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THE UNION ACADEMY: A FREEDMEN'S BUREAU SCHOOL IN GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

by MURRAY D. LAURIE

THE Union Academy was one of the most important institutions in Gainesville's black community for over fifty years. It was the town's first public high school and from its graduating classes came most of Alachua County's black teachers and black leaders. The facility which housed the Academy was built during Reconstruction by black carpenters who had learned their skill as slaves. Land for the building had been purchased by the school's board of trustees. 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.

When the Civil War ended in April 1865, Gainesville faced the same problems of coping with defeat and privations as other towns throughout the South. The town had expanded in population and economic activity throughout the Civil War as many families refugeeed there, and this growth continued in the post-war era. Sea Island cotton was the staple cash crop, but other agricultural products—vegetables, corn, tobacco, and peanuts—soon reduced the area's dependence on cotton. Commerce expanded as the Florida Railroad, disrupted during the war, was reestablished, linking Gainesville and Alachua County to markets and outlets on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.¹

In addition to white settlers, freedmen came into Gainesville from the outlying areas and adjacent counties, seeking jobs and opportunities for themselves and their families. The 1860 census listed only forty-six black residents; the 1870 census revealed 765 out of a total Gainesville population of 1,444.²

There were few resources available to these blacks until agents of the Freedmen's Bureau arrived. Throughout the South the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, created by an Act of Congress in March 1865, dealt with

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1. Charles Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1954), 85-87, 90-92, 110-13.
2. *Ibid.*, 102-03.

a wide range of critical problems, including abandoned farm land, homeless refugees, orphans, labor disputes, health care, and even the provision of banking services for freedmen. Although establishing schools had not been an original concern of the Bureau, this became one of its most enduring and visible functions. Education, so long denied to the freedmen, ranked as one of their first priorities. In his annual report in 1866, E. B. Duncan, superintendent of Freedmen's Bureau Schools in Florida, stated that the "freedmen are all alive to the benefit of schools."³

Alachua County in 1865 had no state-supported public school system. Prior to the war, the Gainesville Academy, a small private school (located on present day NE 1st street) had served the educational needs of the white community.⁴ Slaves were forbidden to learn to read, and poor whites who could not afford tuition seldom took advantage of the very limited offer of free schooling, usually disdained as charity.⁵ The many black youngsters who had moved into town with their families constituted a new potential school population. With the help of teachers and money sent by northern churches and benevolent associations, the Bureau, funded by the federal government, became involved in the task of providing education for the former slaves. Assistant Commissioner John T. Sprague, appointed director of the Bureau in Florida at the end of 1866, urged his agents to set up local school societies to purchase land for school buildings. The Bureau, he pledged, would then provide plans and building materials and assist in coordinating additional funding from private sources. Agents of the Bureau, such as Captain Joseph H. Durkee who was assigned to Gainesville, were in-

3. Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill, 1980), 85; Joe Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 97-99; Jerrell Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet; Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 72; E. B. Duncan to J. G. Foster, Annual Report, October 31, 1866. Records of the Educational Division of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (hereinafter referred to as RED), Record Group 105, Roll 19, National Archives, Washington, D.C., microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
4. Hildreth, "History of Gainesville," 98.
5. Frederick Bruce Rosen, "The Development of Negro Education in Florida During Reconstruction" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1974), 24-27; George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (New York, 1970), 190.

structed to help teachers sent by the northern associations find living accommodations, to protect them from harassment when necessary, and publicly to support their efforts.⁶

Miss Catherine Bent of Newburyport, Massachusetts, had arrived in Gainesville by November 1865. She had been assigned to Florida by the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York which had been organized by the American Missionary Association and the Congregationalist Church. Miss Bent taught sixty Negro pupils in an "unfinished, dilapidated church building with no door or windows."⁷ Thousands of teachers and ministers came South after the war, sponsored and supported by philanthropic organizations whose original focus had been the abolition of slavery. Their mission now was to bring the advantages of Yankee patriotism and industry, as well as literacy, to the newly emancipated blacks.⁸

Like most of her fellow Northerners, Miss Bent found that she was not welcomed by the southern white community of Gainesville. Her salary and expenses were paid by the New York Bureau of the Freedmen's Union Commission, and she was able to secure additional funds from her family and friends." Cyrus Woodman, a Northerner who was passing through Gainesville in 1867, wrote that Miss Bent was in her second year of teaching, and was residing with a German family. She lived, he said, more or less in isolation. The white ladies of Gainesville refused to speak to her, and she had stopped going to church. Woodman had high praise for her work: "She keeps an excellent school and is a modest, unassuming, lady-like person."¹⁰

Another New England schoolteacher, Harriet Barnes of

6. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 99; Hildreth, "History of Gainesville," 70; Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet*, 73; see also circular from J. T. Sprague, October 28, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau correspondence on Microfilm Roll 85, O-Q, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (hereinafter referred to as FBC). J. H. Durkee was later appointed assistant superintendent of instruction for the Bureau, Special Order 170, December 9, 1868, FBC.
7. H. H. Moore to Thomas W. Osborne, November 21, 1865, February 25, 1866, FBC.
8. Henry Lee Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (New York, 1967), 178; Jones, *Soldiers of Light*, 4, 12, 26. By 1870 over 5,000 northern men and women had come South to teach and minister to the freedmen.
9. J. H. Durkee to A. H. Jackson, October 27, 1867, FBC.
10. Larry Gara, "Teaching Freedmen in the Post-War South," *Journal of Negro History* 40 (July 1955), 274-76. Woodman was a land speculator from Wisconsin who had come to Florida to investigate pine woodland.

Norwalk, Connecticut, joined Miss Bent in Gainesville.¹¹ In March 1866, they reported that their school was going well, with the children eager to learn and improving rapidly. But the teachers complained that local white boys often disrupted their classes and distracted their pupils, throwing missiles into the classroom and almost hitting the teacher.¹² This taunting and harassment by individuals in the white community was aggravated by the fact that the history lessons and songs, like "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," were deeply resented by the former Confederates. Naturally sympathetic to the Republican party, the northern teachers were also regarded as political proselytizers, in league with carpetbaggers and scalawags who were trying to organize the black vote.¹³

Nevertheless, the pupils made progress, and Captain Durkee regarded the Gainesville school as a success. He noted to his superior that the closing exercises held in June of 1867 were attended by several prominent white men from the community, including State Senator James H. Roper, former principal of the Gainesville Academy, which had been taken over in 1866 by the state-supported East Florida Seminary. The students were orderly and well-disciplined, and Mr. Durkee felt that they showed a real desire to learn.¹⁴

By October 1867, a group of Gainesville blacks had formed a board of trustees with authority to select and purchase property so that a permanent school building could be constructed.¹⁵ According to Alachua County records a lot 200 by 200 feet was acquired on November 20, 1867, from Charles Brush, executor of the estate of Nehemiah Brush. The land was to be used as the site of a school for freedmen to be known as the Union Academy. Isaac Davis, Johnson Chestnut, John Bullard, Anthony Jumper, Henry Roberts, Henry S. Harmon, David Coleman, Thomas Dawkins, and Edward Deyer, as trustees, signed

11. Moore to Osborne, February 25, 1866, FBC..

12. H. H. Moore, "Quarterly Report," *The National Freedman* 2 (January 15, 1866), 5; Catherine Bent and Harriet Barnes to Osborne, March 14, 1866, FBC. The teachers stated that Captain Durkee had taken the matter in hand and that a local judge had also intervened in their behalf.

13. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 106; Gainesville, *New Era*, April 13, June 15, 1866. Joe Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*. (Athens, Ga., 1986), 241.

14. Durkee to Sprague, monthly report, June 1867, FBC.

15. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1867, FBC.

the deed for the north half of lot thirteen in Brush's addition to west Gainesville.¹⁶ The site was located on what is now the corner of NW 1st Street and NW 6th Avenue.

The Freedmen's Bureau provided building plans, and Captain Durkee wrote that Miss Bent indicated that she wanted to see a copy of the plans as soon as possible so that she could make possible suggestions.¹⁷ Doors, sashes, windows, nails and screws, desks, and a stove were sent from Jacksonville. Lumber was probably purchased locally.¹⁸

The construction was the work of local black artisans who volunteered their labor. They worked under the supervision of Reuben Alley, who was identified both as an architect and a carpenter. He was employed by the Bureau, as was Jacob Paschall (sometimes spelled Pascal), a plasterer.¹⁹ It is possible that in addition to a set of specific plans, the builders also had available a copy of *A Manual on School-Houses and Cottages for the People of the South* written in 1868 by C. Thurston Chase, superintendent of instruction for Florida. In it are detailed directions, specifications for materials, and illustrations for the construction of school houses, including an elaborate belfry such as the one that topped the roof of the Union Academy. Chase had drawn heavily on the designs and philosophy advocated by architect Calvert Vaux, who wrote that the schoolhouse should be "the most cheerful and soul-satisfying building in the neighborhood."²⁰

16. Deed Book G, 522-23, Clerk of the County Court, Alachua County Court-house, Gainesville. Nehemiah Brush had acquired the property in 1825 as part of the Arredondo grant. See Allan Swanson, "Pilo-Taikita; A History of Palatka, Florida" (typewritten manuscript in P. K. Yonge Library). Further information on some of the Union Academy trustees can be found in Jane Landers unpublished paper, "The Negro Community in Gainesville: 1868-1890." Chestnut served on the Gainesville city commission and Harmon was elected to the state legislature.
17. C. Thurston Chase to J. W. Alvord, July 8, 1867; Durkee to Jackson, October 27, 1867, FBC.
18. Sprague to Reuben Alley, November 5, 1867; Special Order #88 to Jackson, November 16, 1867; Allan to Durkee, May 22, 1867, FBC.
19. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 110; Jackson to J. A. Rembley, January 9, 1866; Special Order #85 from Sprague, November 5, 1867, FBC. The 1870 census indicates that there were over a dozen black carpenters in Gainesville, U. S. Census, *Population Schedule of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*. Jacob Paschall's name appears in the black section of Jesse Burtz's *Gainesville Directory* (Gainesville, 1911), listed as a plasterer.
20. C. Thurston Chase, *A Manual on School-Houses and Cottages for the People of the South*. (Washington, D. C., 1868), 30; Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages* (New York, 1857), 36-37, 95.



Union Academy, circa 1888. Photograph courtesy of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.

A photograph of the one-story frame structure, which faced North Garden Avenue (now NW 1st Street), shows a white picket fence, shade trees, and an open porch running the full length of the building. There were double-hung windows, an unusually large gable advancing from the high roof, a belfry, and a brick chimney to the rear. Freedmen's Bureau records indicate that the building measured seventy by thirty, with a "piazza" fifty feet long and twelve feet wide. The belfry, twelve feet square, was seventeen feet high. In 1870, the trustees purchased a large bell for forty dollars, one that could be heard for "at least two miles."²¹

All that is known about the interior space is that it was divided by a sliding partition and was furnished with two blackboards and some desks which were shipped from Jacksonville. In 1872 the trustees purchased a parlor organ so that music lessons could be provided. Reports to the general superintendent of education in Washington reveal that the Union Academy, in size and cost, was the second largest school building

21. Richard Davis to Jackson, June 19, 1868, FBC; Emma B. Eveleth to E. P. Smith, May 25, 1870, Microfilm Roll 148 D-E, American Missionary Association correspondence and records, P. K. Yonge Library (hereinafter referred to as AMA).

constructed for black students in Florida by the Bureau. It was second only to Stanton Normal School in Jacksonville.²²

Fragmentary evidence about the educational program carried out in the early days of the Union Academy is contained in the teachers' periodic reports. In 1866 Miss Bent indicated that fifty-one of her 100 pupils were able to read easy readers, thirty-eight were reading at an advanced level, thirty-one studied arithmetic, and fourteen were learning geography.²³ In April 1868 she taught two departments, primary and grammar, and modestly reported to her association, "I am well satisfied with the progress that the children are making . . . and whatever knowledge they acquire is by hard labor."²⁴ In conjunction with academic subjects (which could be tabulated in reports and statistical abstracts), the virtues of sobriety, thrift, industry, and order were also emphasized. Nineteenth-century schoolmarm believed that schools could build strong character and good morals and should also be involved in civic training. In addition to teaching the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, the white teachers faced the task of training their replacements from their own black students. Almost from the beginning the Union Academy was thought of as a high school and a normal, or teacher training institution, as well as a grade school.²⁵

A report filed in January 1870 indicates that Miss Bent and Miss Barnes had left Gainesville. Bent appears to have moved to Ocala during the 1868-1869 school year, and Miss Barnes probably returned to the North earlier. They were replaced by two other white teachers, Miss Maggie Gardner and Miss Emma B. Eveleth, who were sent by the American Missionary Association. They were assisted by two blacks, Eliza James and Lawrence Chestnut. There were 179 pupils in the school. At that time the Union Academy was being partially supported by the

22. Davis to Jackson, June 19, 1868; J. C. Quentin to George Giles, November 26, 1868, FBC. See also a photograph of school on file at Santa Fe Regional Library, Gainesville. The Annual Report of Buildings, January 1, 1870, RED, states that the cost of the Stanton Academy in Jacksonville, a two-story building, was \$15,000, while the Union Academy cost \$6,000. Eveleth to Edward Cravath, December 31, 1872, AMA, reports that the long-awaited parlor organ had arrived.
23. Catherine Bent, monthly report, March, 1866, RED.
24. Catherine Bent, "Florida," *The American Freedman* 3 (April 1868).
25. Elizabeth Jacoway, *Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment* (Baton Rouge, 1980). 24; G. G. Bush, "History of Education in Florida," monograph included in the *Binennial School Reports of Florida*, originally published in Washinaton. D. C., 1889, 25.

Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, which had been organized in 1869, and no tuition was charged. Most of the children were reading in primary readers; seven were in advanced classes, and one was in the higher branch. Geography, spelling, and mathematics were also taught.²⁶ Miss Gardner and Miss Eveleth wrote periodic letters to their supervisors detailing their successes with their students and the problems they encountered, such as inadequate school supplies and books, absenteeism, and overcrowded classrooms.²⁷

In addition to some state funding and county taxes, contributions to both black and white schools came from the Peabody Fund, established by philanthropist George Peabody to aid education in the South. In recognition of the progress made by the school, the Union Academy was awarded \$300 by the Fund in 1868- 1869. Its teachers salaries were also supplemented from 1870 to 1882.²⁸ School board records show that the Academy's staff received salaries equal to those of white teachers for a number of years and that the length of the term was as long or longer than other schools in Alachua County. In 1869 Miss Gardner and Miss Eveleth asked the school board for additional money, and each received \$20.00 a month to supplement the pay they received from their sponsor, the American Missionary Association.²⁹

As the years passed, interest in education for blacks dwindled in Florida and throughout the South. Support by northern societies and the Freedmen's Bureau had ended by 1874, and the conservative white Democratic power structure was in control of institutions such as education by 1877.³⁰ As the social

26. Maggie Gardner and Emma B. Eveleth, Monthly report, January 1870, FBC. Miss Bent transferred to a Freedmen's Bureau School in Ocala. M. Rembley to Jackson, October 31, 1868, FBC.

27. Eveleth to Edward P. Smith, February 26, May 28, 1870, October 24, 1871, February 1, 1872; Eveleth to Cravath, November 24, 29, 1872, January 31, 1873, AMA.

28. Frederic Bruce Rosen, "The Influence of the Peabody Fund on Education in Reconstruction Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977), 316-18; Alachua County Board of Public Instruction minutes, on file in Gainesville, Florida (hereinafter referred to as ACBPI), March 7, 1870, April 10, August 14, 1879, December 9, 1880, March 10, 1882, August 13, 1883.

29. ACBPI minutes, November 9, 1869; W.P. Haisley, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction Ending 1874* (Tallahassee, 1874), 190.

30. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 111; Rosen, "Development of Negro Education," 3-4; Marjorie Cahill, "The Negro in Florida During Reconstruction" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1954), 64, 67.

stigma of pauper, or free, schooling faded, public schools became more acceptable to the white community. The meagre resources available were directed mainly toward the building and support of schools for white pupils. A segregated school system was mandated, and records reflect that teachers in white schools received higher pay than those in black schools, and that white schools received a greater share of the funding.³¹ Yet the trustees of the Union Academy, working with the Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, remained active in promoting the needs of their institution. Ten years after the Union Academy opened it was stated that it had “enjoyed the largest advantages of any school in Alachua County from the beginning.” The pupils, taught by “well-educated teachers,” made an excellent showing in examinations and attended a full ten-month term. It was the only public school in Alachua county that was graded and that used uniform textbooks.³²

The citizens of Gainesville passed a bond issue in 1883 to benefit its two most prominent schools, the Union Academy and the East Florida Seminary. The city could not spend the money legally on property it did not own, so the Union Academy's board of trustees conveyed the deed to the property on which the building stood to the city of Gainesville for the sum of \$2,000. That money was to be spent on renovations to the school. This arrangement was also stipulated for the East Florida Seminary, but the sum involved was \$6,000, and it was to be used to construct a new building.³³ Editorial comments in Gainesville's *Weekly Bee* indicate that the white community did not favor funding the Union Academy with bond money and credited black voters with passage of the bond issue.³⁴

The Union Academy's board of trustees had stated to the city commission that the renovations were needed in order to expand the normal department. Miss Gardner and Miss Eveleth had left by 1873, and from then on an all-black staff served the school.³⁵ In addition to training teachers to keep up with the

31. Rosen, “Development of Negro Education,” 2, 3, 25.

32. ACBPI minutes, March 9, 1878, August 14, 1879, December 9, 1880; Haisley, *Biennial Report*, 90.

33. Deed Book Q, 239-42, Clerk of the Court, Alachua County Courthouse.

34. Gainesville *Weekly Bee*, March 23, April 13, July 21, 1883.

35. Gainesville *Weekly Bee*, April 6, 1883, reported that at the city council meeting of March 6, 1883, the Union Academy board of trustees petitioned for \$2,000 to make repairs and additions for a normal school.

schools own growing enrollment, its graduates also staffed the majority of the smaller, rural black schools in Alachua County.³⁶ Further support for the normal department came from an annual appropriation of \$3,000 from the state legislature sponsored by Matthew Lewey, a prominent black citizen of Gainesville who served in the Florida House after Reconstruction.³⁷

It is not clear just what renovations were made in 1883. Evidently the building was merely extended to the rear since a Sanborn fire insurance map dated 1897 shows a one-story frame structure on the site.³⁸ However, in the 1890s major structural changes were made. In the 1896 biennial report of Florida's Superintendent of Public Instruction, Alachua County Superintendent W. W. Holloway reported that the "colored Graded school has recently been enlarged by another story. It is now one of the most imposing school structures in the state. It will comfortably house 700 pupils. This school runs eight months, the last two months as Normal School open to teachers free of charge."³⁹ The report is illustrated with a photograph of a two-story frame building with porches running the full length of both upper and lower stories, with an outside stairway leading directly to the second story porch. The picket fence still enclosed the schoolyard which was shaded by large trees, and the belfry had been moved to a prominent position on the new roof. The Union Academy now had a total of eleven classrooms. The new construction had cost \$1,100, and when completed, it was estimated that the value of the building was \$6,000.⁴⁰

The 1903 Sanborn map shows this two-story configuration and another set of stairs to the rear. Two privies provided sanitary facilities, and the frame house on the adjacent property had been annexed, to be used as the primary department. The 1919 Sanborn map reveals that electricity had been installed in the main building, but that the annex still relied on kerosene lights.⁴¹

36. ACBPI minutes, October 5, 1874; Charles Beecher, *Binennial Report Ending 1872* (Tallahassee, 1872), 2.

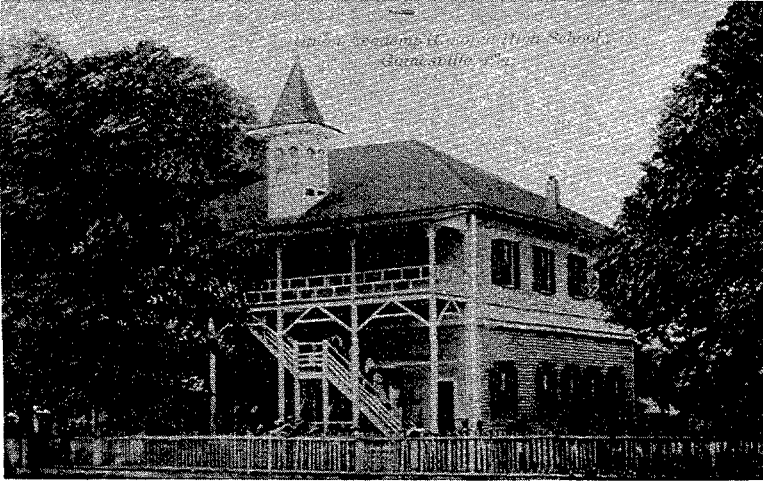
37. Landers, "Negro-Community," 31. Lewey was twice elected to the Florida House of Representatives, in 1876 and 1882, and served on the committee on education; Charles Webber, *The Eden of South* (New York, 1883), 40.

38. Sanborn map of Gainesville, 1897.

39. William Sheats, *Biennial Report for the Year Ending 1898* (Tallahassee, 1898), 354-55.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Sanborn maps of Gainesville, 1903, 1909, 1913, 1922. See also Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida," 188.



Union Academy, from a 1906 postcard. Photograph courtesy of Mark Barrow, Gainesville.

Contemporary sources indicate that Gainesville recognized the importance of the Union Academy for it was often mentioned in promotional literature, city directories, and the semi-annual reports of the county school superintendents in the late 1800s and early 1900s.⁴² Social life for black families in Alachua County centered around their churches and the Union Academy. Political and ceremonial events were also held on the school grounds. For instance, in 1892, Columbus Day was celebrated there with music, speeches, orations, and salutes to the flag.⁴³

In 1922 approximately 500 students were attending the school for the eight-month term. Grades one through nine were taught by eleven teachers. The new principal, A. Quinn Jones, provided leadership and continuity as the Union Academy, by now a wornout, overcrowded facility, was being phased out by

42. Webber, *The Eden of the South*, 40; Jessie Burtz, *Gainesville Directory* (Gainesville, 1905-1906), 10; Alachua County Immigration Association, *Alachua: The Garden County of Florida. Its Resources and Advantages* (New York, 1888), 19; Sheats, *Biennial Report*, 1898, 354-55.
43. Landers, "Negro Community," 17; interview with Thelma Jordan, by Joel Buchanan, January 24, 1984, FAB17A; interview with A. Quinn Jones, by Joyce Miller, October 27, 1976, AL13A; interview with T.B. McPherson, by Joel Buchanan, March 7, 1984, FAB19AB. All interviews in this article are on tape and transcribed at the Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

a new school, to be called Lincoln High School.⁴⁴ Alachua County school board minutes note that the privies from the Union Academy had been moved to the new school building site on Columbia Avenue (now NW 7th Avenue) in August 1923, indicating that the old building was no longer in use.⁴⁵ It was the policy of the board to sell school buildings that were no longer needed, but no record of the fate of the fifty-six year old structure can be located.⁴⁶

A bond issue had been passed in 1920 to build two new public high schools in Gainesville, one for white students, and one for blacks. Both schools were to be of red brick, of comparable size and with similar facilities. Winston and Penny of Gainesville were awarded the construction contract, and when it was determined that the building costs were too high, the auditorium was deleted from both proposed structures.⁴⁷ In an interview, A. Quinn Jones, the last principal of the Union Academy and principal of Lincoln High School for many years, reflected that it was not the custom to build fine brick schools for black students at that time; Gainesville's Lincoln High School was one of the first of such structures in the state.⁴⁸

It is an indication of the enduring value of the freedmen's school that its successor was also a source of pride and dignity. As a symbol of education, one of the brightest aspects of freedom, the Union Academy for more than one-half century had served an important intellectual and social function for Gainesville's black community.

44. Interview with A. Quinn Jones, by Jim Fouches and Daphne Williams, May 4, 1981, AL6ABC.

45. ACBPI minutes, August 17, 1923.

46. ACBPI minutes, July 14, 1922.

47. ACBPI minutes, July 9, 1920, March 11, June 30, July 14, 1922, August 17, 1923.

48. Interview with A. Quinn Jones, by Joyce Miller.