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BLACK REACTION TO SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN POST-RECONSTRUCTION FLORIDA

by WALI R. KHARIF

EQUALITY of protection under the laws, as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, implies that in the administration of criminal justice no person, by reason of his race or color, shall be subjected for the same offense to any greater or different punishment than that to which persons of another race or color are subjected.¹ It also suggests that all citizens are entitled to protection of their civil rights and against discriminatory practices based upon race, color, creed, or religion. Unfortunately, in October 1883 when the United States Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Acts of 1875 unconstitutional, the legislative framework requiring states to provide for civil rights in public places of accommodation and transportation was dismantled. It further had the effect of nullifying the civil rights act passed by Florida lawmakers in 1873.²

Legal segregation was not an overnight development in post-Reconstruction Florida. Lawmakers cautiously approached the establishment of de jure segregation. But once the movement had begun it spread rapidly into every sector of social life within the state. Segregation was established in the regular schools, schools for the deaf and blind, for juvenile delinquents, and in colleges. It was provided for in the prisons— the convict lease and prison system— and the local jails. It was required on the railroads, streetcars, electric cars, at the ticket offices, and in waiting rooms.³ During this period of Democratic supremacy

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1. *American Law Reports*, 2d, XXXVIII (New York, 1977), 332-39.
2. *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida*, 1873 (Tallahassee, 1873), 25-26.
3. *Ibid.*, 1887-1915. See also Pauli Murray, ed., *State Laws on Race and Color* (Cincinnati, 1950), 77-88. Blacks and whites were also prohibited from cohabiting and intermarrying, and where not otherwise segregated they were discriminated against.

blacks were also disfranchised and omitted from juries, and they continued to be victims of violence and intimidation. In response to this adversity black Floridians established their own social and cultural institutions. But they also fought back against disfranchisement, racial discrimination, and segregation in other ways. They filed counter suits in the courts, staged protests and boycotts, encouraged some emigration, and established black communities.

Some of the earliest protests were against disfranchisement of black voters who had been dropped from voter registration lists after being convicted of petty crimes.⁴ In October 1878 several hundred Jefferson County blacks converged on the courthouse in Monticello unsuccessfully requesting to have their names restored to rolls.⁵ Similar actions occurred in Leon, Gadsden, Escambia, and Madison counties where thousands were declared ineligible to vote between 1876 and 1888.⁶

While the earliest protests were in response to disfranchisement, the outcries in opposition to segregation on public accommodations received greatest attention. During the early 1870s it was not unusual to find blacks and whites travelling in the same train cars.⁷ But by 1880 there was strong opposition to mixing the races on common carriers. In April 1882, Bishop Daniel A. Payne, then seventy-one years old and the nationally known senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was ejected from a train in Florida when he refused to ride in the car set aside for blacks. The bishop was forced "to carry his baggage several miles in the heat of the day."⁸ By 1886 the

4. Jesse Jefferson Jackson, "Republicans and Florida Elections and Election Cases," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1974), 28.

5. Monticello Constitution, as cited in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 15, 1878.

6. Jackson, "Republicans and Florida Elections," 27-28, 39, 43-44, 325. Voter disfranchisement continued in the years following constitutional revision in Florida. There is no indication, however, that black protests continued during these later years. For further examination of voter disfranchisements and chastisements, calls by Democrats for member turnouts, and further Democratic party attempts to justify the demise of black voters, refer to Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 21, September 3, November 12, 19, 1878, September 26, October 10, 1882, November 20, 1888.

7. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, March 16, 1876.

8. Huntsville (Alabama) *Gazette*, April 29, 1882; Stanley P. Hirshson, *Farewell to the Bloody Shirt: Northern Republicans and the Southern Negro, 1877-1893* (Bloomington, 1962), 101-02; Elizabeth Caldwell Beatty, "The Political Response of Black Americans, 1876-1896," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1976), 58.

practice had become widespread enough that black ministers, headed by Bishop Payne, met in Jacksonville and protested the discrimination against blacks in the railroad cars. They resolved that as far as possible they would use their influence to discourage black excursions and all travelling not absolutely necessary on railroads which made distinctions.⁹

In spite of the black response during the following years additional Jim Crow laws were enacted to regulate public transportation. During the first decade of the twentieth century blacks responded by staging organized boycotts. In 1901 two boycotts were sponsored in Jacksonville following that city's passage of an ordinance providing for racial separation on the trolley cars.¹⁰ In further response black hackmen of the Coachmen's Union initiated an emergency system to provide a satisfactory alternative to streetcars, often accepting a loss in profit to help the boycotters.¹¹ The boycott crippled the transit system and was so effective "that after a few months the city authorities ceased enforcing the ordinance and quietly asked the Negro ministers to spread the word to their congregations."¹²

The victory in Jacksonville was short-lived. Between 1901 and 1905 increased emphasis was placed on enforcement of segregation laws. During the Jacksonville mayoral election of 1905 Mayor George M. Nolan was criticized by the opposition for his failure to enforce the ordinance.¹³ Further pressure was added by enactment of streetcar segregation laws throughout the South and the eventual passage of such a measure by the Florida legislature in 1905.¹⁴ Blacks organized resistance to the new thrust to segregate the streetcars. Separate boycotts occurred in Jacksonville and Pensacola.¹⁵ Blacks in Jacksonville

9. New Orleans *The Weekly Pelican*, January 1, 1887.

10. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "Negro Boycotts of Segregated Streetcars in Florida, 1901-1905," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXIX (Autumn 1970), 525. The first black response was to send a group of prominent blacks to the mayor urging a veto of the ordinance. These representatives included Dr. James S. Hills, principal of the Florida Baptist Academy, Nathaniel Collier, Edward W. Robinson, Reverend James Johnson, Reverend John T. Marks, and the elderly Reconstruction legislator and author (*Carpenter-Bag Rule in Florida*) John Wallace.

11. *Ibid.*, 526.

12. *Ibid.*, 527.

13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 3, 16, 20, 30, June 6, 7, 21, 1905.

14. *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida*, 1905, 99.

15. Meier and Rudwick, "Negro Boycotts," 529.

walked, rode bicycles, and again were assisted by black hackmen who reduced their fares from a quarter to a dime and gave priority to serving blacks at the reduced price over white patrons at the regular price. On one occasion Jacksonville police arrested Andrew Black "for ordering a white couple out of his hack because he preferred picking up two Negroes waiting for a ride. When the whites became indignant, Black parked the carriage in front of a nearby stable, unhitched the horses, and walked away."¹⁶ In Pensacola blacks began organizing a protest immediately after the streetcar segregation bill was introduced.¹⁷ A committee was selected to go to Tallahassee and urge the legislature to reject the proposal. In addition streetcars were boycotted in much the same manner as in Jacksonville. Notwithstanding black protest, the bill was quickly enacted. Ultimately, the issue was taken to the courts where the state law was declared unconstitutional in the case of *Florida v Andrew Patterson*.¹⁸ However, the cities of Jacksonville and Pensacola hurriedly passed streetcar segregation ordinances.¹⁹ These ordinances were tested in the courts and held to be constitutional by the Supreme Court of Florida.²⁰ In the shadow of these decisions black protest against segregated streetcars dwindled and eventually faded out. There were reportedly no protests in 1909 when the Florida legislature enacted a constitutionally-sound streetcar segregation law.²¹

Black Floridians not only protested against injustices and boycotted segregated facilities, they also brought their cases before the Florida courts. As early as 1873 black Tallahasseans filed suit against the operator of a skating rink for denying them entry because of race. Ironically, black Justice of the Peace J. W. Toer dismissed the suit on the ground that the rink was

16. Ibid.; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 24, 25, 1905.

17. Pensacola *Journal*, April 7, 1905; Tampa *Morning Tribune*, April 7, 1905. The bill providing for segregated streetcars was introduced by J. Campbell Avery, a Pensacola resident. This had the impact of further infuriating blacks in that city.

18. *Florida v Andrew Patterson*, *Florida Reports*, L (1905), 127-33.

19. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 18, 1905; Pensacola *Journal*, August 23, 24, 25, September 28, 1905.

20. *Patterson v Taylor*, *Southern Reporter*, XL (1906), 493-97; *L. B. Croom v Fred Shad*, *ibid.*, 497-99.

21. *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida*, 1909, 339-40.

private property which its operator could use as he pleased.²² Blacks also petitioned the courts to restore their voting rights. In the case of the *State of Florida, Ex Rel Charles Scott v Board of County Commissioners of Jefferson County*, the state supreme court refused to issue a writ of mandamus on the contention that no specific person had been denied the addition of his name to the voting rolls.²³ In the *State of Florida, Ex Rel Richard Jordan v T. E. Buckman*, Jordan sought to have his voting rights restored and argued that he had been purged from the rolls for larceny prior to the 1880 election. The Supreme Court of Florida ruled that under Section 4 of Article XIV of the Constitution of 1868 larceny was grounds for disfranchisement and passed judgment against the plaintiff.²⁴

Blacks also initiated legal actions to end discriminatory selection of juries.²⁵ On March 20, 1906, I. W. Montgomery, a Duval County resident, was convicted of embezzlement in the Criminal Court of Record. He appealed his conviction to the state supreme court challenging the array of jurors. Montgomery contended that the sheriff of Duval County "did summon only white men to serve as jurors for and during the said week of said court, and did fail and refuse to select any colored men of African descent to serve on the jury as aforesaid, thus discriminating against all colored men of African descent."²⁶ He went on to present evidence that within Duval County at the time of juror summons "many thousand colored men of African descent of approved integrity, fair character, and sound judgment and intelligence and fully qualified for jury duty" were well known to the sheriff.²⁷ Additional evidence showed that

22. Jerrell Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 291.

23. *State of Florida, Ex Rel Charles Scott v Board of County Commissioners of Jefferson County, Florida Reports*, XVII (1880), 705-22.

24. *State of Florida, Ex Rel Richard Jordan v T. E. Buckman, Florida Reports*, XVIII (1881), 267-70.

25. Prior to exclusion from juries black jurors and witnesses were oftentimes targets of abuse. In one instance a black witness against a white man was assaulted with a club by the man he testified against, see Jackson, "Republicans and Florida Elections," 152. In another case, black jurors trying Lieutenant Governor Hull for election tampering were assaulted and jeered on the streets for finding the Democrat innocent. This latter situation is addressed in the Jacksonville *Florida Union*, as reported in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 3, 1879.

26. *Montgomery v State, Southern Reporter*, XLII (1907), 895.

27. *Ibid.*

"for many years . . . when special venires are issued and served . . . the sheriff . . . refuse[d] to select any names of persons of the African race."²⁸ In its January 23, 1907, opinion, the Supreme Court of Florida ruled unanimously in Montgomery's favor, reversed the criminal court judgment, and ordered a new trial at the cost of the county.²⁹

The jury selection for the new trial followed a discriminatory pattern much like that at the earlier trial. The difference was that six of the jurors' names were drawn from the jury box and the other six were selected by the sheriff. Again no black jurors were among the jurors.³⁰ For the second time Montgomery appealed his case to the state supreme court. The court ruled in a split decision in favor of Montgomery, reversed the lower court judgement, and remanded the case. In its decision the Florida Supreme Court held that "an allegation that the 'refusal of the sheriff to select any men of African race to serve on the jury is on account of their race, color, and previous condition of servitude' is a sufficient charge of discrimination to entitle defendant to prove it."³¹ The state supreme court held to this position in its March 11, 1913, decision in the case of *Harry Bonaparte v State of Florida*.³² On June 27, 1916, the state supreme court finally reversed itself in the case of *Charles H. Haynes v State of Florida*. Haynes was convicted of first degree murder by an all-white jury in the Hillsborough County Circuit Court. He appealed to the Florida Supreme Court and used the same defense as Montgomery and Bonaparte. However, the court ruled unanimously against him. The opinion read in part that "the evidence adduced did not support the allegation . . . that in selecting persons for jury duty the officers 'discriminated against Negroes of African descent because of their race, color, or previous condition of servitude' . . . or show any unlawful discrimination in the selection of jurors of which the accused may complain."³³

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 897.

30. *Montgomery v State*, 2d., *Southern Reporter*, XLV (1908), 880.

31. Ibid., 882.

32. Bonaparte's case was identical to Montgomery's. Both sought relief from convictions of embezzlement in the Criminal Court of Record of Duval County and used the same defenses. See *Bonaparte v State*, *Southern Reporter*, LXI (1913), 633-38.

33. *Haynes v State*, *Southern Reporter*, LXXII (1916), 180-84.

Legal action was sometimes an effective mechanism for challenging white supremacy, but with white judges and juries there were limitations to the extent of any changes made in the behalf of blacks. Against the odds blacks seriously considered emigration as a viable response to racial turmoil. While the number of blacks that actually emigrated from the state was small, many considered emigration as a practical alternative for resolving racial conflict. Some even viewed it as an acceptable means for a family or small colony to leave Florida and start all over somewhere else.³⁴ A Palm Beach black in applying for departure stated that, "I desire to know what are the sawable timbers of Liberia as I desire to take with me a mill and fixtures for sawing timber. One hundred and thirty-six good families want to go with me. They comprise men of all trades, including experienced farmers. Our object is to form a settlement of our own, and thus lead to success in Liberia."³⁵ While all along some blacks had left the state, from 1871 to 1910 exactly 100, mostly families, emigrated to Liberia.³⁶ Forty emigrants were from Alachua County, fourteen from Duval, six out of Escambia, five from Madison County, three Jefferson County residents, and one each from Brevard and Marion counties. Another twenty-six were from the state at large.³⁷ Table One shows the number of black emigrants to Africa by year and the city or residence where known.

The number of blacks who left Florida as colonists to Liberia was small, but not negligible since emigration entailed a financial burden and further required the severing of family and social ties, and the establishing of new roots in a foreign country. Those leaving, no doubt, felt strongly that conditions abroad had to be better than those within the United States. The two most cited reasons for leaving the country were subordination to whites and job shortages.³⁸ The Jacksonville paper referred

34. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, November 4, 1876.

35. American Colonization Society, *Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States*, LXXII (Washington, 1889), 5. Microfilm in the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

36. Ibid., LIV (1871)-XCIII (1910). Prior to its demise in 1910, the Society assisted approximately 16,500 blacks nationwide to emigrate to Liberia and Sierra Leone.

37. Ibid., LVII (1874), LXII (1879), LXX (1887)-LXV (1892), LXXIX (1896).

38. Ibid., LXI (1877), 9.

to Liberia as "a Paradise for the Negro."³⁹

Some blacks who shunned the prospects of emigrating, favorably considered relocating in territorial North America. Will Clemens of Jacksonville, a frequent contributor to the New York *Freeman*, cited economic exploitation, political oppression, and social degradation as the main reasons why some blacks wished to leave Florida.⁴⁰ Leon County blacks held a meeting in 1879 to discuss the feasibility of establishing a colony in Kansas or some other western state or territory. Four reasons were given for their desire to leave: unnecessary violence; intimidation and murder of blacks; the absence of governmental protection of their property and of individual rights; and economic abuse of the black worker.⁴¹

TABLE 1
FLORIDA BLACK EMIGRANTS TO LIBERIA

Year	Number of Emigrants	Resident City	County
1871	5	Ellaville	Madison
1873	6	Jacksonville	Duval
1878	6	Pensacola	Escambia
1886	7	Gainesville	Alachua
1887	10	Gainesville	Alachua
1888	19	Gainesville	Alachua
1888	8	Rochelle	Alachua
1888	1	Ocala	Marion
1889	8	Oakland	Duval
1890	3	Monticello	Jefferson
1891	26	Florida at large	—
1895	1	Rockledge	Brevard
Total	100		

Source: American Colonization Society, *Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States*, LV (Washington, 1872), 10; LVII (1874), 9; LX (1876), 6; LXII (1879), 7; LXXI (1889), 6; LXXII (1890), 3; LXXIII (1891), 4; LXXIV (1892), 4; LXXV (1893), 4; LXXIX (1897), 3.

Most black Floridians were content to remain in the state and make the best of their circumstances. Nevertheless, many

39. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 16, 1890.

40. Martin Dann, *The Black Press, 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity* (New York, 1971), 285-86.

41. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 28, 1879.

of these resolved to establish their own residential neighborhoods within Florida cities. Large numbers moved into the developing cities and the established urban centers.⁴² Substantial numbers later migrated to central, southern, and southwestern Florida. While churches sprang up and served as symbols of spiritual hope and aspiration, there still was the need for physical protection, Black communities developed, in part, as protection from sometimes hostile white majorities. Inadvertently, such organization perpetrated black social, political, and economic awareness. It also served to create a social structure where the dream of justice and equality could be established among peers.

In 1882 Frenchtown was a developing black community in the northwestern section of Tallahassee.⁴³ Residential development was also on the rise among blacks in Appalachicola where more blacks than whites were constructing houses.⁴⁴ In 1887 a black community was emerging west of Coconut Grove in Dade County.⁴⁵ Six years later, housing booms were occurring in East Jacksonville and St. Petersburg, thriving black population centers.⁴⁶ On Florida's Atlantic coast communities also sprang up in the newly developing towns and cities. Pompano Beach, Dania, Hallandale and points south each had its designated black quarters. These sections varied in size but generally were small. For example, the black community in Fort Pierce was comprised of a couple of houses isolated from the dominant white segments of the city.⁴⁷ In 1904 Fort Lauderdale's quarter consisted of seven houses and two stores.⁴⁸

Discrimination and segregation contributed to the emergence of Black Town, also called "OverTown," in Miami. Black Town was located in Miami's northwest section and expanded in a northwesterly direction. It comprised about fifteen

42. U. S. Bureau of Census, *Ninth Census of the United States*, Florida (Washington, 1871), 18-19, 97-99. In this census, towns of 2,500 and more were classified as urban centers.

43. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 28, 1879.

44. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, May 24, 1882.

45. Miami *Herald*, May 6, 1973.

46. Jacksonville *Evening Telegram*, July 27, 1893.

47. Martin County Historical Society, *The History of Martin County* (Hutchinson Island, 1975), 176; Kyle S. VanLandingham, *Pictorial History of Saint Lucie County, 1865-1910* (Fort Pierce, 1976), 38; Bill McGoun, *Hallandale* (Boynton Beach, 1976), 45.

48. Bill McGoun, *A Biographic History of Broward County* (Miami, 1972), 34.

per cent of the city's original area. Blacks owned most of the business district which ran a stretch of one-half mile. At the turn of the century the business district included a grocery and general merchandise store, an ice cream parlor, pharmacy, funeral house, clubhouses, rooming places, soft drink plant, professional offices, and numerous food and entertainment establishments.⁴⁹ The Reverend S. W. Brown, formerly of South Carolina, owned and managed the Colored Town Bargain Store; Henry Reeves of the Bahamas published the *Miami Times*; Kelsey Pharr was proprietor of the funeral home and developer of the community's first cemetery; Richard Toomey was the first black lawyer in South Florida and established his office in Colored Town; and Dana A. Dorsey was the recognized leader of the neighborhood, owning extensive land, business, and related holdings.⁵⁰ Between 1904 and 1915 there were no fewer than six doctors and three practical nurses in Black Town.⁵¹

Most black sections of established towns never became very large and were enclosed by white residential developments. Blacks were not legally restricted from living in white neighborhoods until the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, they were excluded in fact from the developing white areas.⁵² Such a practice was more by custom than anything else, but black preference in some instances cannot be overruled. The fact that black communities were generally surrounded by white ones limited their expansion. Consequently, new ones began to appear.⁵³ Unfortunately, wherever it was located black housing was often inadequate. Relatively few blacks could afford to buy or build their own homes, or to pay the high rents requested by white absentee property owners. In St. Petersburg and Miami this accounted for the modest rent housing lived in by most blacks. A large percentage of the available housing was substandard by every definition. Some lived in run-down shanties and shacks.

49. Paul S. George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (April 1978), 432.

50. *Ibid.*, 435, 438.

51. John Gordon DuPuis, *History of Early Medicine . . . in Dade County* (Miami, 1954), 17, 77. The doctors were S. M. Frazier, W. B. Sawyer, J. A. Butler, W. A. Chapman, and Dr. Culp and Dr. Holly. The practical nurses were Hattie Brooks, Fannie Goodwin, and Bertha Turner.

52. Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of St. Petersburg: The History of Lower Pinellas Peninsula and the Sunshine City* (St. Petersburg, 1948), 189.

53. *Ibid.*; George, "Colored Town," 435, 438, 440.

Few had plumbing, and almost none were painted.⁵⁴ A few managed to buy homes and properties.⁵⁵ These owners placed emphasis on beautifying and increasing the value and appearance of their holdings.⁵⁶ In St. Petersburg, William Tanner was reported to have made "quite an addition to his neat home on Ninth Street." J. S. Tanner had "his neat cottage," also located on Ninth Street, "ceiled last week." G. B. McDaniel had "an addition put on his neat cottage on 10th Street," and Grant G. Gray was "having his neat cottage on Ninth Street painted."⁵⁷

In an attempt to protect the neighborhood from white outbursts and criticisms, black community members took it upon themselves to confront internal social ills such as idleness. One anonymous critic wrote: "I am kicking on the young healthy Negroes loafing on the streets of our beautiful little city. They are the fellows that keep us that are trying to elevate ourselves down at the door of poverty. We ask the good people of this place to give them grass to cut on the streets if nothing more."⁵⁸ They also provided positive publicity for community successes.⁵⁹

In part it was exclusion from white society that stimulated the emergence of black communities. Blacks in most communities owned the business districts which could run a stretch of one-half mile as in Miami, a few blocks in St. Petersburg, or only a couple of houses in Fort Pierce. These business districts contained grocery and general merchandise stores, ice cream parlors, pharmacies, funeral homes, clubhouses, rooming places, soft drink stands, food and entertainment establishments, and professional offices.⁶⁰

Churches, schools, and social halls were the primary forums within the black community. Social activities such as minstrel shows, bazaars, festivals, parades, athletic contests, and excursions were planned and organized in these institutions. Secret fraternal organizations and orders, civic, business, self-help, and political gatherings used them to hold meetings. As a rule, most prominent blacks came from these institutions. Among them

54. Grismer, *Story of St. Petersburg*, 189.

55. St. Petersburg *Times*, November 8, 1902.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1902.

58. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1902.

59. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1902.

60. George, "Colored Town," 438-39

were clergymen, doctors, dentists, lawyers, school teachers, and principals.⁶¹

Black communities organized for self-help and protection. The merchants, social activists, and politicians joined together to fight against impoverished conditions, congestion, and the associated disease and crime in the cities. These poor and inadequate conditions included unpaved roads, insufficient lighting, uncleared wilderness areas, poor wages, unfair labor practices, lack of sanitary facilities, poor quality schools, and low quantity and quality housing. In Miami several organizations were established to deal with these kinds of social problems. These included the Colored Board of Trade which was founded in 1916; the North Miami Improvement Association, established in 1917; Negro Uplift Association of Dade County organized in 1919; and the Civic League of Colored Town.⁶²

In spite of the institutions and community awareness that developed in the black sections of established towns, it must not be forgotten that city administration was in the hands of the whites. However, Florida had at least one black incorporated city during the latter part of the nineteenth century and that city still exists today. The town of Eatonville was first settled in 1883 by a small group of blacks who had fled from Maitland and areas north in response to the pressuring of local blacks to move to another area.⁶³ On August 14, 1887, twenty-seven registered voters met in the public hall of the town and voted unanimously to incorporate. As a result Eatonville became an all-black chartered community. The city had its own city government and provided public services to residents.⁶⁴ The establishment of the town of Eatonville gave blacks the opportunity to govern their affairs. Little has been written about this historic community. It is known, however, that the town faced similar problems as those confronted by the black inhabitants of white-

61. Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890* (New York, 1978), 90.

62. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Florida and the Black Migration," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVII (January 1979), 271-80.

63. Glatting-Lopez and Associates, *A Comprehensive Plan for Eatonville, Florida* (Winter Park, 1978), 3. The town was named for Josiah Eaton, a white Floridian who had established Maitland. Eaton offered to sell blacks a large parcel of land one mile to the west of Maitland for settlement. Joseph Clarke bought the land and later sold it to any blacks wishing to settle there.

64. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

controlled cities. County services were poor, expansion was limited, and white injustices were perpetrated against those who ventured outside of the town's boundaries.⁶⁵

Blacks reacted against segregation practices in a number of different ways. They established their own social and cultural institutions within established white-controlled cities; protested against disfranchisement, racial segregation and discrimination; filed suits in the courts; sponsored boycotts of unfair transporters; encouraged emigration; and established black communities. While this is not an exhaustive study of the types and means of the black reaction, it does show that blacks in Florida actively fought against white supremacy in the state. Though in many ways the fight was a losing one, there were several noteworthy successes.

65. Ibid., 4; Adley Associates, Inc., *Eatonville, Florida: A General Development Plan* (Sarasota, 1973), 4.