.¹⁰⁰

The *Times-Union* openly stated that the success of the election was due to the recently-passed ward division plan. It had enabled election supervisors to turn away potential black voters registered in the wrong ward¹⁰¹ What the poll tax, white primary, multiple ballot box, and other disfranchisement measures had not been able to do up until then, the redrawing of a few ward lines had accomplished. Blacks were not to achieve elective office in Jacksonville again until the "Second Reconstruction" era of the 1960s.

97. *Laws of Florida*, 1907, 427-29.

98. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 2, 1907.

99. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1907.

100. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1907.

101. *Ibid.*

Some tentative conclusions emerge from this case study. First, blacks were able to find safety in numbers, which the urban environment provided. Supposing Jacksonville proves to be part of a pattern rather than a unique case, Richard Wade's thesis should be extended in the chronological sense. Just as the antebellum city helped ameliorate the condition of human bondage, so the city of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was able to serve as a battleground for equality. In the case of Jacksonville, C. Vann Woodward's analysis of the black population is inaccurate. When given the proper latitude, black leaders were just as effective in the political arena as whites.

Case studies solve no questions; they only raise them. They establish no general laws; they only set up working hypotheses. Can Jacksonville fit into a wider framework? In 1900, there were four southern cities— Jacksonville, Montgomery, Charleston, and Savannah— with more blacks than whites within their boundaries.¹⁰² In a survey of available secondary materials concerning these four cities, it appears that the political success of Jacksonville blacks was indeed a unique situation.¹⁰³ But when one returns to the United States Census of 1890, there remain other questions. Blacks outnumbered whites in five of Charleston's eight wards. One ward in each of three major southern cities— Atlanta, Mobile, and New Orleans— contained a black majority. Six out of twenty Nashville wards had more blacks than whites. In Richmond, 13,500 of the city's 32,330 blacks were located in a ward containing only 3,679 whites.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the question to end the beginning: What was the political situation of urban blacks in the South during the post-Reconstruction period?

102. U. S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population*, I, pt. 1 (Washington, 1901), cxxii.

103. Works consulted were: George Brown Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (Columbia, 1952); E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia, A Short History* (Chapel Hill, 1947); Robert Eugene Perdue, "The Negro in Savannah, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1971); Allen Johnston Going, *Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1900* (University, 1951); Sheldon Hackney, *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama* (Princeton, 1969); William Warren Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896* (Baton Rouge, 1970).

104. *Eleventh Census, 1890, Population*, I, pt. 1, 451-85.