Dr. James Alpheus Butler: An African American Pioneer of Miami Medicine

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Miami emerged at the twentieth century's dawn as a bustling resort town of exciting prospects, but its ability to do so depended upon the labor, support, services, and influence of African Americans, including African American professionals. Although many of the day-to-day details of that pioneering effort have remained hidden from view, talented scholars such as Marvin Dunn have contributed substantially in recent years to discovering and preserving information that reflects the reality of that past. Much, of course, remains to be done. As illustrated by the facts and circumstances of the life and career of one of those early Miamians, Dr. James Alpheus Butler, the results of further research should prove not only informative but also rich, fascinating, and unquestionably meaningful in understanding the origins of one of the world's great cities.[1]

Dr. Butler's personal story commenced with his birth on August 4, 1878, at Key West. His parents Robert W. and Letitia Butler had arrived on the island from Nassau earlier in the same decade. A carpenter by trade, Robert, as a friend remembered, "built many of the best houses in Key West." Daughters Caroline, Alice, Annie, Elizabeth, and Elmira greeted their parents' first son, with brother Robert Jr. coming along in December 1884. For his growing family, father Robert by 1876 had erected a comfortable home on a rental lot fronting Division Street. There, James A. Butler spent his youth.[2]

justice against them as is so frequently seen throughout the South, to her everlasting shame and disgrace." Even local Whites, Livingston observed, contributed to the positive environment: "The white Americans here are very different apparently from their brothers across the gulf. There are a few fire-eaters in a quiet way, but the majority of them seem civil and respectful." One crucial factor, Livingston added, involved Black attitudes. "The colored men are manly and courageous," he asserted, "well equipped with the means of offensive and defensive warfare, as conducted in times of peace, with a good sprinkling of old soldiers among them, and the beauty of the whole affair is that they are not the only ones that knows their power and invincibleness."[5]

As evidenced by Livingston's comments and Robert W. Butler's example, African Americans felt little reluctance to involve themselves wholeheartedly in Key West and Monroe County politics. During the quarter century that followed the Civil War's end, at least ten Black men sat on the city council, with John V. Cornell, Sr., serving as city clerk (1875–1876) and Frank Adams holding office as tax assessor (1886–1887, 1888–1889). Former Leon County state senator John Wallace, who had served in the United States Army at Key West during the Civil War, ran for and only narrowly lost the mayoralty in 1883. Wallace already may have been working on Florida's first history of the Reconstruction era, which he published in 1888 as *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War*. Three years following Wallace's race and bolstered by organizational support from the national labor union known as the Knights of Labor, Charles A. Shavers claimed a seat in the Florida legislature. In 1888, the year Livingston wrote his articles, county voters selected attorney James Dean as their county judge and Charles F. Dupont as their sheriff. Robert W. Butler naturally worked on behalf of many of these candidates, and, given his carpenter's trade, he also likely advocated the cause of the Knights of Labor.[6]

These political attitudes and actions within his community and family influenced James A. Butler as he matured, but so, too, did numerous individuals and institutions. Take the case of John Willis Menard as an example. Born free in Illinois during 1838, Menard utilized college training to aid President Abraham Lincoln's administration in the nation's capital before venturing to New Orleans to further the Reconstruction process in Louisiana. Crescent City voters in 1868

elected him to the United States House of Representatives, the first African American to be so honored. After the House refused to seat him, Menard relocated to Jacksonville, Fla. There, he pursued journalism and politics. He served in the 1874 Florida House of Representatives before moving to Key West in late 1879 or early 1880 to accept a federal position as customs inspector. As he did, Menard's volume of poetry entitled *Lays in Summer Lands* reached publication in Washington. The White editor of the *Key West Key of the Gulf* praised the verse. "We have examined the work and have no hesitation in pronouncing it an excellent one," he declared. "Some of the sentiments are of a superior order." Menard also pursued the newspaper business. In 1882, as James Butler neared his fourth birthday, the veteran journalist purchased the *Key West News*, quickly turning the organ into a force to be reckoned with as the *Florida News*. "Menard was the most influential Black editor speaking for and to Blacks in the 1880s," historian Jerrell H. Shofner explained, "and his vigorous editorials were aimed at the political, economic, moral, and educational improvement of the race." Although Menard transferred his paper to Jacksonville in 1886 (renaming it the *Southern Leader*), he nonetheless had touched the Butler family. Father Robert associated with Menard in political and church life and, quite probably, in social life as well. His example would have loomed large to young James.[7]

Other influences besides that of John Willis Menard came to the future Dr. Butler from the family's membership in Bethel AME Church, and this circumstance grew stronger as the years passed, because father Robert involved himself ever more closely with its affairs. By 1882, as he noted to readers of the church's national newspaper, he lived with "fervent zeal for the elevation of the church and the love for the cause of Christ." He already served as a local minister, and by 1889 he represented Bethel in the organization of a ministerial association among Black Key West churches. There he labored alongside individuals such as the great AME preacher George Washington Witherspoon, a man probably elected to the United States Congress in 1880 but denied his seat, as Menard had been, by fellow Republicans. "Mr. Witherspoon was the most popular colored man in the country districts in the state," a Jacksonville newspaper observed, "and whenever it was announced that Witherspoon would preach anywhere in the state, the roads would be

full of women, children, horses and wagons." Witherspoon's great political and church rival Robert Meacham also lived in Key West during the mid-to-late 1880s. One of the most powerful politicians in the state during the Reconstruction Era, he had abandoned the AME for the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) ministry. Still, cooperation between the denominations marked the scene at Key West, and Meacham, as well as Witherspoon, would have been well known around the Butler household. The Reverend Paul L. Cuyler provided yet another remarkable influence gleaned by the Butlers through Bethel. A Monticello native, Cuyler possessed high intelligence that quickly had pushed him to the forefront of religious affairs in Florida. As had Meacham, though, he opted to switch at mid-decade to the AMEZ Church. By the century's turn he pastored that denomination's "mother church" in New York City.[8]

Key West's Bethel AME Church may have served to school James Butler in any number of ways; yet, beyond his family, the Douglass School provided for him the most significant source of educational opportunity. Founded in 1870, the institution boasted three hundred pupils and a growing reputation by mid-decade. Much of the early credit belonged to William Middleton Artrell. A native of Nassau, he had received his education at the Boys' Central School, where Robert W. Butler likely attended about a decade later. A mature and respected educator when he arrived at Key West during 1870, Artrell blazed the trail of civic and community involvement by former Bahamians that Robert Butler would follow within a couple of years. The two men already would have known each other in Nassau, with Artrell possibly teaching the younger man at one time or another and, perhaps, later encouraging him to immigrate. At Key West, Artrell served on the city council while Butler sat on the county commission. They fought together under the Republican Party's banner, and Butler followed in supporting his friend's great cause in organizing and furthering the anti-alcohol consumption crusade of the International Order of Good Templars, an endeavor backed strongly by the AME Church. Also a customs inspector after 1876, Artrell drew praise from those who knew him. As one federal official noted, "[He is] the peer of any colored man in Florida." Politics, though, caught up with Artrell in 1885, when James Butler was looking toward his seventh birthday. Democrat Grover Cleveland took over the presidency and dismissed most

Republican appointees. In the circumstances, former customs official Artrell relocated to Jacksonville to accept the principal's position at the Stanton Institute.[9]

One of the men who followed Artrell at the Douglass School worked an even-greater impact upon young James Butler's life. Born May 1, 1861, at Monticello, Lemuel Walter Livingston advanced in time far beyond his origins. Educated at Jacksonville's Cookman Institute, he found himself rebuffed in the early 1880s in attempting to gain admittance to the United States Military Academy at West Point. Taking a position as principal of Gainesville's Union Academy, he became acquainted with Dr. Newton D. Phillips, a prominent local physician and a White man. Phillips encouraged Livingston to study medicine, leading to the young man's matriculation in late 1882 at the Howard University Medical College in Washington, D.C. He received his M.D. degree there in 1885, later adding a pharmacy degree to his résumé. During this period Livingston's ties with Key West began to form, for he served publisher John Willis Menard as Washington correspondent for the *Florida News*. The ties took physical form in late 1888 when Livingston visited the island, and they grew firm after he subsequently assumed the principalship at Douglass. Pupils and their families quickly noticed improvement following several years of disappointing experience under William M. Artrell's immediate successors. By 1894, possibly the year of James Butler's graduation, standards of excellence had reached an all-time high. "Too much credit cannot be given to Dr. Livingston—the principal—and his excellent staff of teachers for their zeal in the education of the youth of our city," an onlooker to the graduation exercises reported, "in all the branches the students showed a proficiency."[10]

The timing of Dr. Livingston's arrival at Key West held special significance for, just one year prior, the island had suffered an onslaught of dreaded and often-fatal yellow fever. No African American physicians then served the island community, although Dr. John Y. Porter fortunately possessed sufficient expertise to lead the fight against the pestilence. After the plague extended itself to the Tampa Bay area, Porter courageously traveled there to aid local medical personnel. When the "yellow jack" reappeared in the peninsula the next year, it claimed 427 deaths in Jacksonville alone. Porter took advantage of the toll to demand that the state legislature officially commit to use of its regulatory powers in the interest of

health. This initiative resulted in the 1889 creation of the State Board of Health. Porter thereafter served as state health officer for nearly two decades.[11]

Despite determined efforts by Dr. Porter and other Key West physicians, not all their patients survived the 1887 yellow fever epidemic, and that fact may have hit the Butler household with terrible results. Surviving records only hint at the possibilities. James's mother Letitia passed away at some point during the late 1880s and early 1890s, opening up the possibility that she succumbed to the yellow jack. His sisters Caroline and Elmira likewise do not appear to have survived the same period. They, too, may have fallen victim. In any event, the nine-year-old boy witnessed widespread suffering and the terror of fear running rampant in the world around him. At the same time, he observed courageous physicians such as Dr. Porter applying their healing arts to save lives and preserve hopes. It surely made a difference.[12]

Dr. Livingston then appeared on the scene to enhance that difference in a fashion even more profound and personal for young James. Importantly, Livingston's 1888 visit to Key West brought to the island its first African American physician as well as Butler's new principal and teacher. Only eight years had elapsed since Dr. Alexander H. Darnes had pioneered as Florida's first Black medical doctor. The St. Augustine native had attended the Howard University College of Medicine, where he earned his M.D. degree in 1880. That year he opened a practice in Jacksonville. During the 1888 yellow fever outbreak, Darnes, with assistance at one point from his friend and fellow Howard Medical alumnus Lemuel W. Livingston, earned plaudits from White and Black citizens for selfless efforts to serve the community. With the door opened by Dr. Darnes, other Black physicians followed over the years. Next, for instance, came Dr. William John Gunn of Tallahassee. He graduated in 1882 from "the medical department of the Central Tennessee College at Nashville, Tenn." or, as it came to be known, the Meharry Medical College. The quality medical education received at institutions such as Howard and Meharry allowed Darnes, Gunn, and others who came after them to enjoy a multi-racial client base. Gunn's biographer made the point. "When [the doctor] arrived back in Tallahassee, circumstances ensured him a large African American clientele," Jonathan Hutchins related, "plus his exceptional medical

abilities allowed him to build a clientele that also—at least at times—included whites." Within the Black community, men such as Darnes and Gunn enjoyed respect and popularity nearly beyond measure. One reporter observed, by way of example, that Darnes's 1894 funeral at Jacksonville's Mt. Zion AME Church drew "the largest number of people that ever gathered within the walls of any church in this city." As the man explained in an understated fashion, "The deceased stood high in the estimation of the people of the city."[13]

Under these circumstances, James A. Butler matured and fixed the direction of his future life. In 1892, father Robert, who had just spent several years in a financially rewarding customs inspectorship, accepted appointment as the AME South Florida Conference's missionary to the Bahamas. By mid-decade he labored for the church as an ordained minister at Fernandina and in the Nassau County vicinity. Meanwhile, James apparently remained in Key West until about 1894. Upon graduation from the Douglass School, he opted to study further at the host institution of Meharry Medical College, Nashville's Central Tennessee College or, as it later would be known, Walden University. How he fixed on Nashville remains a mystery. Possibly, connections with Dr. Gunn through minister George W. Witherspoon, Dr. Livingston, or Dr. Porter led him there. An alternative possibility involves Dr. Andrew L. Pierce, who commenced practice at Orlando in 1892 but relocated to Jacksonville a few years later. Either James or his father easily could have become acquainted with the Meharry graduate and sought his advice. Whatever the case, by about 1896 James Butler had advanced from general college studies to Meharry's medical program. He attended for two years, whereupon he transferred to the Howard University Medical College to finish his degree. Coincidentally, James Benjamin Riley, one of Dr. Gunn's proteges, pursued exactly the same path from Meharry to Howard.[14]

That Butler finished his medical studies at Howard seemingly resulted from the influence of Judge James Dean, Dr. Lemuel W. Livingston, or, more probably, both. Each had attended Howard, Dean for law and Livingston for medicine. They had lived and studied in Washington at the same time and had associated themselves together in public and political causes since at least as early as 1884; for that matter, they may have been childhood friends. Interestingly, their close ties to powerful Republicans in Washington came to public attention in 1898, at the

time James Butler transferred to Howard. This occurred when President William McKinley designated Livingston as United States Consul at Cap-Haitien, Haiti. Dean and Livingston, in any event, took great pride in their enduring connections with Howard University and were positioned to aid a former pupil and the son of a close friend. Dean especially had drawn closer to the Butlers as the decade of the 1890s opened. Governor Francis Fleming in 1889 had removed the judge from the Monroe County bench, a politically and racially motivated act for which Governor Jeb Bush attempted to atone as recently as 2002. Dean thereafter had practiced law and served as United States immigration agent at Key West. In the early 1890s, though, he sought and received ordination as an AME minister. Within a decade he and Robert W. Butler, both rising quickly in the church hierarchy, held presiding elderships in the adjoining Jacksonville and Fernandina Districts.[15]

His Washington sojourn resulted very favorably for James A. Butler, easing him back to Florida in 1900 with an M.D. degree. He immediately made his way to Jacksonville to establish a practice. At the time, the city offered the proximity of family through his father's presence nearby. Beyond that, Jacksonville pulsed with energy and excitement, having eclipsed Key West as the state's largest city in 1895. As the century turned, over 28,000 residents lived within the corporate limits. Thousands of others lay dispersed in adjoining suburbs, and more came every day.[16]

The Jacksonville that beckoned Dr. Butler hosted a sophisticated African American community with few peers in southern Black America. Over 40 percent of residents were African American; 50 percent if suburbs are considered. "This city is the metropolis of the state of Florida and the Negroes are well represented," the *Colored American*, a Washington newspaper, declared appropriately in January 1900. "They are making solid progress without making any fuss about it." Home to Edward Waters College, the Cookman Institute, the Florida Baptist College, the Boylan Industrial Home for Girls, Stanton High School, other educational and training institutions, and more than sixty African American churches, the city hosted a prosperous and growing Black business and professional class. The quality and quantity of opportunity then existing found its expression, among other examples, in a local initiative launched in 1901 out of Bethel Baptist Institutional Church. Seven individuals, concerned about "the unhealthy surroundings, the presence of poverty and the absence of

adequate relief in times of dire distress," each contributed $100 to launch the Afro-American Industrial and Benefit Association. To say the least, the business that they created survived and thrived. A business genius and former lumber mill worker named Abraham Lincoln Lewis deserved credit for much of the success. Renamed the Afro-American Life Insurance Co., the company's capital stock value had mounted by 1921 to $100,000 and to fifteen times that amount a quarter century later. It took a bit of luck, however. During Jacksonville's catastrophic fire of May 1901, only the quick thinking and courageous action of clerk Eartha M. M. White saved the nascent company's books and papers from the destructive flames.[17]

As would be expected, any number of African American medical professionals had made their way to Jacksonville since Dr. Darnes's arrival in 1880. A half-dozen physicians complemented the list at the century's beginning. The medical doctor then in longest residence, John Darius Crum, Jr., had settled in 1893 after graduating from Howard University's Medical College in 1887. As mentioned earlier, Meharry graduate Andrew L. Pierce had come to town following several years spent in Orlando. Author, educator, public health advocate, and physician Daniel Wallace Culp had attended Biddle University and the Princeton Theological Seminary before moving on to the University of Michigan Medical School and the Ohio Medical University. James Seth Hills had taken his M.D. in 1894 at the Long Island Medical College, as had Arthur Walls Smith. And, William Commodore Smalls had pursued his degree at the Medical Department of Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C.[18]

This meant considerable competition for any newcomer, although Dr. Butler enjoyed certain advantages that likely offered encouragement. His father had risen to a position of authority within the AME Church's East Florida Conference, as well as in one of the region's most important fraternal and benefit organizations, the Good Samaritans. Robert Butler served that body as its grand worthy chief for twelve years beginning in 1898, overseeing the order's expansion from 50 to 157 lodges. Beyond the Reverend Butler's ability to aid his son, the same contacts that had led Dr. Butler to Meharry and Howard could continue to assist, as, presumably, would other alumni such as Drs. Crum and Pierce. A fellow student at Meharry, Dr. Henry William James, who also had attended Howard, supplemented the list upon his taking up residence in 1901.[19]

And, professional advances did come for the young physician at Jacksonville. One nationally distributed report published in December 1901 noted, "The physicians of Jacksonville are a set of gentlemen of pronounced class and efficiency." It added, "Dr. J. A. Butler, of Howard University...≥is doing nicely." The young man's abilities evidenced themselves to all. This fact found affirmation in April 1902 when African American medical doctors from around the state joined at Fernandina to re-establish a state medical association following an abortive effort initiated in 1894. Thirty or so physicians attended, including Butler. Surviving accounts offer few details, but Butler clearly impressed his contemporaries. Although Dr. P. N. Richardson of Fernandina won the organization's presidency, those assembled chose an executive committee to consist of "Dr. J. Seth Hills, Dr. J. A. Butler and Dr. A. W. Smith, all of Jacksonville." Dr. W. C. Smalls meanwhile accepted the post of secretary, with Dr. A. L. Pierce, now returned to Orlando, filling the position of vice president.[20]

Nonetheless, Dr. Butler's Jacksonville sojourn, as it turned out, proved more challenging than expected, although it also brought him an important new friend. As Dr. James's arrival in town suggests, Butler found local competition for Black physicians increasing with time's passage, and, unfortunately, he also encountered other stumbling blocks to building the practice that he desired. The downside included intra-AME Church politics that began, about 1901, to affect the Reverend Butler's career negatively, and, although the circumstances lasted only a year or two, the situation certainly would have distracted his attention. The same year, the great fire at Jacksonville caused catastrophic damage that may have included Dr. Butler's home and office. In any event, the conflagration dealt the local economy a severe blow from which the community found itself forced to struggle for some time to overcome. To the good, though, Butler appears to have grown close during the period to Abraham Lincoln Lewis, the young man who increasingly was helping to guide the fortunes of the Afro-American Industrial and Benefit Association. Dr. Smith had joined to found the concern, which offered among its "benefits" medical care for the insured. It took a few years for Lewis to obtain administrative control, but, when he did, he could steer a great deal of medical business to associated physicians. Dr. Butler's problem was that his new friend already had designated Drs. Smith and Hills as "Physicians for the Company" at Jacksonville.[21]

These then were the circumstances of Dr. Butler's professional life when Miami came calling in July 1902. The particular event that sparked the contact involved the illness of Mary E. Lightburn (or Lightbourn), the wife of the town's most powerfully connected African American, Alexander C. Lightburn. A native of Nassau born about the same time as Robert W. Butler, Lightburn had appeared in the Tallahassee area soon after the Civil War's end as a teacher and political activist. He held various positions of authority in Gadsden County, where he met and married Mary E. Zeigler. Lightburn served in 1869–1870 as sergeant at arms of the Florida House of Representatives, but unfavorable political circumstances following Reconstruction's end eventually prompted him in the late 1880s to remove his family to Jacksonville. Political contacts brought the former office holder steady employment, usually as a United States Post Office mail route agent riding Florida's expanding network of rails. The same contacts may have aided his son Joseph during the early 1900s in obtaining the coveted and lucrative position of doorkeeper of the New York Stock Exchange. Through the years, Lightburn maintained strong ties with state and national Republican officials and also allied himself with the Knights of Labor, serving as master workman of the Jacksonville local. In the early 1890s he centered his work first out of Cocoa and then out of Palm Beach before settling in Miami. According to diarist Isadore Cohen, Lightburn "delivered the best speech" at Miami's July 28, 1896, incorporation meeting. While taking a leading role in local Republican affairs including service on the party's state executive committee as Dade's representative, the busy Lightburn additionally assumed the position of supervisor of "the Colored Schools of Miami." Having helped to found the town's Bethel AME Church, he served, as well, as its superintendent.[22]

Whether a friendship between Nassau-born Alexander Lightburn and Robert W. Butler or connections through the Knights of Labor, the AME Church, or the Republican party brought Dr. Butler to the Miamian's attention cannot be discerned, but through whatever agency Butler set off on Henry Flagler's railroad in July 1902 to visit an ailing patient at the resort town emerging on the Miami River at Biscayne Bay. "He is very favorably impressed with that city," a Jacksonville newspaper soon informed its readers, "and its great prospects." Although census-takers two years earlier had discovered

A funeral procession in front of Colored Town's churches, early 1900s. In the northwest section of the city of Miami, Colored Town, known today as Overtown, contained a large Bahamian population. From its beginnings, this segreagated community was noteworthy for its vibrant spirit. HMSF 1988-102-3.

only 1,681 persons in Miami, it clearly was growing and preparing to prosper. Confirming that appearance, by 1905 the number of townspeople would swell to over 4,700. Of that total, 37 percent were African Americans. Miami precinct, an area substantially larger than the town but including it, contained 6,222 persons, also with a 37 percent Black population. Institutions of community life already existed to serve those in place and those to come. In 1902, for instance, Bethel AME Church, Harris Chapel AMEZ Church, Mount Zion Baptist Church, and Saint Agnes Episcopal Church welcomed worshippers. Progress at Harris Chapel in some ways symbolized the community's greater expansion and increased maturity. In January 1902, Key West District Presiding Elder Joseph Sexton, a longtime Key West friend of the Butlers, reported, "I am building a house of worship at Miami, Fla." Accepting the pastor's appointment himself, Sexton set about raising funds for a substantial sanctuary. It took some time but construction had commenced by January 1903. As early as June a national publication advised, "The A. M. E. Zion Church is known in Miami, Florida, as never before." The report continued: "She is now worshiping in her new church, all within five months. With men possessing missionary spirit, all of [the] East Coast will soon know her as never before."[23]

Dr. Butler's first Miami visit lasted only a few days and involved disappointment, but it set the stage for his rapid relocation to the town. The disappointment came with his discovery that he could not aid Mary Lightburn's recovery. Despite his efforts, she died at home in Miami on August 7. She had been, a notice related, "a prominent member [of the AME Church] and [had] lived a consistent and faithful Christian life." Still, the town impressed the doctor, and he, in turn, impressed the town. "He goes in response to an urgent request of the good citizens of [Miami]," a Jacksonville report of August 11 indicated, "who have offered him excellent inducements to cast his future with them." The report added, "The many friends of Dr. Butler wish him a happy and bright future..." On August 15 the same newspaper carried a supplemental article. "Dr. J. A. Butler is located at Miami..." it began. "His prospects for a good and profitable practice there are very flattering."[24]

The flattering nature of Butler's Miami prospects clearly related to the fact that no Black physician then served the growing community, and, just possibly, none ever had. One report does suggest that "a Dr. Rivers [had] practiced medicine in the town in 1896 before moving to Tampa." Although this Dr. Rivers may have been a Bahamian physician not licensed in Florida, no individual by that name appeared at Tampa during or immediately after 1896. Dr. M. Jackson Anderson, who opened his office in 1897, is the only Black physician known to have practiced there during the period. A Dr. J. R. Rivers did satisfactorily complete the state licensing examination in March 1905. He later practiced in Orlando, Fort Myers, Key West, and, perhaps, Miami. Appreciative memories of his labors may have resulted in an incorrectly recorded date. Whatever the case, by 1899 only four White physicians—James M. Jackson, Peter Thomas Skaggs, Edwin Worth Pugh, and Ruben Harrison Huddleston—maintained Miami offices.[25]

All available evidence suggests that, at least for a time, Dr. Butler delighted in his new Miami home. Settled in at 500 Avenue G, he soon opened a pharmacy, known as the Magic City Drug Store, as well as his medical practice. It must have delighted him during the summer of 1903 to offer his brother Robert W. Butler, Jr., an internship. "Robbie," a student at the State Normal and Industrial School at Tallahassee (the predecessor institution of Florida A&M University) and a future

Howard graduate, worked in the drugstore from mid-June until mid-September.[26] As Robbie observed that summer, Dr. Butler in short order had found acceptance at his new home and more than a modest measure of respect. The following account of a visit to Miami by AMEZ bishop C. R. Harris helps to illustrate the point:

> A grand rosette and bouquet reception was given in honor of Bishop C. R. Harris, D.D., at Jackson's hall, Monday, January 26, 1903. The following took part on the program: Introductory address–Rev. W. P. Pickens, editor *Industrial Reporter*. Prayer–Rev. Wm. Johnson. Solo–Mrs. Jesse Pipkins. Duet–Mrs. F. J. Payne and F. C. Butler. Welcome address on behalf of the fraternities, H. R. Jackson and Rev. S. M. Joshua, one on behalf of local preacher–S. H. Clark; one on behalf of citizens–Revs. S. W. Brown and A. W. Brown, one on behalf of merchants–J. M. Dingle; one on behalf of the churches–Revs. N. B. Williams and W. G. Fields; one on behalf of public school–Prof. J. W. Mickens; one on behalf of Sunday school–A. C. Lightbourne, Sr., and E. Loving; another on behalf of professional men–Dr. J. A. Butler. Duet–Mrs. S. A. Robinson and Miss Hulela Dingle. Paper–Mrs. H. R. Jackson. Response–Bishop C. R. Harris, A.M., D.D., the greater educator. The Bishop preached at Jackson's hall on Sunday morning and night. On Monday night after the reception Mrs. Bishop Harris organized the Mite Missionary Society, for Harris Chapel A.M.E. Zion church.[27]

Happiness at Miami during the twentieth century's earliest years came relatively easy for Butler and others thanks, of course, to the climate and style of life but also to growth-fueled prosperity. The example of the Reverend S. W. Brown, who welcomed Bishop Harris "on behalf of the citizens," provides a case in point. A Georgetown, S.C., native, he had opened at Miami a merchandising outlet that he called the Colored Town Bargain Store. It fronted 303 Avenue G, just two blocks down the street from Dr. Butler's home and office. The shop stood out, he insisted, as the "cheapest bargain house in [the] city." With wife Sallie Berbery Brown providing essential support, Brown invested in the community by expanding his business to meet demand. As of September 1904 this fact had resulted in construction of "a two-story stone building at Miami," into which he moved a "stock of goods" valued in the considerable amount of $4,000. "He is already a business man of prominence there,"

the *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis* commented, "and by care and push many better things await him."[28]

As far as medical business was concerned, the prospering Black community found itself able by mid-1904 to support two medical doctors. Solomon M. Frazier, who received his license on May 17, 1904, at Palatka, settled soon thereafter in Miami.[29] All indications are that Butler and Frazier cooperated easily and well. At least, this September 9, 1905, account of a Miami commercial gathering suggests such a state of affairs:

> The colored business men held an interesting mass meeting last Monday night [September 4] in Mt. Zion Baptist Church. The meeting was largely attended, and the principal speakers were Mr. D. A. Dorsett, manager of the Miami Mutual Insurance Company; Rev. J. T. Mark [of Bethel AME Church], Dr. James A. Butler, Dr. S. M. Frazier, Mr. A. C. Culverson, local agent for the National Benefit Association, and Rev. W. D. Vann, State superintendent and inspector of the Afro-American Benefit Association.
>
> There are three companies owned and managed by colored men doing an industrial insurance business in this city, and all are doing well. The colored merchants are also doing well.[30]

The close association of Drs. Butler and Frazier with Black-owned insurance companies signaled a key element of their practices. Those connections over time would grow ever more extensive, as would Butler's personal association with A. L. Lewis of the Afro-American Industrial and Benefit Association. Often businessmen such as Lewis introduced themselves and their agents to communities by utilizing associations with fraternal and sororal organizations. "While in Miami recently, Rev. J. H. Newman organized a lodge of the Sons and Daughters of Jacob and left them in good working order, with a membership of thirty-seven," a report of January 27, 1905, observed. It continued, "Grand Master A. L. Lewis and Grand Secretary O. W. Morrison are delighted with this addition to this fraternity." An item published eight months later announced the results of the most recent Afro-American Industrial and Benefit outreach efforts in South Florida. "Rev. W. D. Vann, one of the traveling agents, is now in Miami," it declared, "and he has added nearly one hundred members to the branch there." The item

concluded, "Before returning he will visit West Palm Beach and other points on the east coast."[31]

A prosperous medical practice, a healthy and growing association with the Afro-American Industrial and Benefit Association, and a happy home at Miami combined by mid-1904 to offer Dr. Butler a measure of security and stability. In the circumstances his thoughts understandably turned to personal matters and, as it happened, to the place of his youth. "Dr. J. A. Butler, of Miami," one Key West correspondent advised in June, "spent a week or more here and was accorded many social favors."[32]

Those social favors derived from at least two sources, both of significant importance to Dr. Butler's life and the future path of his career. One of the sources concerned a medical school friend, Minor Francis McCleary. Born in Fernandina in 1876, McCleary too had opted to pursue higher education at Central Tennessee College so as, it was said, "to perfect himself for his life work." That life work, as for Butler, involved ministering to the sick and infirm. McCleary subsequently earned his M.D. degree at Meharry, after which he completed a post-graduate course at Rush Medical College. Following a brief period spent seasoning his skills in Kansas City, the fledgling physician accepted employment as an assistant to the Marine physician at Key West. Not long after his arrival on the island, circumstances happily opened greater opportunity for the young man. Dr. D. T. Straughn, the only other African American physician laboring in the island's hospitable clime, found himself compelled to relocate. This happened because the doctor doubled as an AMEZ minister, and his church preferred to utilize his services in Daytona. With Straughan's departure in July 1903, McCleary inherited a comfortable practice. "Dr. McCleary, our physician, is kept very busy," one report detailed that October. It added, "He is all smiles over the possession of a new horse and buggy."[33]

Key West society thus offered Dr. Butler in summer 1904 the pleasant opportunity to renew a college friendship, but, as time's passage revealed, it also brought the Miami physician to the altar. The young woman in question, Rosa Lee Welters, had grown up with James Butler. Born in April 1877, she was the daughter of one of the island's premier marine pilots, Samuel E. Welters, and his wife Lenora (or Norah) Poinsette Welters. Their marriage in January 1867 at Cornish Chapel had constituted one of the first such ceremonies in

Florida performed by an ordained AMEZ minister. Skill and hard work subsequently brought prosperity to the couple. The family lived in a comfortable home on Thomas Street valued in the not-inconsiderable amount of $300. They would manage to send three of their children to the State Normal and Industrial School, including Rosa.[34]

Fortunately, news emanating from the State Normal and Industrial School during Rosa's stay permits a glimpse of what must have been an unusually intelligent, talented, and personable young woman. She arrived at Tallahassee in fall 1896, and by the end of her sophomore year President Thomas D. Tucker was striving to showcase her abilities. At the 1898 closing exercises, for instance, Rosa participated in a "discussion of the four phases of the effect of the [Spanish-American] war on the American negro, educationally, materially, politically, and morally." The next year her musical talents shown brilliantly. "The piano recital of Miss Welter was of highest merit," an onlooker recorded, "her smooth scales, clear-cut chords and artistic expression showed that she had received conscientious conservatory training." Her own 1900 graduation exercises from the normal (or teacher training) program brought her special acclaim. Rosa's class asked her to deliver a classical piano solo and persuaded her to compose and read the class poem. Her graduating friends also elected her their class vice president.[35]

It cannot be determined whether Rosa had waited all those years for James to establish himself or whether romance between them blossomed only in summer 1904. They would have attended the Douglass School together and certainly would have known each other well. On a personal level, James enjoyed singing as did Rosa, and it does not pose too great a challenge to imagine them vocalizing together in the school chorus. On the other hand, James's strictly AME family may not have considered the Roman Catholic Rosa a suitable match for their son. Of perhaps more than passing interest, James's friend Dr. McCleary was Roman Catholic, and he may have served as the intermediary to bring the two young people together. In whatever manner their love awakened and matured, by October, private commitments had become public. "Invitations are out for the marriage of Dr. J. A. Butler, of Miami, and Miss Rosa Lee Welters, of Key West," an announcement declared, "which will take place at the home of the bride's parents in Key West, on the evening of the 31st inst."[36]

The couple had planned their nuptials on a larger scale than circumstances eventually allowed, but the occasion nonetheless resulted in "a brilliant wedding" that constituted "one of the most magnificent affairs ever witnessed in the Island City." The one account that survives fails to mention the Reverend Robert W. Butler, and it must be assumed that he declined to attend due to the selection of a Roman Catholic priest, Father Alexander B. Friend, S.J., to perform the ceremony. For official consumption, the illness of the bride's sister "Mrs. Dubart of Sanford" was given as the reason. "The parlor of the bride's parents was most tastefully decorated, at one end of the room standing a magnificent floral horseshoe, beneath which the ceremony was performed," a guest described. "Promptly at the appointed hour eight little flower girls entered, and standing on either side of the room formed an opening through which the bridal party entered," the guest continued. "Welters' and Haig's combined orchestras then struck up a beautiful wedding march, and the party entered, headed by Miss Gracie English and Mr. E. V. Palacios, followed by Miss Mamie Shackelford, the maid of honor." Rosa's father Captain Welters escorted her to the altar, with Dr. McCleary accompanying Dr. Butler as best man. After Father Friend delivered "a short address on the dignity and holiness of the marriage state," he performed the ceremony. Quickly, "the guests pressed forward to tender congratulations, and were afterwards served with refreshments." For the occasion Rosa "was attired in a beautiful costume of white liberty satin, and the bridesmaid and maid of honor wore dresses of liberty silk and chiffon." As the description recounted, gifts in quantity and of quality were opened, after which "at midnight the couple left for Miami, their future home, where Dr. Butler enjoys a lucrative practice, besides conducting a first-class drug store."[37]

No reason stands out for believing that the Butlers intended anything in October 1904 other than living out their lives in Miami, but their course proved far different. First, however, came good things. Reflecting his enhanced stature in his chosen profession and the African American community at large, the AME South Florida Conference in March 1905 elected James a trustee of Edward Waters College, notwithstanding his marriage to a Roman Catholic. By then the couple expected their first child, a circumstance that likely helped to assuage pain felt at the passing of Rosa's father soon thereafter. The pregnancy fared well, doubtlessly drawing careful and worried attention from Drs. Butler and Frazier.

Happily, Rosa gave birth later in the year to a son, James Alpheus Butler, Jr.[38]

The happy event of their son's birth ironically may have set the stage for the Butlers' change of heart about Miami because the responsibility of family bore heavily in a local climate suddenly changed for the worse. If any single cause for this souring of local conditions can be ascribed, the finger must point, at least indirectly, at railroad tycoon Henry Flagler. In the wake of President Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 decision to build the Panama Canal, Flagler opted to move ahead with construction of an overseas rail line from Miami to Key West. This action brought trouble to South Florida as workers poured into the vicinity. "About every other day a batch of 200 or more of these arrive here from New York, the majority of whom go on to the Keys," the *Miami News* reported in late November, "but...10 to 20 percent of them stop here." The article continued: "In this way about 200 of these men have 'accumulated' in Miami since last Thursday. Many are without employment." This milling crowd of disgruntled workers alarmed local officials, who employed special police to deal with the "undesirable class." In the circumstances, crime and violence escalated to murder. "What is the matter with the Miami section of the State that there should be such outrageous crimes there within the past few months?" queried a Jacksonville newspaper in December. Its editor added of the malefactors, "Wipe them out speedily and legally, and make others shy of lurking there."[39]

A street scene in Colored Town early 1900s. HMSF 1988-102-4.

These dangerous conditions appear to have caused reluctance on the Butlers' part about remaining in Miami and did so just at the moment an agent of their deliverance appeared on the scene. The man's name was J. Tapley Mark, and he came very reluctantly to distant Miami to pastor Bethel AME Church. Hailing from Pensacola, Mark possessed great intelligence and a fine education that, when combined with an

enormous lack of tact, seemed always to place him on the verge of real influence and authority only to see him drawn back to relearn the blessings of humility. Almost elected as a teacher to the Florida House of Representatives on a Knights of Labor ticket in 1888, he thereafter devoted himself to the church. He presided over the Pensacola District by 1893 only to see his bishop transfer him in the blink of an eye five years later to the church at Fernandina. The kindness of his new presiding elder, Robert W. Butler, probably had much to do with Mark landing so relatively smoothly in the face of the bishop's ire. Just when the dust had seemed to settle, Mark published in the pages of the AME national organ *The Christian Recorder* an article critical of church leadership entitled "Some Dangers That Confront Us." He settled his family at Jacksonville, but a quick succession of appointments thereafter led the minister by 1904 to rural and small town congregations at Jasper, Waldo, and Madison. Mark managed, however, to obtain election in April 1905 as board secretary for Edward Waters College and then convinced his bishop in September to send him to Miami when the Reverend S. A. Harris proved unable to continue as pastor. This action might seem difficult to comprehend, but it becomes clearer with an understanding that the church's South Florida Conference already had agreed to meet at Bethel the following February.[40]

Mark's aims must remain the subject of speculation, but he seems to have intended to evidence—in a short time and for the benefit of Bethel and of Edward Waters College—the reach of his substantial talents to such a degree that a pleased bishop and other church elders would approve his return to a choice appointment at the college. At Miami, the pastor set about putting his plans into action and, in so doing, enjoyed the cooperation of Dr. Butler and of church superintendent Alexander C. Lightburn. As already seen, he joined with Butler, Lightburn, and others immediately upon his arrival to further the interests of Black-owned insurance and medical benefit associations within the community. By December he felt confident enough in progress made to invite the distinguished presiding elder of the Jacksonville District, R. B. Brooks, to Miami. Brooks returned with "a glowing account" of Mark's achievements, specifically noting for publication that "Rev. J. T. Mark at Miami has raised over $1,000 for [Edward Waters College] trustees' purposes alone since last conference, and he has a membership of less than 150." To further set the stage, the pastor in

January 1906 traveled the long distance to Jacksonville to attend the annual meeting of the East Florida Conference, permitting him access to key advisers and decision makers.[41]

Amazingly, Mark not only succeeded in his plans but managed, in the process, to endear himself to his congregation. The 1906 South Florida Conference meeting, with Dr. Butler prominent as an Edward Waters trustee and as his father's son, went off flawlessly. An account related, "Never before has Miami been favored with such a representative assembly as on the occasion of the recent session of the South Florida annual conference, which convened at Bethel A.M.E. Church on the morning of [February] 15th." It continued, "The Rt. Rev. Benj. T. Tanner, the recognized head of the bench of bishops in scholastic attainments and in executive ability, with his accustomed ease, dignity and dispatch, disposed of the business of the conference within the time prescribed, and left for his Florida home, where we trust he is enjoying a much-needed rest." Regarding the Reverend Mark and his reward for a job well done, a local man—possibly either Dr. Butler or Alex Lightburn—added:

> The people of Miami in general and the members and friends of Bethel A.M.E. Church in particular, while regretting the retirement of Rev. J. Tapley Mark, the very able ex-pastor of Bethel, rejoice that he has been honored by appointment to the position of teacher of Biblical theology in Edward Waters College, a position for which he is eminently fitted. Bethel A.M.E. Church, under the pastorate of Rev. Mark, has prospered as never before in the history of African Methodism in Miami. Rev. Mark had the honor of reporting more money raised for all purposes than any church in the South Florida conference. He has indelibly stamped the imprint of his sterling qualities upon his constituents in Miami, regardless of religious proclivities. As an evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the members of Bethel, a voluntary contribution of $12 was given him and his family, and a suit of clothes costing $35 presented him on Wednesday morning. Rev. Mark carries with him the best wishes and prayers of the people of Miami.[42]

Back in Jacksonville with the title of Dean of the Theological Department at Edward Waters College, Mark now enjoyed a position from which he could ease Dr. Butler's return to that city. Fortunately, the opportunity appeared immediately. Dr. John D. Crum, Butler's

fellow Howard University Medical College alumnus, had grown tired of White Florida's increasingly racist attitudes and its support for discriminatory Jim Crow laws. In the circumstances and perhaps with a little nudge from the Reverend Mark, the veteran physician made up his mind to move to California and to transfer his practice to a favored friend. "Dr. J. A. Butler, of Miami, is in the city," the *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis* reported April 7, 1906. "It is said that he will locate here and enter upon the practice of his profession." Six days later, another item appeared: "Dr. J. A. Butler has temporary offices at the residence of Mr. A. L. Lewis, No. 621 Florida avenue; phone 835, and he will promptly and faithfully attend all calls by day or night." It took only ten more days for the physician to settle "at the building formerly occupied by Dr. Crum and to receive public credit for professional success: "W. M. Morgan was taken very sick last week and he is under the treatment of Dr. J. A. Butler." Back in Miami, sentiments ran complicated, but happiness for a beloved physician and his family outweighed sadness at the departure. "The information of Dr. J. A. Butler through this paper is gladly received," a Miamian informed the *Evening Metropolis* in May. "He has scores of friends who anxiously wish him a successful vocation."[43]

Thus ended the Miami residency of Dr. James Alpheus Butler, although twenty-two productive years remained at the time to his professional career and to his life. Details of those years remain outside the scope of this essay, but some prominent points deserve mention. First, it took a while, but Butler convinced his friend Dr. M. F. McCleary to join him. Over Christmas holidays in 1906, time that McCleary spent in the Jacksonville area, they doubtlessly discussed possibilities. In June 1907 the announcement came that "Dr. M. F. McCleary, who has successfully practiced medicine in Key West for the past several years, has moved to Jacksonville and will practice his profession here." A few days later, the following report added detail: "Dr. J. A. Butler and Dr. M. F. McCleary have secured offices over the African-American building, at the corner of Main and Union streets. These are being fitted up with the necessary furniture and appliances, and Drs. Butler and McCleary will practice together there. This does not close Dr. Butler's office on Pippin street, in Oakland, which will be open as heretofore."[44]

The years immediately thereafter brought the Butlers both family gain and loss. When Dr. McCleary arrived at Jacksonville, Rosa was expecting a second child. The "fine baby girl" entered the world on February 13, 1908. They named her Mercedes but called her Mercy, and they delighted in her birth. Three years afterward, James's father passed away. The sad event occurred April 30, 1911. The funeral at Jacksonville's Mt. Zion AME Church saw "every pew, and all standing room" filled with mourners. Judge James Dean, then Butler's presiding elder, delivered the main discourse. Dr. J. Tapley Mark, "dean of theology, of Edward Waters College," followed. "The floral tributes were numerous and beautiful," one report observed. "These came from loving friends and the members of the family and the [Samaritan] order."[45]

The practice of medicine continued to offer Dr. Butler satisfaction and enjoyment as the years passed, although sea fishing with his Jacksonville colleagues added a certain zest to life as well. He joined again in support of the state medical association. Probably the highpoint of that endeavor came in 1913 when the group met at Key West. James's old friend Dr. Arthur Walls Smith chaired the executive committee that planned the occasion. Likely he was the individual who asked Dr. Butler to sing a solo of welcome to the gathering. Later, Butler delivered a paper entitled "Some Therapeutic Measures in Cases of Hernia and Other Intestinal Obstructions," an essay that must have promised relief to more than a few. Dr. McCleary, present for the occasion, joined Butler in listening to Dr. John Y. Porter discourse on the subject "Typhoid Fever." Unfortunately, surviving records reveal no details as to the paths of memory taken by the Butlers as, in spare moments, they wandered the streets of their youth.[46]

Four years later, World War One produced unanticipated changes in the Butlers' settled life. First, about 1917, they relocated to Fort Myers, although information concerning the move and their life in that southwest Florida town has proven elusive. In August 1918, they traveled again. "Dr. J. A. Butler, of Fort Myers, has located now in our city," a Tampan related, "and we all hope for him great success." At his new home, Butler chaired the Health Department of the Tampa Urban League as well as the Booker T. Washington Branch of the Tampa Chapter, American Red Cross. In so doing, he perceived the need for an African American physician to deal directly with the

It is believed that Dr. Butler is the man standing at the pump. The photograph was taken in the late 1920s in a black Tampa neighborhood known as "Red Quarters," which suffered from houses in dire need of repair and chronically congested water closets serving the twenty-two families who comprised the community. Dr. Butler was a leader in the effort to ameliorate conditions in Tampa's black community. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa.

city's health-related programs and, consequently, volunteered to serve without compensation as assistant city health officer. His efforts brought such attention that, in 1924 and "in response to the repeated requests of Negroes of Tampa," the city commission created a professional position for him with responsibility for "general oversight of the public health matters as they affect the Negroes of Tampa."[47]

Even then Dr. Butler had not finished his service to the community. In 1926, he joined with colleague Dr. J. A. White and others to organize the Tampa Service Club, aimed at "the promotion of civic, religious and social uplift." Butler early on chaired the publicity committee and helped direct efforts to establish a Tampa branch of the Young Men's Christian Association. The same year, he joined with Benjamin Mays, then an official of the Tampa Urban League, to research the famed report on conditions in Tampa's African American community that has come to be known as the Raper Report. In that regard, he chaired the committee that prepared the section on health. Time's passage, though, soon caught up with the man. He died at Tampa on April 4, 1928, and was buried from St. Paul AME Church. "He won the respect of not only the negro population," the *Tampa*

Daily Times declared, "but the white citizens as well." Rosa Lee Welters survived her husband by thirty-five years, seemingly manifesting the same caring and cheerful approach to the world that obviously had attracted James so many years earlier and had so impressed her classmates at the State Normal and Industrial School. Typically and despite her still-fresh grief, she comforted and encouraged her friend Eartha M. M. White in November 1929. "Hoping you a happy Thanksgiving," she expressed. "And knowing that you are happy at your work with the old people trying to cheer some sad heart." Rosa passed away September 26, 1963. She and her husband are buried with their son James A. Butler, Jr., in Tampa's Memorial Park Cemetery.[48]

Dr. and Mrs. Butler certainly deserve to be remembered by Miamians and all Floridians in their own right, for sacrifices made and contributions rendered at what sometimes amounted to great personal cost. Their lives, though, illustrate something greater: the rich and important legacy of African Americans to the building up of the Sunshine State's great cities, including Miami. Florida has stood out for over a century as the South's most urban state. Yet, in telling the story, the lives and actions of countless men and women have been neglected and their legacies attributed to others. Progress has been tallied in rectifying that historical wrong, but ahead much of the work remains to be done.

Notes

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[27] *Charlotte* (N.C.) *Star of Zion*, 26 February 1903.
[28] Dunn, *Black Miami*, 83, 89; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 13 September 1904.
[29] Dunn, *Black Miami*, 87; S. M. Frazier certificate of registration.
[30] *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 9 September 1905.
[31] *Ibid.*, 27 January, 18 September 1905.
[32] *Ibid.*, 12 June 1904.
[33] Clement Richardson, ed., *The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race, Volume One* (Montgomery, Ala.: National Publishing Co., Inc., 1919), 376; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 26 June, 9 July, 19 October 1903.
[34] *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 12 April, 1905; 1880, 1900 United States Censuses, Monroe County, Florida (population schedules); 1885 Florida State Census, Monroe County (population schedule); Monroe County Deed Records, Book F, 949 (available on microfilm at Florida State Archives); 1873–1880 Monroe County tax lists (available on microfilm at Florida State Archives).
[35] *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union & Citizen*, 26 May 1898, 26 May 1899, 23 May 1900.
[36] *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 20 October 1904, 12 April 1905, 18 April 1913; Richardson, *National Cyclopedia*, 376.
[37] *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 3 November 1904; Michael J. McNally, *Catholic Parish Life on Florida's West Coast, 1860–1968* (N.p.: Catholic Media Ministries, 1996), 95, 177, 186; Monroe County Marriage Records, Book 6, p. 18.
[38] *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 2 March, 12 April 1905; 1910 United States Census, Duval County, Florida (population schedule); *Hillsborough County, Florida, Cemeteries 1840–1985*, 8 vols. (Tampa: Florida Genealogical Society, 1988), IV, 175.
[39] Edward N. Akin, *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner & Florida Baron* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1988), 210–18; *Miami News*, 21 November 1905; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 21 December 1905.
[40] *New York Freeman*, 6 November 1886, 26 March, 10 September 1887; *New York Age*, 21 April, 4 August, 22 September 1888, 13 April 1889; *Jacksonville Evening Telegram*, 3 August 1893; *Pensacola Daily News*, 6 May 1893; *Philadelphia Christian Recorder*, 20 January, 3 March 1898, 1, 20 February 1900; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 9 July, 30 December 1903, 1 February, 11 November 1904; 21 March, 29 April, 9 September 1905.

[41] *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 6 December 1905, 11 January 1906.

[42] *Ibid.*, 5 March 1906.

[43] *Ibid.*, 7, 10, 13, 26 April, 22 May 1906.

[44] *Ibid.*, 18, 19, 28 December 1906, 1, 3, 20 January, 20, 25 June 1907.

[45] 1910 United States Census, Duval County, Florida (population schedule); 1920 United States Census, Hillsborough County, Florida (population schedule); *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 17 February 1908, 1, 4 May 1911.

[46] *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 12 April 1907, 28 July 1910, 18 April 1913.

[47] 1916–1917 Jacksonville city directories; *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 25 August 1918; *Baltimore Herald*, 30 July 1924 (clipping in Tuskegee Institute News Clippings Files, reel 20) (microfilm available at Coleman Library, Florida A&M University, Tallahassee).

[48] *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 7, 14 July 1926, 4 April 1928; J. H. McGrew, Arthur Raper, and B. E. Mays, "A Study of Negro Life in Tampa Made By J. H. McGrew With the Cooperation of the Tampa Welfare League, the Tampa Urban League, and the Tampa Young Men's Christian Association" (typescript, 1927) (xerographic copy in collection of the author); Mrs. J. A. Butler to Eartha White, 27 November 1929 (post card), Eartha M. M. White Collection, Thomas G. Carpenter Library Special Collections, University of North Florida, Jacksonville; *Tampa Daily Times*, 6 April 1928; *Hillsborough County, Florida, Cemeteries*, IV, 175.